THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY
A JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH
IN ARCHAEOLOGY, EPIGRAPHY, ETHNOLOGY, GEOGRAPHY, HISTORY, FOLKLORE, LANGUAGES,
LITERATURE, NUMISMATICS, PHILOSOPHY, RELIGION, Etc., Etc.,
EDITED BY
SIR RICHARD CARNAC TEMPLE, BART., C.B., C.I.E., F.S.A.,
HON. FELLOW, TRIN. HALL, CAMBRIDGE,
FORMERLY LIEUT.-COLONEL, INDIAN ARMY,
AND
STEPHEN MEREDYTH EDWARDES, C.S.I., C.V.O.,
FORMERLY OF THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE
AND
PROF. RAO SAHEB S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR, M.A., (Hony.) Ph.D.,
HONORARY CORRESPONDENT OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT
OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

VOL. LIII—1924.

BOMBAY:
PUBLISHED AT THE BRITISH INDIA PRESS, MARGAON.

LONDON:
BERNARD Quaritch, LIMITED, 11 GRAFTON STREET,
NEW BOND STREET, W.
[All Rights Reserved.]
CONTENTS.

ALTEKAR, ANANT SADASIV, M.A., LL.B.—
A HISTORY OF IMPORTANT ANCIENT TOWNS
AND CITIES IN GUJARAT AND KATHIYAWAD.
Sup. 1

ANSTEY, L. M.—
Cassumunar
Tootnagae
64
252

BAILEY, T. GRAHAHE—
Hatim's Tales by Sir Aurel Stein and others, 187
The Lay of Alha, by William Waterfield
208

CROOKE, THE LATE DR. W., C.I.E., D.C.L.,
F.B.A.—
NOTES ON SOME MUHAMMADAN SAINTS AND
SHRINES IN THE UNITED PROVINCES
97

DANIEL, K. N.—
KOTTAYAM PLATE OF VIBA-RAGHAV
CHAKRAVARTI
185, 219, 244

THE ANCHUVANNAM AND THE MANIRAMAM
OF THE KOTTAYAM PLATES OF TANU YAVI
OR THE JEWS AND CHRISTIANS
257

DAYA RAM SAHNI, RAI BAHADUR, M.A.—
MANIKANKA GHAT (BENARES) STONES
INSCRIPTION OF VIRESHWARA (VIRAMA)
209

DODERET, W.—
A History of ancient and modern Festivals
of the Aryans by Rgvedi
88
A Metaphysique of Mysticism, by A. Govinda-
charyya Swamin
252

EDWARDES, S. M., C.S.I., C.V.O.—
THE MARATHAS AT THE CLOSE OF THE
EIGHTEENTH CENTURY
69

UMLAT NAIE
103, 117

THE ANQUESTES OF A GOVERNOR-GENERAL,
107
Administrative System of the Marathas,
by Surendranath Sen, M.A., Ph.D.
17
Political History of India from the accession
of Parkshet to the coronation of Bimbirasa,
by Hemachandra Raychaudhuri, M.A.
18
Journal of Indian History, by Dr. Shaista
Ahmad Khan
43

Allahabad University, History of Jahangir,
by Ben Prasad, M.A.
45

Epigraphia Carnatica, Vol. II, Inscriptions
at Sravana Belgola, by Rao Bahadur R.
Narasimhachar, M.A.
47

The Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the
Parsees, by J. J. Modi, B.A., Ph.D., C.I.E.
87
Annual Report of the Director-General of
87

Arthā-Magadhī Reader, by Banarsi Das
Jain, M.A.
116

Annual Report of the Watson Museum of
Antiquities, Rajkot, 1922-23
116

The Konkan and the Konkani Language,
by Rao Saheb Dr. V. P. Chavan
138

EDWARDES, S. M., C.S.I., C.V.O.—contd
The Life and Work of Buddhaghosa, by
Bimala Charan Nag, M.A.
181
Les Théories Diplomatiques de l'Inde Anciennne et l'Arthaästra, par Kalidas Nag.
182
The Army of Ranjit Singh, Parts I and II,
by Sita Ram Kohli, M.A.
182
The Sabhyadarpaṇa of Viswanatha and
history of Alankara literature, by P. V.
Kane, M.A.
183

Catalogue of the Indian Collections in the
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, by Ananda
K. Coomaraswamy
184
Memorial Papers, by Shahs-ul-ulma Jivanj
Jamshedji Modi, B.A., Ph.D., C.I.E.
184
Memories of the Archaeological survey of
India, by Ramachandra Kak
207
Annual Report on Epigraphy for the year
1921-22
254

A Practical Sanskrit Dictionary, by A. A.
Macdonell, M.A.
273

Sivaji's Sword, Bhavani
18

A Folk Story, by M. Govindasrajulu
255

North Indian Proverbs, collected by Pandit
Ram Gharib Chabbe, for the information
of the late Dr. W. Crooke, C.I.E.
256

FOLK TALES FROM NORTHERN INDIA, Sup. 1, 9, 17

ENTHOVEN, R. E.—
The Dravidian Element in Indian Culture, by
Gilbert Slater, M.A.
181

Devaks in the Deccan and Konkan
139

GRIERSON, Sir GEORGE A., K.C.I.E.—
The Dative Plural in Pali, by Prof. Surendran-
ath Majumdar Sastri
68

GUPTA, Y. R.—
A Grant of the Vakataka Queen Prabhava-
tigupta
48

HALDER, R. R.—
AN UNKNOWN BATTLE BETWEEN A RULER OF
GUJARAT AND A KING OF MEWAR
100

HERAS, REV. H., S.J., M.A.—
The Siege and Conquest of the Fort of
Asurghan by the Emperor Akbar
33

HILL, S. CHARLES—
NOTES ON Piracy in Eastern Waters,
Sup. 53, 61, 77

HIRA LAL, RAI BAHADUR, B.A.—
A VISIT TO TUMANA
267

HIRIYANNA, PROF. M., M.A.—
BHAERA Prapancha: An Old Vedantin
77

HOCART, A. M.—
Spells of Origin
63

J. M. B.—
No. 1, Vol. 3, of Djawa, The Quarterly Journal
of the Java Institute
40

Djawa No. 2
40
JARL CHARPENTIER, Prof., Upsala—
Genuine of Federici and Gasparo Balbi, 49
A NOTE ON THE PHRAHAMA SKAHA BRAMHANS, 123
JOSEPH, T. K., B.A., L.T.—
MALABAR MISCELLANY 93
A Pahlavi Inscription round a Persian
CROSS AT KATAMANNAM, TRAVANCORE 123
KALIPATITRA, M.A., B.L.—
CROSS-COUNTRY RELATION BETWEEN BUDDHA
AND DEVADATTA 125
FURTHER NOTE ON RITUAL MURDER AS A
MEANS OF PROCURING CHILDREN 149
MOHD. ISMAIL, Ch., M.A., M.R.A.S.—
SOME COPPER COINS OF SOUTHERN INDIA 264
MOOTHIAH, J. S.—
FOLK TALES FROM THE DECCAN 271
NUDDAL DEY, M.A., B.L.—
GEOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF ANCIENT AND
MIDDLELY INDIA Sup. 151, 159, 175, 183
R. G.—
Sir Subrahmanya Ayyar Lectures on the His-
istory of Sri Vaishnavism, by T. A. Gopinatha
Rao 65
Studies in South Indian Jainism, by M. S.
Ramadaswami Aiyangar, M.A. 273
RAMACHANDRA AYIAR, L. R., M.A.—
THE KINGS OF THE DECCAN 262
RAMANATHA AYYAR, A. S., B.A.—
ramavarma Yasohrshasana and Vasu-
mati Kalyanam 1
RANGASWAMI SARASWATI, A., B.A.—
Vasubandhu or Subandhu 8, 177
RAWLINSON, H. G.—
The Disposal of Deceased Lamas 113
RAY, H. C., M.A.—
THE INDIAN ALPHABET 233
ROSE, H. A., I.C.S.—
CONTRIBUTIONS TO PUNJABI LEXICOGRAPHY,
SERIES IV 107, 161, 200, 240
SAMADDAR, J. N., B.A., F.R.E.S., F.R.H.S.,
M.R.A.S.—
THE ECONOMIC IDEAS FROM THE KAMASUTRA, 146
SCHMIDT, P. W., S.V.D.—
THE RELIGIOUS SITUATION OF THE ANDA-
MANESE 150, 165
SESHE AYIAR, K. G.—
Mount D'Oilly 252
TEMMLE, SIR R. C., Bt., C.B., C.I.E., F.S.A.—
A SKETCH OF SOUTH INDIAN CULTURE 13, 23
Dr. WILLIAM CROOKE, C.I.E., D.S.C., Litt.D.,
F.B.A. 21

TEMPLE, SIR R. C., Bt.—contd.
PEARL AND COPPER MERCHANTS' SLANG 62
A FIXED EASTERN AND THE REFORM OF THE
CHRISTIAN CALENDAR 212, 235
Disposal of Deceased Lamas in Eastern Tibet
and the Mummifying of Bodies in China 41
The Glass Palace Chronicle of the Kings of
Burma, translated by Po Maung Tiu and
G. H. Luce 42
The Indian Athenaeum. A Journal devoted
to history, literature and the arts, vol. I,
No. 1 47
The Lay of Alia, by William Waterfield,
B.C.S., and Sir George Greson, K.C.I.E. 65
1) The Lost Ring of Sakuntala, (2) Were the
Pradj'otes of the Puranas rulers of Magadha?
by Surendranath Majumdar Sastri 68
The Arab Conquests in Central Asia, by
H. A. R. Gibb 92
Report of the Archæological Survey, Burma,
1923 116
Census of India, 1921, The Andaman and
Nicobar Islands, by R. F. Lewis 137
Third All-India Oriental Conference 207
Epigraphia Indo-AMSLENEA, by C. Yaidani,
208
The Subject Index to Periodicals, 1929 229
Epigraphia Zoyleijana, Vol. 2, Pt. 5, by Don
Martino de Z. Wickremasinghe 229
The Library System of the Baroda State,
by Newton M. Duft 229
Rajendra, the Gangaikonda Chola, by S.
Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Ph.D. 230
Journal of the United Provinces Historical
Supplementary Catalogue of the Coins in the
Indian Museum Coin Cabinet, by B. B.
Bidyabinod 255
Notes from Old Factory Records 20, 68
TURNE, R. L.—
The Eastern School of Prakrit Grammarians
and Paisachi Prakrit, by Sir George A.
Grierson, K.C.I.E. 113
UNKNOWN—
A Poetical Fragment in praise of the pen 136
UTGIKAR, NARAYAN BAPUJI, M.A.—
CULTURAL, LINGUISTIC AND LITERARY HIS-
TORICAL GLEANINGS FROM THE KACTILYA,
by Hermann Jacobi 123, 141
WILLIAM FOSTER—
Orrambarrow 20
MISCELLANEA.

Disposal of Deceased Lamas in Eastern Tibet and the Mummifying of Bodies in China, by Sir R. C. Temple ........................................... 41
Cassamummar, by L. M. Anstey .................................................. 64
The Disposal of Deceased Lamas, by H. G. Rawlinson ................. 113
A Poetical Fragment in praise of the pen, by an Unknown Author .... 136
Third All-India Oriental Conference, by Sir R. C. Temple ............ 207
Mount D'Eli, by K. G. Seshu Aiyar ........................................... 252
Tootnague, by L. M. Anstey ..................................................... 252

BOOK NOTICES.

Administrative System of the Marathas, by Surendranath Sen, M.A., Ph.D., by S. M. Edwardees ........................................ 17
Political History of India from the accession of Parikshit to the Coronation of Bimbisara, by Hemchandra Raychaudhuri, M.A., by S. M. Edwardees ................................................................. 18
The Glass Palace Chronicle of the Kings of Burma, translated by Pe Maung Tiu and G. H. Luce, by Sir R. C. Temple ................. 42
Journal of Indian History, by Dr Shafaat Ahmad Khan, by S. M. Edwardees ................................................................. 43
Allahabad University, History of Jahangir, by Beni Prasad, M.A., by S. M. Edwardees ................................................................. 45
Djawa, No. 2, by J.M.B. .............................................................. 46
The Indian Athenaeum. A Journal devoted to history, literature and the arts, Vol. 1, No. 1, by Sir R. C. Temple .......... 47
Sir Subrahmanya Ayyar lectures on the history of Sri Vaishnavas, by T. A. Gopinatha Rao, by R. C. ........................................ 65
The Dative Plural in Pali, by Prof. Surendranath Majumdar Sastry, by Sir G. A. Grierson ................................................................. 68
(1) The lost Ring of Sakuntala, (2) Were the Pradyotanas of the Puranas rulers of Magadha ?, by Surendranath Majumdar Sastry, by Sir R. C. Temple .............................. 68
The Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees, by J. J. Modi, B.A., Ph.D., C.I.E., by S. M. Edwardees ................................................................. 87
Annual Report of the Director-General of Archaeology in India, by Sir John Marshall, by S. M. Edwardees, ........................................ 87
A history of Ancient and Modern Festivals of the Aryans, by Rgvedi, by W. Doderet ................................................................. 88
The Arab Conquests in Central Asia, by H. A. R. Gibb, by Sir R. C. Temple ................................................................. 92
The Eastern School of Pañkriit Grammarians and Paisachi Prakrit, by Sir George Grierson, K.C.I.E., by R. L. Turner .................. 113
Ardhas-Magadha Reader, by Banared Das Jain, M.A., by S. M. Edwardees ................................................................. 116
Census of India, 1921, The Andaman and Nicobar Islands, by R. F. Lewis, by Sir R. C. Temple ................................................................. 137
Hatim's Tales, by Sir Aurel Stein and others, by T. Graham Bailey ................................................................. 137
The Konkan and Konkani Language, by Rao Saheb Dr. V. P. Chavan, by S. M. Edwardees ................................................................. 138
The Dravidian Element in Indian Cuiture, by Gilbert Stater, M.A., by R. E. Entoven ................................................................. 181
The Life and Work of Buddhaghosa, by Bimala Charan Law, M.A., by S. M. Edwardees ................................................................. 181
Les Théories Diplomatiques de l'Inde Ancienne et l'Arthagastha, par Kalidas Nag, by S. M. Edwardees ................................................................. 182
The Sahityadarpana of Visvanatha and history of Alankara Literature, by P. V. Kane, M.A., by S. M. Edwardees ................................................................. 183
Memories of the Archaeological Survey of India, by Ramechandra Kak, by S. M. Edwardees ................................................................. 207
Epigraphia Indo-Malayatica, by G. Yazdani, by Sir R. C. Temple ................................................................. 208
The Lay of Alha, by William Waterfield, by T. Graham Bailey ................................................................. 208
The Subject Index to Periodicals, 1920, by Sir R. C. Temple ................................................................. 229
The Library System of the Baroda State, by Newton M. Dutt, by Sir R. C. Temple ................................................................. 229
Rajendra, the Gangaikonda Chola, by S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Ph.D., by Sir R. C. Temple ................................................................. 230
CONTENTS

A Metaphysique of Mysticism, by A. Govindacharya Svamin, by W. Dodre 252
Annual Report on Epigraphy for the year 1921-22, by S. M. Edwards 254
A Practical Sanskrit Dictionary, by A. A. Macdonnell, M.A., by S. M. Edwards 273
Studies in South Indian Jainism, by M. S. Ramaswami Aiyengar, M.A., by R. G. 273

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Sivaji’s Sword, Bhavani, by S. M. Edwards 18
Orrambarrow, by William Foster 20
Notes from Old Factory Records, by Sir R. C. Temple 20, 68
A Grant of the Yakshas Queen Prabhavatigupta, by Y. R. Gupta 48
Devaka in the Deccan and Konkan, by R. E. Enthoven 139
A Folk Story, by M. Govindarajulu, by S. M. Edwards 255
North Indian Proverbs, collected by Pandit Ram Charib Chaube, for the information of the late Dr. W. Crooke, C.I.E., by S. M. Edwards 256

SUPPLEMENT.

Notes on Piracy in Eastern Waters, by S. Charles Hill 53, 61, 77
Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India, by Nundolal Dey, M.A., B.L., 161, 159, 175, 183
Folk Tales from Northern India, edited by S. M. Edwards 1, 9, 17
A History of Important Ancient Towns and Cities in Gujarat and Kathiawad, by Anant Sadasiv Altekar, M.A., LL.B. 1

PLATES.

One Plate to face 123
Four Plates to face 186, 244, 246, 248
Seven Plates to face 262
INDEX.

F.T.N.I. stands for the Supplement, Folk-Tales from Northern India, pp. 1–24.

Abashtika. See Aparāntika. P.E.W. 59
Abdul Karim of Chaul 98–99
Abd-ul Qadir Jil/big 20
Abedin. See Malik Yaqūt Sulṭān. 98
Abington, the 54
Abū Suraj Muhammad, Imam 30, 65–67
Acharyā 35n.
Acquaviva, Father R. 53n.
Adil Shah I, Faruqi K. 157
Adil Shah of Bijāpur 52 & n., 53, 60
Administrative System of the Marathas, by Sunrendranath Sen, M.A., Ph.D. (book-notice), 17
Admiral Stevens, the 179
Afzal Kāhīn of Bijāpur 19
Agastya 16
Ahmadnagar 34 & n.
Aimakammādar 189
Aislabie, Mr. of Bombay 20
Ajaipāla I. 101; II. 101
Ajanta frescoes 87
Ajdihya 118
Akbar, at Asirgārd 33–41, 45, 54
Akita Jātaka 16
Alanturutti 96
Alaštā. See Anārta. 31, 34n., 35n.
Alaū'ddīn Khilji 97, 98
Alaū'ddīn Sābir 266
Alamgir/pāya dynasty 42
Ālāvandār. See Yāmunāchāryā. 43
Albīr. See Bir. 52, 54 & n., 56n.
Aleppo 113; F.T.N.I. 12, 13
Alī the Banāphar 65, 208
All-Khānq, the 65
Allādī Shāh II, coin of 266
Alī Raja of Cannanore P.E.W. 84 & n.
Allahabad University, History of Jaṅgir, by Ben Prasad, M.A. (book-notice) 45
Allepy 7
All-India Oriental Conference, Third, Madras 297
Alompra. See Alamgir/pāya. 233–235
Alphabet, Indian 17
Aṣṭā 28, 30, 31, 65–68
Amboyna massacre P.E.W. 64
Amersfort, the P.E.W. 74
Amurtāsāra. See Bindusara. 82
Amoy 104, 120
Apatana G.K. 7, 8
Aṣpahilapura G.K. 7, 8
Aṇanda 24
Aṇanda-jātana 77–79, 82–84
Aṇārta G.K. 2–5
Aṇārtapura G.K. 2
Ancestress of a Governor-General 197–200
Aṣṭhavoṣha, the, and the Manigrāmam of the Kottayam Plates of Tāku Iravi, or the Jews and Christians of Malabar 257–261
Andamanese 137
Andanar. See Brāhmaṇā. P.E.W. 81
Anjengo 7
Ankurāpana? 260
Anūrtādāsī 83–88
Anthonio, Cept. W. P.E.W. 54
Anulomas 130
Aparānta 4
Aparāntika G.K. 2
Appar 274–276
Appayya Dikṣita 1, 6, 8
Appuḷār 67
Arabia Merchant, the 20
Arabian Sea 97
Arāḍhyā sect. 29
Arāiyars of Srīraṅgam 30
Arāha-Magadhi Reader, by Banarsi Das Jain, M.A. (book-notice) 106
Arika. See Aparāntika. 44
Ariyars 182
Artha 182
Arthādāsī of Kautālyā, 17, 25, 129–134, 179, 182, 194
Arumqguvar, the 287
Aruvālar tribe 16
INDEX

Arya-ajutu .......................... 244-247
Aryan, meaning of .................. 14, 89-92
Āryan ................................ 23
Asandivanta. See Hāstina-pura.
Asbir. See Āśīrgāch.
Ascension, the ....................... P.E.W. 17
Āśīra Pradhan ....................... 17
Āshī, battle ......................... 19
Āśīrgāch, Siege and Conquest of, by Akbar, 33-41
Āsoka ................................. 14, 15, 23, 131, 182
Assada. See Courten Company.
Astronomy ........................... 194-196
Ātāq-turuti. See Alanturuth.
Aurangzeb, inscriptions of, 207; P.E.W. 76-76
Avanti ................................ 68
Āntiśaṇḍarikaṭhā ..................... 12
Ayres, Capt. .......................... P.E.W. 66-70
Ayyanaṭikaḷ ........................... 257-259

Basava ............................... 29
Basora. See Basrah.
Basrah ................................. 52, 54 & n., 56, 59, 61n.
Bassein (Birma) ..................... 56
Bee, the ............................... P.E.W. 61
"Beech Lashtakar" ................. 73
Penares .............................. 209
Berar .................................. 34 & n.
Best, Capt. ........................... P.E.W. 58
Bezenguier. See Vijayanagura.
Bhagavad Gītā ....................... 252, 253
Bhākta ............................... 253
Bhākti ................................. 13, 16, 23-32
Bhāmaha ............................. 142
Bhāroch ............................... G.K. 2, 4, 5
Bhātrī-Prapana: An Old Vedantin 77-86
Bhaskara Ravi Varman, Cochin plates of, See Inscriptions.
Bhāṭṭāraka ............................ G.K. 6
Bhavani. See Sivaji's Sword.
Bābī ................................. 76
Bhimadeva II ......................... 101
Bhimal ................................ G.K. 5, 6
Bhir Mound .......................... 87, 88
Bhoja of Dhār, grant of ............. 116
Bhojāja Naik ......................... 117, 119
Bhoḷābhumī. See Bhimadeva II.
Bīḍ Bīnum Sāhība ................... 98
Bīḍ Gauhar Sāhība .................. 98, 99
Bīch Lashkar. See "Beech Lashtakar.
Bīhār ................................. 230
Bijāpura, date of ................... 29
Bilik, Andamanese deity .......... 151-160, 165,
167-171, 173-176
Bimbisāra ............................ 18
Bindusāra ........................... 178, 179
Bir .................................. 52, 54 & n., 61
Bisnagar. See Vijayanagura.
Black Flag ........................... P.E.W. 62
Blessed Trinity, the ................. P.E.W. 58
Blessing, the ......................... P.E.W. 59
Bloody Flag. See Red Flag.
Blyth, Capt. .......................... P.E.W. 63
Bōdāwpa'yā, k. ....................... 42, 43
Boghaz-küşi tablets ................. 89, 182
Bombain. See Bombay.
Bombay ................................ 55
Bombay Marine ....................... P.E.W. 69
Bon Aventure, the ................. P.E.W. 72
Bon Esperanza, the ............... P.E.W. 72
Bond, Capt. J. ....................... P.E.W. 70
"Boonga" ............................. 73
Boreśvara Mahādeva Temple Inscription 100
Bourbon .............................. P.E.W. 69
Boyd, J. P. ........................... 69
Boyd, Capt. ......................... 119
Brahman (the Absolute) .......... 77-85
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Coemi</td>
<td>See Bassein.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Couloa</td>
<td>See Quilon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coulaas, Marcal</td>
<td>P.E.W. 82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Courtone Company, the</td>
<td>P.E.W. 69—72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cranganore, 185, 187, 190, 192. See Muziris.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creation, Andamanese version of the</td>
<td>105, 158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creedy, battle</td>
<td>P.E.W. 62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Croissant, the</td>
<td>P.E.W. 55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crooke, Dr. William</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cross-Cousin Relations between Buddha and Devadatta</td>
<td>125—128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dabul, Dabhol</td>
<td>35n., 41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dachinabades</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daddaji Naik</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dakkan. See Deccan.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dakshina Kosala</td>
<td>288, 289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dakshinapathya. See Dachinabades.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dale, Sir Thos.</td>
<td>P.E.W. 62, 63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dalhousie, eighth Earl of</td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Del Khola</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dandabhakti. See Bihar.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dandaka Forest</td>
<td>15, 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dandakanyam. See Dachinabades.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dandin</td>
<td>12, 142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Danti-Durga, Rashtarakuta k.</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Danti-Yarman, Pallava k.</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Davide Plural in Poil, by Professor Surendranath Majumdar Sastri, (book-notice)</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daoulpuré plate inscription</td>
<td>G.K. 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Davis, J. navigator</td>
<td>P.E.W. 55, 56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Davers</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de Abreu, Vitorio</td>
<td>P.E.W. 59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de Albuquerque, Affonso</td>
<td>259, 260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de Atalde, D. Luiz</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de Bry</td>
<td>51 &amp; n., 56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de Conti, Nicoló</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de Costa, Andrew Botello</td>
<td>P.E.W. 60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de Goes, Brother Benito</td>
<td>34n., 41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de la Chesmaic, Capt. Truchot</td>
<td>P.E.W. 80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de Marignoli, John</td>
<td>259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de Nornha, Don Ch.</td>
<td>P.E.W. 63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de Peiva, S. Vaz</td>
<td>P.E.W. 87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de Vasconcelos, James</td>
<td>P.E.W. 59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dead, disposal of the, in C. Asia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Debal</td>
<td>P.E.W. 62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deccan, 16, 17; early kingdoms of, 18; Muhammadan in, 33—41, 52, 53; horses from, 75; folk-tales from</td>
<td>271, 272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Defence, the</td>
<td>P.E.W. 60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delboe, Capt.</td>
<td>P.E.W. 68, 83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Defft, isl.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delight, the</td>
<td>P.E.W. 83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dejuge, myth of</td>
<td>158—160, 167, 174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dapjavâçaka. See Didwana.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>der Lahn, Van</td>
<td>P.E.W. 79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>devadasi</td>
<td>254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devadatta</td>
<td>125—128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>devaka</td>
<td>70, 129, 140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devapâladeva</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dêvarâya II</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devil of Delft, the</td>
<td>P.E.W. 61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhangar</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dharsena II, inscriptions of</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhârâvanâha</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dharma</td>
<td>146, 147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dharmapala, D. Joao</td>
<td>53, 55n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhondo Pant</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhurvasena I, inscriptions of</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dialcan. See Adil Shah.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Didwana</td>
<td>G.K. 6, 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digby, Sir Kenelm</td>
<td>P.E.W. 60n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dilawar Shân</td>
<td>P.E.W. 77, 78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dien</td>
<td>52, 54, 55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divodása, k.</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Di Federici, Cesare, and Gasparo Balbi, 49—81</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>di Mienza, D. Gonsalvo</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>di S. Stefano, Hieronymo</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Djaswa, No. 2, (book-notice)</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dohad inscription</td>
<td>G.K. 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dolpâin, the</td>
<td>P.E.W. 59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dom Pedro, pirate</td>
<td>P.E.W. 59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dom Sebastian</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dorrill, the</td>
<td>P.E.W. 81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Downes, Peter</td>
<td>107, 109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Downton, Capt. N.</td>
<td>P.E.W. 84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drake</td>
<td>P.E.W. 53n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dravidian Element in Indian Culture, by Gilbert Slater, M.A., (book-notice)</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dungarpur State</td>
<td>101, 102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dushyanta</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dutch and Alleppey</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duttagâmal Abhaya</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eagle, the</td>
<td>P.E.W. 81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eamon, the</td>
<td>P.E.W. 67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East India Company, 5, 7; early voyages of</td>
<td>P.E.W. 5, 56; flag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edicts of Asoka. See Inscriptions.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edward Bonacventura, the</td>
<td>P.E.W. 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Êgyptin, meaning of</td>
<td>42, 43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Index Entry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Eka-Nālikā Famine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Ekānta Rāmayaya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Elāchārya. See Kunda-kunda.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>Elara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19, 103</td>
<td>Elālasīgham. See Elara.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>Elephanta Cave Temple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>199, 103</td>
<td>Elphinstone, Mountstuart.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>208</td>
<td>Epigraphia Carnatica, Vol. II., Inscriptions at Srasana Bōgola, (book-notice)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>229</td>
<td>Epigraphia Indo-Muslimica, by G. Yazdani, (book-notice)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 &amp; n.</td>
<td>Eros, John.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Excommunication of the Dead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>113</td>
<td>Experiment, the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83</td>
<td>P.E.W.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>P.E.W.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24, 72</td>
<td>Pömio, the.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>Pómio, the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>Pan-chung, use of Red Flag by</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>Payet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>PEARM, John</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>152, 156–160, 165, 166</td>
<td>PEARM, John</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>155–159, 168</td>
<td>First Man, Andamanese names for,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>212–219, 235–240</td>
<td>Fixed Easter and the Reform of the Christian Calendar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>P:E.W.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>Folk-Tales, Deccan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>271, 272</td>
<td>Folk-Tales from Northern India, F.T.N.I. 1–24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66–68</td>
<td>foreigners in Japan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83</td>
<td>Formosa, P:E.W. 57, 72–74, 79, 80 &amp; n., 82, 83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>Foster, M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>119</td>
<td>Foulerton, Louis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>Fox, John</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>Fox, R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>Franci, the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83, 84</td>
<td>P:E.W.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66 &amp; n.</td>
<td>Further India</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Gajalāhu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Gaṅgas of Kolar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>297, 197</td>
<td>Gan-ping ching. See Zeolandia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80, 83</td>
<td>Gary, Henry.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>Gaspara, Nicholas. See Chinchiling.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16, 113</td>
<td>Gautama.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151–190</td>
<td>Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India, ancient names in, (G.D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>119</td>
<td>Gibrine, Mr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Girmar inscription</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Glass Palace Chronicle of the Kings of Burma (book-notice)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>197, 198, 200</td>
<td>Glen, Capt. Andrew.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>197, 200</td>
<td>Glen, Elizabeth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58, 60</td>
<td>Globe, the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>183</td>
<td>Gombatesvara, statue of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>268</td>
<td>Gondā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Gorakhpur, Dom Kingdom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Govindagupta, identification of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>Grant of the Vākāṭaka Queen Prabhavat-gupta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Great Mount. See St. Thomas Mount.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Gujarāt and Kāthiāvād, A History of Important Ancient Towns and Cities in, (G.K. 1–8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100–102</td>
<td>Gujarāt and Mewar, unknown battle between the rulers of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>266</td>
<td>Haider Ali, 6; coins of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>267–270</td>
<td>Haihayas of Mahākośala.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>Hall, John</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>Hamada Yabei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87</td>
<td>Harappa Seals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>Harding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>183</td>
<td>Hargobind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>Hari Sōna inscription</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Hāsinapura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>Hatch, Capt. J.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14, 23</td>
<td>Hāthigumpha inscription of Khāravāla,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>137</td>
<td>Hatim’s Tales, by Sir Aurel Stein and others, (book-notice)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>Hawkins, Wm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>Hasari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>Henrique II., of Portugal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INDEX

Henry Bonaventure, the P.E.W. 72
Hétkaris 118–120
Hidalxáo. See Ádi Sháh.
Himakaródyóta. See Chandrapakása.
Hinduism in S. India 24, 28, 32
Hindus and Muhammadans in Vijayanagar, 31, 32
Hindustan 73
History of Ancient and Modern Festivals of the Aryans, by Rgvedic, (book-notice) 88–92
Híuen Tsiang 8; G.K. 4–6, 8
Homicide, penalty for 255
horses, trade in 74, 75
Hose slander, the P.E.W. 58
Hugo, Herbert P.E.W. 75
Hümárágüa 6, 7
Hurtado, Dom Sebastian P.E.W. 66
Husur Daftar 17

Ibráhím Ádil Sháh II., coin of 265
Iloquân. See Chinchihum.
Idála. See Ádi Sháh.
idol-worship 92
İkshvákus 44
Ilam-killi 45
Ilam-Tiraya of Kafchi 29
Ilango 10
Imáms of Sanaa 44
India, N., early states of 18
Indian Alphabet 233–236
Indra 63, 64, 80–92
Indra IV., Ráshtrakuta k. 48
influenza 46
Inscriptions—of Ašoka 14, 15
of Aurangzeb 208
Boghért Kéni 80, 182
Burmese 42, 43
of Búhrán Nízám Sháh III. 208
Chedi 88
Cochin Plates, 191, 193, 194, 221–225, 244–251, 259
Chóla 254, 255
Daulatabánda 43, 45, 46; P.E.W. 57, 59
Dálaldeva 268, 269
Jama Masjid, Aśírgarh, inscription 40m.
James, the P.E.W. 61
Janaka of Videha 18
Janamejaya, k. 18
Japan, Dutch in 18
Jánsa Singh Kalah 183
Jawant Rao Holkar 69, 71
Java. See Yavabhumi.
Japanese dancing 46
Jayasimha 230
Jayachand 65
Jerry Put 73

Inscriptions—contd.
of Kanishka's reign 89
Köttayasim Plate of Taqua Iravi 267–268
Köttayasim Plate of Vira Raghava Chakravarti 125–126, 219–229, 244–251
Manikarnika Ghát of Víresvara 209–211
of Muhammad Tughlaq 208
Nala 254
Nalanda 88
Nanmatáha temple 100
Pahlavi, at Katamarram 123
Pahlavi (Persian Crosses) 96
Paramara 116
of Prahýádan 100
of Pulkośin G.K. 6
of Samantásináha 100, 102
of Samudragupta 102
of Sikandar Sháh Lodi 208
Siwán 48
of Somanátha G.K. 7
Sravana Belgo 47
Syrian Christian 96
Tel-el-Amarna 182
Vākátaka grant 48
Valabhi 116
Interlopers P.E.W. 70
Irâyandragoppurjasi 1
Iravi Kortta, donee in the Köttayasim Plate of Vira Râghava Chakravarti, 186, 187, 189–191
Isâryya, Jain ascetic 48
Ile de France. See Mauritius.
Ile of Safety, pirate base P.E.W. 56
Italians and India 49
Ihásavada 143, 144
Ihúpasí 189

James, Chaldean bishop 185, 189
Jaffna peninsula 45
Jagat, Udaipur State, inscription from 100
Jahângîr 43, 45, 46; P.E.W. 57, 59
Jâjâlladeva 268, 269
Jama Masjid, Aśírgarh, inscription 40m.
Jama Masjid, Aśírgarh, inscription 40m.
James, the P.E.W. 61
Janaka of Videha 18
Janamejaya, k. 18
Japan, Dutch in 18
Jass Singh Kalah 183
Jawant Rao Holkar 69, 71
Java. See Yavabhumi.
Japanese dancing 46
Jayasimha 230
Jayachand 65
Jerry Put 73
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Entry</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>54 n.</td>
<td>Jerusalem</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33, 54, 65</td>
<td>Jesus in India</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>Jesumi, See Furniye.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80n., 81, 83</td>
<td>Jíva</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>Job Charnock</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.E.W. 81</td>
<td>Johann, Is.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.E.W. 81</td>
<td>Johann, the</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.E.W. 61</td>
<td>Jones, Capt. T.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>Journal of Indian History, by Dr. Shafast Ahmad Khan</td>
<td>(book-notice)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>106</td>
<td>Jowahir Sing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.K. 6</td>
<td>Jurz</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>118</td>
<td>Kaikadi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Kakkaipadigayar-Nachchellaiyur</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>269, 270</td>
<td>Kálachuris</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93</td>
<td>Kálah</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>104</td>
<td>Kálajam inscription</td>
<td>G.K. 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88</td>
<td>Kalapar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Kálisgá</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>268-270</td>
<td>Kalingarajá</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Káljil-Attirayanár</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>268, 239</td>
<td>Kamalarajá</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>146-148</td>
<td>Káma-sutra, economic ideas in the</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>201</td>
<td>Kammalás</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26-28, 31, 44</td>
<td>Kanjhi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Kaunapir Nayanar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Kapil</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>Karikal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>268</td>
<td>Káravikya</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Kási</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>123</td>
<td>Kasumunar, See Cassumunar.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96 &amp; n.</td>
<td>Katamarram</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96</td>
<td>Katepate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96 &amp; n.</td>
<td>Katappra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96</td>
<td>Káthiawad, See Gujarat and.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16, 45</td>
<td>Kauttisam</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98 &amp; n.</td>
<td>Kaututturti</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Kauravas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Kausambi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>128-136, 141-146</td>
<td>Kautsálya, cultural, linguistic and literary historical gleanings from</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>179, 182, 194</td>
<td>Kautsálya</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18, 18</td>
<td>Káváripáṭiya</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>Káyadrú, inscription from</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>189, 194</td>
<td>Kayamkulam</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Káztí, proverbs about the</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Kéliása-vihará, identification of</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>'Kempsaunt' dynasty</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>Kendal, Capt. Abraham</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Kent, Robert, mutineer (1796)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>186, 187, 190, 192, 194, 195</td>
<td>Kárálam</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34n.-37n., 40n., 41n.</td>
<td>Kándeh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>Kádei pago</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td>Kham Sáwani</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>Khudru, Murder of</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82</td>
<td>Kidd, Capt.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>Kíllí Valuvan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101</td>
<td>Kitripâla of Jalur</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.K. 5</td>
<td>Kíu-che-lo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>282-284</td>
<td>Knight's tour at chess</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>106</td>
<td>Koari</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>268-270</td>
<td>Kokalla</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>138</td>
<td>Konkan, Northern, See Aparânta.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>188</td>
<td>Korrakaúta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Kosala</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14, 15</td>
<td>Kósûs, in S. India</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>185-196, 219-229, 244-251</td>
<td>Kótayam Plate of Vira-Râghava Chakravarti,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>237-261</td>
<td>Kótayam Plates of Tâqu Iravi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65, 72-74, 79, 80, 82, 83</td>
<td>Kóxinga</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Krishnâdevâ Râya</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87</td>
<td>Krishnapagiri</td>
<td>fort</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.K. 6</td>
<td>Kâshâtriyas of Bhumal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>Kulañêchâra, date of</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>Kulkottunga</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9, 10, 12</td>
<td>Kumâragupta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100, 101</td>
<td>Kumârapâla</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101</td>
<td>Kumârasisâha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>131</td>
<td>Kumârîla</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>Kunbi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>274</td>
<td>Kundâkunda</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.E.W. 59, 82</td>
<td>Kunhale, pirate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25, 274, 275</td>
<td>Kural of Tiruvalluvar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88</td>
<td>Kusban statue</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.E.W. 82</td>
<td>Kusmanagare, See Bassein.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Lâdha, See Hâdha.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>Lakshmi-kâyâsam</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41, 113</td>
<td>Lâma, See Hâdha.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63-55</td>
<td>Lancaster, Jas., pirate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Lampa-kâupa dynasty</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>113</td>
<td>Lamanis, See Vanjâris.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41-113</td>
<td>Lamas, deceased, disposal of, in E. Tibet</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.E.W. 63-55</td>
<td>Lancashire, dynasties</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Index Page</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>284</td>
<td>INDEX</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laika, See Ceylon</td>
<td>G.K. 3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lar, sea of</td>
<td>G.K. 4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lariko</td>
<td>G.K. 4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Las Cinque Plogas, the</td>
<td>P.E.W. 54</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lāṭa</td>
<td>23; G.K. 2-4, 6-8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law, Mr. Francis</td>
<td>P.E.W. 78</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leonard, Capt.</td>
<td>198</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lexicography, Panjabi, Contributions to (Series IV.), 107-112, 161-164, 200-206, 240-244</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Library System of the Baroda State, by N. M. Dutt, (book-notice)</td>
<td>229</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life and Work of Budhaghotha, by Bima la Charan Law, M.A. (book-notice)</td>
<td>181</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limahon, pine</td>
<td>P.E.W. 54</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limbrey, Capt.</td>
<td>P.E.W. 83</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lion, the</td>
<td>P.E.W. 55, 61</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lioness, the</td>
<td>P.E.W. 55</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little Mount, See Chinchamalai</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Littleton, Edward</td>
<td>47</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Littleton, Eliz. G.</td>
<td>47</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Littleton, Jane H.</td>
<td>47</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Livingstone, Capt.</td>
<td>120</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lloyd, Lieut.</td>
<td>119</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>locust, See Maţach</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lokalavabha</td>
<td>27</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Longa</td>
<td>P.E.W. 74</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lophagarch</td>
<td>267</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lost Ring of Sakuntalad, (2) Were The Pradogatas of the Puranas Rulers of Majadha? by Surendranath Majumdar Sastri, (book-notice)</td>
<td>68</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lūvaṇavasahikā, See Nemināthā</td>
<td>119</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luyken, Capt.</td>
<td>119</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maaya Dunnai</td>
<td>33 &amp; n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macasser</td>
<td>P.E.W. 80</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macaulay, Col.</td>
<td>185</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mackintosh, Capt.</td>
<td>103, 129</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madagasar</td>
<td>P.E.W. 68, 70, 74, 76</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mādhava Vidyāranya</td>
<td>32</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mādhava Rao I</td>
<td>73</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madoni, Maduna, See Maaya Dunnai</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madre de Dios, the</td>
<td>P.E.W. 54</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madurakavī, See Parāntaka</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maglona</td>
<td>G.K. 7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahābhārata</td>
<td>129, 132, 143-145</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahākāntāra, See Dachinabades</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahākāsana</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māhāpāla, reputed founder of Durgarpur</td>
<td>102</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahastrangh, See Pramada-Vardhana</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahendraśā</td>
<td>23, 24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahendravarmān I, 27, 86, 274 : II.</td>
<td>274</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māhīśāmanḍāla, identification of</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mailapur, See San Thomā</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahāyānirnir, See Ravivarman</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makotaiyār Paṭṭaṇaṃ</td>
<td>186, 187, 190</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malabar</td>
<td>34, 39n., 41, 237-238</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malabar Miscellany</td>
<td>93-97</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malaca</td>
<td>22, 33</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malālāièreve, Jain ascetic</td>
<td>48</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malai, fort</td>
<td>37n.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malavars</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malaya</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malcolm, Capt., 69; (Sir John)</td>
<td>77,103, 118</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malik Anbar</td>
<td>44</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malik Yāqūt Sultan</td>
<td>36n.-39, 41</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malwans</td>
<td>P.E.W. 76</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māmālai</td>
<td>68</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māmālānār</td>
<td>14, 15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Man, Mr. E.H., on the Andamanese, 150-152, 154-158, 167, 169, 172-174, 176</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandasor inscription</td>
<td>G.K. 3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manadhānaka, See Mendonson</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mangalānaka, See Maglona</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manigrāmakkār</td>
<td>290</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manigrāmam</td>
<td>186, 187, 190, 191, 257-261</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manikarnikā Gāh (Benares) Stone Inscription of Virāvāra (Vikrama) Samvat 1359, 209-211</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maṅimekkalai</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maṅipalavam</td>
<td>45</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maṇṭunir</td>
<td>237 &amp; n.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manfield, Capt.</td>
<td>104</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manu</td>
<td>129-131</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manuel, Dom Hierome</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mānaṇi, See Nām-Alvār</td>
<td>P.E.W. 58</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mārāṅaṅkāram</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māraṇ-kārī</td>
<td>66</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mārathāa</td>
<td>17-20, 44; P.E.W. 76</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mārathāa at the close of eighteenth century, 69-77</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marigny</td>
<td>69</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martīban</td>
<td>56</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martinus Martinus</td>
<td>P.E.W. 73</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mārterā Ḍavaṇar</td>
<td>3, 7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marwar</td>
<td>73</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mary, the</td>
<td>P.E.W. 71</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masonerhas, Don</td>
<td>P.E.W. 69</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maṭaḥ, meaning of maṭha</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maurice, the</td>
<td>P.E.W. 54</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mauritius</td>
<td>P.E.W. 69</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mauryas and S. India</td>
<td>14, 15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māvēlikkara</td>
<td>96</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May, Capt. Wm.</td>
<td>P.E.W. 83</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May Flower, the, corsair</td>
<td>P.E.W. 54</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mayura-Sarmān</td>
<td>27, 45</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mangasthenes</td>
<td>14, 95</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Melique</td>
<td>35 &amp; n.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Memoirs of The Archaeological Survey of India, by Ram Chandra Rak, (book-notice)</td>
<td>207</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Index</td>
<td>Page</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Memorial Papers, by Shams-ul-Ulma Jivani</td>
<td>184</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamshedji Modi, B.A., (book-notice)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mendes</td>
<td>P.E.W. 62</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merchants of the Levant, Company of</td>
<td>44</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Metaphyrique of Mysticism</em>, by A. Govindacharya Svamin, (book-notice)</td>
<td>252—254</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Midday Parayana. See Prathamaksha Brahman.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middleton, Sir Henry</td>
<td>P.E.W. 57, 58</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minchin, Capt.</td>
<td>P.E.W. 84</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miran. See Bahadur Shah.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mir Kaum</td>
<td>P.E.W. 78</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mitchellboume, Sir Ed.</td>
<td>P.E.W. 55, 56</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milcholas</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moens, Adrian</td>
<td>185</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mohur</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moluccas</td>
<td>P.E.W. 64</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monserrate, Father A.</td>
<td>54</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monsoons, in Andamanese mythology, 150, 152—155, 160, 188, 170—172, 176</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moors</td>
<td>36 &amp; n., 40</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mother-right</td>
<td>105</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mount D’Elia</td>
<td>252</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mudal-Alvār</td>
<td>66</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muṣkān</td>
<td>32</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muhammad Adbi Shāh, coins of</td>
<td>285</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muhammad Tughlaq, inscriptions of, 208; coin of, 265</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muhammadan conquests in Gujarat</td>
<td>G.K. 8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muhammadan Saints and Shrines in the United Provinces, notes on some</td>
<td>97—99</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mukarrab Khan</td>
<td>37, 38 &amp; n., 39n, 41</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūlam-kilār</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mulkgiri</em></td>
<td>72—74</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūrāja II</td>
<td>101</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mummmies, Chinese</td>
<td>41</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Mumāqta</em></td>
<td>188</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>murchchōllu</td>
<td>188 &amp; n.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>murder. See ritual murder.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musiri. See Muziris.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mutiny at sea, punishment for</td>
<td>P.E.W. 55</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muziris</td>
<td>95</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mylapore</td>
<td>94 &amp; n.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mythology, Andamanese</td>
<td>160—165</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Nanda-Muniga Acharya | 67 |
| Nāgarjuna | 24 |
| Nāgas | 26, 27, 44, 45, 92 |
| Nagasaki. See Anahilapattana. | |
| Naibs | 259, 261 |
| Nala dynasty | 254 |
| Nālamkili | 68 |

| Nam-Alvār | 1, 30, 66, 67 |
| Namb-Andar-Nambi | 30 |
| Nānā Farnawis | 124 & n., 125 |
| Nandad | 12, 15 |
| Nandipuri | G.K. 65 |
| Nandi-Yavan Palavamalla | 67 |
| Narasimha-gupta | 11 |
| Nārāyaṇa | 18 |
| Nārāyaṇa | 30 |
| *Nārāyaṇa*, meaning of | 178 |
| Nāvāya | 95 |
| Nāvāyikkalam | 95, 96 |
| Nāvārmārā | 28 |
| Nedumāran, Paṇḍya k. | 1 |
| Nedumudi-Killi. See Killi Valuvan. | |
| Nēgopotam | 52, 53, 55 & n., 61 |
| Nemināthā Temple inscription | 100 |
| Newso, Capt. S. | P.E.W. 81 |
| Nickahshu, k. | 18 |
| Nimbrārka | 67 |
| *Nīr mutalādi* | 189 |
| *Nītālāstra* | 132, 133, 134n. |
| Nuits, Peter | P.E.W. 66 |
| Nūr Jāhān | 46 |

| official peculation (1706) | 68 |
| Oluga, Andamanese deity | 167 |
| Omar, Caliph | P.E.W. 75 |
| Ḍanturtutti | 96 |
| Opātu. See Kayakulam. | |
| opium | 53, 54 |
| orang baharū. See Orrambow. | |
| Oriya, inscription | 100 |
| Ormuz | 52—54, 56, 59, 61n.; P.E.W. 63 |
| Orrambow, origin and meaning of | 20 |
| *Oṃkārū. See Kayakulam.* | |

| Pahlava, Parthian | 35, 44, 45 |
| Pahlavi Inscription round a Persian cross at Kattamaram | 123 |
| Pakalomarapam Family of Malabar | 191 |
| Pakkālākku | 188 |
| Pālhana-pada. See Prahladan. | |
| Pallavan | 25—29, 32, 44, 275, 276 |
| Panbharī | 76 |
INDEX

Pāñcharātra .......................... 30
Pāndavas ................................ 18
Panini .................................. 12, 141, 146
Panjab .................................. G.K. 6
Panjabi Lexicography, contributions to, (Series IV) 107—112, 161—164, 200—206, 240—244
Pant Sachiv ............................ 106, 119, 122
Parāditya. See Balāditya.
Paramara grants ...................... 116
Paramārha ................................ 8
Param- Korranār ....................... 14
Parāntaka .............................. 66, 67
Parāsūrāma ........................... 124
Parāvār .................................. 96
Pardesis .................................. 74
Parikshat k. ................................ 18
Paripeti, date of ....................... 14
Pārkara Iravi Varmer ................. 193, 194
Parkham statue inscription ........... 88
Pārvati, mother of Ramavarma ....... 3
Pāṭāla-leṣyaya, attributed to Panini .... 12
Pātana. See Anahilapura.
Pātaldājali ............................. 12, 14, 141
Pātel ...................................... 17
Paundra-Vardhan ..................... 88
Pāvana-tālmku ......................... 188
Pāvāja .................................... 188
Pāygaćhā Puffola ..................... 187, 190, 257
Peachey, Jeremiah .................... 64 & n.
Peachey, John ........................... 64
Peasantry, Marthā .................................................. 72
Pegu ....................................... 51, 53, 54, 56, 61
Pen, a poetical fragment in praise of the .... 136
Penelope, the ...................... P.E.W. 53
Periera, Ruy ............................ P.E.W. 69
Perilus .................................. G.K. 2—5
Perron ..................................... 69
Perumāl-Tirumāli ................. P.E.W. 64
Perumeyil ................................ 96
Perunturutti ............................ 96
Prescadores ........................... P.E.W. 64
Peshwa ................................... 17
Peter Mundy ...................... P.E.W. 68, 70, 71
Peyton, Capt. W. .................. P.E.W. 88, 59
Phillip II .................................. 49
Pike, Isaac ............................. P.E.W. 79
Pi-lo-mo-lo ................................ G.K. 5
Pilot, of pirate ship ................ P.E.W. 83 & n.
Pimenta. See Vembanādi.
Pindhārais ................................ 74, 75
Piočola Bhāradvāja ................... 125
Pīloiro, Fr. Manuel, S.J. ............. 33n, 41
Piracy in Eastern Waters, Notes on, P.E.W. 53—84
Pitān Kaliyar, shrine at ............... 97
Pirates—
Arab ......................... P.E.W. 81—83
Arakanese ......................... P.E.W. 77, 78
Barbary ......................... P.E.W. 53, 61, 81
Chinese .......................... P.E.W. 54, 65, 72, 79, 82
European, .................. P.E.W. 53—67, 61—77, 80, 83
Japanese ..................... P.E.W. 56, 57, 66, 67
Magha. See Arakanese.
Malabarese .................. P.E.W. 59, 64, 65, 68, 71, 76
Malay .......................... P.E.W. 55, 60, 66, 72, 74, 81, 83
Marthā ......................... P.E.W. 76
Saleteres ......................... P.E.W. 83
Sangani .......................... P.E.W. 81, 82
Turkish. See Barbary.
Pirates, Malabar .................. 55
Pirate-ship, pilot of ............ P.E.W. 53 & n.
P‐diyil, Pudiyil, hill .............. 15, 16
Police, of Poona and of London .......... 17, 18
Political History of India, from the Accession of Parikshati to the Coronation of Bimbisara, by Hemachandra Raychaudhuri, M.A. (book-notice) .... 18
Polo ........................................ 48
Polycerates ........................... 68
Poona, battle of ..................... 71
Portman, Mr. M. V., on the Andamanese 151, 171, 172
Portuguese and India, 33—36, 39 & n., 41 & n., 49, P.E.W. 61—63
Poygai, Vaishnava saint ............ 66
Poygaiyar .............................. 66
Prabhākara-vardhana .............. G.K. 5
Prabhāva. See Chandraprakāśa.
Prabhāvatigupta, grant of .......... 48
Pradyotes ............................... 98
Pralīḍnāman, inscriptions of ...... 100
Prakāśa .................................. 95
Prakrit .................................. 133, 134, 136
Pratāparudrīya ......................... 1, 2
Pratap Singh, of Satara .......... 19
Prathamasaṅkha Brhmanas, a note on 122—125
Pratilomas .............................. 130
Prehara ................................... 27
Preston, Capt. Martin .......... P.E.W. 80 n.
Pring, Capt. M. .................. P.E.W. 61
Prīṃhārā Rāṣau ......................... 65
Prithivi Rāja .......................... 65
Prithvīdeva I, II, II, 206; II, 269; III, 269
Proverbs, North Indian .......... 256
Ptolemy .................................. G.K. 2—4
Pulkesin grant ......................... G.K. 6
Pulga, Andamanese deity, 152—154, 156—159, 165, 167n—174, 176
Pulamayi ................................ 44
Purandhar ............................... 122
Purīyas ................................. 74
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Index</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pushyamitra</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pyrrhon, mt.</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quall, Capt. R.</td>
<td>P.E.W. 68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quilon,</td>
<td>55, 187, 189, 190, 192, 193, 257–261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Racanners. See Pirates, Arakanese.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Râdha, identification of</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ragazzona, tho</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raichûr</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raigarh</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rai Pithaura. See Prithiví Râja.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Râja Ali</td>
<td>34n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Râja Râja</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Râja Sinha I.</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Râjâsthîrâja</td>
<td>231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Râjâsêkhara</td>
<td>225, 226, 228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Râjendrâ, the Gangaikonda Chola, by S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, (book-notice)</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Râma-Kulaêkhara-Vaêchipale, k. of Trangore</td>
<td>1–6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Râmânanda</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Râmânuja</td>
<td>30, 32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rânavarman-Yasobhubanam and Vasumati.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kâlyânâm</td>
<td>1–8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Râmâyana</td>
<td>23, 144, 145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Râmôsêt, 78, a rising of</td>
<td>103–106, 117–122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Râm Rao</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ranjit Singh</td>
<td>182, 183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Râshtrakûtâs</td>
<td>G.K. 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rat Hill. See Mount D‘Ellî</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratnadeva III.</td>
<td>269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratnarâja</td>
<td>268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raêtas. See Râshtrakûtâs.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ravivarman</td>
<td>3, 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raymond</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raymond, Capt., pirate</td>
<td>P.E.W. 53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Red Flag</td>
<td>P.E.W. 61, 63, 70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reformation, the</td>
<td>P.E.W. 59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rehmy. See Renew.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees, by J. J. Modi, B.A. (book-notice)</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Renewe, the</td>
<td>P.E.W. 56, 57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Return, the</td>
<td>P.E.W. 83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revenge, the</td>
<td>P.E.W. 84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reyerszoom, Admiral K.</td>
<td>P.E.W. 63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rigault, Capt.</td>
<td>P.E.W. 69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rigby, Capt. E.</td>
<td>197–198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rigby, Mrs. Lucy, ancestress of Lord Dalhousie,</td>
<td>197–200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ritual Murder as a means of procuring children, a further note on</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roberts, Major</td>
<td>P.E.W. 78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robertson, Capt.</td>
<td>105, 118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roe, Sir Thos.</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roe buck, the</td>
<td>P.E.W. 69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roe kwak, festival</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Royal Exchange, the</td>
<td>P.E.W. 54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Royal James, the</td>
<td>P.E.W. 61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Royal Merchant, the</td>
<td>P.E.W. 53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rudra</td>
<td>90, 92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ryall, Lawrence</td>
<td>P.E.W. 60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sabha-bhûn, tantric rite</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sabiria. See Chishti Order.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sâdhânya, meaning of</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sacrifice Island</td>
<td>P.E.W. 84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sadasiva-makhil, author of the Ramavarna-Yakobâshana</td>
<td>2, 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sâdât Shân</td>
<td>37n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sahityadarpana of Vivekanâtha, and History of Alârâkâra Literature, by P. V. Kane, M.A. (book-notice)</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Augustine, Madagascar</td>
<td>P.E.W. 66, 69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Bastion, the</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Helena</td>
<td>P.E.W. 53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Laurentio. See Mauritius.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Louis, the</td>
<td>P.E.W. 69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Malo Company</td>
<td>P.E.W. 58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Sebastian, the</td>
<td>P.E.W. 72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Thomas, 47, 55, 56 &amp; n., 93, 94, 185; Christians of</td>
<td>55, 94, 185–191, 257, 259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Thomas Mount</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saints. See Muhammadan Saints.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sâiva-bhûtras</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sâlâkhand vow</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salutas</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sâmantagîshâ of Mewar</td>
<td>100–102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samaritan, the</td>
<td>P.E.W. 69, 70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sambhâja</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śâksâsîkara</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sampati</td>
<td>10, 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sampson, the</td>
<td>P.E.W. 64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samudragupta</td>
<td>11, 44, 180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanctuary Day</td>
<td>214, 216, 225, 239n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>238</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sandwip, isl.</td>
<td>53, 77, 78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sangam, Sangam age</td>
<td>14, 273, 275, 276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sankara</td>
<td>77—79, 81—83, 253; G.K. 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanskrit, (Classical)</td>
<td>133—136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santa Anna, the</td>
<td>53, 54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Thomé</td>
<td>53—56, 61, 94 &amp; n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sepir Isq</td>
<td>260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saptasthala</td>
<td>252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saris, Capt.</td>
<td>57 &amp; n., 58, 60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satakarnias. See Sūtsus.</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sata Padhamas</td>
<td>26, 27, 44, 45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sattu Naik</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sāmāna</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saurāśṭra</td>
<td>G.K. 2—7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śāvantvādi dynasty</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śāyana</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scham, Admiral W.</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seahorse, the</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schid. See Sihardeva.</td>
<td>233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semites, North of</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senguttuvan</td>
<td>G.K. 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seva</td>
<td>214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seven Hills. See Mount D'Eli</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sēkher</td>
<td>265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shahjahī, Rāja of Kolhapur</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shāh Ālam II., coins of</td>
<td>43, 44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shāh Jahān</td>
<td>19, 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shāh Shuja</td>
<td>P.E.W. 77 &amp; n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shāhu</td>
<td>P.E.W. 77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shaista Ḫān</td>
<td>P.E.W. 56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sharpey, Capt. Alex.</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shaw, Lieut.</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sher Afsom, murder of</td>
<td>Shri Mandana Saiab. See Nāmar Farnawis.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sīdī</td>
<td>P.E.W. 76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sidi Sambol</td>
<td>P.E.W. 76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sihardeva of Dungarpur, Inscriptions of</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sikandar Shah Lodi of Delhi, Inscriptions of</td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sikh army</td>
<td>182, 183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śilādiya I., II., III., Inscriptions of</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śīlappadhikāram</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sīlon. See Quilon</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sīnaḥavaran</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sīnaḥavaran II</td>
<td>45, 66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sirian. See Syriam</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sirīkap</td>
<td>28—30, 90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sirīvāgrāma. See Seva</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sīvāj, 17, 44, 71—73, 116, 122; P.E.W. 75, 76, 84</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sīvāj's Sword</td>
<td>18—20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siwani Inscription</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sīyāka, grants of</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skandagupta</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skandaśiṣyaya, Pallava</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skandavatman</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slāde, Capt.</td>
<td>P.E.W. 71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slang, of pearl and cotton merchants</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slave-trade</td>
<td>P.E.W. 74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smith, General Lionel</td>
<td>19, 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smith, Capt. H.</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sneko-worship</td>
<td>91, 92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sogdiana</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solankī</td>
<td>G.K. 7, 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somānāthā</td>
<td>G.K. 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somāvāraṇḍēvā</td>
<td>100, 101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sodivā. See Sandwip.</td>
<td>23, 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sopara</td>
<td>G.K. 2, 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soraith</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Indian Culture, a sketch of, 13—16, 23—32</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spells of origin</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sravana Belgola, Inscriptions at</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrāvastī. See Ajodhyan</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrī Vaishnavas</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrī Rāvī, Inscriptions of</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strabo</td>
<td>G.K. 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Svēngi Galleś</td>
<td>P.E.W. 79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Studies in South Indian Jainism, by M.S.</td>
<td>273—275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ramaswami Aiyengar, (book-notice), Subject-Index to Periodicals. Part I, (book-notice)</td>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subsidary alliances</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sudāśa</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śūtra</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sufi philosophy</td>
<td>232, 254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sūlaiman, merchant on the Gurjara.</td>
<td>G.K. 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sultan Danīyal</td>
<td>34n, 35n, 40n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sultan Murad</td>
<td>34n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sumatra</td>
<td>88; P.E.W. 55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suppāra. See Sopara</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suppārakā</td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surastrenē. See Saurāśṭra.</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surat</td>
<td>P.E.W. 57, 58, 80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sūtsus, of Banavasē</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suvarṇadvipa</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sva, the</td>
<td>P.E.W. 60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syr. See Asārgarh</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sirīm.</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syrian Christians</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Taflī, Takim. See Panjab.</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taqai</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tagauang</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talbot, Lord</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tājī</td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talkkōta, battle-of</td>
<td>52n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tambaannessi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamil-land, South India</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamils</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tāpu Iravi, Kottayam plates of</td>
<td>261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tārā. See Yeskar.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tarā, Teri, Tarā Daria, Andamanese deity</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tārusappōtra, the</td>
<td>258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taras</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Tartpurtar'</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teach, Ed. pirate</td>
<td>60n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tel—el—Amarna tablets</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temple, Sir Richard, on the Andamanese</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tēvarām</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thamaiya, meaning of</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thatch. See Teach.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Théories Diplomatiques de L'Inde Ancienne et de L'Arthaśāstra, par Kālidās Nāg, (book-notice)</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tipū Sultan, coins of</td>
<td>266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tirāyar, Tirāyar</td>
<td>276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tirumāl. See Vishnu.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tirumālīśā-Alvār</td>
<td>95n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiru-nāvay</td>
<td>95n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tirupārikalam. See Nāvāyikalam.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiru-vallatte</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiruvullvar</td>
<td>274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiruvāṭāvīrti</td>
<td>66, 67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tolāppiyam</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tolāppiyam</td>
<td>274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tōndaimandalam</td>
<td>66, 67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tōndaimnām Līndirayan</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tōndāiyās</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tōndāiyās</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tone, Theobald, W.</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tone, Col. W. H.</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tūtēnagā. See tūtēnagā.</td>
<td>232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travancore, some place-names in</td>
<td>95—97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travancore</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travancore, town S. of Trivandrum</td>
<td>261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trīkatīthānam</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trippōṇittām</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tripūri</td>
<td>268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trītāgya</td>
<td>269, 270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tripūri</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trītāya</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tripīna. See Tripōṇittām.</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsongkaba</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tumāna, a visit to turmeric</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turutikkate</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utōnagā</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utnāgā, the</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vādayana</td>
<td>14, 15, 26, 44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaijāya. See Banāvāse.</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vairāmāgā. See Danti-Durgā.</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaiśampāyana</td>
<td>124, 131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaiśāṇavism</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaiśya</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vākṣāapkāsa</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valabhi inscriptions</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valabhis</td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valāvātan</td>
<td>8—11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valacāyikām</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vanavāse. See Banavāse.</td>
<td>75, 76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vanjārīs</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Van Neck, Admiral J. C.</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vārāṇāsi. See Benares.</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Varāruči</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vasābha</td>
<td>9, 10, 12, 177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vāsavadattā-Nātyādāhāra</td>
<td>178—180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vasu, meaning of</td>
<td>5, 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vasubandhu or Subandhu</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vasūdeva</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vāsulakṣāmī-Kalvānām</td>
<td>4—6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vataśārja</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vātīdīyana.</td>
<td>131n, 132n, 133—135, 146—149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vatā Gāmanī</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vāṭṭelūttu</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vēraīpāmāga, suggested identification of</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vēḷānta Dēśika</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vēḷir tribe</td>
<td>96n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vēmbuṇāḍ</td>
<td>96n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vēṇāṭu. See Quiln.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Page numbers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venice</td>
<td>49, 52-54, 55, 56 &amp; n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venkata II</td>
<td>34n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venkataśubrahmanyādhvāraḥ</td>
<td>6, 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venpoli Nāṭu</td>
<td>193, 194, 251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vervins, treaty of</td>
<td>P.E.W. 69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vēti, vētī</td>
<td>257 &amp; n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vētulya heresy</td>
<td>24, 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vidyānātha</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vierge de Bon Port</td>
<td>P.E.W. 80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viesman, Captain</td>
<td>P.E.W. 54, 55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vijaya</td>
<td>23, 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vijayanagar</td>
<td>31, 32, 34 &amp; n., 41, 52 &amp; n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vikramāditya</td>
<td>8, 10-12, 180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vījadeśa</td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vilinam</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Village servants</td>
<td>255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violet, the</td>
<td>P.E.W. 54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vira Balīśa II</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vira-Banaśa, Kanarese guild</td>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viradhava, Chaulakya chief</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vira Kēśa Chakravarti</td>
<td>186, 192-194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vira-Kūrka, Pallava</td>
<td>27, 44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vira-Rāghava Chakravarti, Kottayam Plate of</td>
<td>186-196, 219-229, 244-251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vira Rājendra</td>
<td>231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīraśivas</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vīrēśvara, Manikarnikā Ghat (Benares) Stone inscription of</td>
<td>209-211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vishnu</td>
<td>89-91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vishnugopa Pallava</td>
<td>27, 44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vitthotraś</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Volunteers, Marāthā</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Wadnagar. See Anartapura.

Wade, Capt. S.               | P.E.W. 83 |
Watts, Isaac                | P.E.W. 84 |

Weddell, Capt.              | P.E.W. 63, 67, 70 |
Welfore, the               | P.E.W. 81 |
Whale, the                  | P.E.W. 59 |
White, Mr. Samuel           | P.E.W. 83 |
White Flag                 | P.E.W. 62 |
Wildey, Capt.               | P.E.W. 81 |
Wynn, Capt. J.              | 68          |

Xavier, Fr. Jerome, on the siege of Asirgārh. 33-41

Yajña Śrī Sātakarni         | 44, 45     |
Yājñavalkya                | 123, 124   |
Yāmumāchārya               | 30          |
Yāvabhumi                  | 88          |
Yen-Ssu-chi                | P.E.W. 55   |
Yeskar                     | 78          |
Yesu Nikdi                 | 119, 120   |
Yōgarāja                   | 119         |
yuk-da, meaning of         | 169         |

Zeroaster                  | 113         |
As is the case with almost all the branches of Indian culture, Sanskrit poetics was also developed with the analytical exactitude of a science, and there have been many works written on the several sub-divisions of this subject, giving clear rules on the art of good composition; and although this cut and dry standardisation acted sometimes as a drag on the genius of great poets, a close adherence to the rules, however, enabled even mediocre authors to achieve some success, or at any rate, to avoid the pitfalls of bad composition.

One such treatise of the fourteenth century is Pratiparudriya or Pratiparudra-yaśōbhūshaṇa, which is familiar to students of Sanskrit literature as a work on Sanskrit poetics composed by the poet Vidyānātha, who flourished in the court of Pratiparudra II (A.D. 1291–1322), the last great Kākatiya sovereign of Warangal, and modelled on the lines of, but covering a wider range of subjects than, Bhāmaha's Ālaṅkāra, Mammata's Kavyapratikṣā and Vidyādharas' Āṭhavali. Its comprehensive character can be correctly gauged by a consideration of the subjects dealt with in the nine chapters into which it is divided, viz., the Nāyaka, Kāvya, Nāṭaka, Rasa, Dōṣha, Guṇa, Śabdāṅkāra, Arthāṅkāra and Miśrāṅkāra prakaraṇas. In addition to being thus a work of literary merit and an exhaustive treatise on poetics and rhetoric, Pratiparudriya has, as its name implies, this peculiarity, that the verses illustrative of the definitions and rules are of the author's own composition, wherein one or the other of Pratiparudra's merits, such as his prowess, bravery, generosity, beauty, etc., real or imaginary, are extolled with poetic embellishments. That such an achievement has been possible with the limited range of the attributes of a single hero, goes far to exhibit the high attainments of the author and the flexibility of the Sanskrit language when wielded by a master-hand.

Since the appearance of this work in the beginning of the fourteenth century, several other poets have emulated this model for glorifying their respective patrons; and among such compositions may be mentioned Naṅjarāja-yaśōbhūshaṇa1 of Narasimhakavi, Ālaṅkāramaṇi-jūṣha2 of Purūhitā Naṅhanabhā and Śatavāri-vaibhava-dīvākara3 modelled after Kuvalayānanda of Appayya-Dikshita. In Tamil, too, instances of this temptation to panegyrise the contemporary kings in the illustrative verses are not lacking; for, we find in the Iṟaiyanār-agapporul-urai3 nearly 316 out of the 400 verses cited as illustrations are in praise of a certain Paṇḍya king Neṉumān, and in Mārṉaḻaṅkāram the verses of the author's composition are all in glorification of Mārṇa alias Nammāḻvār, the great Vaishnava Saint.

---

1 Introduction to Pratiparudriya (Allahabad Edition).
2 Introduction to Mārṇaḻaṅkāram (Madura Edition).
3 In ante, vol. XXXVII, p. 193.
of Tirukkurukur. But none of these works, either in Sanskrit or in Tamil, is so comprehensive in its contents or so completely independent of extraneous help for its rules and their illustrations as Pratêparudhīya.

In the Trivandrum Palace Library there is a manuscript entitled Rādmavarma-yāt-bhūśaṇa, which, on examination, proved to be an exact reproduction of Pratêparudhīya with regard to the rules, definitions and their explanatory notes classified under the same nine chapters detailed above, but with the illustrative verses composed, agreeably to its title, in praise of the Travancore king Rāma-Kulaśekhara-Vaṇchipāla. The author of this work is said to be a certain Sadaśiva-makhin, son of Chokkanātha dharvar; but further details about his pedigree are not available here. A drama written by this author in the reign of the same king and called Lakṣmī-kalyaṇam contains the statement that he belonged to the Bhāradvāja-gotra and that his mother’s name was Minākshi; but the village wherefrom he hailed still remains undetermined. We know of three different persons of the name of Chokkanātha, who lived at the end of the seventeenth century:—viz., (1) the son of Tippādhvarin who composed his drama called Sēvantikā-parigaṇam at the request of king Basava-kshītindra, who may perhaps be identified with Ikkeri Basavappa Nāyaka (1691-1714) or with Basavarājendra (A.D. 1700); (2) the learned commentator of the Yudhishtīravījaya, who was the son of Sudarsana-bhaṭṭa of the Bhāradvāja-gotra, Chhanda-pravara and a native of Śrīraṅgam, and (3) the preceptor and father-in-law of Rāmabhadrā-Dikshita (1693) and the author of Śabdakaumudi and Bhāṣyaratndvā. Of these, No. 3 may be eliminated from the list, as he was of the Saunaka-gotra and cannot therefore have been the father of our author Sadaśiva of the Bhāradvāja-gotra; and of the other two, both of whom were of the latter gotra, No. 1 may be the fifth son of Tippādhvarin (a Telugu brahman) and the author of Karmakṣet-paraṇyaka-nāṭaka and Rasavilāsa-bhāya, but it is not known if he had a wife named Minākshi. As regards No. 2 he has mentioned at the end of his commentary that it was completed in the year Vikrama, Nabhas (Śrāvaṇa) month, Monday, Rēvati, ba., trityā, and as these details seem to be correct for A.D. 1760, August 29, he may be tentatively considered as the father of Sadaśiva, until other confirmatory evidence becomes available.

Unlike Pratêparudhīya, which has furnished many interesting tit-bits of historical information about its Kākatiya hero that have since been verified by epigraphical researches, the ‘Adornment of the glory of Rāmavarmar’ is a composition of purely literary

---

4 चोकनाथाचार्यरुपमन्युत्सर्गविष्णुविवादारक | सराधिशि मेण्ड ग्रन्थ नामादिकमिठी | || सों मनाहिवरुद्हारकान्त शालकुकेसरमानुपायमव · || कान्त विवेकशिति कव्यारव श्रीवान्धरसेवहारामेकुलसंगवैनेम ||
5 भृगुराम शुभारामज्ञानोक्तिरिविज्ञानतिलखबेदरस्वरम्भा | चोकनाथाचार्यरुपमन्युत्सर्गविष्णुविवादारक | सराधिशि मेण्ड ग्रन्थ नामादिकमिठी | कान्त विवेकशिति कव्यारव श्रीवान्धरसेवहारामेकुलसंगवैनेम ||
6 नितक्षावधारिकानो मूल चोकनाथाचार्यरुपमन्युत्सर्गविष्णुविवादारक | शालकुकेसरमानुपायमव · || कान्त विवेकशिति कव्यारव श्रीवान्धरसेवहारामेकुलसंगवैनेम ||
7 इस समय मनाहिवरुद्हारकान्त शालकुकेसरमानुपायमव ||
8 In ante, vol. XXXIII, page 128.
9 Ibid., page 130.
merit; for its author, evidently an East Coast Brahman, whose knowledge of or interest in the history of Travancore in those troublous times could never have been great, has failed to give an historical setting to his panegyrical verses, and has only revelled in the usual stereotyped but commendable descriptions, similitudes and imagery. If this should be so in the case of an author who flourished only a century and a half ago, there is nothing to wonder at in the paucity of historical material in the compositions of many of our earlier Sanskrit poets, with but a few honourable exceptions. The criticism that the average Indian author is lacking in the historical instinct can hardly be regarded as undeserved.

The few points worthy of attention in this work may now be noted. That the hero of the work is none other than the nephew of Mart̄tāṇḍavarman, the Great—the illustrious Rāma-Kulasēkhara-Vaṅchippāla of the Solar race, who ascended the throne in Kollam 934 (A.D. 1759) and had a long eventful reign of 40 years till Kollam 974 (A.D. 1799), is understood from a verse,10 which records, with a double entendre, that after Mart̄tāṇḍa (the king, the sun) had set, Rạja (king Rāmavarman, the moon) ascended the Udayagiri (Udayagiri hill near Padmanābhapuram, the eastern hill). One item of new information furnished by this book is that Rāmavarman was the son of a queen called Pārvatī 11, and it follows therefore that the princess of the Komattunāḍ family, who was adopted by Uṇni-Kērāḷavarman 12 in Kollam 893 (A.D. 1718), had this name or got it on adoption, Lakshmī and Pārvatī being alternately the names borne by the Rạjas of Travancore. The fact that the king has been compared to god Subrahmanya 13 may also contain the additional reference to his natal star being the Krittigai-nakshatra. He must have had more than two brothers, for they are referred to in the plural number as 'sagarbhībhū', 13 and are cited as types of Dhīralaīṭa-heroes, spending their time in their mansions in amorous dalliance; but we know of only one brother Ravivarman 14 (probably the Makhayirum-tirunāl) of the Genealogical Table 15, who was present at the time of the dedication of the Travancore State to the god Padmanābha, the tutelary deity. The munificence 16 and charitable disposition,

10 वस्तु नामं विषयं सकलवधुकान्तवर्धाय जगत्
वितस्तिग्रहणोऽसुविशेषस्य चरमस्य विषयं।
वेतस्तैत्त मातृ-विषयमिव वानरं बनान्
कलसिरिण्या हाथायुक्तविशेष्वर्विषयम्।

11 पारस्याः पुत्रोऽवस्थाय जगत्सैैव सहाय
चुरान्तं किं हिष्ठयास्य निति: सहाय


13 शूर्यार्थविशेषार्थविशेषार्थविशेषार्थविशेषार्थ
क्या तिनं प्रतिष्ठानमुच्चार्थविशेषार्थ
गाविष्णुविशेषार्थ: प्रतिष्ठानमुच्चार्थविशेषार्थ

14 Travancore Archaeological Series, Vol. IV, page 110 n., quoting:—


16 विष्णु-जानकिर्मं मन्नतिक्रिया-विष्णु
रिं विष्णु-प्राणायाम: स्वयं
सकलकुमारिर्मभोजनम् विष्णुस्वयं

—Bālārmabharuṭam,
prowess, literary accomplishments and other incomparable qualities of this sovereign have the contemporary testimony of the author in some of the verses occurring in the work, and these attributes go to justify the names of Dharmarāja and Kīlavanarāja, by which he was lovingly remembered by his subjects, and to confirm the ideal picture drawn of him in the pages of the Travancore State Manual. It is a pity that no reference has been made to any of the stirring political events of those times, as probably the work was composed early in the King's reign.

The plot of the model drama called Vasulakṣmī-kalyāṇa inserted in the Nāṭaka-pakaraṇa or the third chapter of the book is as follows:

The king of distant Sindhu had a daughter named Vasulakṣmī and had set his heart on marrying her to the king of Travancore, Bālárama-Kulaśekhara, whose accomplishments were much prized abroad. But the queen, who had another bridegroom in view in the person of her nephew, the prince of Simhāja, started her daughter on a voyage ostensibly with the intention of visiting a famous temple, while the proposed destination was in reality Ceylon. Providence, however, upset the queen's calculations and the royal barge was stranded on that part of the Travancore shore which was in the jurisdiction of the frontier-captain (antadurgapāda) Vasumādṛaja, the brother of Rāmarvarman's consort, Vasunātī. The shipwrecked princess was then sent by this captain to his sister at the capital, where her beauty at once captivated the pliable heart of king Rāmarvarman, the hero of the drama. The usual love intrigues culminate in a clandestine meeting of the lovers in the Palace garden and the jealous senior than attempts to dispose of her rival by marriage to her cousin, the Pāṇḍya king. But this scheme is frustrated by the king and his accomplice, the inevitable Vidūshaka, who in the disguise of the Pāṇḍya king and his friend receive the bride. In the meantime, the Sindhurāja learns the whereabouts of his missing daughter through Nitisāgara, the Travancore minister, and coming to Travancore with a large escort, confirms the betrothal of king Rāmarvarman with Vasulakṣmī, which happily proved agreeable to his own inclinations.

17 नेनु द्वापराणास्तरंकुल्लीविभागं स्त्रीपति
भवविद्याकल्पनीनाममहाभारताब्दितः

18 सुधारसा-कब्रस्थियोत्सविकारायत्रविविधे-
अवस्थान्तः स्नाति सन्तनप्रकारणे

The King was himself the author of the following works: Rājasāyam, Subhadārāharaṇam, Gandharavar-vijayaham, Pāśchālāsvayamvaram, Kaṇṭāsvaṅgavāṇikam and Bālardabharatām.

19 स एव देवस्पुष्टवर्षनः स एव देवास्पुष्टवर्षनः।

20 Travancore State Manual, Vol. I, pp. 407 et seq. and Travancore Archeological Series, Vol. IV, part 1. In this connection, the tribute of praise rendered him by his nephew, Sri Rāmarvarma Vafehiyuvanūraja of the Asvati-nūkhatra (1755-87) in his Rukminipariṇāyam is worth noting:
This, in short, is a summary of the five-act drama purged of all the extraneous matter that had of necessity to be introduced to illustrate the several rules and definitions of dramaturgy and the long drawn love-scenes dictated by the conventional canons of literary tradition. It is not known if there is any inner significance underlying the story of Vasulakshmi’s parentage in far-off Sindh, her shipwreck on the Travancore shores en route to Ceylon, and her marriage with Rāmavarman to the discomfiture of the two other rivals in the field, the princes respectively of Sinhala and Pāndya. In the present state of our ignorance about the royal household of king Rāmavarman, we can only say that this love-episode is a mere creation of the poet’s imagination and the combined result of an anxiety on his part to flatter his patron and to compose a work in the accepted style, in conformity with the orthodox literary rules. The names given by the author to the important dramatis personae are very misleading and, except the name of the king, there is none other answering, so far as we know, to those of contemporary historical personages. The minister bears the professionally significant name of Nitiśāgara, while the coast-captain is a Vasmadṛājā, his sister is a Vasmati, and the Sindhu princess is a Vasulakshmi, all these three being derived from the word Vasu (=wealth). The suggestion therefore offers itself whether the author wanted to glorify in allegory some of the king’s and his uncle’s conquests and annexations near by, though not in Sindh, or whether a merchantman laden with cargo from Sindh and bound for Ceylon, which was perhaps stranded on the Travancore shores owing to the inclementy of the weather, was overhauled as prize by the Travancore coasting garrison and sent as salvage to the king at his capital.

There is again in the same Library an extremely ill-copied manuscript of another five-act drama called by the same title of Vasulakshmi-kalyāṇam, which is stated to have been composed in the year Viśvāvasu, without any indication, however, of its equivalent in the Śaka or the Kollam era; but as Kollam 960 (A.D. 1785), the twenty-sixth year of reign of Rāmavarman, was also the cyclic year Viśvāvasu, that year may be taken to be the date of composition of this drama. Its hero is the same illustrious king of Travancore and its author, who is different from Sadāśiva, the composer of the other drama inserted into the Yabōbhūshaṇam, is a certain Veṅkaṭasubrahmanya ādhvarī of the famous family.
of Appayya-Dikshita (1553–1626) of Aḍaiyyappalam, whose genealogy is traced in the prasthāvand of the drama in the following manner:—

Appayya-Dikshita (1554–1626)

Other sons.

Nilakaṇṭhādhvarin (last son) 26
author of Nājačaritam

(1) (2) (3) Simhamappādhvarin
(Chinnappaya ?)
author of Umāgariṇayam

Bhavaniśeṣa-kara-Makhin
(eldest son)

Veṇkaṭēsvara-Makhin, author of Ushāharanam

Veṇkaṭāsaubrahmanyādhvarin
author of Vasulakṣaṇi kalyāṇam.

Vaṭāranyāśvara-Vājapeyayājīn
brother and disciple of author.

The plot of this drama, though similar in all essential particulars to that of the model drama noticed above, has been amplified in some details; but it is also unfortunately devoid of any specific historical interest, except that the marriage of the princess of Sindh with Rāmavarman is stated to have been a diplomatic alliance, calculated to raise him to the status of a Sārvabhauma through the augmented friendship of the Hūnarājā 27 (the Hon'ble East India Company ?). There is no reference at all to the attempted invasion of Travancore by Haidar 'Ali (A.D. 1769), or to the anxious political outlook of the country with the incubus of an impending foreign looming to the north of the Travancore Lines, or even to the Mahārājā's grand pilgrimage to Rāmēśvaram, which was undertaken in A.D. 1784 28 just a year previous to the date of composition of the drama. Instead, the author has given the usual conventional setting to the whole plot, which makes it difficult to discover whether, if at all, any allegorical significance has to be read between the lines. With the exception of king Rāmavarman, the hero, all the other important characters of the drama are given fictitious names coined from the same Sanskrit word 'vasu,' as can be seen from the appended list.

Buddhisāgara—Travancore minister, Vasusēna—Commander, Vasumati—the consort of the Travancore Mahārājā, Vasumān—the consort's brother and frontier-captain, Vasuvarman—Chēra prince, Vasunidhi—Sindurājā, Vāsūrāj—his son, and Vasulakṣaṇa—the Sindhru princess. The story of this drama is briefly as follows:

The minister Buddhisāgara, who has seen the portrait of Vasulakṣaṇa, the Sindhru princess, is anxious that the king of Travancore should marry her, so that the latter's political

---

26 This name is incorrectly mentioned as Śrīkaṇṭha in the sūkha, but it ought to be Nilakaṇṭha: compare also Abhā: Śrīmāṇaधारनान्धिपुर्णमरुषस्य मन्त्रवाचस्यमद्यादात: मीमांसकविविधाकारिकाप्रेक्षे
कृतेनात्मकमौर्यास्तिरितिनिर्माणयु: पुष्पार्थिबास्यन्तरिक्षार्थर्षिविनिर्माणमेर्यास्तिरितिनिर्माणमुलिनिर्मितिपरिधिनिर्माणमं
प्रेक्षागतांविवर्णविनिर्माणमेव, etc. The genealogy of Nilakaṇṭha, the author of Nājačaritam as given on page 121 of Vol. XI of the Mythic Society's Journal requires revision.

27 भूआधोऽविश्वासुः वैराग्याङ्गमोक्षसाधनः ||

influence may extend northwards and his friendship with the Ḫunarājā may also be strengthened. When news is received that the Sindhū princess is voyaging to Ceylon, the minister manages to waylay this ship in Travancore waters with the active cooperation of the Ḫūṣa fleet, and Vasumān, the officer in command of the sea-coast who was also the brother of the Travancore king's consort, sends the captive princess to the royal Palace. There the king falls in love with her and manages to meet her in the royal pleasure gardens, to the intense chagrin of Vasumātī, who tries to marry her rival to the Chērā prince Vasuvarman and thus remove the unwelcome competitor out of the way. This plot fails, as in the other drama, by the counter-machinations of the king and his Vidūshaka, who successfully personate the Chērā prince and his boon-companion. By the artful scheming of the minister, coupled with the influence of her brother, Vasumātī is, however, finally won over to consent to the marriage of Vasulakṣmī with her own husband, and Vasurāśi, the Sindhū prince instructed by minister Buddhīsāgara, comes post-haste from his country to celebrate his sister's marriage with the Travancore king. By this alliance, it is stated, the friendship of both the parties with the Ḫunarājā was strengthened and the influence of the Travancore king was visibly enhanced.

It will be seen from the above summary that the thread of the story is the same as that of the other drama of the same name and that the difference is only in the names of the characters. The only new point here is the introduction of the Ḫunarājā as the third party in the alliance; but unluckily no definite clue to the identification of this foreigner is forthcoming in the drama. In all probability, however, the allusion may fitly be to the Hon'ble East India Company, which has been described as, and was in fact a fast rising power in the political horizon of India, whose help and goodwill were much coveted and sought after by the Indian princes of that period. From the Travancore State Manual, it is learnt that 'the port of Alleppey was opened out for commerce in the reign of this king (Rāmavarman) much to the detriment of the Dutch trade' and that great facilities were afforded to certain wealthy merchants of Sindh and Cutch to colonise at that port, so as to assure the commercial prosperity of the State. In the drama again Sindharājā is mentioned as the friend of Rāmavarman's uncle, Mārtāṇḍavarman, and although the province of Sindh is located in northern India, with the country of Kachchha in its vicinity, we are led to think that the references in the drama are not to the northern provinces of Sindh and Cutch as such, but to certain merchants of these countries, who were generally carrying on a brisk trade along the West Coast down to Ceylon, and whose settlement at the new port of Alleppey was the happy achievement of king Rāmavarman. When the Dutch trade was thus undermined, the Hon'ble East India Company, which had only a few decades before got a slippery footing at Anjengo and Vilijjam, was now enabled to have a more secure commercial as well as political base of operations on the West Coast, and with the establishment of good relations between the Travancore king and the northern merchant-princes of Sindh and

---

29 तदनं सर्वनानं भिन्नपरवृत्तमव्यापातिषां कैलासमाध्यादिविन्यासं। हूर्क्षस्य बिचरक्षमवः सबसं देवेन बहुदिक्षित्वसितसिद्धम्।


31 अरुप्तनाम नामविन्याससन्नजवलस्तराप्रणालीकृः। गोबीतिः प्रत्येकप्रथूं सहेष्ठः कुञ्जरस्तराप्रणालीविद्धम्।

32 तदनं भक्तकर्त्तवृत्तमानममत्रित्तिधिसिद्धिः। सति रसाविकरणासिद्धिमि प्रमुखिः। व्यवसायः लिखित।
Cutch, it also rapidly strengthened its influence and extended its sphere of activity further in the north. This appears to be a plausible interpretation of the story of Vasulakshmi-kalyānam, in the absence of other evidence to connote an actual marriage of the king with a Sindhu princess called Vasulakshmi. Her name, which means literally the 'Goddess of Wealth', may aptly do duty for a personification of the anticipated commercial prosperity of the State consequent on the new colonisation by the northern merchants, whose introduction into the country and the grant of special privileges to whom were, however, first viewed with disfavour and jealousy by the conservative 'natives of the soil', as personified in the legal consort Vasumati (the Earth), until their prejudice was tided over by proper arguments adduced by the able minister; while Vasumān, the vētādvyapāda (the port-officer ?), who was also convinced of the advantages that would accrue to the State by Vasulakshmi's marriage (increased commercial activity), heartily sided with the minister in his endeavours to win over Vasumati's consent.

If the above significance was really intended by the author of the drama, he could have better achieved his purpose by a more direct treatment of the subject, which though it would have robbed him of opportunities for much sentimental rhapsody, would however have enhanced the value of his work with its quasi-historical associations. Or, if it was considered that a drama could not endure without the enlivening pigment of love, some manly historical theme connected with the great king's public life, touched up here and there with the poetic brush of imagination, could equally well have furnished the author with the necessary outlines for ardent colouring; but instead both the authors have pitched upon the marriage of a hypothetical Sindhu princess for their plots! All the same, the dramas under reference are good productions so far as their literary side is concerned, and the second author, true to his pedigree from the great Advaitin Appayya-Dikshita, has managed to give a philosophial twist to some of the mundane experiences of love.

I am indebted to Pandit V. Srinivasa Sastrir for bringing to my notice the existence of the two manuscripts in the Palace Library and for reading out the works from the ill-written cadyān; he has also helped me with some references.

V SUBANDHU OR SUBANDHU.¹

(A Glimpse into the Literary History of the Mauryan Age.)

BY A. RANGASWAMI SARASWATI, B.A.

The relation of the life of the famous Buddhist philosopher Vasubandhu to the history of the Gupta Empire forms an important landmark in the literary history of India. Paramārtha, a famous Buddhist author of the sixth century and the author of a biography of Vasubandhu, states that Vikramāditya of Ajodhya, who at first was a liberal patron of the Sāṅkhya philosophy, was induced by the eloquence of the celebrated Vasubandhu to turn a favourable ear to the teachings of Buddhism and to patronise its professors with equal liberality. His queen and the prince Balāditya, who later on succeeded to the throne, both became disciples of Vasubandhu, and Balāditya after his accession continued his favours to the Buddhist sage. The famous Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Hıuen Tsang also gives a variant form of the story, describing the king as Vikramāditya of Sravasti. This information about the life of Vasubandhu is augmented from an unexpected source. The ancient work on Alakāra, written in the form of aphorisms (sūtras) by Vāmana, who also composed a gloss upon it, cites a half-verse wherein Vasubandhu appears to be referred to. This was first

¹ This paper was first prepared in the year 1921 and read before the Second Oriental Conference in January, 1922.
brought to the notice of scholars by Prof. Pathak. The half-verse is followed by a short gloss by the author in explanation of the same. The half-verse and the gloss are given below.\textsuperscript{2} It occurs under the sūtra defining Ḫājas.

The translation of the hemistich would run thus, “This very son of Chandragupta, the young Chandraprakāśa, the patron of men of letters, fortunate in the success of his efforts, has now (sampati) become king.” The author explains the passage further in the gloss of the sūtra, that the phrase, “Patron of men of letters” is an instance of “allusion,” containing a reference to the ministership (śāchīrya) of Vasubandhu.

This reading of the passage and the comment thereon were first challenged by Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasada Sastri, who said that the correct reading of the passage should be cha Subandhu in the place of Vasubandhu, and maintained that most of the manuscripts of Vāmana’s work examined, had the reading Subandhu. He thought that the passage contained a reference to Subandhu, the author of the Sanskrit romance Vāsasvadatta. He also raised the objection that Vasubandhu, who was a famous orthodox Buddhist Bhikshu, would not have accepted the office of minister under a sovereign. He took Chandraprakāśa in the passage to be the name of Chandragupta’s son, and suggested that the emperor Chandragupta II had two sons, Chandraprakāśa and Kumāragupta, and that upon the death of Chandragupta II, a civil war broke out between the two brothers, in which, however, Chandraprakāśa was worsted and Kumāragupta was successful.

This interpretation of the passage was objected to by Dr. Hoernle, who thought that the correct reading was Vasubandhu and not Subandhu. He answered Mah. H. P. Sastri’s objection that a Buddhist monk would not accept office, by saying that the word “śāchīrya” which occurs in the passage may simply mean companionship or friendship. He took the word Chandraprakāśa as the name of Chandragupta’s son. But unlike the Sastri, he does not deduce out of the passage a civil war, which broke out on the death of Chandragupta II between his two sons. He says, “Is it not much simpler to suppose that Chandragupta II’s son was known as Chandraprakāśa, before he assumed the regnal title Kumāragupta upon his accession to the throne.

Mr. R. Narasimhaiah of Mysore (ante, Vol. XL), referring to the same passage, says that his examination of various manuscripts of Vāmana’s sūtras showed that the correct reading of the disputed portion of the passage was cha Subandhu and not Vasubandhu. He says “in the well known tenth verse of Vāsasvadatta, Subandhu mourns the death of Vikramāditya, i.e., Chandragupta II, who was apparently his patron. There is nothing unreasonable in supposing that he became the minister of Chandragupta’s son, Kumāragupta.” It might be urged against this supposition that Subandhu, who mentions Udyōtakāra, and according to some manuscripts, Dharmakīrti’s works, could not have been a contemporary of Kumāragupta, who lived in the first half of the fifth century. But according to him, this does not raise any difficulty about the chronology, since the dates of the Udyōtakāra and Dharmakīrti have not been settled. He thought that the half verse occurring in Vāmana’s work is a quotation from the introductory portion of some drama, giving the Sūtradhāra’s words.

Again Prof. K. B. Pathak wrote in ante, Vol. XL, 1911, p. 170, “Kumāragupta, son of Chandragupta II, is alluded to by Vāmana, as a patron of the Buddhist author, Vasubandhu.” Vasubandhu was according to him the contemporary of three successive Gupta sovereigns,

\begin{quote}

\textit{सामियाभ्येन यथा—}
\textit{शीत्यं शंकितं शरदन्तस्तनयशन्त्रकाणिनु यथा}
\textit{राजवक्ते संस्कारं इत्यत्थ निबद्धार्थांश: I}
\textit{सर्वाध्यं इतिप्रायमिष्ठेभि गुलज्ञ साविच्छ्य यथा परतात्त्वार्थावर्षे II}
\end{quote}
namely Kumāragupta, Skandagupta and Balāditya, and the interesting half-verse quoted by Vāmana was taken from some lost *Guptavamsāmahādikāvya*, in which the name of Vasubandhu is directly mentioned, or which was composed by Vasubandhu himself, to congratulate Kumāragupta on his accession to the throne, as the word “*samprati*,” in the verse shows; and he gives expression to the hope that the work may be discovered one of these days and shed fresh light upon Gupta history.

Again Mah. H. P. Sastri (*ante*, Vol. XLI, 1912, p. 15) writes that his study of Subandhu’s *Vāsuavadatta*, added weight to his belief that the reading Subandhu in Vāmana’s hemistich is correct. Subandhu appears, according to him, to mention Chandraprakāśa in his work in the *śīśa* form of the word *Himakarōdyota* in the fifth verse. (*Himakarōdyota* and Chandraprakāśa mean the same thing.) He reiterates the belief that Chandraprakāśa is a proper name. In the sixth verse Subandhu is very bitter against Khalaśa, the wicked, who are more wicked than serpents. In the seventh he compares the wicked with owls. In the eighth he is again hard on the wicked. The word *Sāṣrūk* in this verse again means Chandraprakāśa, and he complains that the commentator who did not know history does not note the point.

The tenth verse is well known throughout India, and is in the mouth of every Pandit. It says that, “on the death of Vikramāditya, love of art and poetry are gone.” “Upstarts are flourishing and everybody’s hand is on his neighbour’s throat.” “What does this mean,” he questions, “unless it means a revolution, in which the author did not fare well on the death of Chandragupta Vikramāditya. Read the hemistich with the prefatory verses of *Vāsuavadatta* and the inference is irresistible that the changes of the times were ruinous to Subandhu and his party.”

Simultaneously with Mah. H. P. Sastri, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar (*ante*, Vol. XLI, 1912, pp. 1 and 2) gave it as his opinion that Vasubandhu represents the original reading. His conclusion will best be expressed in his own words. “All things considered, Gōvindagupta appears to be the Chandraguptanaya (son of Chandragupta) alluded in the verse quoted by Vāmana, and also the Balāditya, son of Vikramāditya (Chandragupta II), mentioned by Paramārtha.” Gōvindagupta Balāditya has to be placed, according to him, between A.D. 411 and 414. He says that Balāditya may have been ousted by his brother Kumāragupta, or he might have died a natural death and without an heir.

---

3 संययित हिमकर विशालकारित सययित मययोक्षय निहिता व 
दययादीकलकालिक पुरुषुपरिषिद्धिः || 4 || 
भत्ति सुमरससिकोऽविन्दितिगति पर्यावुतुम्बित || 5 || 
वहति विकारित कृपाणै विधानमाको विशिष्टज्ञ || 6 || 
विनिधाश्वमावति विषयः कहा ह्रति मुखय वशयतः || 7 || 
नकलिदिस्त्र कहोऽय भवति वल्लियान्ति निमुक्ताचः || 8 || 
तिमिकीत्री कृति भवति वल्लियान्ति महिकात्वोऽधिकाः || 9 || 
वहति विनिध तृतियाः पुरुषाः विनिदितिगति पर्यावुतुम्बित || 10 ||
The next scholar who took up the subject and dealt with it in a masterly fashion was M. Noel Peri, who wrote in the *Bullettin de l'Ecole francaise d'Extrême-Orient* and his conclusions were accepted completely by Mr. V. A. Smith, who has given a separate note on the subject in the last edition of his *Early History of India* (pp. 328—334). It would be best to quote his own words on the subject. "If M. Peri is right, as he appears to be, in holding that Vasubandhu lived and died in the fourth century, the Gupta king who patronized him must have been the learned and accomplished Samudragupta, son and successor of Chandragupta I, who might have been actually known as Vikramāditya. It is also possible that the title, even if not actually assumed by Chandragupta I, may have been traditionally assigned to him, as being an ordinary recognised title of any Gupta King. There is no reason whatever to doubt that Samudragupta was actually in possession of both Ajodhya and Śrāvasti, and in all probability his father was so likewise. Assuming the recorded traditions connecting Vasubandhu with a Gupta king to be well-founded, it follows that Samudragupta in his youth must have borne the titles of both Chandraprakāśa (Prabhāva) and Balāditya or Parāditya. There is no difficulty about believing that to be a fact. I therefore conclude, that Samudragupta received Vasubandhu, a Buddhist author and patriarch at Court, either as a minister or as an intimate counsellor with the sanction and approval of his father Chandragupta I, and further that Samudragupta, although officially a Brahmanic Hindu, studied Buddhism in his youth with interest and partiality."

There seem to be many serious difficulties in accepting this conclusion. The initial objection, whether the correct reading of the name in the passage from Yamanā is Subandhu or Vasubandhu, is not answered. Manuscript evidence seems to lead to the preference of the reading Subandhu, which does not fit in with the theory propounded above. Again, in trying to establish his theory, M. Peri has recourse to too many conjectures. There is nothing whatever either in literature or epigraphy to show that Samudragupta had the titles or other names of Chandraprakāśa (Prabhāva) and Balāditya or Parāditya. Of these we know that the term Balāditya was the title of Narasimhagupta, and we do not know any other prince who assumed that title. No attempt is made here to prove that no other king could have had that title. There is nothing to prove that Samudragupta was otherwise known as Balāditya. Again as to Chandraprakāśa or its variant Chandraprabhāva, it does not appear to be either the name or the title of any king. It seems merely to be descriptive of the prince, whose full name ought to have occurred in the latter portion of the verse, which has not come down to us so far.

The next difficulty is about Vikramāditya. The two sources of information about Vasubandhu vary in their accounts of the capital of this Vikramāditya. One says it was Śrāvasti and the other Ajodhya. This discrepancy might not be very material. But to a large section of scholars, Chandragupta I of the Gupta dynasty is too early a sovereign to have had that title; and according to them the first Gupta sovereign to assume that title was Chandragupta II, son of Samudragupta. But there are others who think that there might have been an earlier Vikramāditya, who might have founded the era after his name, or lent his name to an already existing era of Mālava. Even among these, none seems to favour the view that Chandragupta I of the Gupta dynasty was a Vikramāditya.

Again, it is suggested that the verse may have been taken from a historical work dealing with the Guptas, under some such name as "Guṇa-cakṣa-marādākāyya," which might have been dedicated to Samudragupta, who is mentioned in it as Chandraprakāśa, and that it should have referred to many historical events; and Mr. Pathak expresses the hope that the work may yet be discovered somewhere in Kashmir, where Vasubandhu spent a
considerable portion of his life. But it was Mr. R. A. Narasimhacharya who first thought that the verse might have been taken from the introductory scene of a drama dedicated to the son of Chandragupta, perhaps Kumāragupta, by Subandhu. Subandhu mourns the death of Vikramaśātiya in the famous tenth verse of the Vāsavatātā, and the other verses also are taken to refer to contemporary events. This theory might have proved unassailable, had the knowledge of scholars been limited merely to the above stated data.

Since these discussions began, there have been some very notable discoveries in the field of Sanskrit literature, which promise to throw additional light on the subject and clear the existing mystery. One of the works discovered by the Madras Manuscripts Library, the Avantisundarikathā, which is attributed to the famous poet and rhetorician Dāṇḍin in the eighth century, contains at the beginning a number of verses wherein famous authors who lived before his time are referred to in terms of praise. One of them refers to Subandhu, and it runs:

"ततष्ठे वृद्धजने यस्मातां त्यांगां सरसः
इस्वराज्येन कर्मयात्॥

The verse is incomplete, and the break in the end can be easily filled up. Freely translated, it would mean, "Subandhu came out of his captivity (imprisonment) by order of Bindusāra, and captivated his heart by (composing) the story of Vatsarāja." From this we understand that Subandhu was a contemporary of Bindusāra, and the latter seems to have imprisoned him first and then released him. Subandhu appears also to have written a story of Vāsavatātā. So far we know only of one Bindusāra in the whole range of Indian history. He was the son of Chandragupta Maurya, the first Mauryan Emperor and the uprooter of the Nanda sovereignty. According to the theory now accepted by Sanskritists, the age of the Mauryas, or that of Chandragupta and Bindusāra, was not the age when Kāvyas could have been written. This view, although generally accepted, was opposed by a few scholars, among whom the most famous and the earliest was Goldstücker. These maintained that there ought to have existed many works in what has been called Classical Sanskrit in the Mauryan age and even before. A grammar like that of Paṇinī and the commentaries on it, like those of Vararuchi and Patañjali, could not have been written without the existence of Kāvyas. Patañjali makes a distinct mention of a Kāvyam by Vararuchi (Vāraṇacakam Kāvyam), and in another place derives a word like Vāsavatātikā, meaning thereby one who studies a Kāvyam dealing with the story of Vāsavatātā. Paṇinī, the great grammarian, himself is said to have been the author of a poem called Patañjaleśvara, from which several verses have been quoted in all standard anthologies. Orthodox tradition does not know of the existence of two Paṇinis. It is likely that Subandhu wrote a work on Vāsavatātā, and the Vāsavatātikās of the time of Patañjali might have been very familiar with the work.

But hitherto, the only work known to scholars as the work of Subandhu was the prose romance Vāsavatātā. The introductory verses of this work mention the death of Vikramaśātiya, who has been thought to be the same as Chandragupta II. So Vāsavatātā should have been written after the death of Chandragupta II, and the reference in the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali could not have been to this work, if Patañjali really had been a contemporary of the Sunga sovereign, Pushpamitra, and if he mentions Menander's conquests as contemporary events. Arguing on this line, some scholars thought that Patañjali might have lived later than the Guptas. Even Dr. Peterson, who seems to have had an intuition in dealing with the dates of Sanskrit poets and argued against the view of the late origin of Patañjali, thought that there was sufficient reason to change his view, and one of his reasons was Patañjali's mention of Vāsavatātā, Subhāshitāvali of Vāllabhadēva, edited by Dr. Peterson, Introduction.

(To be continued.)
A SKETCH OF SOUTH INDIAN CULTURE.
(From the Lectures of Prof. Rao Sahib Krishnaswami Aiyangar.)
BY RICHARD C. TEMPLE, Bt.

Professor Krishnaswami Aiyangar's lectures to the Calcutta University in 1920 have now been published in one volume, as Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture. They are so full of valuable suggestions that it is worthwhile to consider here the results of the studies of a ripe scholar in matters South Indian. They are divided into a Preface and nineteen Chapters, carrying the studies from the most ancient days to the time of the Vijayanagar Empire in an historical sequence, and thence in a sense to the days of the British Empire. To myself the book is a fascinating one, and it cannot but be of the greatest value to the students for whom the lectures were intended.

In his Preface Prof. Krishnaswami draws special attention to the peculiar position that the Brāhmaṇ has occupied in South India, and his views are of extraordinary interest as those of one who is himself a South Indian. He gives the position as being identical with that when the Brāhmaṇ emigrated from the North. "That position," says the Professor, "involved the double responsibility of performing elaborate ritualistic sacrifices for the benefit of society, and the conservation and cultivation of the learning that is involved as a necessary corollary." And then he makes arresting remarks which are worth reproduction: "the Brāhmaṇ has striven to discharge these responsibilities to the best of his ability and opportunities, setting up such a high example in actual life as invariably to exert influence in the direction of uplift, which has been felt throughout . . . . It was a characteristic feature of the Brahmanical organisation that the least developed communities in the vast and varied population of India had a recognised place in Society moving upwards slowly . . . . His achievements in the sphere of the propagation of learning . . . both in Sanskrit and the Sanskritis and other vernaculars of the country were magnificent. One has only to examine the names of eminent contributors to the literature of Tamil to confirm this statement."

The Professor then goes on to deal with Bhakti, devotion to a personal God by faith, and says of it: "the transformation of this ritualistic Brahmanism into the much more widely acceptable Hinduism of modern times is due to the increasing infusion of theistic belief into the religious system of the day. In this new development South India [Tamil-land] played an important part;" not however in its origin, be it remembered, but in its development. And then he says that along side of it "has run another stream which is best described as Tāntrism, worship by means of mystic signs and formulæ of various character;" in which, too, South India played an important part, though by that term the Professor implies here the land of the Telugus rather than that of the Tamils.

He next points out how much South India had to do with "the spread of Hindu culture to the islands of the East and the Indo-Chinese Peninsula" as far as China, and with the commercial carriage to the West of Indian articles of trade. In matters of administration, especially of local administration, he claims that the indigenous system was developed and "carried to the fullest fruition under the Great Cholas A.D. 830—1350," and "continued undisturbed down to the end of the period of the Vijayanagar Empire," so that "the revenue and fiscal organisation of a considerable part of the Madras Presidency under the East India Company is derived from the system that obtained at the commencement of the nineteenth century, as a linear descendant of the ancient Chola administration."

Such is the Professor's brief summary of his lucubrations, and he truly remarks that "the whole of the investigation rests upon the Chronology of Tamil literature and history." This is why his book is so valuable; it brings the ancient literature of the country into the argument and shows how history can be delved out of it—a line of research, to which, to my mind, it is satisfactory to see a native Indian devoting sincere attention.
Next comes a most important statement that the main features of the result of research are that that portion of Tamil literature which is generally called the Sangam, is of a pre-Pallava character, and as such is referable to the earlier centuries of the Christian Era: that the literature, of which the typical representatives are the Tevaram and the Tiruvaccal of the Saints of the Saivas and Vaishnavas, belongs to the age of the Pallavas, and as a whole is assignable to the period A.D. 300 to 900; that the works of the later writers, who gave form and shape to the teachings of the Saints . . . began from very near the end of the first millennium and went on to about the end of the seventeenth century.” Then comes a long, and to me a convincing, argument for disagreeing with Diwan Bahadur Swamikannu Pillai as to the date of the Sangam work Paripadai, which the latter, on astronomical grounds as to the date of an eclipse, would fix as June 17, A.D. 634. The other possible date is June 27, A.D. 17. It will be perceived that this difference is vital.

We can now tackle the question of South Indian Culture historically with Professor Krishnaswami Aiyangar as our guide. The history of India south of the Krishna-Tungabhadr frontier commences with the advent of the Aryans, that is to say, the Brahmanas; the term ‘Aryan’ here meaning ‘Northerner,’ with the Tamil term Vaadavars as its synonym. ‘Arya’ as a name, was not, however, confined to the Brahmanas, but meant other natives of the North as well, the Miêchhas in the sense of North Indian foreigners to the Southerners. The Northerners generally were called Vaadavars, but those immediately across the frontier, from Pulikat to Kârwar, were called Vaḍukars, which represents possibly the modern Kanareses term Badaga.

Turning to ancient Sanskrit literature, Pâṇini knew little or nothing of South India; Kâtyâyana, and contemporary Buddhist literature also, knew a little; and Bhâsa’s knowledge was bound by the Vindhyas and the Himalayas. But Megasthenes knew of the Pândya country, and so did his contemporary Châṇakya. Patañjali knew more. The outcome of all this is that before the fourth century A.D. little was known of the South in Sanskrit literature.

There are no South Indian inscriptions before the Christian era except copies of Asoka’s edicts, but these give “some definite knowledge of the political condition even of the remote South, and provide the earliest reliable information on South India.” In the century after Asoka the Hâthigumpa inscription of the Kalinga King, Kharâvâla, proves “a certain degree of communication” with the South, and “what is wanted in detail in these edicts is supplied to us in Tamil literature.” The point here is that “definite knowledge does not reach beyond the Mauryan period,” bearing in mind, however, that “absence of information available to us does not inevitably mean absence of history.”

At this point we are driven for information to the pre-Pallava Tamil literature, the Sangam works. Here Tamil Sangam is Sanskrit Sangha, an Assembly, and the designation assumes the existence at that time of “a body or academy of scholars and critics, whose imprimatur was necessary for the publication of any work of literature in Tamil.” Traditionally there were three such Sangams, but the Sangam was, nevertheless, probably a permanently existing body with a continuous life of several centuries, and what are known as the First, Second and Third Sangams refer to specially brilliant periods. In the works they fathered, is a considerable amount of valuable information which is historical and otherwise of public interest.

Chronologically the Sangam works are pre-Pallava, and must be referred to the first and second centuries A.D. They throw new light on the Mauryas and their invasions of South India. The Sangam author Mâmûlânâr refers to them twice, and says that the Mauryas advanced into the Tamil territory as far as Môhûr, about seven miles north-east of Madura, after a foreign tribe called the Kûsarp had failed. These invasions are mentioned also by another Sangam author, Paraî-Korpanâr. In the second reference the Mauryas are said to have pushed the Vaḍukars in front of them. They both say that a distant hill,
on the frontier of Tamil-land was worn by the Mauryan chariots. A third author, Kajjila-
Atirayanàr, records the making of a roadway over the hill for the Mauryas. Mâmulanàr
also mentions the great accumulated wealth of the Northern Nandas at Pátali or Patna.
Here then we have a clear knowledge of the Mauryas and their invasion in the Sangam
days.

Who then were the Vadukars and the Kósars above mentioned? The Vadukars are
described as a people north of the Tamil frontier, who were hunters and cattle-raiders, with
a foreign language long in sound, i.e., old Northern Telugu. They were found beyond the
hill of Tirupati all along the frontier from sea to sea. Mâmulanàr’s statement about them
thus becomes intelligible. Mâmulanàr also mentions a tribe across the frontier called
Malavars, in terms almost identical with those in which he describes the Vadukars, so as
“to lead to the inference that the Vadukars and the Malavars were the same tribe of people,
or were at any rate of very similar habits and language.”

The Kósars are more doubtful as to origin, but no doubt came into Tamil-land from the
North, all along the frontier from the Chola to the Chêra country, and seem to have settled
in four areas. At any rate they appear to have been warriors with a great reputation for
good faith—"of unfailing word."

These considerations lead to the question of the Southern limit of Aśóka’s Empire.
His inscriptions show that the furthest point reached was “the North-east corner of the
Chitaldroog District of Mysore, where the Brahmagi, Siddhipura and Jatingaramavara
hill edicts were discovered. Rock Edict II speaks of ‘his neighbours, such as the Chôdas, the
Pândyas, the Satyaputra, the Keralatuta, and Tambapanni [Ceylon.]’ In edict V
specific mention is made of the Viñas and Vajris, who are “apparently tributary tribes,
of which Tamil literature refers to the latter.” The Vajra territory seems to have been
“the territory of Bengal between the Sone and the Ganges, reaching down to the sea,” and
Tamil literature shows that it was known to the Tamils in the first century A.D.

From Aśóka’s records it is shown that his Empire extended Southwards to the great
Dânḍaka Forest, whence to about 14° North came the semi-civilised tribes, the Vadukars
of the Tamil writers, in a kind of subordination to him, and then there were the Tamils
themselves. From the Tamil poetess Kakkaiapadîneyr-Nachchevaýyr it is clear that Dânḍa
or Dânḍaka was “distinct from the land of the Tamils,” the semi-civilised tribe or tribes being
interposed between the two frontiers across the whole of the Peninsula.

From Rock XIII the inference is that the “political limit of Aśóka’s Empire marks
also the limit of active Buddhist propaganda.” That is to say, they did not reach the
Tamils. This statement is confirmed by the Mahâvamsa of Ceylon, which gives a list of
localities to which missions for the propagation of the faith were sent. They do not include
places in Tamil-land. The Southern limit of these places, is Vanavása, i.e., Banavása in
Dhârwar. Mahîsamaṇḍala is also mentioned in the list, but the Professor does not believe
that Mysore is the country meant by this name, but Mândhâta on the Narbadâ. The Mahâ-
vamsa has also a second and detailed list of the places in India invited by a Ceylon ruler,
Duttgâmanî Abhaya, to the laying of a foundation stone. In this list Vanavása is again
mentioned, “and lastly the great Kêlása-vihâra,” probably Amarâvati, or possibly Ellora.
At any rate, here again the Tamil country is altogether excluded. The fair inference,
therefore, is that in the days of Aśóka to the middle of the century before Christ Buddhist
propaganda stopped short of the Tamil country, though this does not mean that individual
bodies of Buddhists did not penetrate there.
From all these considerations the Professor points out that the Northern boundary of the Tamils ran from Pulicat on the East coast to the Kalyāṇpurī River, the Northern limit of Kanara on the West Coast, and that this is "just exactly the limit indicated in the Periplus. Beyond that lay what the Periplus calls Dachinabades, in Sanskrit Dakshinapatha, "for Dachinos in the language of the natives means 'South.'" This land is the modern Dakhan, and corresponds to what the Tamils called Daṇḍāraṇyam, beyond which was the great forest running across India, "the far famed Daṇḍaka of the Rāmāyaṇa, and the Mahākāntāra perhaps of a later time," which stopped somewhere near Goa on the West Coast.

Comparatively late Tamil Brahmanical tradition tells us that the reclamation of the forest was the work of Agastya, and among the tribes that came from the North with him were the Vējrī and the Aruvālar, "two well-known peoples of Tamil India." Traditionally, there was in fact an emigration from the North into the South, bringing with it the "Northern culture especially associated with the Brāhman," and in the earliest extant Tamil literature a very high position is given to the Brāhmans (Andanar). The early Chēra kings followed their "path of Dharma," in which the Brāhmans perform the six duties (roughly learning, teaching, sacrificing, receiving and making gifts). These kings, too, celebrated the ten Vēdic sacrifices, while the earliest authors, Gautama and Kapilar, were themselves Brāhmans. These same six duties are laid down for Brāhmans in the classical Grammar Tolkāppiyam, in the Śilappadikāram of the Chēra prince-ascetic Ilāigō, and in the Maṇimekkaḷai. These works are of the first century of the Christian Era, and they show that the Brāhman immigration was long before their date and pre-Buddhistic.

The Buddhist tradition of the migration of Agastya is quite different, but it, too, gives the movement a pre-Buddhistic character. In the Akkāṭa Jātaka, Akkāṭa took up his abode in Kāvēriṇaṭana, the capital of the Cholas at the mouth of the Kāvēri. Akkāṭa is generally identified with Agastya, though there is nothing in the Jātaka to warrant the identification except the likeness of the names, were it not that the Maṇimekkaḷai refers to Agastya at Kāvēriṇaṭana. This time Agastya is in the Chola country, but here the Maṇimekkaḷai again helps us by stating that Agastya was ""an ascetic of rare authority in the Malayā," making it clear that it is referring to the Agastya of the Brahmanical tradition associated with the Malayā or Podiyil hill in the Southern part of the Western Ghāṭa." All this shows that the tradition of Agastya's immigration is pre-Buddhistic, which is evidenced also by the position which is then attached to the Brāhman ""as the conductor of the sacrifice intended for the good of the community as a whole." This is the character given to Brahmanism in a poem by Mūlam-kilār of Avūr in the Puṇāṇārṇu collection. The author was not a Brāhman himself, but he is fully supported by the Tolkāppiyam. As faithful followers of the Brāhmans, the early kings,—Pāṇḍya, Chola and Chēra—were great orthodox sacrificers; witness the works of Neṭṭimaḷḷai and Avvaiyar.

An even more important point is to be found in these early Tamil classics. ""There are clear indications of the kind of theism, which would be generally described as Bhakti (Devotional Faith), where people could devote themselves to the service of the god of their heart with the assurance of salvation."" Four such gods are mentioned by Narkirar, the early Śangam poet: Śiva, Baladēva, Krishṇa (Vishṇu), and Subrahmanya. In the Tolkāppiyam, Indra and Varuṇa are substituted for Śiva and Baladeva, which makes the Professor postulate the implication of ""the recognition of the six as distinct entities." In the Śilappadikāram again the first four are mentioned, with Indra as a fifth god.

(To be continued.)
BOOK-NOTICES.

ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM OF THE MARATHAS
(from original sources). By Surendranath Sen,
M.A., Ph.D. Published by the University of
Calcutta, 1923.

Much original research in Maratha history has
been conducted of late years by Indian scholars,
who have thrown a flood of light upon the circum-
cstances and character of the administration founded
by Shivaji and subsequently usurped by the Pesh-
was. In this respect the work of men like the
late Professor H. G. Limaye and Messrs. Rajwade,
Sardesai, Parasnis and others has been invaluable.

Dr. Surendranath Sen has already established his
authority in the same field by his excellent trans-
lation of the bahkhar of Kistna Anant Sabhaasad,
which is unquestionably the most credible and
trustworthy of the various old chronicles of Shivaji's
life and reign. He has now placed students
of Maratha affairs under a further obligation by
this careful exposition of the administrative
system in vogue in the Deccan in the pre-British
period.

The value of his latest work seems to lie in
its impartiality and in its careful avoidance of
extreme dictum in cases where the author's views
differ from those already expressed by English
and Indian writers. He treats Grant-Duff and
Ranade with equal impartiality, and does not
hesitate to point out their errors of deduction:
he appreciates fully the good features of Shivaji's
institutions, but is equally explicit as to their
short-comings: and he devotes a distinct section
of his work to explaining by carefully chosen quo-
tations and examples that much of Shivaji's ad-
ministrative machinery was not a new product of
his unquestionably resourceful mind, but had
its roots deep down in ancient Hindu lore. The
Arthasastra of Kautilya and later works had much
more to do with the administrative arrangements
of the Deccan under Shivaji and the Peshwas than
some writers would admit; and the general sum-
mary of the results of the great Maratha's system,
given by Dr. Sen, seems to me the fairest that has
yet been published. A similar lack of bias marks
his attitude towards Mughal and Musulman in-
situtions in general, which he considers, and rightly
no doubt, to have exercised a distinct effect upon
the Maratha system of administration. He cher-
ishes no illusions as to the character of the Mara-
tha chauth, and shows that Ranade's comparison
of that excration with Lord Wellesley's system
of subsidiary alliances is based on a fallacy. Equally
unteachable in his opinion is Ranade's comparison
of the Ashta Pradhan with the Viceroy's Council
at the close of the nineteenth century.

As to the actual facts disclosed in Dr. Sen's work,
their number is so many and they are so interesting
that it is hardly possible to deal with them in the
brief compass of a review. There is an excellent
chapter on Maratha revenue and finance, with
full details of the elaborate arrangements for the
administration of the hill forts, which constituted
Shivaji's chief strength: the annals of the old
Deshmukh families have been searched in order
to portray the character of the landed gentry with
whom Shivaji had to deal: the valuable materials
collected and edited by Mr. V. K. Rajwade serve
to illuminate a sound review of Shivaji's military
arrangements: and a great many important side-
lights are vouchsafed on the character and working
of the ancient village communities. It is not
quite clear, in reference to the last-named subject,
why Dr. Sen regards as unimportant the fact that
the Patel was hardly ever a Brahman. One would
have thought that the presence in the village of a
non-Brahman Patel was the only really sound
check upon the Kulkarni, who almost invariably
belonged to the caste of the Twice-born. A little
more, too, might have been said about the Atula,
in contradistinction to the Baluta. Dr. Sen gives
a full list of the rights and perquisites enjoyed by
the Patel of old days, and gives the curious
information that the post of Chauyula of the
village was always regarded by Marathas as a close
appointment for the illegitimate son of the Patel
or the descendant of a natural son of one of the
Patel's ancestors. Another interesting point is
that the Kamavisadar and the Karkuas were only
given eleven and ten months' pay respectively for
twelve months' service, presumably on the
principle that these officials would either waste
a full month out of the year in idling, or perhaps
that they would extort at least an extra month's
salary by petty exactions, which it would in
most cases be impossible to prove.

The administrative system of the Peshwas is
fully discussed, and a tribute is paid to the com-
pleteness of the Hazur Daftar up to the evil days
of Baji Rao II. Their policy in regard to land
revenue and remissions of taxation, excise and the
administration of justice, is clearly explained, and
there are many details of their police and punitive
arrangements. A European might find it difficult
to understand why prisoners, sentenced to long
terms of durance vile, were temporarily released
at intervals to enable them to perform shraddh
and marriage ceremonies in their families: but
the point is explained, if one remembers that the
Peshwa was the head of the Church, so to speak,
as well as of the State, and that the injunctions of
the Shastras were regarded as paramount. Dr. Sen
considers that the Poonaa City Police under
Baji Rao were more efficient than the London
Police of the same epoch, and that crime committed
by night was far less frequent in Poonaa than in
London at that date. This may be so. But it
stands to reason that the chance of nightly depredations in Poona must have been effectively minimised by the very strict curfew-order of the Peshwa, which the average Londoner in 1810 would not have tolerated for a moment. It is satisfactory to note that Dr. Sen refers more than once to the evidence of Colonel Tone, the Irish soldier of fortune, who commanded one of Baji Rao's regiments. Grant-Duff refers only once, or at the most twice, to Tone's testimony, which is unquestionably valuable in reference to Maratha affairs and deserves to be better known.

In conclusion, let it suffice to remark that Dr. Sen has produced an admirable work of reference for students of the history of the Deccan in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

S. M. EDWARDS.

POLITICAL HISTORY OF INDIA FROM THE ACCESSION OF PARTHESHIT TO THE CORONATION OF BIMBISARA.


This little book is an attempt to trace the history of India from the time of the famous struggle between the Pândavas and Kauravas down to the sixth century B.C. The author admits that not a single tangible relic of this dim period exists, and that dependence has therefore to be placed upon ancient Brahmanical and other literature, ranging from the last book of the Atharva Veda, the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads, the Purāṇas and the two great Epics, down to the Buddhist Suttas and Jātakas and the works of the Jaina canon. In brief, his task is to attempt a review of the misty period preceding the reign of the fifth (?) King of the Sausūṅga dynasty of Rājagriva, based upon tradition enshrined in ancient Indian literature.

The author commences by discussing the identity of King Parīkṣhit and tentatively places him in the ninth century B.C. He is said to have been succeeded by Janaṅamejaya, whose capital, Åsandvant, is identified with the famous city of Hāstipura, mentioned in both the great Epics and by Pāṇini. During the rule of Janaṅamejaya's successors great misfortunes befell the Kurus, and the seat of the dynasty had to be transferred to Kausambi, the old capital having been destroyed by the Ganges. In consequence the Kurus lost their dominant political position, and the most notable figure of the seventh century B.C. was Janaṅaka of Videha. In his day, according to the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads there were nine important states in northern India besides Videha, viz., Gandhāra, Kekaya, Madra, Uśīna, Matsya, Kuru, Paścātāla, Kasi and Koṣala. The author identifies all these states and, by means of quotations, gives much interesting traditional information about them. The Kurus, we are told, had to leave their country, probably in the reign of Nichakshu, owing to a visitation of Matͭāchi, which Dr. Bhandarkar declares to be a Sanskritised form of the Kanarese word for "a locust."

After discussing the matter of Janaṅaka's successors, Professor Raychaudhuri deals in turn with the Deccan kingdoms in the time of the later Valdehas, suggesting incidentally that the Mitāvas of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa are identical with the Mukiṇas of the Mārkandeya Purāṇa, with the sixteen states (sahāsra maṅgaṇapada) which existed between the fall of the Videhan monarchy and the rise of Koṣala under Mahākoṣala, the father-in-law of Bimbisāra, and finally with the fall of Kasi and the ascendancy of Koṣala in the sixth century B.C.

The last chapter of the book is devoted to an enquiry into the character of the monarchy, which was the prevailing form of government during this prehistoric age. Though the cautious scholar will naturally hesitate to accept the author's outline as strict history, one cannot wholly reject as imaginary the traditional figures mentioned in ancient literature, particularly when their existence circumstances and achievements are so carefully co-ordinated and illustrated by quotation as they are in this modest, but withal interesting, volume.

S. M. EDWARDS.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

SIVAṆI'S SWORD, "BHĀVĀṆI."

Can any reader of the Indian Antiquary throw any light upon the present whereabouts of Bhavaṇi, the famous sword of the Maratha hero, Sivaji? So far as my enquiries go, our present knowledge of the history of the sword is briefly as follows:—

The Shāhīṇejaya Bhakhr̄, quoted at page 181 of Professor Surendranath Sen's recently published English translation of the Sabhaṇad Bhakhr̄, states that this sword, which was "an excellent dhvāvaṇa worth two hundred Hons," originally belonged to the Savants of Wadi and was presented by one of that family to Maharajā Sivaji with a view to securing his friendship.

Grant Duff, in his History of the Marathas, mentions the sword three times:—

(a) On page 230 (Vol. I, revised ed., Oxford Univ. Press, 1921), he writes:—"The sword, which he constantly used and which he named after the goddess Bhovān, is still preserved by the Raja of Satara with the utmost veneration, and has all the honours of an idol paid to it."
(b) On page 244, Vol. I (ibid.), he mentions that Sambhaji carried the sword during the Maratha attack upon Goa in 1683, and that he did great execution with it. (c) On page 313, Vol. I (ibid.), he records the fact that when Aurangzebe celebrated Shahu's nuptials with the daughters of Jadhav of Sindhked and Sindia of Kanherchakhe, he restored to Shahu, as presents, two swords which Shahu's attendants had always urged him, if possible, to recover, namely, the famous Bhavani, the sword of Sivaji, and the sword of Aflal Khan of Bijapur, both of which had been taken by the Mughals at Raigarh. Grant Duff adds in a footnote that both these swords, as well as a third sword personally presented to Shahu by Aurangzeb, were in the possession of the Raja of Satara at the time (1826) he published his history.

Grant Duff remarked in a footnote to his first mentioned of the sword in (a) that it was an excellent Genoa blade of the first water and that its history had been recorded by the hereditary historian of the family.

For some years past there has been an impression abroad in Western India that the sword which is now known to visitors at Satara and is still worshipped as Sivaji's Bhavani is not really that weapon but another. Desiring, if possible, to clear up the matter, when I was preparing the new edition of Grant Duff's history, I wrote to Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis of Satara and enquired whether the identity of the sword now exhibited to the public. Mr. Parasnis very kindly replied that the sword now preserved and exhibited at Satara is 3' 9" in length in the blade, and 8 inches long in the handle, and bears a Marathi inscription 'Shrimant Sarkar Rajmanadal Raja Shahu Kadim Aveda', which shows that it is the weapon of Shahu, not that of Sivaji. He added that "it is generally believed in Satara that the original Bhavani was taken to Kolhapur by Tanaibai, wife of Rajaram, Sivaji's younger son, and was there preserved for many years. In 1875 this sword was presented by Rao Bahadur Madhav Rao Barve, Diwan of Kolhapur, to H. M. the late King Edward during his visit to India as Prince of Wales. It was conveyed to England and was exhibited in 1878 in the British Indian section of the Universal Exhibition at Paris, a description of it being given by Sir George Birdwood at page 68 of the handbook to that section."

On the strength of this suggestion of Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis, I placed myself in communication with the authorities of the British and South Kensington Museums and with the officials in charge of the fine collections of arms preserved at Windsor Castle, Buckingham Palace and Sandringham. They very courteously made a thorough search for the sword and informed me it was nowhere to be found in any of the collections above mentioned. Moreover, General Sir Dighton Probijn wrote to me personally as follows:—

"I was in attendance on King Edward during His Majesty's Indian tour in 1875-6, and would certainly have remembered, had the celebrated sword in question been given to His Majesty. I think you may take it that the sword is still in India."

On referring to the Handbook to the British Indian Section of the Paris Universal Exhibition of 1878, compiled by the late Sir George Birdwood, I find that on page 67 is mentioned as Exhibit No. 74 "the sword of Sivaji, the founder of the Mahratta dominion in India." This is followed by a further statement on page 68 to the following effect:—

"Mr. Grant Duff in his Notes of an Indian Journey, has described the worship of his (Sivaji's) famous sword Bhavani at Sattara. The sword in the Prince's collection (i.e., Ex. No. 74) is not this defied weapon, but the one that has always been kept, since Sivaji's death in 1800, at Kolhapur."

This statement, coupled with the result of the search carried out in 1920 among the great collections of arms, renders it practically certain that the famous Bhavani was never brought to England, and that the sword presented to the Prince of Wales and exhibited at Paris in 1878 was another weapon, which probably had also once belonged to Sivaji and had, as Mr. Parasnis says, been carried off to Kolhapur soon after Sivaji's death. The problem of the history of the real Bhavani, subsequent to 1826, when Grant Duff published his history, is therefore still unsolved.

I wrote again to Rao Bahadur Parasnis in 1920, informing him of the result of the search in England and enquiring if he could make any further suggestion as to the fate of the sword Bhavani. In reply he sent me a copy of a letter dated June, 1820, (Camp Servoo), from Brigadier-General Lionel Smith to Captain James Grant (i.e. Grant Duff), Political Agent, Satara, which he had found among the miscellaneous documents and papers purchased some years ago with other effects from the descendants of the former Rajas of Satara. It will be remembered that General Lionel Smith won the battle of Ashti in 1818, and that as a result of his victory the Raja of Satara was released from the custody of the Peeshwa Baji Rao and was shortly afterwards restored to the throne of Satara by Mount Stuart Elphinston. From General Smith's letter it is clear that Pratap Singh, the Raja of Satara, in
gratitude for his deliverance from the Peshwa, had expressed through Captain Grant a desire to present General Smith with a sword which, in General Smith’s words, “had been possessed so many years by his illustrious family.” The Governor of Bombay, to whom the proposal was reported, sanctioned the acceptance of the gift by General Smith, who thereupon wrote to Grant, requesting him to inform His Highness that he would gladly receive the sword and would “ever preserve and value it.”

In forwarding a copy of this letter to me, Rao Bahadur Parasnis threw out the suggestion that possibly this sword, presented to General Smith, may have been the famous Bhaváni. I consider this highly improbable. The Raja’s gift was doubtless a fine weapon, which was included among the heirlooms of his family, and may well have been both historically and intrinsically valuable. But it seems to me in the last degree unlikely that the Raja, no matter how grateful and how generous he may have been, would have given away to a European military officer the real Bhaváni of Sivaji, even assuming that he had sole and complete control of the weapon. Sentiment, superstition and popular opinion would together have prevented his relinquishing in this manner the custody of a weapon which was the symbol of such illustrious an epoch in the history of his family and his country, the story of which had been specially compiled by the chronicler of his Court, and which was actually regarded by many as imbued with the spirit and power of the tutelary goddess of the Marathas.

The question still remains “Where is now the original sword Bhaváni? ” In view of what is written above and of the fact that the sword now worshipped at Satara is the sword of Shahub, can any reader suggest a solution of the problem? Could the sword have been taken to Benares, when the Raja retired thither after his deposition? Has it been hidden, to reappear at some future date as the symbol of a united Maratha people? Perhaps some one of the leading students of Maratha history may be able to answer the question.

S. M. EDWARDS.

ORRAMBARROW.

At p. 42 of The English Factories in India, 1655-60, will be found a quotation from a letter written at Musulipatam on 18 November 1655, which said that the sailors on board the East India Company’s ship Expedition (a vessel bought at Surat for the country trade in 1646) “repine at their owne small wages in respect of thes orrambarowers”—a term by which was obviously meant the crews of the private trading vessels recently come out to India. The word was new to me, and I rashly inferred that it was a name for sailors in general, possibly derived from ‘rumbelows,’ i.e., refrains chanted by seamen when hauling, etc. Some time after the publication of the volume, however, I came across a passage in Charles Lockyer’s Account of the Trade in India (1711), mentioning (p. 28) that at Fort St. George the country boats that go out to newly arrived vessels “make a good pay at the first coming of orrambarows, as they call those who have not been there before.” This showed that the word was not English in derivation; but, not being able to discover it in Portuguese, or in Tamil or Telugu, I was still at a loss, until it occurred to me to look for it in a Malay dictionary. There I at once found orang baharu (pronounced boro), with the meaning of ‘a new-comer;’ and there seems to be no doubt that this is the correct derivation. As an interesting example of the survival of Malay terms at Indian seaports, it is perhaps worthy of record in the Indian Antiquary.

WILLIAM FOSTER.

NOTES FROM OLD FACTORY RECORDS.

46. The Career of a Ne’er-do-well in 1706.

22nd October 1706.—Consultation at Bombay Castle, Robert Kent, Cook, turned out by Captain Abraham Jackson, late Commander of the Arabia Merchant, and sent Prisoner on board the Abingdon at Mocha for a mutinous Ill man, brought to Bombay, afterward Entertained in the Fort, and for his Misbehaviour Expelled, then married a Widow woman, Native Inhabitant of this Island with four Children, kept a Punchhouse without Licence and Express against a Proclamation prohibiting selling drink in any Place upon or near the green, preventing all that Possible debauching the Seamen from on board the Company’s Europe Ships, for which and for the great disorders said Kent has bin fined, and since, threatening to leave the Island and his wife and Children upon the Company, shall not have liberty to go off without first obtains his wives Consent and truly return what Estate, whether House, money, Jewells or Goods, &c., the Estate belonging to the Children of said Kents wifes three former Husbands, or sufficient Security into the Treasury for Payment thereof unto Mr. Alabiae Esqr. Deputy Governor Hereby directed to receive said Security, securing said woman and Children from Poverty. — Bombay Public Consultations, vol. 2.

R. C. TEMPLE.
191. The next English commander to visit the Malay Archipelago was Thomas Cavendish, whom Zuniga (I, 179) calls an English pirate. In 1588, after taking the Spanish galleon *Santa Anna* on the coast of California, he came to Manila (de Morga, p. 29) and touched at Balambangan and Java (Crawford, II, 507). Cavendish's ship is said to have been brought into Plymouth "under a suit of silken sails" (Kerr, IX, 66; see para. 381 below).

It is possible that these were made from the plunder of the Chinese junk, which Linschoten says (I, 93, p. 172) was taken by Cavendish in the Straits of Sunda. Linschoten adds that Cavendish sent a small present to the Bishop of Malacca "of friendship, meaning to come herself [i.e., the ship] and visit him." From this junk he also took a Portuguese pilot for his voyage to the Cape. It may be noted that, at this time, ships going to little known seas carried with them men who had had great experience of navigation and, if possible, had been there before and whom they called pilots. Naturally these pilots were personages of some importance. Linschoten (I, 93, p. 164), in describing the duties of the navigating officers of a Portuguese ship, mentions the pilot first of all: "The pilot hath his cabin above in the hinder part of the ship, on the right side, where he hath two or three rooms, and never cometh under the hatches nor down into the foreship, but standeth only and commandeth the Master of the ship to hoist or let fall the sails, and to look unto his course, how they shall steer, to take the height of the sun, and every day to write and mark what passeth, and how they sail and with what tokens, wind and weather." 48

192. Whilst the English were thus preparing to dispute the trade of the Eastern seas with the Portuguese, they were also on the watch to plunder their vessels as they returned richly laden, like honey bees to their hive. According to Linschoten (I, 93, p. 163) the Spanish and Portuguese ships from India sailed as was convenient to each as far as St. Helena, but having arrived there, they all waited until the 25th of May so as to have each other's company and support for the rest of the voyage: "For from India unto the Island of St. Helena they need not keep company, because all that way they fear no rovers: and to that island they have all their cannon shot pulled in, the better to pass the foul weather at the Cape of Good Hope." From St. Helena they began to run into danger, for first, there were pirates cruising between the West Indies and the coast of Guinea, then the Barbary pirates and last, and most to be feared, English, French and Dutch corsairs off the Azores. 49 Linschoten himself was on board the *Santa Cruz* when she was attacked off Terceira on the 22nd July 1589 by three English corsairs (Linschoten, I, 96, p. 178).

193. James Lancaster entered the Indian Seas from the West. In command of the *Edward Bonaventure*, which with the *Royal Merchant* (Captain Abraham Kendal) and the *Penelope* formed the small fleet under the orders of Captain Raymond, he left England in April 1591. The *Royal Merchant* returned to England from the Cape and the *Penelope* was lost, but Lancaster, after having had thirty men treacherously killed by the natives of the Comoro Islands, reached Zanzibar in November 1591 and doubled Cape Comorin in May 1592. Thence he sailed to the Nicobars, Sumatra and Malacca. Off Malacca he took a ship from Pegu with a Portuguese-owned cargo, but allowed to pass free another, the cargo of which was owned by Pegu merchants. At the Island of Pulo Sambilan he took a Portuguese ship from Negapatam and in October another belonging to the Captain of Malacca. After many vicissitudes of fortune he lost his ship in the West Indies on his homeward voyage and returned to England with his crew in a French ship *via* Dieppe, in 1594 (Hakluyt, VI, 387).

---

48 In the French Maritime Regulations of 1681 the pilot holds similar high rank and keeps the Journal or Log (Justice, p. 334).

49 Faria (III, 37-38) mentions an unsuccessful attack on a Portuguese ship near the Equator and the capture of another by Drake at the Azores in 1586.
194. In 1592 the Portuguese vessel *Madre de Dios* was, on her return from India, taken off Tercera, and the *Santa Cruz* forced to run ashore by an English cruising fleet under Sir John Burroughs (Danvers, *Port. Records*, p. 16).

195. On the 28th July 1594 Francisco Vendramin, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, reported (*Cal. State Papers, Venetian*) that English corsairs had attacked off the Azores the richest Portuguese ship that had ever sailed from an East Indian port, and having failed in an attempt to board her, had burnt and sunk her with her cargo and all on board. The total amount lost, says Vendramin, was three million ducats, of which three hundred thousand belonged to the King of Spain. This ship was *Las Cinque Plagas* or the *Five Wounds*, and the English corsairs were the *Royal Exchange* (Captain George Cave), the *May Flower* (Captain William Anthonie), the *Sampson* (Captain Nicholas Downton) and a pinnace, the *Violet* or *Why not I*, all equipped by George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, and his friends. The fight took place on the 13th June, six leagues to the southward of the Sound, between Fayal and Pico. The Portuguese made an obstinate defence, but their ship taking fire, the cargo, largely composed of combustible matter, caught also and made an inextinguishable conflagration. Thereupon the Portuguese leaped into the sea and a small number of them were saved by boats from the English ships. Two of those rescued, Nuno Vello Pereira, Governor in 1582 of Mozambique and Sofala, and Bras Carrero, Captain of a carrack which had been wrecked near Mozambique, were brought to England and ransomed; the rest were set ashore on the Island of Flores (Faria, *III*, 72; Kerr, *VII*, 456; Hakluyt, *III*, 14).

**Chinese.**

196. In the Malay Archipelago the Spaniards, from an early date, employed Asiatics as sailors. In 1593 the galley of Governor Gomez Perez, whilst on a voyage to the Moluccas, was seized by the Chinese rowers, who killed the Governor and all the Spaniards on board and carried the treasure chest to Cochin China, where it was seized by the local authorities (*de Morga*, p. 35). In the *Chinese Repository* (*VII*, 298) this accident is related of Governor Marinas of Manila and is said to have occurred on the 25th October 1593.

197. In 1603 a Chinaman named Engean, who had remained in Manila from the time of Limahon (*see para. 152 above*) and was very rich, organised a conspiracy to drive out the Spaniards. After a serious outbreak, he was captured and hanged (*Zuniga*, I, 221).

**Dutch.**

198. In 1596 the Dutch made their first appearance in the East (*Crawford*, II, 508) and met with a very hostile reception in Sumatra. This they ascribed to the Portuguese, who informed the natives that they were "the English pirates who were feared and hated in all that part of the world for the excesses they had committed three years earlier" (*Recueil des Voyages*, p. 385). This is probably a reference to Lancaster, but of any excesses committed by him, which could possibly be compared with those of the Portuguese themselves, we have no record. Will Adams (pilot in a Dutch ship), who landed in Japan in February 1600, says that the Spanish and Portuguese represented to the Emperor of Japan that the English and Dutch were "pirates and robbers of all nations," and that if they were spared no nation should come there [i.e., to Japan], without robbing (*Memorials of Japan*, Hak. Soc., p. 25). This evil reputation of the English persisted, according to Sir Ernest Satow, up to 1851 (*A Diplomat in Japan*, p. 384).

199. In October 1600 two Dutch ships, the *Maurice* (Captain Oliver de Noort) and the *Concordia* or *Eendracht* (Captain Lambert Viesman, or Biesman, of Rotterdam) arrived at Manila. On the 14th December they were attacked by the Spaniards and the *Concordia* captured after a desperate fight. Viesman and eighteen others were taken prisoners. Six of these, being mere boys, were spared and distributed amongst the convents. All the rest were put to death by the garrotte as pirates, but twelve of them having been converted they
died as good Catholics after receiving the Eucharist from the monks and were buried by the Brotherhood of Holy Mercy. "The only one that would not be converted was the Admiral [i.e., Viesman], the most dogged and pertinacious heretic that ever I saw in my life" (de Morga, pp. 149, 169, 397). As the Spaniards showed no mercy to the Dutch, they met with little in return. During the fight the Spanish ship Blessed Trinity caught fire and sank, leaving some 200 poor wretches in the water, crying out for mercy, to which the Dutch replied "with pikes, shot, yea (especially a priest in his habit) with derision" (Purchas, II, 201). So also in a fight between the Dutch and Spaniards on the 17th July 1615, some thirty of the latter were mercilessly slain as they floated helpless in the water crying for aid (Voyage of George Spilbergen, Purchas, II, 216).

200. It may be noted here that de Noort, under date 18th June 1599, mentions the curious but time-honoured (see Olaus Magnus, IX, Cap. vi, De Punitione rebellium nautarum) punishment for mutiny at sea. This consisted in driving a knife into the mast through the hand of the mutineer, and leaving him standing there until he could muster resolution to tear his hand free.

201. In 1600 the French ships Croissant and Corbin (see para. 189 above) left St. Malo for the Indies. The Corbin was wrecked on the Maldives, but the Croissant reached Achin on the 26th July 1601. On the 20th November 1602 she was forced to leave suddenly as Captain La Bardelière was dying and his death in harbour, according to the custom of the country, would have caused his ship to be forfeited to the King. The ship reached Cape Finisterre on the 30th May 1603 in a sinking condition, when the remains of the crew, only fourteen in number, were rescued by some Dutch ships. The cargo was valued by the St. Malo Company at two million (? livres) and half was due as salvage to the rescuers. They seized it all (La Roncière, IV, 266).

**Dutch and Malays.**

202. It has been mentioned that the Dutch had not been well received in Sumatra. In September 1599 the Dutch ships Lion and Lioness, on which John Davis was pilot, were treacherously attacked at Achin and, before the assailants could be driven off, the Dutch commander and most of his officers (68 men in all) were killed. The Dutch could however hardly complain, because they had previously been guilty of various acts of petty piracy, and on the return voyage they took and plundered a ship sailing from Negapatam to Achin laden with rice (Kerr, VIII, 53, 61).

203. In September 1603 a junk from the Island of Lampong in the Straits of Sunda came to Bantam. The crew hid it in a creek near by, and disguised as Javanese entered the town head-hunting. Their Raja was accustomed to give a female slave for every head brought him, a payment so prized that the head-hunters sometimes dug up and cut off the heads of bodies that had been newly buried (Scot, in Kerr, VIII, 152). These men must have been Dyaks.

**English.**

204. The first voyage of the East India Company, which was made by four ships under James Lancaster in 1601, appears to have been rather a privateering attack upon Spanish and Portuguese trade than a bona fide trading voyage (Low, I, 5, 6). In October 1605 the fleet under Sir Edward Mitchellbourne, whilst sailing to Patani, on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula, overhauled a junk which had been taken by Japanese pirates. Whilst the English rummaged the junk for spoil, they foolishly allowed a number of the Japanese on board their own ships. These men suddenly seized their own arms and any other weapons within reach and made a desperate attempt to capture the Tysier. They were overcome with the greatest difficulty, fighting to the last man, and amongst those of the English who were killed was John Davis the Navigator. Mitchellbourne's right to attack this junk was quite problematical, for he had had no previous knowledge that it was in the hands of
pirates. Moreover, he did not hesitate himself to attack and plunder Chinese vessels (Voyages of John Davis, Hak. Soc., LXXX, 178). In 1608 William Hawkins met at Surat one Mahdi Kuli, captain of a ship plundered by Mitchellbourne in 1605 (Foster, Early Travels, p. 126).

205. In reference to the pirates who lay in wait for the Spanish and Portuguese ships off the Cape Verde Islands, it is evident that one of these islands— I do not know which— was a kind of rendezvous, for William Hawkins, in the Journal of his Voyage to the East Indies, says that, in July 1607, he made for one called the Isle of Safety, as all English and French vessels went there. Later on, Hawkins touched at St. Augustine's in Madagascar, but, as he does not mention meeting any Europeans there, it is probable that this place had not yet become a pirate resort (Brit. Mus., Egerton MSS., 2100).

206. In the fourth General Voyage of the English East India Company the Ascension (Captain Alexander Sharpey) took, in 1607, two barques belonging to the Moors of Melinda in Africa. The Moors made little resistance to the capture, but, watching a favourable opportunity, the prisoners attempted to seize the Ascension and were not suppressed until forty out of fifty had been killed. These Moors belonged to the best families in Melinda, and Captain Sharpey was compelled to leave the coast to escape from reprisals (Ledward, I, 417).

Dutch.

207. In 1604 the Dutch, after failing to take Macao from the Portuguese, seized Pehou, one of the Pescadores or Ponghu Islands, and to fortify it employed one half of the crews of some sixty Chinese ships which they had taken, plundered and burnt on the coast of Fokien. Most of these men died. The other half of the crews were sent to Batavia and sold as slaves (Ljungstedt, p. 33).

208. The Dutch at this time generally tried to identify themselves with the English so as to convince the Japanese that they had no connection with the Spaniards or Portuguese, the reputation of the latter being so bad that their assertions (see para. 198 above) that the English and Dutch were all pirates carried no conviction to the minds of their hearers. In 1610 a Dutch Factory was established at Hirado (Firando) in Japan (Murdoch, II, 470). According to Boulger (II, 119), Dutch ships visited Japan in 1586 and 1588, but their first establishment in that country was in 1609.

Portuguese.

209. In 1605 a ship belonging to Anima of Shimabara was plundered by certain Portuguese at Macao. Later on, hearing that some of the culprits were on board another ship, he pursued her to the east of Yudowijima and there took and burned her on the 18th December 1609 (As. Soc. Japan, Trans., IX, 144). In 1608 some Portuguese frigates attacked and took in Surat River two barques belonging to Captain William Hawkins. When restitution was demanded, it was contemptuously refused on the ground that the Indian Seas belonged solely to the King of Portugal, and the English prisoners were sent to Lisbon. In the same year the Portuguese at Surat threatened to carry away to Diu a ship belonging to the Queen Mother of the Mughal, then lading for Mocha, unless a pass was purchased for 100,000 mahmudis, but ultimately they accepted 1,000 rials and some presents (Foster, Early Travels, pp. 126, 129).

210. On the 28th October 1613 William Biddulph wrote to the East India Company that the Portuguese had seized a Gujarat (Surat) ship (in spite of her having a Portuguese pass) valued at 70 to 80 thousand pounds, and had carried away 700 persons, the men for slaves, the women and children for converts (Cal. State Papers, East Indies). Biddulph probably referred to the Remedee (see para. 173 above).

Japanese.

211. The incursions of Japanese pirates into the waters of the Malay Archipelago have already been alluded to in the story of the death of John Davis in 1605 (see para. 204 above). The narrator of Mitchellbourne’s voyage tells us that Mitchellbourne met other
Japanese pirates cruising on the coasts of China and Cambaia (i.e., Cambodia), and of them he says:—"The Japans are not allowed to land in any port in India with weapons, being accounted a people so desolate and daring that they are feared in all places where they come" (Voyages of John Davis, Hak. Soc., LXXX, 178).

212. In 1606 the Japanese in the Philippines twice rebelled against the Spaniards (Crawford, II, 466-7).

213. In 1620 the Japanese settled in Formosa (Du Halde, I, 90) on the suggestion of the Chinese pirate Yen-Ssu-chi, one of whose followers (see para. 252 below) was the celebrated Chinchilung (Li Ung Bing, p. 343 n.).

English and Dutch.

214. The impression produced upon the Asiatics by the mutual hostility of the Europeans may be judged from the following:—"In 1020 A.H. (i.e., 1611 A.D.) the Emperor Nuruddin Jahangir made over the fort of Surat in the Province of Gujarat to the English, against whom the Farangis of Portugal bear a most deadly enmity and both are thirsty of each other’s blood. This was the place where the English made their first settlement in India. Their religious belief is contrary to that of the Portuguese. For instance they consider Jesus Christ (may the peace of God rest on him) a servant of God and his prophet, but do not admit that he was the son of God. They are in no wise obedient to the King of Portugal" (Ghulam Basit, Elliott, VIII, 202). Again, Captain Saris tells us that a Dutch ship coming into Nagasaki, "on their arrival they were said to be English, our nation being long known by report in Japan, but much scandalised by the Portuguese Jesuits, who represent us as pirates and rovers on the sea. In consequence of this report the Japanese have a song, in which they call the English Crofonio, showing how the English take the Spanish and Portuguese ships, which, while singing, they act likewise with cutans [i.e., daggers] so as to scare their children as the French used to do theirs with the name of Lord Talbot" (Kerr, IX, 15).

English.

215. In February 1611-12, Sir Henry Middleton took and plundered two Portuguese ships at Dabhol and then proceeded to the Red Sea "to revenge us of the wrongs offered us both by Turks and Mogols" (Foster, Early Travels, p. 96). In May 1612 he met with Captain John Saris, and together they proceeded to hold up the native trade. Between the 15th and 23rd of the month, they stopped and detained 15 vessels from Surat, Diu, Calicut, Cannanore and Achin. Amongst these was the Rehmy of Surat, of 1,500 tons, and carrying 1,500 persons. She belonged to the Mughal’s mother "whose devotion had built and maintained her for the accommodation of pilgrims to Mecca." It was the intention of the English commanders to detain these ships until the Turks came to reason, but as the Captain of the Rehmy and his fellow sufferers had no means of influencing the Turks, they thought it wiser to pay the compensation the English demanded themselves. The Rehmy contributed 15,000 dollars and the other ships about the same amount between them. The unlucky Rehmy was in 1614 burnt by the Portuguese at Gogo with several other vessels and 120 trading boats (Kerr, VIII, 380, 405, 428, 430; Orme, Hist. Frag., 325, 346; see para. 173 above).

216. Captain Saris left England on the 18th April 1611. In 1613 he visited Japan and received permission to trade for the East India Company, but though the Japanese made some distinction between the English and Dutch on the one side and the Spanish
and Portuguese on the other, restrictions were speedily imposed. In 1623 the English Factory at Nagasaki was closed, and trade between England and Japan was not really renewed until the nineteenth century (Logan's *Journal*, V, 659-664; see para. 268 below). Saris tells us (Kerr, XI, 41) of various duels fought ashore by members of his crew, which shows that the crews of these nominally trading vessels claimed and exercised the right of private combat enjoyed by the seamen of Bucaneer ships and (?) privateers. Low (I, 12) says that it was the opposition of the Portuguese and Spaniards which justified the armed character of such fleets as that sent out under Captain Best in 1612, and it is certain that this opposition accounts for a good deal, but what Captain Saris tells us shows that the crews were much more independent than those of the King's ships, and even than those of ordinary merchantmen. I am inclined to think that this fact may supply some explanation of the striped red and white flag of the English East India Company, its ships being equally ready to trade under the white flag or fight under the red.

217. On the 26th April 1613 the Venetian Ambassador at Constantinople wrote to the Doge:—"A Cha'a'ush has arrived from Cairo sent express from the Pasha to report the great damage inflicted by English and Dutch Bortons [i.e., British or large ships as distinguished from the galleys used by the Moors in the Mediterranean] in the Red Sea. Their constant plundering of rich Turkish ships is threatening the great city of Cairo with ruin to its trade" (*Cal. State Papers,* Venetian). This is evidently, the Turkish version of what Sir Henry Middleton and his like considered were well-warranted reprisals.

218. In 1612 a certain Edward Christian was at Swally. In 1613 he was appointed Captain of the *Hosander* by Captain Best and in 1615 of the *Globe* (Kerr, IX, 106-112, VIII, 463). This is probably the Captain Christian, Governor of the Isle of Man, whose summary punishment for favouring piracy was demanded by the Lord Deputy of Ireland on the 31st November 1633 (*Cal. State Papers, Irish*). The Earl of Derby having been asked why he had appointed such a man as Governor, replied:—"Captain Christian... was a Manx man born and had made himself a good fortune in the East Indies... He was an excellent companion and as rude as a sea-captain should be, but something more refined and civilized by serving the Duke of Buckingham about a year at Court. Most men have one failing or other to sully their best actions, and his was that condition which is ever found with drunkenness, viz., avarice, which is observed to grow in men with their years (Seacombe, pp. 220-1).

219. When Captain Walter Peyton sailed for India (1615, Purcell, I, 528), he took out with him nineteen "condemned persons from Newgate to be left for the discovery of unknown places, the Company having obtained their pardons from the King for this purpose (Kerr, IX, 220; see para. 62 above).

220. In 1615 the St. Malo Company gave the command of a fleet for the East Indies to an Englishman, John Fearne, who unknown (?) to them was a pirate. He brought in some other Englishmen, Arthur Ingham, Lionel Cranfield and Eustace Mawe, but was acting in collusion with Ambassador Edmonds. When the fleet put to sea on the 26th March, he insisted, under pretence of necessary repairs, on taking his ship, the *Cerf Volant*, to England. On the way he captured a French ship-of-war (?) Privateer or Pirate) and carried her to Milford. The *Cerf Volant* he took to London, where he sold her guns, and himself enlisted in Raleigh's expedition to Guiana (La Roncière, IV, 290). Faria says (III, 253) that in 1616 Don Hierome Manuel, who commanded the homeward bound vessels,
beat off an attack by four pirate ships near the Island of Flores, but does not state their nationality. In 1617 (?) 1613 the Portuguese, making a voyage of discovery around Madagascar, found many traces of Europeans, especially Hollanders. Amongst others at Port Santa Clara, they found two inscriptions showing that the English had been there, viz., *Christophorus Neopontus Anglus Cap. and Dominus Robertus Schuricus Comes, Legatus Regis Persarum.* In the same voyage they discovered and named St. Augustine (Faria, III, 269).

**Sanganians and Malabares.**

221. In 1699 Abdul Karim, the Muhammadan Governor of Chaul, sent out a fleet of 30 padas to cruise against the Portuguese, and in 1611 the natives of Chaul introduced into the city a number of Muhammadan outlaws from Karanja, who murdered the Portuguese captain of the fortress (Faria, III, 168-185; da Cunha, *Chaul*, p. 63).

222. In 1613 the English at Surat formed a small local force of galleys and galleons for protection against the Portuguese and the pirates in the rivers Tapti and Narbada and in the Gulf of Cambay. It was manned by volunteers from the Company’s ships and known as the Grab Service (Low, I, 16). This was the origin of the famous Bombay Marine.

223. In 1614 James de Vasconcelos with 9 ships sailed from Diu to Agacaim, where he captured the whole of a fleet of 16 Malabarese with their commander Porcaes (Faria, III, 199).

224. In 1615 Captain Walter Peyton, having taken two Portuguese ships off Coulam without any hindrance from the guns of the castle, offered to put the crews ashore, but they declined “as fearing to be ill-used by the Malabars, having lately escaped with difficulty from a fleet of theirs of 14 sail” (Peyton, in Kerr, IX, 233). In the same year a treaty was concluded between Jahangir and the Portuguese, both parties expressing hostility towards the English and Dutch and the necessity for destroying the Malabar pirates (Faria, III, 211; Orme, *Hist. Frag.*, p. 361; *Bom. Gaz.*, I, ii, p. 62).

225. On the 20th December 1615 a Malabar brought into Cranganore a prize which he had taken from the Portuguese and would have traded with us, but we could not get in any of our money due long before” (*Journal of Roger Hawes*, Kerr, IX, 245). From this it would appear that some English ships, even if they did not assist in acts of piracy, were not above purchasing the pirates’ booty.

226. On the 20th January 1616 a Portuguese fleet entered the same harbour and was defeated by the Malabares. “Nine or ten Portuguese vessels were driven ashore and two or three of the chief of these were immediately hanged up by the heels, and being taken down after two days were thrown to be devoured by wild beasts” (*Ibid.*).

227. In 1617 or 1618 Dom Pedro, a cousin of Kunhale, who had become a Christian, fled from Goa, renounced his new faith and, turning pirate, captured a number of Portuguese ships. On one occasion he took 12 out of a Portuguese fleet of 18 ships together with their commander Vitorio de Abreu. Another Portuguese ship which he had captured was re-taken by a passing Spaniard (Faria, III, 288-9).

228. In February 1623 John Hall with the *Blessing, Whale, Dolphin* and *Reformation*, drove off two Malabar pirates to the great relief of the inhabitants of the Gujarat Coast. He then proceeded to bombard Dabol in reprisal for injuries done to the English (*Hall to the East India Company, 16th December 1623, Cal. State Papers, East Indies*).
Malays.

229. In 1616 the men of Mindanao burned the dockyard in Pantao, a port of Luzon, and for many years they continued to infest the coasts of Macalulam, Camarines, Albay, etc., the Spaniards being quite unable to hold them in check (de Morga, p. 360).

Portuguese.

230. While the Portuguese called the English pirates, on occasion their own ships adopted piratical customs. "The 6th July 1616 our men... espied a sail... About noon the Globe came up with her... and according to the custom of the sea hailed her, asking her whence she was. She answered indirectly "From the Sea," calling our men Rogues, Thieves, Heretics and Devils and the conclusion of her rude compliment was in loud cannon language, discharging seven great pieces of artillery at our Globe" (Terry in Purchas, IX, 5). The Portuguese reply was that generally made by pirates when asked from what port they came, and yet they had the impudence to call the English "Rogues," which for at least another hundred years was the sailor synonym for 'pirates' (see para. 597 below). Nor was their conduct very different from their language. Faria tells us: "Andrew Botello de Costa coming to Jafnapatam with 6 sail, understood there was a great Danish ship at Gale that had taken some prizes. He found out, and after three hours' fight, took her. Of the enemy, 8 were killed, some burned, others got ashore with the captain and 49 were taken. On our side 8 were slain, whereof one was the commander." According to this account the Danes was also acting piratically (Faria, III, 290). This was in 1617 or 1618.

Dutch.

231. In January 1617 the Dutch under Lawrence Ryall seized the English ship Susan (Captain Nicholas Courthop) after a stiff fight in the road of Pularoon, one of the Banda Islands, and a little later the ship Defence, under the pretence that they had King James' order prohibiting the English from trading east of the Celebes (Kerr's Voyages IX, 445-46), a particularly insulting pretext when they were at the very time committing piracy under the guise of Englishmen. On the 15th February 1617 Richard Cocks wrote to Captain John Saris from Firando (i.e., Hirado)—"Last year the Hollander sent a fleet of ships from the Moluccas to Manila to fight the Spanish fleet, but the Spaniards kept safe in port for five or six months, so that the Hollander concluded they durst not come out at all, and therefore separated to look out for Chinese junk's, of which some say they took and plundered 25, while others say 35. It is certain that they took great riches and all under the assumed name of Englishmen." They took some of their prizes to Japan, "The Emperor allows them to make prize of all they take. As I said before, the Dutch have always robbed the Chinese under the name of Englishmen, which has greatly injured our endeavours to procure trade in that country" (Kerr, IX, 82). In July 1617 President George Ball of Bantam wrote:—"The Hollander have covered the ocean with their ships from the Arabian Gulf to the coast of China, spoiling and robbing all nations in the name and under the colours of the English" (Ind. Off. O. C., 510. See also Richard Cocks to the East India Company, 15th February 1618, Col. State Papers, East Indies).
Dr. WILLIAM CROOKE, C.I.E., D.S.C., Litt.D., F.B.A.

BY SIR R. C. TEMPLE, BT.

On the 25th October 1923 death somewhat suddenly took another searcher of longstanding and great distinction into Things Indian, as he would have put it himself, for to my knowledge it is quite forty years since Dr. Crooke began to publish his very long series of books and papers on his researches into many kinds of matters connected with the people of India. During all that period he has been more or less continuously connected with myself, and I feel his death therefore as a grievous personal loss.

He was the eldest son of Warren Crooke, M.D., of Macroom Co., Cork, and was born in 1848, being 75 at his death. He belonged to an old Irish family, his younger brother being Col. Sir Warren Crooke—Lawless, C.B., C.B.E., R.A.M.C., of the Coldstream Guards, and Surgeon to Lord Minto, while Viceroy of India, and House-Governor of the Convalescent Home for Officers at Osborne, Isle of Wight. William Crooke was educated at Tipperary Grammar School and Trinity College, Dublin, of which last he was a scholar. He entered the Indian Civil Service in 1871, and became Collector and Magistrate at various times of the districts of Saharanpur, Gerakhpur and Mirzapur in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. He retired after an uneventful though strenuous official life in 1895. He was, however, not altogether a literary man, for he was a good sportsman and had shot many tigers during his career.

During his service in India and after it, Crooke was a valuable and prolific writer on oriental matters and took a great interest in all subjects connected with the people of India, their habits and customs, their religion and ethics and their ways, and was indeed a master-teacher in such things. He was always willing to help research in these directions in any way open to him and he loved it for its own sake. But he was in no way pushing and reaped but little renown or recognition—and what of them came his way came late in life. He became an Hon. D.Sc. of Oxford (1919) and an Hon. Litt. D. of Dublin (1920). In 1919 also he was awarded the C.I.E. by the Indian Government, and in 1923 he became a Fellow of the British Academy. In 1910 he was President of the Anthropological Section (H) of the British Association and in 1911-12 of the Folklore Society, and for years was an active and valued member of the Anthropological Institute.

The earliest publications of his that I can trace are two notes in this Journal in Vol. XVII (1882) which show the trend of his mind, for they were about the exorcism of village ghosts and the Brahmani duck, and thereafter he constantly helped me up to Vol. XII (1912). Indeed at one time it was proposed that he should be a Joint Editor with me. He was also a valued contributor from 1883 to the Journal I started, in the Punjab Notes and Queries, and succeeded me as Editor for a few years, when it was converted into North Indian Notes and Queries. Crooke was always ready to help periodical and similar publications from his almost unrivalled knowledge of Indian Ethnology, Anthropology and Folklore, and was a constant contributor for many years to the publications of the Anthropological Institute and of the Folklore Society. He had in fact for some years been Editor of Folklore at the time of his death. He wrote in addition many articles in Nature and in the Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics for Dr. Hastings.

Crooke was also an indefatigable editor of books, producing with great learning and wide reading valuable editions of Yule's Anglo-Indian Glossary, usually known as Hobson-Jobson (1903), Fryer's New Account of East India and Persia in three volumes for the Hakluyt Society (1909 and onwards), Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali's Observations on the Mussulmans of India (1910), Tod's Annals of Rajasthan (1920), Herklots Quwán-i-Islâm (Islam in India, 1922). In
addition he had finished editing Ball's edition of Tavernier's Travels, which I understand is in the hands of the Oxford Press, and must now be issued as a posthumous work. Quite lately also he added a valuable note on the Folklore in Sir George Grierson's edition of Sir Aurel Stein's Hatim's Tales (of Kashmir).

Crooke did not by any means confine himself to editing, but produced his invaluable Rural and Agricultural Glossary, North-West Provinces and Oudh, and a whole series of works since his retirement from Government service. In 1896 he published his well-known Tribes and Castes of the North-West Provinces, and his Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India, following these up with a very well-known book, Things Indian, in 1906 and Natives of Northern India. He also wrote with Mr. H. D. Rouse The Talking Thrush, a collection of Folktales for the Folklore Society. It will be seen that though he was never in the public eye he lived a very busy life all his days, bent on forwarding a real knowledge of the people among whom he worked as an official to their benefit and to that of the Government which he had served. He was a sound scholar and in every way a learned man, and on many an occasion I have found him willing to let others share the knowledge he had laboriously acquired and ever ready to cooperate in the solution of the conundrums constantly arising about the people of India and their ideas: a very useful life that was a credit to himself and of great advantage to the nation. And it may be added that his work cannot but be a solace to his widow and the sons he has left behind him.

Crooke married in 1884 Alice younger daughter of Lieut.-Col. George Carr of the 2nd Madras Native Infantry and had five sons. The eldest died as a child. The third son, Capt. E. H. Crooke, a scholar of Brasenose, Oxford, was killed in France in 1916 and his fourth son, Lt. W. H. Crooke, R.E., was also killed in France in the same year. His second and fifth sons survive him. The former, Mr. R. H. Crooke, a scholar of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, has been in the Home Civil Service since 1912 (Ministry of Health) and his fifth son, Mr. R. L. Crooke, is still at Cheltenham College where his three other brothers were brought up, Dr. Crooke having spent all his retirement at Charlton Kings near Cheltenham.

Crooke's articles for this Journal were Notes on the Gipsy Tribes of the North-West Provinces and Oudh in Vol. XVII: (2) A Version of the Gaja Legend in Vol. XXIV: (3) Folk-Tales from the Indus Valley in Vol. XXIX: (4) Folk-Tales from Northern India in Vol. XXV: (5) Religious Songs from Northern India in Vol. XXXIX: (6) Mendicants'cries from Northern India in Vol. XXIX: (7, 8, & 9) Songs about the King of Oudh, from Northern India, and of the Mutiny in Vol. XL: and (10) a long series of Folk Tales of Hindustan in Vols. XXI, XXII, XXIII, & XXIV. He also wrote interesting miscellanea in other volumes and a valuable review of Campbell's Santal Folk Tales in Vol. XXI.
A SKETCH OF SOUTH INDIAN CULTURE.
(From the Lectures of Prof. Rao Sahib Krishnaswami Aiyyangar.)

By Mr. Richard C. Temple, Br.

(Continued from p. 16.)

There is an inference here that by the Śālam period South Indian Brahmanism had become anti-Buddhist. Indeed, the Tamil land in the early days was pro-Brahmanist and anti-Buddhist is shown throughout the literature. Aśoka's propaganda did not reach it and was kept out by force; witness the numerous statements as to the credit taken by all the rulers,—Pāñjiva, Chola or Chēra—for achievements against the Āryas. The opposition was "set up" not in mere hostility to the peaceful pursuit of Buddhism or Jainism, but seemed to be essentially intended for securing freedom for the unfettered pursuit of Brahmanism in the Tamil country. "The result was that the continuity of Hindu Culture has been a special feature in the History of Southern India." "Brahmanism, having found a welcome home in this region, when Buddhism was in the ascendency in North India, pursued its path unmolested . . . . This freedom made the Tamil country at this period, as it proved to be in other later periods, a special refuge to Aryan culture, whenever it was hard pressed in the North."

The literature of the early times exhibits "a certain amount of development in the āgamic worship of the Vaishnava Pāñcharātrins, though this does not exclude the advent of the Śaiva āgamas (doctrines) at the same period;" while the rise of the School of Bhakti in the North, as a development of the Upanishadic culture, "received welcome support from the position of this particular school of Brahmanism in the South."

"This special development could not have been on this side of the Christian era," and there was obviously an intimate connection then between the North and the South. Thus, in the days of the Śāgas of the North, Pushyamitra organised "a revivification of Brahmanism in face of a foreign enemy, like the Greeks of Bactria . . . . who were in the political sense 'a foreign enemy' and in the sacerdotal conception heretics in religion." The Tamil literature, as confirmed by the Hāthigumpha Inscription of Khārvēla of Kaliṅga, shows that this created a religious ferment "referable to the period of revival under the Śāgas and the Kanvas."

The Professor here turns aside for a while to consider the connection of South India with Ceylon in the ancient days, which, as he says, was generally one of hostility. Here it is interesting to note that Tamil literature has several references earlier than the Buddhist tradition to the story of the Rāmdāyaṇa, so far as it relates to Ceylon. These references are of such a nature as to show that it was familiar in South India at that very early time "in minute detail."

Turning to the Mahāvaṁśa, the Professor discusses the story of the occupation of the Island by the Vaṅga (Bengal) Buddhist prince Viśayā and his followers viḍ Lāṭa, landing en route at Supāraka, and he sets to work to show that Lāṭa is not Gujurāt, and that Supāraka is not "Sopara on the West Coast of India . . . . In the course of this narrative Ceylon receives both the names of Laṅka and Tambapanni," and it may be added, also that of Shala.

Despite its coating of myth, the story contains the germs of the history of the establishment of civilisation in Ceylon from Bengal, or "to be more precise, from Gangetic Kaliṅga." It is with this in view that the Professor argues that Lāṭa is not Gujurāt, but Rādha (Lāḍha, Lāṭa), i.e., Bardwān and Kaliṅga, being confirmed in this opinion by ancient Tamil literary accounts of the legend. Assuming then the journey to have been viḍ the Bay of Bengal,
Suppāra, the Good Shore, must be looked for there and not on the West Coast of India: say, “at Tamluk at the mouth of the Rūpnārāyaṇ. The story further adds that Vijaya got womenfolk for his men from the Pāṇḍya country of Madura. All this means that the Northern part of Ceylon ‘was colonised partly from Bengal and partly from the Tamil country,’ which is likely enough.”

The date of this civilisation is not clear, and the Professor with some hesitation places it at the commencement of the Maurya Dynasty; say, at the end of the fourth century B.C. It is interesting to note that it is in this folk tale, based on historical events, that the Pāṇḍya country first comes in contact with the history of Ceylon.

The next mention of South India in the Mahāvaśīśa occurs in 177 B.C., when “two horse-traders from the Tamil country” usurped the Bengal kingdom in Ceylon for 22 years. Soon after this “a Tamil of noble descent came from the Chola country, seized the kingdom, and ruled for a period of 44 years ‘with even justice towards friend and foe on occasions of disputes at law.’” The Mahāvaśīśa calls him Elara and Tamil tradition Elēlasuṇgham. He never adopted Buddhism, and from this time onwards the feeling between Sinhalese and Tamil was one of hostility.

Again following the Mahāvaśīśa, about 44 B.C., Tamils again ousted the native king Vattā Gāmāṇi for 14 years, and during the second century A.D. one “Vasabha of the Lambakaṇṭha [pendant-earred] race” overthrew the reigning king and ruled for 42 years. The Lambakaṇṭhas are an important Tamil people in the Pāṇḍya country. Among these Lambakaṇṭha kings was Gajabāhuka Gāmāṇi (Gajabāhu), the contemporary of the Red Chēra, whose reign “is of great importance in South Indian History, as he was the ruler of Ceylon who was present at the completion of the ceremonies of the institution of the temple to Pattini-Dēvi in the Chēra capital of Vaṭiṇī.” It is also important, because for the first time we have dates, which can be verified as lying in the middle of the second century A.D.

Next, there is mention of the eka-nālīkā Famine of Sinhalese History, when rice went to one nālīkā for the main unit of currency, i.e., to eight times its ordinary value. The Sinhalese dates for this is A.D. 183-184, which is near the date of a great famine in the Pāṇḍya country. In the next reign the Buddhist Vētulīya heresy became important and was suppressed, to rise again into importance in the great Abhayagiri Vihāra. This heresy held that the Buddha was a supernatural being and that the Law (Dharma) was not preached by him but by his disciple Ananda. The date given for its rise is A.D. 209. Here the Professor remarks: “this seems to give a clear indication of the connection between this School of Buddhism and the School of Bhakti in Hinduism, thus apparently harmonising somewhat with this rising-school of Hindu thought, such harmonising being one of the special features of Mahāyāna Buddhism.” He then makes the important observation that “if the date A.D. 209 can be regarded as the correct equivalent, it would lead us a long way towards settling the date of Nāgārjuna.”

Taking us up thus to the commencement of the fourth century A.D., the Professor remarks that the Tamil connection with Ceylon did not bring that people to sympathise with the Buddhists. “The religious condition of South India was one of complete freedom, and while Buddhists and Jains had license to follow their respective faiths, Hinduism was the dominant religion. In time the Tamil country became the seat of orthodox Hinduism. At first sacrifices were a most important feature of it, and the Brāhmaṇas came to have great honour as the celebrants, “the rest of the community looking forward, in the security that the Brāhmaṇa was discharging his duties to the community as a whole, to the attainment of earthly prosperity in this world and salvation in the next, by a comparatively easier method of devotion, each to the god of his heart. The notions of God and of a ministering priest
to stand between God and individual man came into relief." This feature of devotion is characteristic both of Hindu Bhakti (devotional faith) and philosophic Mahāyāna Buddhism. "It would seem, therefore, as though the School of Bhakti and the Vēṭulaya Heresy of Buddhism alike were the developments of Brahmanism and Buddhism respectively as a result of the same or similar influence."

This brings the Professor to a survey of the Brāhmaṇ's position before the rise of the Pallavas. Going back to Vedic times, the Brāhmaṇ achieved his two first duties: "the performance of sacrifices and getting others to perform them." Learning was associated with him from the beginning, and he became its custodian and dispenser. He was thus the teacher giving education as a free gift, but accepting rewards therefor, not as a right but as a recompense,—an obligation towards him gradually extended to the whole of society. It had to maintain the Brāhmaṇ. The obligation became a sacred one, and a Tamil poet praises a royal family "as the one which had never been known to do anything that would cause pain to a Brāhmaṇ." It was while such a Brahmanism was evolving itself that the notions were infused into it of "a personal God who intervenes in the affairs of man for the benefit of humanity," and of personal devotion to Him. Thus did Bhakti arise as the answer to the agnostic cults of Buddhism and Jainism.

The "theistic system of Bhakti consists in the worship of a personal God, who is the Creator and Lord of the Universe. Devotion to him by unremitting service is the best way to the attainment of salvation, or release from the ever recurring cycle of births and deaths." This system the Professor would trace "back to the Vedic beginnings, reaching to the Upaniṣhads certainly." Bhakti, as the Professor says, is love of God and complete devotion to Him, and as a system it "regards Vāsudeva as the Supreme Soul, the internal soul of all souls."

His worship goes as far back as the Upaniṣhadic times and clearly to the 4th century B.C.

The special home of Bhakti, though not its place of origin, was South India, and the idea of devotion to a personal God is traceable in the earliest extant portions of Tamil literature. "The worship of Krishna and Baladeva seems to have been quite an ordinary feature of Tamil civilisation in the earliest period of which we have knowledge." Taken as a whole, the literature of the civilisation was essentially Aryan in character, with "indubitable traces of the Aryan features in it, which are very primitive in consequence."

These discussions lead the Professor to his sixth lecture, which is on the Kural of Tiruvalluvar, "a characteristically Tamil classic." The term kural means 'short,' and the work is so called because it consists of aphoristic couples of four and three feet each. As an ethical-religious work the Kural is intended as a guide for conduct in life. It deals with three only of the "four objects of life" for a curious reason. The 'four objects' are righteousness, wealth, love and salvation: in Tamil āram, porul, inbam and ōṇu, and in Sanskrit, dharma, artha, kāma and mokṣa. "If the first three objects of life are attained by adopting a moral life, the other follows inevitably in consequence. Hence the omission of the fourth in this work."

The author was clearly acquainted with Chāṇaka's Arthaśāstra, and is in fact deeply indebted to it. It was also known clearly to the writers of the Śāngam literature. The Professor here does good service in showing how much this very important Tamil work is strongly infused with Sanskrit culture, ethical and political, and wins up his remarks by a statement that "on a dispassionate examination of the work there seems justification for the assumption that the author of the Kural, though undoubtedly belonging to another caste, was Brahmanical in religion."

After this Professor Krishnaswāmi Aiyangar attacks the difficult historical problem of the Pallavas, warily remarking that "it can hardly be described as being out of the stage of discussion yet." Nearly every one who has considered the subject has come to the conclusion
that the Pallavas were Parthian Pahlavas, who entered India from Persia by way of Baluchistan, and that by the time they reached the Tamil country they had become Hinduised. This view, of course, always had difficulties, and we may now safely say that it must be given up. But who were they?

The Professor tells us that the Tamils always looked on Pulicat, as their Northern boundary beyond which dwelt the Vaudukas, meaning thereby the Telugus and the Kannadas. It is in "the region on the Eastern side of this portion of the Peninsula occupied by this people" that "we find the earliest memorials of Pallava rule." When the Pallavas appear in general history they are in possession of Kanchi (Conjeeveram), and "whether they were Tamils or Telugus, they are the people we find along the region between the lower courses of the Krishna and the Palar," i.e., Tonchamandalam (Tonchanaḍu), including both Kanchi and Tirupati, inhabited by the 'Tončāys', which name was considered synonymous with that of the 'Pallavas.' Kanchi figures in the body of early literature as a viceroyalty of the Cholas, and the only Tončāmān that figures in the whole body of this literature as the ruler of this part of the country is the Tončāmān Ilam-Tirayyan of Kanchi, who ruled not so much in his own right, as by the right of his Chola ancestry."

As regards equating the Pallavas with the Tončāyars, the Professor goes into the question at some length. They first appear as tribal rulers along the course of the Krishna, "almost to the Palar, along the old Vauduka frontier of the Tamils," and his conclusion is that "they were natives of South India and were not a dynasty of foreigners." By origin they "were in all probability a family of Nāga feudatories of the Sātavāhanas of the Dakhan."

Though their long rule greatly affected South Indian culture, the Pallavas were patrons of Northern ideas and votaries of Vishnu and Śiva. They carried their cult into the Tamil country, and for nearly 700 years there was hostility between them and the Tamils, so that they were never "in any special sense patrons of Tamil literature, as their predecessors had been."

I may say here that in a paper recently published in Vol. LII of this Journal (pp. 77–90), Mudaliyar C. Rasanaýagam would give a Siňhalese-Tamil origin for the name Pallaya, a Sprout, and a Siňhalese-Nāga origin for the Dynasty. The general facts appear to be that there were Nāgas in influential positions throughout the territory extending from Mathurā in the North, through the whole length of the middle of the Peninsula, to the distant South. One of the centres was in Mathurā itself, and another was Padmāvatī not far from Jhānsi; a third is traceable in Bastar, and a fourth in the Southern Marāthā country. The question, in this view therefore, to settle is; which is the likeliest locality for the kind of marriage alliance stated to be the immediate cause of the Pallava rise to great power in their records? Consequently if the Professor's conclusions are to be accepted, Mr. Rasanaýagam's argument is ruled out. However, in its favour it may be said that the acceptance of purely Indian soil as the original home of the Pallavas does not account for their name, the Sprout, which is what Mr. Rasanaýagam aims at explaining. The question then is not even yet finally settled, though the foreign Pahlava origin of the Pallavas may now be definitely regarded as inadmissible.

As already noted there were many powerful Nāga families in the Dakhan from coast to coast, some of which made themselves independent, and by the time the Pallavas came into power at Kānci, the Śatavāhanas had already ousted the Chōlas from that region. The early Pallavas were "divided into four separate families or dynasties." So far epigraphy teaches us, and the Professor goes cleverly into the inscriptions to show that the promulgators of the Prakrit charters, beginning with Bappa-dēva, were the historical founders of the Pallava dominion in South India, setting up a rule of a "distinct Asōkan character,"
introducing a Northern organisation of government distinct from that of the Tamils, and clearing the great forest of the Daṇḍakāranya (Daṇḍāranya). Their early inscriptions are in a Prākrit, followed by a Sanskrit, series, which the Professor carefully considers.

This makes him go into two statements of the historians: (1) that Vīshnugopa Pallava of Kañchi was a contemporary of the Gupta Emperor Samudragupta, and (2) that there was a Pallava intermediary in Kañchi, and that this can be referred “to the time of the ancient Cholas, Karikāla and others.” As to the former statement the Professor is sceptical and as to the latter he regards it as an idea without foundation and altogether baseless. He here comes into conflict with the late Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya in some very valuable pages of controversy, in the course of which he adheres to his already expressed opinion that “the terms Pallava and Toṇḍaiyar were synonymous, in the estimation of the early Tamils. If, therefore, we have to look for the origin of the Pallavas here are the people from among whom they must have sprung.”

Going into the history of the inscriptions and other searchable sources, the Professor points out that Virakurēya Pallava is the first historical character of the race. He “married a Nāga princess and thereby acquired his title to sovereignty of the region over which he ruled,” which is to say, the territory that came to be associated with the Pallavas about Kañchi. This is the marriage above referred to. The secret, of the rise of the Pallavas to royal position is thus solved by a marriage at a time when the Šātavāhana was passing away as a ruling dynasty, and the Nāgas, and with them the Pallavas, were ready to throw off Šātavāhana yoke. Having become thus free, Virakurēya’s son, Škandāśīhyya, seems to have co-operated with that Dynasty in a war in the Dakhān with the Khaṭrāpas of Mālvā at the end of the fourth century A.D.

At this time, the Andhras, as the great rulers of the Dakhān, were declining, and their power had passed largely into the hands of the feudatory family of the Śūtas of Banavāse (Vaijayanāti), known also as Šatakaraśis and Nāgas. The Professor suggests that it was this Nāga family that contracted a family alliance with Virakurēya Pallava, who was thus “able to make good his position as ruler of the South-Eastern Viceregency of the Andhras.”

Some light on the extension of Pallava power comes from the Kadamba inscriptions. When Mayūra-Śarman, the redoubtable Brāhmaṇa founder of the Kadambas, made himself a considerable obstacle to the Pallava pretensions, the latter monarch recognised him “as a military officer of his own, with the government of a considerable province extending from the sea in the West to the Eastern limit of Prehāra (Perūr).” The capital of this province was Banavāse. The Pallavas then must have got possession of it, and the marriage of the Śūta princess to the Pallava King must have been nothing more than an alliance between the two families, the Kadambas eventually obtaining power in the Śūta part of the whole territory. The Professor then throws out an important hint: “it was perhaps a subsidiary branch of the family of the Śūtas that ultimately overthrew the Kadambas in this region and founded the Dynasty of the Chāluṇvyaśas.”

Just as the Pallavas succeeded to the whole Southern portion of the Andhra Territory by marriage with a Nāga (Śatakaraśi) princess, so did they gain an overlordship over the territory of the Gaṅgas of Kolar about 475 A.D.

After an examination of a Digambara Jain work, the Lokavabhāga, the Professor winds up his general survey of the early Pallava history by an inquiry into its chronology, and finds that Śrīhāvarma II must have begun to rule in A.D. 436, and that the date of Mahāśevasvarma, when the story is more firmly historical, is somewhere near 600.

During the whole history of the Pallavas from about A.D. 200 to nearly A.D. 900; their power centred round Kañchi (Conjeevaram). The culture they introduced, as already said, was Northern, and Sanskrit literature was encouraged. They were also great patrons of
religion and art, and their period "must also have been one of great religious activity" generally. Indeed, the Professor remarks that "the town of Kāñchi itself is so full of Pallava monuments that it would be possible to make a complete study of Pallava art and architecture without going out of it." It was then that Śaivism and Vaishnavism, "the two offshoots of the School of Bhakti," took form and shape. The Ājīvās of the Vaishnavas and the Adiyārs of the Śaivas flourished in their time. The Schools of Bhakti "began their great development under the Pallavas and took the form that they have at present in this period."

It was a time of the first importance in the development of Hinduism, and its organisation as a "theistic religion,—a religion whose centre and heart-core is a personal God watchfully beneficent for the salvation of devotees." But the recognition of a personal God and of popular religion necessitates the form of worship associated with temples. The Pallava period was accordingly the age when the great majority of temples in the South came into existence, and there is clear evidence that it was also the age of the expansion of Hinduism into the East, to Borneo and Sumatra.

Having thus in an illuminating manner dwelt on Pallava history, Professor Krishnaswāmi Aiyangar goes back to religion,—to Śaivism, Vira-Śaivism (Līgāyats), and Vaishnavism in the South.

He now gives a clear description of Śaivism as one of the two principal Schools of Bhakti. It is "the recognition of Śiva as the supreme beneficent Deity. Śiva is believed to exercise the functions of creation, protection, prevention of lapses in the enjoyment of the results of one's own action, and beneficence. These functions He is said to discharge with a view to the release of struggling souls from the bondage resulting from their previous action, and to present to them the knowledge of the nature of Śiva, so that they may ultimately attain the much desired release. In order to discharge these self-imposed functions, Śiva assumes the position of Lord, with the following six attributes:—Omniscience, limitless contentment, knowledge that does spring out of experience, self-possession, undiminished power, and limitless power. It is the possession of these qualities, exhibiting themselves in extreme purity, in the capacity to destroy the bondage of action and to improve the power for good, that gives appropriateness to the name of Śiva."

It is under the command of this Supreme Deity that souls assume forms, struggle in the world, and gradually work through the outer forms of religion, developing in their next stage the inner religion, as a result of their good action in their pursuit of life in the outer religion. Here they follow the path of the Vēda, "those among them who weaken themselves of the notion of enjoyment cease to be born on earth, and get rid of the cycle of existence as the result of the grace of Śiva. It will thus be clear that . . . . the only way to attain salvation is by knowledge of the nature of Śiva." The performance of rites and ceremonies produce good fruit and enjoyment of good, but they bring on rebirth inevitably. "In the ultimate analysis Śaivism comes to this. It recognises the supremacy of Śiva as the beneficent Deity, that makes it His function to save souls (pāśu) from their bondage in the fetters of action (pāśam), the result of karmam or action. He does this as the result of His own grace." The rudiments of this faith are present in the earliest period of Tamil literature with a subsequent vast development.

The Śiva-bhākta is one who carries out the doctrine with unswerving duty. Among the pre-eminent devotees are the 63 Nāyānārs that pertain to the age of the Pallavas, to whom are to be added nine more, forming the 72 Śaiva Adiyārs. These holy personages produced between them a literature of great worth and enormous power over the people.
To illustrate what is meant by ‘unswerving duty,’ the Professor relates the universal story in South India of an ignorant hunter known as Kannappa Nāyakār, who plucked out his eye to replace an eye of an image of Śiva, which he thought was ailing. “In the cult of Bhakti the first feature to be taken notice of is unalloyed affection for God, and this affection springs from the notion that God looks after a man with an affectionate interest superior even to that of himself, and therefore deserves the return of unqualified devotion.” It is devotion and not works that is efficacious to evoke God’s grace, and “this extraordinary affection for God springs in a human being as a result of deeds in a previous existence without regard to the fruit thereof and as the result of Śiva’s grace and that grace alone.” Wherever such affection exists there Śiva is bound down to the offer of this devotion. It matters nothing how it is shown, or whether by the ignorant or the learned. Singleness of purpose makes even an objectionable form of worship acceptable.

An addition to this early form of faith was developed gradually. It became necessary for a teacher “to make Bhakti exclusively the method of the attainment of God’s favour.” To secure the required ebullition of emotion visits to places of holy reputation, acts of menial service in temples, pouring out the heart in verse, and dancing were introduced and fostered. And later on there appeared the saving priest or preceptor as an essential factor in the attainment of salvation, till without his aid the proper kind of Śiva’s grace became impossible of reception.

All this was taught in a great body of religious verse and in fourteen philosophic treatises, the Śaiva-kāstras. The former founded the systems of the religion and the latter provided the philosophy “to maintain it against controversialists of other creeds.”

Unorthodox Śaivism has always prevailed in Southern India, differing from the orthodox “mainly in the vigour with which it carries out single-minded devotion to the form or aspect of Śiva, to which their sectarians devote themselves. Some of the Northern sects have flourished since the days of the Pallavas, and they are grouped together generally as Vira Śaivas, but those who are now specifically termed Vira Śaivas (Liṅgayats) rose in the 12th century A.D. in the Kākatiya country of Teliqāna. It was a reform movement for the abolition of caste and the removal of certain social restrictions. The more orthodox Vira-Śaivism was a Brāhmaṇ movement which subordinated Vedic rites to personal devotion (bhakti). This sect was the Arādhyā of the Telugu country. The better known and commoner sect was the Liṅgayat, who followed Basava, the Brāhmaṇ Minister of the Kālachūrya usurper Bijjala, who stole the throne in 1156 A.D. Basava came from the Bijāpur District in the Southern Marāṭha country, and was followed in the leadership of his sect by his nephew Channa Basava. Such is the accepted tradition, but the Professor draws attention to early epigraphic records, which go to show that a Brāhmaṇ named Ekāntada (Single-minded) Rāmayya of the Dhāwrā District and of about Basava’s time, was the real founder of the Liṅgayats. He concludes the discussion by remarking that “it is likely that Rāmayya was responsible for really originating this sect,” taken up by the Minister Basava, organised by him and carried into actual practice.

The Liṅgayats have their own canon, and flourished greatly during the Vijayanagar Empire, and the Professor winds up his disquisition on the Vira Śaivas with a noteworthy suggestion: “Śaivism, like Vaishnavism, began in the South during the historical period, not as a systematised religion or creed, but merely as the convictions of individual men, who could give expression to their own convictions in felicitous language, full of overflowing emotion.” This was the condition of both religions between A.D. 200 to 1000. The Pallava times occupied most of this period.
Fundamentally Vaishnavism, as a form of Bhakti, developed on the same lines as Śaivism, substituting Vishnū, whose general name in the South is Tīrūnāl, for Śiva. Up to the Christian era the features of his cult were Northern, but subsequently it had a characteristic development. Like the Śaivas, the Vaishnavas had their saintly singers, the Ālvārs, and their teachers, the Āchāryas. Also, like the Śaiva Ādiyārs, the Vaishnava Ālvārs flourished in the Pallava period.

The great feature of the Ālvārs' teaching was that "the way of salvation was attainable to the uninitiated according to the orthodox standards. It is this element and its teaching by these saints, that gave them their ultimate ascendency among the people." Among the Ālvārs were men and women of all castes. The greatest of them, Nām-Ālvār, was a Sūdra, and another, Yōgvāha, was a Pariah (Pāraiyan). These facts indicate "the liberalising part of the movement, which consisted in an effort, and an organised effort, too, at uplifting people who must necessarily have been outside the circle of those admissible to divine grace, so long as that grace was attainable by the exact performance of an exceedingly difficult and elaborate series of ceremonial rites. This simplification of the process for the attainment of the divine grace was in response to the views of the time."

It was in Nām-Ālvār's day that the emergence of the preceptor took place "as essential to the attainment of salvation by the individual." Later on by the time of Rāmānuja, it had greatly developed, and it was believed that a man's "salvation was the responsibility of his preceptor, so long as he took the pains to discover a suitable one. . . . . The importance of this development consists in this: Bhakti, or devotion, as the means to attain salvation, developed certain prescribed methods for prosecuting the work of devotion to God, which became essential." From this idea a methodised and formal system of worship emerged, and then it became "necessary that a class of people should take up the actual and unerring performance of the acts of worship, and leave the bulk of the people to proceed in the simple style of the earlier and the more primitive form of personal devotion." So each man and woman had to find 'the suitable preceptor,' the Guru, and hence there developed ultimately the doctrine of Self-surrender by which a man "puts his faith in God, and places the burden of his salvation upon Him, through one of His instruments on earth in the character of a worthy and accredited preceptor." This doctrine became an essential portion of the creed by the time that the Vaishnava Āchāryas had followed the Ālvārs, and Bhakti, or devotion and faith, became unlimited.

The teaching of the Vaishnava Ālvārs accorded with that of the Śaiva Ādiyārs, and covered the Pallava period A.D. 200-500. The Āchāryas of the Vaishnavas commence with Nāthamunū of the tenth century A.D., who revived the teaching of the Ālvārs and provided for its continuance. He also created the forerunners of the modern Āriyārs of Śrīraṅgam, who set the tunes and prescribed the forms for reciting the works of Nām-Ālvār. Women also took up the profession of temple music and dancing. Nambi-Āṇḍar Nambi did the same for the works of the Śaiva Ādiyārs. All this does not mean that these two personages originated the temple music and dancing—which are very old,—but that they used them for the purposes of devotional recital. Nāthamunū passed his mantle to the controversialist Yāmunāchārya, or Ālavandār, who was his grandson, and from him it came to the latter's great-grandson, the famous Rāmānuja, or shortly Rāmānuja.

Rāmānuja commenced as a successful controversialist, and placed Vaishnavism on a permanent footing. Among his achievements was the establishment of the hitherto regarded as the 'un-Vedic' and unorthodox creed of the Pāṇcharātra. It was, however, popular, and
he met thus a popular need. Then he laid emphasis on the old teaching of the Ājīvārs that “salvation was attainable by all, whatever their earthly position.” He taught that “whatever be the position of a man or woman in society, every one stood as near to God as any one else, provided he or she kept to their high requirements of godly life.” This position has led to great controversy in India, especially as the Śaivas were forming their religious houses (māṭha) in the same area. Here the Professor makes a remarkable statement: “the stories of persecution occur time and again in the accounts of the hagiologists (Śaiva, Vaishnava, Jaina, Baudhha), and these stories have a family likeness in the details regarding the incidents, thereby stamping them as pious fabrications of the latter day hagiologists.” Although the Professor is thus sceptical of the stories of persecution, he does not assume that religious excesses by parties of the people did not take place. Controversy always went on for generations at Śrīraṅgam and Kāṭchi, and “gave a turn to literature till the Muhammadans broke into South India.”

The Muhammadan raids commenced under 'Alā'uddin Khilji in the early 14th century A.D., for the purposes of plunder to supply him with money to keep the Mughals out of the North-Western frontiers of India. His generals could do as they liked, provided they secured the “royal wealth” of the countries raided, i.e., materials for war. The raids were very cruel, and led to a Hindu organisation in self-defence under the Hoysala ruler of Mysore, Vira Ballāla III, with the help of the Kākatiyas of Wāraṅgal, as the Tamil powers had become helpless. On the death of Muhammad Tughlāq, the Hindus ousted the Muhammadan garrisons about 1350 A.D., and a war waged by the Hindus for mere existence and the preservation of their religion ended in the rise out of the general trouble of the Vijayanagar Empire, as “the visible embodiment of the national resistance to save Southern India for the Hindus and to keep from being over-run by the Muhammadans”.

The Vijayanagar Empire thus “stood for all that was worth preserving in Hindu religion and culture.” It was a national movement,—“a nationalism which was infused through and through with the sentiement of religion.” Anything like a particular form of religion was impossible to it. The one object was to preserve Hindu independence in South India. “The whole organisation of the forces of Vijayanagar had this object in view.”

The Empire of Vijayanagar was organised by Viceroyalties or Mahārājas. The civil administration was left where it had always been, i.e., the people carried on the administration for themselves under a small hierarchy of great officials touring the country. The business of the Imperial authority was to raise the revenues required for protecting the Northern frontier,—keeping ready for war but avoiding it. The consequent military expenditure was exhausting. The result on the social organisation was “a hardening and a more clear demarcation of the rights and duties of the various castes of which Hindu society was then composed . . . . Some of the worst features of which remain even yet, while some of the best have gone out of it by desuetude.” The advantage at the time was that Society looked after itself and the central government could devote itself entirely to defence.

The conditions under which Vijayanagar lived and worked are well shown by the work of its great rulers. Dēvarāya II remedied a vital defect in his army—inferiority in cavalry and archers—by introducing Muhammadan soldiers. He gave them a mosque and slaughter-houses, and used the Brāhman Viceroy of Madura to organise them. The main point was defence of the realm, and there was no hatred of Muhammadans as such, only a great dread of the recurrence of Muhammadan raids. Afterwards Krishnādēva Rāya
spent his life in reducing under great difficulties the two great frontier fortresses of Mudkal and Raichur, which in the hands of his Muhammadan enemies were a source of vital weakness to his own Empire.

The literature of the period shows that the Hindu war on the Muhammadan garrisons was conducted in a crusading spirit, and the immediate result of success was the rehabilitation of the gods and the restoration of temples. The very titles assumed by the first 'Emperor' indicate the ideas underlying the movement of the people: — "the establisher of the four castes and orders; the publisher of the commentaries on the Védas; the master establishing ordinances prescribed by the Védas; the provider of employment to the Adhvaryu (priests) who are the auspicious ornament of kings."

Among the many men who played a part in the Hindu rehabilitation are two Brâhmana brothers associated with the foundation of the Vijayanagar State, Mâdhava Vidyâranya and Sâyana, who were not only statesmen, but Védic scholars of high rank. In that time, too, there flourished the great Vaishnava scholar Védânta Déśika, who "gave in many respects the final shape to the Vaishnavism of South India, following closely the teaching of Râmânuja." Saivism, Virašivism and Jainism also flourished greatly. The Professor sums up the work of these men thus:— "it may be safely said that for good or evil the present day Hinduism of South India retains the form it received under Vijayanagar, which ought to be given credit for having preserved Hinduism such as it is . . . . Cataclysmic irrecoverable losses causing revolutionary changes in doctrine and practice there were none . . . . The spirit of compromise and insistence upon peaceful living by the various sects was adopted as the religious policy of the civil authorities by the sovereigns of Vijayanagar, each of whom had his own particular persuasion."

The importance of all this to India becomes clear when one considers that it is the Southern Bhakti school of thought that one can trace in Vaishnavism—the prevailing belief—as it is now in Northern India. "The contribution of South India in this particular sphere is a genuine School of Bhakti, and it is small wonder that the later Parâyâs accord to the South the monopoly of it." Modern Hinduism owes its existence and its form, firstly to the influence of the long rule of the Pallavas, and secondly to the Vijayanagar Empire.

The Professor winds up his discourse with a great tribute to the South Indian Brâhmans: "the Brâhman has been able, thanks to the goodwill of the communities amidst which he cast his own lot; to carry on his Brahmanical life unimpaired, and even encouraged by the communities on whom he exercised his influence in the direction of elevating them to a higher plane of life. So much so was it the case that an European wrote, making a study of Indian women, gives it as the characteristic of Southern Indian women folk as a whole, that their ideals in this life are other-worldly. The Brâhman has on the whole discharged his responsibility, as the teacher of the community, by preserving the ancient learning of the Hindus. He has made an honest effort, according to his lights, at preparing the people to lead a good life here, and to go to a better life hereafter. Through the ages he has maintained the ideal of uplifting, however short he may have fallen in actually achieving this ideal."

Professor Krishnaswâmi Aiyangar's lectures extend also to the expansion of India beyond seas and to an account of the administration in South India. Both portions are replete with information of great interest and much of it is new. But these subjects are not within the scope of the present paper, and with very great regret and reluctance I close here this survey of a remarkable effort of Indian scholarship.
THE SIEGE AND CONQUEST OF THE FORT OF ASIRGARH

BY THE EMPEROR AKBAR.

(Described by an Eye-Witness.)

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

Two of the Muhammadan historians of the siege and surrender of the fort of Asirgahr were eye-witnesses of the event; but some passages of their narrative seemed to be quite absurd and incredible, until a third eye-witness was brought on to the stage by Dr. Vincent Smith, in his work on Akbar the Great Mogul. This new historian of the conquest of Asirgahr was Fr. Jerome Xavier, a Spanish Jesuit of the Lahore Mission, who accompanied Akbar in his campaign through the Deccan. His account is quite different from that of the Muhammadans, and for the most part quite irreconcilable. Dr. Smith, who was the first to examine critically the Jesuit narrative, prefers it to the official account of Abu-I Fažl and Faizi Sirhindl. It was to their interest to conceal the perfidy and military failure of Akbar, while the Jesuit had no reason to be afraid of telling the truth to his Superiors either in Goa or Europe.

But Smith knew only the narrative of Xavier through the famous work of Fr. Du Jarric, Thesaurus Rerum Indicarum, and affirms twice in the same chapter that the letters of Xavier are still unpublished. 1 This statement is somewhat strange, considering that he was acquainted with Guerreiro's Relación anual de las Cosas que han hecho los Padres de la Compañía de Jesús en la India Oriental y Japón, en los años de 600 y 601, Spanish version from the Portuguese, printed at Valladolid in 1604. 2 It is certain that Du Jarric had no other source, when writing the account of the conquest of Asirgahr, than either the original Portuguese work or this Spanish translation. These yearly relations published by the Portuguese Jesuits were not general accounts based on the letters of the Missionaries, but consisted of a collection of those very letters, each of them being published as a different chapter of the book, with the address and the signature omitted. One can still recognise the different styles of the writers in the various chapters of the work, even in the Spanish translation. Moreover, some Missionaries speak of themselves in the third person—as Fr. Monserrat does in his well known Mongolicae Legationis Commentarius 3,—while others write in the first person. 4 This means that the editor did not trouble to unify his work, but (fortunately) inserted the letters just as they stood.

The copy of this rare volume seen by Smith is in All Souls Library, Oxford; there is another copy in the British Museum mentioned by Maclagan, 5 who says that such collections published by Fr. Guerreiro "are first-rate authorities". Fortunately we have worked through a third copy of the same edition in the Goethals Indian Library, at St. Xavier's College, Calcutta, from which we have translated the following account 6.

"This great King [Akbar] left Lahore 7 for the kingdoms of Deccan followed by a numerous army for enlarging his own kingdom. He sent before him one of his captains

2 Cf. p. 283, note 6 and p. 189, note 1.
3 Fr. Xavier writes in this way in the narrative translated below.
4 Such is the habit of Fr. Piñeiro, for instance; "The time of the supper came, I took two or three morsels," etc.
5 JASB, Vol. LXV, p. 45.
6 The original language of the letter of Fr. Xavier must have been either Spanish or Portuguese; anyhow the letter published in Guerreiro's work supposes one or two translations.
7 He left the capital for Agra late in 1598, after a prolonged residence of thirteen years in the Punjab.
with fifty thousand men, being himself at the head of a hundred thousand additional infantry and cavalry and more than a thousand elephants. He took also with him the Padres. The purpose of this journey was to conquer Goa and Malabar and the whole kingdom of Bissaga, after having taken the Deccan kingdoms. A queen of Deccan, helped by the Portuguese, opposed him and slew many of his soldiers just at the gate of the kingdom of Barara, which is a pass leading through the mountains towards that kingdom. Now, her death having taken place, the Deccan people were deeply divided among themselves, and this was the cause of the total ruin of that kingdom; for some of them having been suborned or deceived, others acting treacherously, and the grandees hoping to improve their position, as ordinarily happens in divided kingdoms, the gate of this one was opened.

9 We learn from Muhammadan sources that Akbar was already in Ujjain when he detached a part of his army to serve as a vanguard. His youngest son, Sultan Daniyal, had been just then appointed commander of the Deccan army in the place of his brother Sultan Murad, whose demise had taken place in May 1599. Daniyal reached Barhanpur early in January 1600, and its King, Bahadur Shah, refused imputously to give his service to the Imperial army proceeding to the conquest of Ahmadnagar, contrary to the policy of his father Raja Ali, and against his own promise to Abu'l Fasli. Cf. The Farsi Dynasty of Ecbatana, by Lt.-Col. Sir T. W. Haig, K.C.I.E. in The Indian Antiquary, 1918, p. 179. When this news came to Akbar's knowledge, it seems that the Emperor sent at once a diplomatic envoy, named Mirzi Safar-Jahân by Sirhindii and Elãvja Maudud in the Zafar-al-Wilidh, to inquire into the matter. The Emperor realized that Bahadur was keenly hostile to him, and thereupon sent orders to Shāhīl Farid of Bekhara to march against the audacious king with a considerable army, which was joined a few days later by Abu'l Fasli who came hastening from Berar.

9 The companion of Fr. Xavier was not a priest, but the famous lay brother, Benito de Gose, who was sent later by the same Fr. Xavier to look after the kingdom of Cathay and its Christians. This enterprising brother, whose name is mentioned by Xavier near the conclusion of this letter, died in 1607, just as he had reached the great wall of the Chinese Empire.

10 Since the time of Ala-ud-din Khilji the eyes of the Muhammadan rulers of India were turned towards the South. Bissaga or Bissanagar is the name used by the old Portuguese writers for the famous kingdom of Vayyanagar. Cf. Sewell, A Forgotten Empire, p. xi (London, 1900). The second Hindu dynasty had lost the kingdom in the battle of Talikota in 1565, against Bijapur, and the splendour of Vayyanagar had already reached its close at this time. Nevertheless, a third dynasty arose, "if dynasty it can be appropriately called," and the king Venkata I was the ruler contemporary with the events narrated by Xavier. Cf. Sewell, A Forgotten Empire, chaps. XV and XVI, pp. 197-221.

11 It is not difficult to recognise in the Queen of the Deccan the valiant Regent of Ahmadnagar, Chand Bibi, who after the events above narrated received the title of Chand Sultana. Fr. Xavier records in this passage a fact long past, because, after having related it, he says that the aforesaid Queen was already dead at the time of the siege of Asirgarh; he means no doubt the first siege of Ahmadnagar in 1596, when she opposed the Mughals personally with a naked sword in her hand in the breaches of the mines which they had made. Cf. Firishta-Briggs, Vol. III, pp. 289-304. As to the help given her by the Portuguese, I cannot find any reference to it, either in the new works in Portuguese India, or in the older ones, for instance, the Asia Portuguesa of Manuel de Faria y Sousa (3 Vols., Lisbon, 1674). But I cannot doubt that Xavier was aware of this alliance, the headquarters of his mission being in Goa itself. A little farther on, in the same letter, there is a hint of another alliance between the Portuguese and the Kings of Ecbatana. This piece of news is important, since no other author mentions it. Was it a real league of all the enemies of the Mughal Empire?

12 The kingdom of Barara, or Berar, was one of the provinces of the kingdom of Ahmadnagar, which was ceded to Akbar on the aforesaid occasion in order to purchase peace. This was the result of Sultana Murad's campaign.

13 The death of Chand Sultana, who was murdered by her own people in August 1600, as Firishta related (i.e., p. 312), must have taken place about the very time when Xavier was writing his letter. After her demise the internal disturbances of her kingdom grew more intense, and in a few days the fort of Ahmadnagar was stormed by Sultan Daniyal, cf. note 8.

14 From this account we can conclude that bribery was often used by Akbar in his conquests. Could it be true then that the same "Chand Sultana was in treaty with the Mughals for the delivery of the fort", as the eunuch Hamid Bibi shouteth through the streets of Ahmadnagar, after hearing of her determination to negotiate with Sultan Daniyal for the evacuation of the fort, as Firishta relates (l.c.)?
to him, and thus he took possession of the kingdom of Melique, which he garrisoned by a large detachment from his army under the command of one of his sons whom he left over there. Then marching forward, he reached the kingdom and town of Breampur, whose king, named Miran, fled at once and took refuge in the great fortress of Syr, which was the chief stronghold of the kingdom and was supposed to be impregnable by reason of its location on the top of a high mountain, whose base was five leagues in circumference; its mighty walls were constructed in three different lines of great size, and so cleverly arranged that from any one of them help could be given to the others. There were many springs inside, and a great deal of fire-wood and vegetables; finally they had supplies sufficient for many years, and for an army of more than seventy thousand men, which was in occupation there. The pieces of ordnance numbered more than three thousand, and many of them were so big that they sounded like thunder while

15 Melique was the Thanadar of Dabhol or Dabhul, a little south of Chaul in the Konkan. He had offered help to the Portuguese in 1576, but afterwards treacherously murdered the captains of their vessels. He is called by the Portuguese historians Melique Tocan.

16 This was Sultan Danyal who was appointed Viceroy of the Deccan after the fall of Asirgarh, having under him the three newly erected Subhas of Ahmadnagar, Berar and Bhandesh, along with Malwa and Gujarat.

17 Bumhpur.

18 The last king of Khandesh, Bahadur Shah. His full name was probably Miran Bahadur Shah, as Smith several times calls him.

19 Probably the unfortunate King did not expect the arrival of Akbar when he fled towards Asirgarh. My opinion is that he had already left his capital, on hearing of the approach of Shah Fathur's army. When did Akbar reach Bumhpur? On March 31, according to Smith; but Lt.-Col. Sir W. Haig thinks that it was on April 8, which is the date given by another contemporary, the author of the Zafar-ul-Wadah. Anyhow on the following day the Emperor sent Khans-i-A'zam and other officers to commence the siege of Asirgarh.

20 Asirgarh. The old writers, such as Xavier and Ogilvy, used to drop the end of this word, which means 'fort.' Firashu and Sirhind call it Ashir.

21 Asirgarh is mentioned from old times, but the strength of this fort, which had been taken by Ala-ud-din Khilji in 1295, dates from the time of the Faruqi Kings of Khandesh, specially Adil Khilji I (1457-1503), who made it the chief stronghold of his kingdom. "The fort... is about eleven hundred yards long from east to west, and six hundred broad from north to south, and has an area of no more than sixty acres. Round the foot of the fort wall is a bluff precipice, from 80 to 120 feet high, scarped so as to leave only two pathways, one at the north-west angle near the grand gateway, and the other at the south-eastern bastion. The defences of the fort are three wall-lines one within the other; the main defence, a faussebray or mound outside the rampart, and outworks. The main defence is a rough irregular masonry wall of an average height of fourteen feet, following closely the edge of the high scarped rock which crowns the hill. At every out-standing corner is a round tower, once armed with large swivel guns. The rocky scarp has an average height of from 80 to 120 feet, and except at two places, is unbroken, and may, especially along the east and the south, be considered impregnable."—Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol. XII, p. 575.

22 "The water supply of the fort is from six reservoirs, three large and three small. Of the three large reservoirs the Manu lies to the east and the Sakkar and Sepoy to the west of the fort. The fort has many other small ponds. At the north end of the Sakkar reservoir is a well about thirty feet deep, with stone steps circling down its sides and leading to a vaulted chamber."—Gazetteer, pp. 576-577. "There were no springs of water in the fortress; but there were two or three immense reservoirs in which the (rain) water was collected and stored from year to year, and amply sufficed for the requirements of the garrison. In the dwelling of each officer of importance there was a separate reservoir, containing a sufficient supply of pure water for his household."—Sirhind, Akbarname in Elliot-Dowson, Vol. VII, p. 140.

23 "Of provisions of all sorts, wines, medicines, aromatic roots and of every thing required for the use of men, there was vast abundance. When after a protracted siege of eleven months, the place fell into the hands of the Imperial army, the quantities of grain, oil, etc., which remained after thousands of men had been fed (during the siege), seemed as if the stores had never been touched."—Sirhind, Akbarname in Elliot-Dowson, Vol. VI, pp. 139-140.

24 "The population in the fortress was like that of a city, for it was full of men of every kind. After the surrender, the inhabitants came out and there was a continuous throng night and day for a week," Sirhind, Lc. "To this end he (Bahadur Shah) invited fifteen thousand persons, including labourers, artisans and shop-keepers, into the place and filled it with horses and cattle, in order that they might serve for work and eventually for food and other purposes."—Briggs, Firishta-Briggs, Vol. IV, pp. 325-326.
firing. Besides the King Miran, who was inside, there were in the same fortress seven Princes who enjoyed the title of king, and always lived there without going out of their dwellings; according to the custom of the kingdom; these Princes succeeded one after another to the throne of the kingdom, when vacant. There was also the chief commandant of the kingdom, one Abexin, a very valiant captain, and seven other captains, white men, who—although they belonged to the sect of the Moors—were descendents and grandsons of the Portugese. And all these, and principally the Abexin and the seven white ones, were the commanders in that war, and defended that fortress skilfully and valiantly; so much so that the great Moghul King neither achieved his purpose nor could do so, although about twelve thousand men were besieging it; because neither the place of the fort nor the large artillery nor the courage of the aforesaid captains, allowed him to go on: therefore it was impossible to take the fort through the efforts of the army, and the only means of so doing was by the use of money, which always furnishes the strongest bullets by which fortresses and kingdoms are conquered. The Sovereign became very furious on account

25 "After the capture of the fortress account was taken of the munitions. Of pieces of artillery, small and great, there were more than 1300, besides some which were disused. The balls varied in weight from nearly two mans down to a sir or a half sir. There were great number of mortars and also many mans'khetis, each of which threw stones of 1000 or 2000 mans. On every bastion there were large iron cauldrons, in each of which twenty or thirty mans of oil could be boiled and poured down upon the assailants in case of assault. No account was taken of the musquets. The stores of ammunition were such, that thousands of mans were left although the quantity consumed had been enormous. The rulers of the country had incessantly cared for the strengthening and provisioning of the fort, more especially in respect of artillery."—Sirhindal, Elliot, pp. 139-140.

30 "It was the established custom among the rulers of Khundah, that the reigning potentate kept his sons, brothers and other relations in confinement, to guard against attempts upon the throne; so these unhappy persons, with their wives and families, passed all their lives in confinement. Bahadur Shah had passed nearly thirty years in prison."—Sirhindal, l.c., p. 134. This custom is confirmed also by the author of Zafar-ul-Walid, who was in the service of one of the Amir of the same Bahadur Shah.—Cf. The Indian Antiquary, l.c., p. 183.

37 This is not a name but, I suspect, an adjective expressing his nationality, viz., Abyssinian. Fr. Xavier says expressly: "Estant tambien el Regidor del reino, que era un Abexin, . . ." And in the above mentioned Asia Portuguesa, Vol. II, Part III, Chapter XX, the author, speaking of the kingdom of Bijapur, says: "A pocos dias los Abexines (Guardas de aquellos Reinos) obraron lo mismo," etc. The author of the Zafar-ul-Walid gives us more particulars of this commandant: his name was Malik Yaqut Suljhani,—a circumstance that escaped the notice of Smith, who says that he was an unnamed Abyssinian and was a man very old and blind, but very valiant and of great authority in the kingdom. Cf. The Indian Antiquary, l.c.

39 Viz., Muhammadans. In that time it was customary among Spaniards to call all Muhammadans Moors, since the Muhammadans who had ruled over Spain were really Moors.

30 These renegade Portugese were probably the skilful artillery-men, who disturbed Akbar's plans. Ogilby, whose rare book I have not been able to see, clearly says that these seven Portugese had the sole conduct of the war, and fortified the fort with no less care than art. It is worth noticing here that this traveller wrote the account of this conquest from Portugese sources, perhaps from the letter of Fr. Xavier, Gazeter, p. 580.

30 The portrait of Bahadur Shah given by the author of the Zafar-ul-Walid, who must have known him very well, is that of a man unable to rule a kingdom, and still less able to defend a fortress: "He divided among lowfellows of the baster sort, says he, the jewels and rich stuffs which his fathers had amassed and collected together; all that promoted sensuell enjoyment, and all manner of unlawful pleasure became common; and he aroused wrath in the breasts of his father's ministers, so that they were prepared to welcome even a disaster that might bring peace". The Indian Antiquary, p. 183. Naturally the commanders of his army were left in charge of the defence of the fortress.

31 The officers sent by Akbar to Asigard to select positions for the trenches "en their return"—as Sirhindal narrates—"reported that they had never seen in any country a fort like this; for however long an army might press the siege, nothing but the extraordinary good fortune of the Emperor could effect its capture."—Elliot, p. 138.

33 "For throughout the siege a constant firing was kept up night and day with and without object; so that in the dark nights of the rainy season no man dared to raise his head, and even a demon would not move about. There were large chambers full of powder."—Elliot, p. 140.
of this, and, realising that his army was unable to force an entry into so impregnable a fortress, determined to take it by deceiving its defenders. He sent a message to king Miran Billah, inviting him to come to his own tent to discuss certain points; and at the same time he swore on the head of the prince—which is an inviolable oath among these gentile kings, as much as when the princes swear on the heads of their fathers—that afterwards he should go back to his fort without injury.

"The ill-fated King took advice from his councillors on this proposal. The chief commandant Abbezin, with the other seven white captains, opposed the meeting; but others, who are supposed to have already been suborned, advised him to go to the Moghul King's tent. Miran followed the latter advice, and left at once wearing around his neck a stole-like scarf that reached his knees, to show his subjection. On reaching the presence of Akbar he made three bows, and the Moghul King remained motionless; on approaching, he was just about to make another bow when one of the captains who was present came out and, grasping the scarf, pulled it suddenly, causing the King to fall flat on the ground. This was supposed to have been done with the Emperor's consent; although he, pretending that he disliked this act of impoliteness, gently scolded his captain. He entertained the King with kind words, and made him write a letter to the defenders of the first wall, ordering them to open the gate of the fort to the lord who was coming, for the good of the kingdom."

---

33 The official Muhammadan account here begins to take a different line; but the author of the Zafar-al-Walihi, who belonged to the opposite party and had no need to flatter the Emperor, continues relating the events as they occurred, and serves us as a splendid guide in annotating Fr. Xavier's letter. From his narrative it seems that before this invitation of Akbar to the King Miran Bahadur, the latter sent an embassy to the Emperor, with the precise object of avoiding the surrender of the fort. Knowing the character of Akbar, he concluded that he would remain in his kingdom until the fort fell. Hence he decided to go personally to the imperial camp and make an act of submission, in the hope that the Emperor would give back to him the government of Bandeesh. When the garrison learnt the king's decision, they would not allow him to leave the fort alone, but one of the nobles, named Sadat Khan, was sent to the Imperial camp with his troops and servants, carrying many rich gifts, to arrange preliminaries with the Emperor. Akbar then started his new tactics of bribery. Sadat Khan never came back to the fortress, but from that day joined the service of the Emperor. The garrison then sent another embassy, headed by the son of the Abbezin Malik Yaghut, named Mokarrar Khan by both Sirhind and our present guide. This embassy came back after a while with the promise that Bahadur would be maintained on his throne. This was precisely the invitation of Akbar which Fr. Xavier speaks of. And this satisfactorily explains why Mokarrar Khan was afterwards sent back, because he who had heard the oath of the Emperor was the fittest to recall its remembrance to him.

34 Viz. On his own royal head; that is, a Persian oath, as Smith notes.

35 From the Zafar-al-Walihi we learn that Bahadur Khan left the fort, accompanied by the leading men of his army, among whom, no doubt, was Mokarrar Khan, as we conclude from one of the subsequent events which we shall narrate in the sequel. At this point our guide says: "And that was the end of his reign (viz., of Bahadur Shah) over his kingdom and his mountain."—The Indian Antiquary, p. 182. This proves the truth of Xavier's account, which cannot be reconciled with that of Abu-1 Faql and Sirhindi.

36 Smith thinks that these events took place near the end of August; I hope to show that they occurred later; Cf. note 43. The same author says that the ordinary residence of Akbar during the siege was the palace of Burhanpur; but Sirhindi, who knew the facts well and had no reason to make a false statement on this point, tells us that the royal camp was at Bursawin "seven or eight kos from Asir," and that Shaikh Farid, to meet the Emperor, proceeded to this royal camp.—Elliot, p. 143.

37 The author of the Zafar-al-Walihi does not say anything about this darbar. Why? Because he, being inside the fort, did not know what happened outside it; and so he merely records that Akbar did not permit Bahadur Shah to come back to his subjects. I think however that the darbar, described by Sirhindi just before the surrender, is this darbar, at which both he and Xavier must have been present: "When Bahadur came out," says he, "the Emperor held a grand darbar, at which all the great men were present, and Bahadur was amazed at the splendour and state."—Elliot, p. 146.

38 The so-called fort of Malai or Malagarh.
as soon as he should receive it. After this he wanted to go back, but, [Akbar] did not allow this, and ordered him to stay. The Governor Abexin, knowing this, sent at once one of his sons [to the Moghul King] with a message saying that that man was his own king, and since he had left [the Fort] to meet him confiding in His Highness' word and oath, it was not just that His Highness should keep him; therefore he asked His Highness to permit him to return; and afterwards he might wage the war as he liked.

"The Moghul Emperor, knowing that this Abexin was the key of the whole fortress, questioned his son as to whether his father would also come to meet him. The young man, who was a valiant character, answered boldly that since his father had sent him to His Highness with this message, he might know from this that he was not a man who would treacherously surrender that fort. Therefore he advised him that he should not expect [his father] to come to meet him. He might surely know that when he would come, His Highness would not go into the fort, and that if he would not permit the arrested king to go back, many other kings would take his place. The Moghul Emperor became very furious on hearing this answer, so much so that he immediately ordered him to be killed. When this reached the ears of his father, he caused him to send a message to the Emperor, saying: 'God forbid that I may ever see the face of so disloyal and treacherous a king.' Then putting a scarf around his neck he addressed those of the fortress, reminding them that the winter was approaching and that the Emperor would necessarily have to raise the blockade and

---

39 Smith refuses to accept the narrative of Sirhindhi from the moment he begins falsely to conceal the perfidy of Akbar; but I believe that there is some truth mixed up with the falsehoods. Following on the above quoted words, Sirhindhi says: "Mukarrab Khan, and several others of Bahadur's nobles, were sent into the fortress, in advance of Shaikh Abu-ul Faqil, to inform the garrison of the surrender, and to require the giving up of the keys" (I. e.). These two messages were precisely the contents of the letter Bahadur Shâh was forced to write, viz., "To open the gate of the fort to the lord who was coming". The words of the Gaddi mean therefore that Mukarrab Khan was the bearer of the letter's message to his father Malik Yaqub.

40 We can quote again Sirhindhi's words to illustrate those of Fr. Xavier—truth among falsehoods again: "When they approached Mukarrab Khan and the other nobles bringing Bahadur's letter—Mukarrab Khan's father mounted the top of the fort, and reviled him for having thrown his master into bonds and surrendered the fort".—Elliot, I. e. The author of the Zafar-al-Wali, who was perhaps present at this meeting between father and son, writes as follows: "And it happened that as he (Malik Yaqub) was defending the fortress, there came up to him the letter to him, viz, his son Mukarrab Khan with a message—viz., the letter from the king; and Malik Yaqub said to his son: 'May God not show me thy face. Go down to Bahadur and follow him. And he went down and obeyed his order.'"—Indian Antiquary, p. 182. Ogilby says that these reproaches of Malik Yâkût to Akbar were contained in a letter.—Gazetteer, p. 581.

41 Sirhindhi, of course, could not record this murder by his Imperial Master; therefore as soon as he had ended the narrative of the meeting of Mukarrab Khan with his father, adds: "Unable to endure his abuse [his father's words], the son stabbed himself two or three times in the abdomen and a few days afterwards he died".—Elliot, l. c. Thus the crime of Akbar remained hidden, so that when the fort surrendered some months after, the author of the Zafar-al-Wali, who being in the fortress had not yet learnt of the death of this young man, was told of his suicide, perhaps by Abu-ul Faqil himself, and thus wrote in his history: "And he went down and obeyed his order, until at length in the assembly of Abu-ul Faqil he stabbed himself in the belly with his dagger, in abasement that his father was not content with him and he died."—Indian Antiquary, I. c. This is the reason why this trustworthy historian disagrees with the Jesuit narrative: they gave him false information, and he would naturally not suspect the veracity of such historians as Abu-ul Faqil or Sirhindhi.

42 It seems that this was a phrase often used by this commander, because the author of the Zafar-al-Wali attributes a similar remark to him, while speaking to his son, as we have just seen. This establishes more clearly the fidelity of both accounts.

43 Smith says that 'winter' here means rains (p. 279, n. 2). I do not agree with him, because the rainy season is far advanced at the end of August, its beginning dating from the first half of June. How could he say that the 'rainy season' was approaching? He speaks of the real winter that begins in November: therefore I am inclined to believe that these events took place, not near the end of August, but in the month of October.
leave, lost the whole of his army should be destroyed; that no one could take the fort except God or those to whom God or they themselves might give it; that the best and most honest fate was always that of those who fight according to reason; therefore they were bound to defend themselves very strenuously; so far as he himself was concerned, he did not wish to live any more, so that he might avoid seeing the countenance of so wicked a man. Having said this, he made a knot in the scarf and strangled himself.

"After the death of the Akbar, those of the fort defended themselves for sometime, so that the Moghul Emperor began to despair, because, after having used so many means, he had not succeeded in his purpose. Therefore he thought to attack it with artillery, but, since he had none, he called the Fathers who had come with him, and ordered them to write at once to the Portuguese of Chaul, which was a hundred leagues distant; and he would also do the same, saying that he was in need of guns and ammunition to attack that fort; and that since they were very good friends of him, let them send him both. Father [Xavier] answered that His Highness wanted something, which he [Xavier] was unable to perform, nor could he advise the Portuguese to comply, because it was clearly against the Christian law. The Emperor became so angry on hearing this answer that his wrath burst forth; and he told Xavier to return to Goa at once, leaving the court for ever. They went out from his presence determined to leave accordingly; but one, who was a very good friend of theirs, advised them not to do so, because, if they did depart, they would

44 A third repetition of the same idea. How could he say it, when he was blind? It may have been an habitual phrase, used by him before he lost his sight. I admit that the words of Fr. Xavier cannot be the very words of the speaker, because he only learned the fact some months later, from the Portuguese people who were in the fortress; but we cannot reject the idea of the speech. The author of Zafar-ul-Wali, who was perhaps present, gives us further information. On hearing the news of the murder of his son, Malik Yâkût assembled in the royal palace those seven princes, who were supposed to be the heirs of the throne and all their sons, and addressed them as follows:—The fortress is as it was, and the garrison is at it. Which of you will accept the throne and will protect the honour of your fathers? And not one of them answered him anything—the historian continues, and he said to them: "Would to God that ye were women. And they excused themselves"—The Indian Antiquary, p. 182. Fr. Xavier confirms this a little further on.

45 The account of this suicide is differently narrated by the anonymous author of Asirgarh. I prefer this narrative to that of Xavier, because his information was better on this point, and his account shows more signs of probability than that of the missionary. "But Yâkût Malik Sul'tân," says the former, "when he despaired of all the offspring of Bahadur Shah, went out to his house, made his will, bathed himself, and had his shroud brought. Then he summoned his family and went out to the mosque which he had built, and prayed and distributed benefits and gave alms, and he caused a grave to be dug in a spot which he desired; and then he ate epium, for his jealous patriotism was strong upon him, and he died and was buried there." (I.e.) The speech, as it stands in Ogilby's Atlas, is substantially the same: "O brothers! The winter approaches, which will drive the Mughal from the siege, and to avoid their utter ruin, force them all to retire home. None but God shall ever be able to conquer this place unless the inhabitants thereof will surrender the same; therefore resolve valiantly to defend the same."

46 Having ended this speech, adds the traveller, he went and strangled himself immediately."—Gazetteer, p. 581.

47 We can remember here the words of Xavier in the beginning of this same letter: "The purpose of this journey was to conquer Goa and Malabar." In another letter of the same volume, which we hope to publish soon, he declares more fully the Emperor's design of conquering the Portuguese possessions.

48 I believe, Du Jarric says, that Xavier thus acted for no other reason than that the Portuguese had concluded a treaty of peace with King Miran shortly before."—Thesaurus Rerum Indicarum, Vol. III, p. 46.

49 I am almost sure that this gentlemen, who knew the character of Akbar so well, could not be any other than Abu-l Fāsîl himself. Fr. Montserrat, in his Commentarius, speaks of him as follows: "Aemulatione Sacerdotibus erat. Librum Evangelii religiosissime osculatur et suo capiti imponebat. Sacerdotes intuebatur quasi angeli, juvenem eorum interpretum beatum esse dicebat, qui consuetudine ipsorum fueretur. Quid pluris? In privatis cum Rege colloquitis, nihil habebat antiquius, quam illorum sententiam et modestiam commendare."—Commentarius, pp. 671-672.
undoubtedly be killed by the Emperor's order. Hence they had to hide themselves until his wrath subsided. They did so, and after a while their friendship with the Emperor was renewed."

"The Emperor persevered in besieging the fortress, till at last it surrendered to "the best guns and bullets", that is, to the aforesaid money and bribes, by which he weakened the loyalty of those who were inside; none of the seven princes were willing to succeed to the throne, because they knew how short their reign would be." So it happened that the fort surrendered a few days later. After this event the Moghul Emperor took possession of the whole kingdom and all its wealth, which was very great. He gave immunity to the people in general, but the kings, including the one who had been his prisoner, and the other seven successors, all of whom were inside the fort, were exiled and sent as prisoners to different parts of his kingdom. He gave to king Miran four thousand escudos, and two thousand to each of the others for their support. When he received the homage of the seven white captains, he asked them who they were. When they answered that they were Moors, he ordered them to be punished. Father Jerome Xavier

---

49 This event agrees marvellously with the description of the character of Akbar, made by the same Montserrat: "He seldom gets angry, but then violently; yet he cools down quickly, for he is naturally kind". "Father Montserrat's Account of Akbar," by Fr. H. Hosten, S.J., in Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. VIII, p. 192.

50 We have already learnt from the anonymous historian of Asirghar how they refused the acceptance of the throne. Cf. note 44. Smith thinks that the pecuniary negotiations must have begun in December (p. 281). We have already shown that they started some time before. Cf. note 33.

51 The capitulation took place on January 17, 1601, according to the inscription that can be still seen on the façade of the Jama Masjid in Asirghar. This confirms my opinion, against that of Smith, that the kidnapping of Bahadur Shah could not have occurred in the month of August, but later on. Xavier says: "The fort surrendered a few days after"; viz., after Akbar had decided to ask for Portuguese artillery from Chaul. This decision took place just after the aforesaid kidnapping, when he realized, against his expectations, that the besieged generals did not wish to capitulate.

52 The following items are given in the Ṣafar-al-Wālih on the surrender: "The people of the fortress were summoned to come down and take assurance, and in accordance with their answer Shaikh Ābūl-Faṣil of Delhi went up the mountain and took his seat on the stone platform known as that of Tāfṣīl Khān, and gave permission to them to descend with their families, and this they did, and the reduction of the fortress in M.C. 1609 (1600-01) was attributed officially to Shaikh Ābūl-Faṣil."—The Indian Antiquary, p. 182. But Sirhindī says that the man who received the surrender of the fort was Shaikh Ābd-al-Rahmān, Ābūl-Faṣil's son, and in this case I prefer his authority to that of the chronicles of Asirghar, because the former knew Ābūl-Faṣil and his family personally and the latter perhaps never made their acquaintance. After a while, "the Emperor went in and inspected the fortress... The Emperor stayed in the place three days, and then proceeded to Barhampur."—Elliot, p. 146. The kingdom of Khāndesh formed one of the three Subahs put under the command of prince Daniyal.

53 Khān Khānān, who had come from Ahmadnagar, went into the fortress and placed the royal seal on the treasures and warlike stores, which were then placed in charge of responsible officers... The emperor went in and inspected the fortress. All the treasures and effects of Bahadur Khān, which had been collected by his ancestors during two hundred years, were brought out."—(I.e.) Sir T. W. Haig records an item given by Khān Khān in his Muntakhab-al-Lubb on the treasures of the Faruqī Dynasty, which contained also the wealth of the old Hindu chiefs of Asirghar.

54 Bahadur Khān was sent to the fort of Gwalior, with his wives and family. According to Sirhindī the former were two hundred in number.

55 These seven princes, mentioned by Xavier several times, were all sons of Muhammad Shah II, and therefore uncles of Bahadur Khān. Their names are as follows: Da'ud Khān, Hamīd Khān, Qāsīr Khān, Bahram Khān, Shir Khān, Ghazi Khān and Dārī Khān. There were also eight brothers of Bahadur Khān, with their families. The Muhammadan historians do not say where they were sent. Cf. The Indian Antiquary, pp. 183–184. "He received all the inhabitants favourably, except the imprisoned king and the seven successive princes, whom he dispersed into several provinces"; Ogilby, in Gazetteer, p. 582.

56 This must have been a yearly donation, as Smith had noted. Escudo is a Spanish word, meaning gold currency.
asked the King to pardon them. But he answered that they had to be killed according to the laws of the Portugese; because they, being of Christian descent, had made themselves out to be Moors. However, since he had interceded for them, he gave them over to him. The Fa ther then devoted himself to the salvation of their souls; and all of them were converted—Thanks be to God. This was not the only fruit the Fathers gained in this journey; for many sons and daughters of Portugese were also given over to them, and Brother Benito de Goes brought them to Goa.

From the rest of Fr. Xavier's letter, which gives no further news about the conquest of this fort, we may conclude that Akbar spent some further time in the neighbourhood, where he received homage and some religious gifts from Fr. Manuel Piñeiro, S.J., who had remained at Lahore in charge of the Christians of that town.

The letter of Fr. Xavier is the most trustworthy account of the conquest of Asirgarh; but it needs to be supplemented and checked by the sidelights provided by the Muhammadan historians, and especially by the author of Zafar-al-Walih; this task we have attempted, while publishing the letter in English for the first time. From its study the following facts, not recorded by Smith, are brought out:

1. The purpose of Akbar in this expedition was to open the way through the Deccan for further conquests in Goa, Malabar, Vijayanagar and Dabul.

2. An alliance probably existed between the Portuguese and the Deccan kingdoms, to oppose the Moghul Emperor.

3. Mukarrab Khan was sent twice by his father Malik Yakut to the Imperial camp, the first time before the kidnapping of the king, and the second after that event.

4. The kidnapping of Bahadur took place, not at the end of August but later on, probably in October.

DISPOSAL OF DECEASED LAMAS IN EASTERN TIBET AND THE MUMMIFYING OF BODIES IN CHINA.

In Eric Teichman's Travels of a Consular Officer in Eastern Tibet, the latest and very excellent book on that country (1922), there occurs a remarkable statement on the mode of disposin the bodies of lamas by feeding them to birds, to which the author has attached an equally remarkable account of the Chinese method of mummifying the dead held to be of much account.

On p. 84, we read: "On this march we passed a deceased lama being cut up and fed to the birds, a somewhat gruesome sight. Domna, our Tibetan mastiff, immediately galloped off to join in the feast, and was with difficulty recalled. This is the usual method of disposing of deceased lamas. The idea seems to be that a speedy reincarnation is secured by being thus fed to the birds (and each reincarnation is, it is hoped, a step towards non-reincarnation and the desired escape from the revolving wheel of earthly existence). Dead lamas are usually thrown into rivers, a practice which makes it advisable to drink unboiled river water in Tibet."

Both the above statements are of interest. The first because the Parsi mode of disposing of the dead in towers of silence to be eaten by birds is said to be due to the idea of not polluting the Mother Earth by burying the body in it. The second is, of course, a common Hindu custom of (1) Aryan or outside-Aryan origin.

On the same page Mr. Teichman has a note of great interest on Chinese mummifying, which is worth reproducing here.

"We never came across a mummied lama in Eastern Tibet, but the mummy of Tsongkaba (the great reformer of Tibetan lamaism) is said to be preserved in a monastery at Lhasa. Mummies of priests and other celebrities are not uncommon in China, and there is one at Peking which is well known to foreign tourists. The Chinese make their mummies by starving the subject before his death (so that he may be as empty and dry as possible) and then placing the body in a sealed jar with charcoal, which absorbs the moisture. When the body is entirely dried it is removed from the jar and gilded."

R. C. Temple.

---

67 The conduct of Fr. Xavier was that of a minister of Jesus Christ, Prince of Peace, and he acted according to the words of God to the Prophet Ezekiel: "I desire not the death of the wicked, but that the wicked turn from his way and live" (XXXIII, 11), and he succeeded in his efforts.

68 The fact that there were so many Portugese in the fort perhaps confirms the hint of Fr. Du Jarrie, that an alliance existed between them and the kingdom of Khandesh. Cf. note 47.
BOOK NOTICES.


The Burmese have long taken their history seriously, and the result of this feeling has produced many chronicles with names well known in the Country,—the Celebrated, the Old and the New Pagán, the Great, the Middle, the New, the Tagang, the Nakhaing, the Tharék'ittarā, the Ng'eypyittauq, the Pagán, the Pāli Paukkan, the Vamsādipline, the Abridged, the Gōdhāvārā, the Nyqunyang, the Thätōn, and many others. The inscriptions in Burmese are innumerable, and then there are besides the ḫgyin, or historical ballads, and similar poetical compositions, and the thanmaings, or prose histories of pagodas and monasteries, and even of towns. Every pagoda has one of its own. Innumerable as these are, none of them are 'historical,' but they contain historical facts, and between them they can be made to yield real history, while their very numbers make them capable of being used to check each other, and thus to extract credible history out of them. No doubt in time this will be done, for the Burma Research Society is taking this fascinating subject steadily in hand.

I call the study fascinating, because the peoples of Burma have a true literary flair, and their chronicles are full of captivating poetry and are delightful reading, whether the reader is bent on a search after true history or merely on literary enjoyment. With translators so capable and so true to their text as Messrs. Pe Maung Tin and G. H. Luce, the English forms of such works are a pleasure as they stand without annotations.

Not that I would advocate leaving the Burmese records unannotated by scholars, as is the case with the volume before me. Mr. Pe Maung Tin, in preparing for his translation, has examined "all available records which bear on history," and "made a detailed comparative study of them, embodying the results in the form of footnotes and appendices to the Glass Palace Chronicle. But this apparatus of notes with numerous cross references would have entailed a higher cost of printing than the Burma Research Society was prepared to defray." So he printed nothing but the plain text divested of all notes. One can understand the position of the Society, but that does not mitigate the regret that so much scholarship should be thus thrown away at a time when it is so greatly required. Other publications of research in Burma show that the time has now come when the results of the searchers are well worth publication, and it is to be sincerely hoped that Mr. Pe Maung Tin will not have to wait long for a publisher of his annotated edition. There are very many points in this one that need elucidation by a scholar's notes.

Although the old time Burmese scholars were not critical according to present day ideas, they were by no means unaware of the mythical nature of early Burmese history, nor of the value of collecting their many sources of information and of collecting together what they thought credible. They had moreover from time to time rulers also who were willing to have the most reliable history practicable put together. Such considerations were in fact the cause of the compilation of the Glass Palace Chronicle. In 1829 King Bāgyidaw of the Alamprā (Alamg'irā) Dynasty appointed a Committee of learned men to compile a chronicle "sifted and prepared in accordance with all credible records in the books." It was worked out in the Glass Palace (M'an Nan), whence its name. It was to be a standard, and to be "purified by comparing it with other chronicles and a number of inscriptions; each with the other, and adopting the truth in the light of reason and the traditional books." The compilers set about their work very seriously and with great learning and assiduity, drawing upon all sorts of literature for the facts and arguments, and freely interrupting the narrative with disquisitions on their authorities. The present volume gives only a portion of the Chronicle, and in it "are quoted eleven inscriptions, eleven other chronicles, ten thanmaings, besides the Pali chronicles and Burmese poetical literature." The whole scheme was excellent, the actual procedure honest, and the only point in which the compilers failed according to modern ideas was in their interpretation of the term 'credible.' Nevertheless a book so constituted is well worth publication and thoroughly critical annotation.

Mr. Pe Maung Tin's description of his own criticisms of the sources of Burmese History is most valuable. He first discusses the Inscriptions, as the oldest and most trustworthy material. King Bōdawp'ayā (1781-1819) made an immense collection of them, now put together, mostly uncritically, in six large volumes. He had true copies made of some (s'intō), revised versions made of others (s'tō), and a large class he did not have copied at all. The Inscriptions date from the 11th century, and obviously careful looking into, which no doubt they will get in due course.

The Chronicles are a comparatively modern body of works. The oldest, the Celebrated Chronicles of Sāmantapasādika Silavamsa, more familiarly known as Thilawa, dates only from the 14th century and is not of much use for 'history.' Mr. Pe Maung Tin gives an excellent short account of
it and of all others that he examined. The Old Pagan Chronicle is said to date from the 18th century, but does not appear to be the Old Chronicle quoted by the Glass Palace compilers. Maung Kalá's Great Chronicle of the 18th century, however, appears to be the foundation upon which they really worked, their production being seemingly an amended and annotated copy of it. Maung Kalá also compiled an abridgment of his great work, which he called the Middle Chronicle, though it does not appear to be the Middle Chronicle used in the Glass Palace. The New Pagan Chronicle of 1785, a fine and valuable compilation, reproduced both the Great and the Old with additions, and was the first to display critical powers as to its predecessors. The New Chronicle, by the well-known scholar Twinthin Mahāśāhā, produced about the same time, is the work of one of the examiners of inscriptions for King Bódawp’winy’s collection. It is a critical work and is as valuable as the New Pagan, although the Glass Palace compilers often ignored the information it contains. These are the documents dealing with general Burmese history, and of them the Old, the Great, the New Pagan, and the New, are those that Mr. Pe Maung Tin classifies as the Standard Chronicles.

Turning to those that profess to give local history, the Tagaung Chronicle is largely legendary and in its later parts incoherent, but it is useful for the purposes of comparison. The Rakāning (Arakan) Chronicle throws many sidelights on general history. Similar remarks apply to the Tharék’ittra, Ng’eyyipittraung, and the Pagān. The Pāli Paukkān may be taken as a Pāli version of the Burmese Great Chronicle. The Vamsadhāpanī is an modern exposition by Mātī Sayāyāva, 1916. All the Talāning Chronicles deal with local history, such as that of Pegu, Tavoy, Zimmb, and the like.

Mr. Pe Maung Tin further goes into the Bgyin, which are historical ballads, but from them true history can only be extracted by an expert, because of their poetical nature. He also goes into the Thamaing, or prose histories of holy places, where again very expert knowledge is required for the recognition of valuable references to general history.

I have thus gone closely into the Introduction to this book in order to bring out the fact that the historical resources of Burma are great, and only require critical examination to be of practical use. It is a great pleasure to see that the Burma Research Society is likely to provide it.

The translators, have found serious difficulty, like every one else, in transliterating Burmese terms and names, as who will not, where words are written on one system and pronounced on another? I have already drawn attention to this difficulty in this Journal and will say no more about it now. But it is a burning question.

As regards the Glass Palace Chronicle itself as now presented to us, it is capital reading and is in easy and admirable English. On their rendering the authors are to be greatly congratulated, and also on confining themselves for the present to those parts only of the original which purport to tell the story of the Burmese Kingdoms of Tagaung, Tharék’ittra and Pagān. The tale thus begins with the more or less mythical founding of Tagaung by Akhiraj the Sákya, i.e., of the tribe of the Buddha himself, in an unknown age B.C., and takes us as far thence as the Chinese conquering raid at the end of the 13th century.

One point that has interested me personally is that it contains once more many stories of the Thirty Seven Nats, who were all more or less directly connected with the old Burmese Kings, and I propose in due course to compare the stories I published of them in this Journal in Vol. XXXV with those in the Glass Palace Chronicle.

The whole work wants close annotation, as many remarks are made in it of anthropological interest, such as constant references to astrological conditions at the time of a king’s death, and the statement of the day of the week on which each king was born. All of which mean much to Bumans, but are unknown to the rest of the world.

R. C. Temple.

Journal of Indian History, edited by Dr. Shafa’at Ahmad Khan, Vol. II, Part I, Serial No. 4, November 1922; Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press.

Dr. Shafa’at Ahmad Khan, the Editor, has provided students of Indian history with four interesting papers in the latest number of the Journal of Indian History. The first, written by Professor Beni Prasad, deals with the succession of Shah Jahān and explains in easy and succinct style the circumstances and intrigues which obliged the Prince to raise the standard of revolt, despite the fact that Jahangir, by appointing him in 1608 to the Sarkar of Hissar Firoz and leading him with political honours, had already marked him out publicly as his chosen successor. The intrigues and plotting, which were the natural concomitant of Mughal successions to the throne, were indeed so serious and so constant that our ambassador, Sir Thomas Roe, prophesied a bloody internecine war on the demise of Jahangir, and on that account warned the East India Company not to extend their business too far into the country. This unfortunate immersion in political plotting, the constant exposure of the princes to the evil influence of palace factions, must have had a degrading effect upon even the best natures; and it is only on such grounds that one can explain why Shah Jahān, who in his youth exhibited unusual strength of character, showed great prowess.
as a soldier, and has immortalized himself by his faithful love for Arjumand Banu, should have stained his reputation by the infamous murder of his brother Khursad and by ordering the assassination of the princes by Asaf Khan. In the course of his narrative, the author refers to Malik Ambar as the first of the builders of the Maratha nation, who enrolled, organised and trained guerrilla bands of light Maratha horse and fitted them against the Mughals. This dictum serves as a wholesome reminder that, great as were the services of Sivaji Maharaj in welding the Marathas into a powerful fighting force, he owed not little of his success in both civil and military spheres to a former age. Professor Surendranath Sen has already shown that his administrative arrangements had their roots deep down in ancient Hindu political science, and Professor Beni Prasad's reference to Malik Ambar supports the view that much of the later military success of the Marathas was due to the training received under the old Mursudman dynasties of the Deccan.

Dr. Tilton provides in this number the second portion of a careful account of the "Rise of the Jains of Sanaa" (1004-1050 A.D.), which contains facts that are probably new to many students, while Professor H. G. Rawlinson contributes a brief sketch of the "Early Trade between England and the Levant." The Company of Merchants of the Levant, which succeeded in completelyousting the Italian cities from the Mediterranean trade, has a special interest for students of Indian history, as having been the parent of the East India Company. Mr. Rawlinson reminds us that for a time these two companies actually had the same letter-book, and that the Levant Company was ultimately wound up as late as 1825, after a long and prosperous career of 244 years. The story of John Fox, mentioned in the paper, is worth remembrance as an example of British tenacity in difficult and dangerous circumstances.

The longest and in some ways the most important paper in this number is Professor S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's essay on the "Origin and Early History of the Pallavas of Kanchi." For many years the precise origin and nature of the strange dynasty, which showed so much hostility to the Tamil Kingdoms of South India, have been a subject of speculation; and it is only now that epigraphy and historical research are beginning to throw light on the problem. There is no one better qualified by knowledge and experience than Professor S. K. Aiyangar to gather up the scattered strands and weave them into a harmonious and credible story. He opens his paper by disproving the supposed connexion between the Pallavas and the northern Pahlavas, though he holds that the two names are philologically identical, and shows that the information to be gleaned from ancient Tamil literature directly militates against the theory of a Pahlava origin. Then, on the evidence supplied by the most ancient Tamil records, by various copper-plate and other inscriptions discovered from time to time in South India, and by certain types of Andhra coins, he proceeds to unfold his theory of the origin and rise of the Pallava power in the region, known as Tondamandalam, between the lower course of the Krishna and the Palar river. Incidentally he points out that the people of Tondamandalam in early days were styled Toogavaiyars and that the term was synonymous with Pallava; while in early Tamil literature the more important section of the inhabitants of this region was known as Tirayar or "sea-people," and one of their chiefs, the son of a Chola king by a Naga princess, was the first viceroy or ruler of Kanchi. Of this interesting figure we shall have more to say in a later paragraph.

Professor Aiyangar's conclusions are briefly as follows. While the Cholas were still dominant in the south and in control of Tondamandalam, the Satavahanas under Pulumaiy Endeavoured to conquer this region, the struggle being reflected in Tamil literature by reference to hostilities between the Tamils on one side and the Ariyars and Vadukars on the other. After the death of Kari-kila, the Andhras (Satavahanas) advanced south and occupied the country almost up to the Southern Pennar. For some time they placed in charge of this country viceroy chosen from among their own relatives; but later, probably in the reign of Yajasa Sri, they appointed a local Pallava chieftain, styled "Bappa Deva," in the earliest known Prakrit inscription, who did much towards extending cultivation and irrigation. His son ruled over Kanchi, which was the headquarters of the territory. This territory had apparently broken up into three by the time of Samudragupta, in consequence, doublets, of the irrigation of the Ichshvaku from the north, and the only Pallava ruler proper at the date of the Hari-Sena inscription was Vishnugopa of Kanchi, the rulers of Vengi and Palakka being scions of the Ichshvaku race. Samudragupta's defeat of all three rulers seems to have so far undermined the power of Vishnugopa of Kanchi that he was ousted by Virakureh Pallava, who founded the Pallava dynasty of the Sankdrifts, and obtained possession also of the south-western viceroyalty of the Chottu family of Satavahanas, who were Nagas, by marrying a Naga princess. By force of arms and also by virtue of this marriage, he united under his own sway the whole southern block of Satavahan territory, about the time that the northern block was being attacked by the Nagas, the Vaikatatas and the Ksatrapas in the north. Virakureh and his successors managed to reassert Pallava authority as far north as Vengi, until in the reigns of Sishavarman and
his son Sinhavishnu we find the Pallavas in full control of the Chola country. Professor Aiyangar also deals with the history of the territory of the Naga cousins of the Sàvatthanam, lying to the west of the recognized Pallava territory, which, seized in the reign of Skandavarman by an enterprising Brahman named Mayura Sarman, was gradually absorbed by the Pallavas in later generations, until the rise of the Western Chalukyas placed a limit upon their advance.

Thus, according to this brief sketch of their early history, the Pallavas proper first appear in the person of "Bappa Deva," the local chieftain, appointed viceroy of Tondaimandalam for the Andhras in the reign of Yajja Sri Sítakarni. The question then arises as to the origin of Bappa Deva, who founded the historical Pallava dynasty of the Prakrit charters. In a recent issue of this Journal, Mr. M. C. Rasamnyangam has put forward the view, based on definite statements in ancient Tamil literature, that the Chola King Kiliya VaPavan or Nejumudi Kili, who moved his capital to Uraiýar after the destruction of Kaveriappanam, had a son by a Naga princess, who was the daughter of VaJáVanan, the Naga king of Manippallavan, which he identifies with the Jaffna peninsula in Ceylon. This son, named Tondaiman Ilam-tirayán, was created by his Chola father king of Tondaimandalam about A.D. 150 or a little later, with his capital at Kânchi, and was in fact the earliest founder of the dynasty which derived its dynastic name of Pallava from the second half of the name of the region (Mani-pallavan), whence Ilam-tirayán's Naga mother originally hailed.

Professor Aiyangar apparently accepts the tradition of Ilam-tirayán's rule or viceroyalty, as embodied in Tamil literature, but points out that there is no direct evidence to connect Ilam-tirayán with the clearly historical Bappa-deva, who appears in a later generation. He states that Ilam-tirayán was succeeded by the Chola Ilam-Kili, younger brother of Ilam-tirayán's father Nejumudi-Kili, and that Chola sovereignty ceased with his rule or viceroyalty. The Pallavas of the early charters succeeded to the possession of the territory, the first of them being the local chief Bappa-deva. Surely it is not impossible that Bappa-deva may have been connected by descent with the "Pallava" Ilam-tirayán, in which case this strange and powerful dynasty would have been primarily descended partly from the Chola royal line and partly from a tribe or dynasty of Sinhalese Nàgas. When we leave the realm of tradition and come to recorded fact, Professor Aiyangar provides us with an excellent and well-reasoned résumé of early Pallava history, which illuminates many dark places and proves the close connexion existing historically between the rulers of Kânchi and the important Andhra dynasty. This article alone should suffice to assure a warm welcome to this number of the Journal.

S. M. Edwards.

ALLAHABAD UNIVERSITY, STUDIES IN HISTORY. Volume I, HISTORY OF JAHANGIR, by BENI PRASAD, M.A., Assistant Professor of Indian History, with a foreword by SHAFAAT AHMAD KHAN, Litt.D. Humphrey Milford—Oxford University Press, 1922.

Students of the Mughal period of Indian History have hitherto been obliged to rely for their knowledge of the reign of Jahangir upon Elphinstone's History of India and the work of Khafl Khan. Professor Beni Prasad introduces us for the first time to various contemporary, and therefore important, Persian chronicles of that Emperor's reign, and by carefully sifting these and comparing them with contemporary European evidence, Rajput chronicles, and later records, has produced a very complete and withal succinct review of Jahangir's life and reign. The author states in his preface that he has aimed throughout at a simple style; and he has certainly achieved his object: for his narrative runs forward smoothly and without effort, thus conveying the facts and circumstances of Jahangir's career more clearly than would have been possible, perhaps, in a more ornate or florid style of composition.

In the opening chapter the author gives us a careful estimate of Jahangir's character, showing how his noble qualities, his love of physical exercise, his undeniable intellectual capacity, were marred by a lamentable weakness of will, which was aggravated by intemperance, the besetting sin of the Mughal imperial line. It seems almost impossible that he could have consumed so large a daily allowance of liquor as "twenty cups of doubly distilled spirits, fourteen during the daytime and the remainder at night." Yet we have our own confession to this effect, and also his description of the disastrous result of these potations upon his health. Professor Beni Prasad combats the hitherto popular view that the quarrel between Akbar and Jahangir (then Prince Salim) was founded on religious incompatibility, and that the latter played the rôle of champion of Islamic orthodoxy against the heretical views of Akbar and Abul' Fazîl. He proves his contention from original records, and shows that the dispute between Jahangir and his father was in origin purely secular and was fought on secular ground. At the same time, on a later page, he dispenses finally of the groundless story that Akbar died of poison administered by Jahangir. On more than one occasion, as Professor B. Prasad admits, Jahangir was driven by gusts of passion to acts of barbarous cruelty: but the guilt of the parricide cannot be laid to his charge. A general survey of his life shows him to have been on
the whole a kindly, sensible man, with strong family affections, affable and open-handed.

The author likewise exonerates Jahangir from the charge of having instigated the murder of Sher Afskhun, in order that he might secure for himself the beautiful wife of the latter, Nur Jahan. Apart from the improbabilities of the story itself, which the author fully explains, he shows that the accusation against the Emperor was never heard of till the second half of the seventeenth century, and was transformed and embellished by Dow and other writers during the eighteenth century. A close study of contemporary authorities and of well-established facts indicates that Sher Afskhun died in 1607, under suspicion of complicity in a seditionist conspiracy in Bengal, and that Jahangir did not meet and marry his widow until the early months of 1611. The happiness of his married life with Nur Jahan and her own very remarkable strength of character render it extremely unlikely that their union was facilitated by an odious crime. The author dwells at some length upon the exceptional qualities of the Padishah Begam or First Lady of the Realm, as Nur Jahan was styled on the death of Sultan Salima Begam in 1613, and upon her great beauty. The contemporary portraits of her, which are preserved in the India Office and British Museum, help one in some degree to realise her loveliness, and, while amply explaining Jahangir's lasting affection for her, seem to repel the suggestion that she would willingly have linked her fortunes with her first husband's murderer. Jahangir is not the first Indian potentate against whom charges of murder have been made, which later inquiry has proved to be unfounded.

Professor Beni Prasad regards the epidemic which swept through Ahmadabad in 1618, during Jahangir's visit, as identical with the so-called 'influenza' which caused such appalling mortality in India in 1918, and points out that on both occasions the epidemic followed a period of scarcity and a war. Assuming that the disease was the same in both instances, its incidence in the case of Europeans and Indians does not appear to have been similar. For, according to contemporary accounts, the disease generally proved fatal to Europeans in 1618, whereas three centuries later the mortality among this class was trivial by comparison with the effects of the epidemic on Indians. The identity of the two outbreaks appears to me by no means definitely proved, though I am quite prepared to agree with Professor Beni Prasad that the generic term 'influenza' is now often loosely applied to obscure visitations, of which medical science has so far failed to discover the precise character and origin.

On the other hand, there is little room for doubt that the epidemic in the Doab in 1616—1624 was identical with the bubonic plague which appeared in the Mandvi ward of Bombay in 1896. A precisely similar epidemic, of which the symptoms were described by Khafi Khan, broke out in 1698 among Aurangzeb's forces in Bijapur. The modern theory of the responsibility of the rat in the dissemination of the disease is curiously foreshadowed by the remark of a contemporary writer, Motamad Khan, that 'when it (the plague) was about to break out, a mouse would rush out of its hole, as if mad, and striking itself against the door and the walls of the house, would expire. If, immediately after this signal, the occupants left the house and went away to the jungle, their lives were saved; if otherwise, the inhabitants of the whole village would be swept away by the hand of death.' The author of the Iqbalnama may claim credit for having indicated three centuries ago two axioms in regard to plague which are generally accepted by medical science to-day, viz.:—the association of the rat (or mouse) with the spread of the disease, and the vital necessity of evacuating infected areas without delay.

Considerations of space forbid further reference to the contents of Professor Beni Prasad's well arranged work. The chapters on Mughal Government, Mowar, Shah Jahan's Rebellion, Mahabat Khan's coup de main, and on Nur Jahan, deserve close study, and constitute a valuable addition to our knowledge of the period. The obvious care taken to sift all available evidence, and the manner of presenting his conclusions to the reader render Professor Prasad's study of Jahangir a worthy companion volume to Dr. V. A. Smith's well-known monograph on Akbar. One can only hope that the author will find leisure to publish a similar volume on Shah Jahan. The present book is furnished with an exhaustive bibliography and a good index.

S. M. EDWARDS.


Djawa contains articles on Eastern and Western culture, on facial expression in Hindu-Javanese sculpture (with illustrations) and an important communication on musical scales and instruments of Western Java, in continuation and completion of the previous article on Sudanese music (Djawa, vol. 1, pp. 235 ff.), by J. Kunst and C. J. A. Kunst. It gives particulars of many different kinds of orchestras with descriptions of the instruments used in them, and numerous tables and diagrams of musical scales, etc.

J. M. B.

Djawa : No. 2 (1923), Driemaandelijkhch Tijdschrift uitgegeven door het Java-Instituut bij G. Kolff en Co., Weltevreden.

Djawa maintains the excellence of this serial in illustrations and articles. The first paper is on Javanese dancing, of which there are two types, the Solo and the Jogja. The poses assumed in
the dances are fully described and illustrated. The second article is on a festival, called Rowatun, celebrated to avert the ill luck incurred by upsetting or breaking certain objects. The next is on the deterioration of native applied art, with illustrations of specimens of old and new work, among them reproductions of two bas reliefs, one of Majas’s (Majâ’s) dream and the other of the birth of Buddha, to show the vessels represented in them. The article following is on the puzzling character of the Javanese stage called Senar. Next comes a paper (to be continued) on maladies from the Javanese and from the Dutch standpoint. Then follows a short article (illustrated) on the old graves of the Sultanis in Madeggan (Sampang). The next two articles are in answer to that of Dr. Nieuwenhuis in Djan, No. 1 (1923), on East and West. Then follows a paper (illustrated) on native building, its importance and future.

J.M.B.


The first edition of “Inscriptions at Shravana Belgola” was published by Mr. B. Lewis Rice in 1889, and the present volume represents the result of fifteen years’ hard work by Mr. R. Narasimhachar to bring his predecessor’s valuable record up to date. The result is in every way creditable to the author, whose own directorate of archeological research in Mysore has now terminated. The preparation of the present volume necessitated the comparison of every one of the printed inscriptions with its original, and a very thorough survey both of Shravana Belgola itself and the surrounding villages. As a result of these painstaking labours, nearly three hundred and fifty hitherto unknown records have been brought to light, and many have now been copied and recorded, of which no trace is likely to be left in a few years’ time owing to the action of wind and weather. The volume contains 500 inscriptions, ranging in date from A.D. 600 to 1889, and full descriptions of ancient buildings, of which the architecture varies from the eighth to the seventeenth century of the Christian era.

Many of the records of pilgrims, which Mr. Narasimhachar here publishes for the first time, indicate that Shravana Belgola was a place of great sanctity and importance in very early times. On this account eminent Jain gurus, poets, artists, chiefs, officials and other high and puissant personages, in common with ordinary people, considered it incumbent upon them to visit the holy place at least once during their lifetime and have their names permanently recorded there. Many of the inscriptions are epitaphs, some of which date back to the seventh and eighth centuries, and record the religious suicide of Jain monks and nuns. Sallikhanâ was the term applied to the vow under which these pious devotees starved themselves to death, and the author quotes the following description of the process from the Ratnakaramadaka of Samantabhadra:—“When overtaken by calamity, by famine, by old age, or by incurable disease, to get rid of the body for dharmas is called Sallikhanâ. One should by degrees give up solid food and take liquid food; then, giving up liquid...
food should gradually content himself with warm water; then, abandoning even warm water, should fast entirely, and thus, with mind intent on the five salutations, should by every effort quit the body." Presumably it was this method which the Mauryan emperor Chandragupta adopted after his abdication of the imperial throne and his journey to Sravana Belgola with the saint Badrabahu. Mr. Narasimhachar discusses at length the legend of Chandragupta's self-imposed death by starvation and quotes the local inscriptions which refer to it. Though the evidence is somewhat conflicting, I agree fully with Mr. Narasimhachar that the legend rests upon a solid basis of fact, and that the emperor's journey to the south with Badrabahu and his subsequent death in the manner described amply explain his sudden disappearance from the political arena.

The date, dimensions, characteristics and history of the colossal statue of Gommatesvara are thoroughly explored and explained by the author, who declares that this remarkable monument, which is 57 feet in height, was probably made by Chamunda Rāya, minister of the Gaṅga king Rājamalla (974-84 A.D.) and must have been completed in A.D. 983. Some of the inscriptions give interesting sidelights upon individual rulers and ascetics. The Rashtrakuta king Indra IV, for example, is described as extraordinarily expert at a game of ball, played on horseback, which Mr. Narasimhachar assumes, probably correctly, to be polo. "The ball may be bigger than a black pepper seed; the stick may be shorter than four fingers' breadth; the horse may be bigger than a mountain; the circuit may be larger than that of the earth; still Indra Rāja will not be satisfied unless he makes eight or ten rounds under these conditions, though others, when they think of these, will not even make an attempt." Another inscription proves that in the eyes of some Jain ascetics dirt was as much a proof of holiness as it was among the saints and desert-dwellers of the early Christian Church. One Muladhārīdeva is described as having "never once scratched the body when itching was caused by the dirt which covered the whole of it like armour." On the other hand, virtue could hardly be better expressed than in the brief description of one Isaraya, who died about A.D. 900, as "the elder brother to others' wives."

Space does not permit of further quotations from this important work. The book is well printed, contains many excellent plates and a good index, and reflects credit upon both Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar and the Government of Mysore.

S. M. EDWARDS.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

A GRANT OF THE VAKATAKA QUEEN PRABHAVATI—GUPTA, THE YEAR 19th OF PRAVARASENA.

When on a short visit to Poona, Sardar Abasahib Muzumdar on behalf of the Bhārata-Ilihsa-Saśādīthaka Maṇḍala, Poona, handed over to me four copper plates for decipherment and taking estimates, two for Maṇḍala, one for my reading and two to illustrate my article in the Epigraphia Indica or elsewhere. On examining the plates measuring I found that they contain a most valuable grant of the Gupta period, viz., one of Prabhavatigupta, daughter of Chandragupta II and the chief queen of Śrī Mahārāja Rudrasena (II) of the Vākāṭakas. The most interesting point is that she calls herself the mother of Mahāraja Śrī Dāmōdarasena Pravarasena. Another important point is that the record is dated in the 19th year of the reign of Pravarasena (प्रवरसेनस् राजस्ययुगाध्ययनं एकोर्षलपतिवेव), the actual date being the 12th day of the bright fortnight of Kārtika. In the grant of the same queen edited by Prof. Pāṭhak and Mr. K N. Dikshit (Ep. Ind., Vol. XV, pp. 40), the date given is the 12th day of the bright-half of Kārtika in the 13th year. The authors remark "This might be either from the accession of Rudrasena II, or from that of the young prince, in whose name the queen mother was ruling; the former supposition appears to be more probable."

On the analogy of this grant of the same queen, it is reasonable to infer that the thirteenth year should be that of Divākarasena. But who was this Divākarasena? Was he the same person as Dāmōdarasena or Pravarasena? Dr. Fleet has edited two grants of Pravarasena II, viz., Channak and Siwani copper-plate inscriptions, both of (his) 18th year (Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. III, pages 235-249). These grants were made at Pravarasena's command or instructions (वपनानं). The present record is of his next year.

From judge to the wording of this grant, as also from the other, one is inclined to believe that Prahlavatigupta was more proud of her paternal relations, the imperial Gupta, than of her connection with the Vākāṭaka family.

The grant is issued from the feet of the god of Rāmagiri, which appears to be Rāmagiri in the Central Provinces, Bhaktakabhogadeśa is engraved on the Brahmans of the Tāttiriya Śākhā of the Pārāśara gōta. They are the inhabitants of Aśvatanagāra.

The dākā is Yeṇḍa Swāmī and the writer of the grant Prabhūvaiṣhā (Prabhūvaiṣhā). I have given my preliminary readings of the text in my article read before the Bhārata-Ilihsa-Saśādīthaka Maṇḍala. The grant will be edited in full in the Epigraphia Indica or elsewhere. I am indebted to the Secretaries of the Maṇḍala for kind permission to publish this summary of a most valuable record.

Y. R. GUPTA.
AMONG the Italians who visited India during the sixteenth century, the greater part were undoubtedly merchants or at least persons interested in commerce. Their greatest predecessor—one might fain say their patron saint—had, of course, been Marco Polo, who vastly surpassed all travellers of his nation that followed him. And during the last century of the Middle ages, Niccolò de' Conti and Hieronymo di S. Stefano—a Venetian and a Genoese—visited the fabulous regions of the East, bequeathing to their countrymen short relations of their travels. These names are probably the only ones that are now remembered amongst Italians visiting India in those remote times.

After the Portuguese had discovered the direct sea-route to India, and Lisbon had thus become the European emporium of Oriental trade, the merchants of the Italian sea-ports—and above all the Venetians—tried in every way to get rid of their new rivals, in order to re-establish their decaying commercial position in the Far East. Even intrigues and alliances with the Turks and the Muhammadans of Southern India, who also saw their interests endangered by the Portuguese conquerors, did not seem wholly objectionable to the Venetians. Nevertheless the Portuguese, through the superior strategy and heroism of some of their leaders—we need only remember the d'Almeidas, d'Albuquerque, João de Castro, etc.—generally kept the upper hand in the struggle, and on the whole they succeeded in upholding their high position in the East, until the time when the exhaustion of their own country reached its culmination through the disastrous African expedition of Dom Sebastian (1578) and the union with Spain under the sceptre of Philip II (1580). His enmity with the Dutch and English gradually brought the power of Portugal in the Indian Ocean to a complete downfall.

However, with the discovery of the direct sea-route to India, the commercial power of Venice in the East was, no doubt, once for all broken down, and every endeavour towards restoring it had to be looked upon as quite hopeless. It is not to be doubted that among the Venetian merchants still continuing to visit the Indian seas many were nothing more than a sort of commercial spies, trying if possible to find out the secrets of Portuguese commerce with the interior of India and of their relations with the natives, in order afterwards to impart what they had learnt to their countrymen. Consequently, the descriptions of their voyages became little else than handbooks on the trade-routes and commercial products of the East, and they generally show only a scanty interest in the conditions of the interior of the

---


3 I am sorry to say it has been impossible to me to get hold of A. de Gubernatis Storia dei viaggiatori italiani nelle Indie Orientali, Livorno, 1875.

4 When Whiteway, The Rise of Portuguese Power in India, 1497—1550, Westminster, 1899, dates the Portuguese downfall in the East from 1550, and says on p. 324: “D. João de Castro was the last man with any pretensions to superiority who held office in the early days of the Portuguese connection with India, and the names of his successors for many generations, some indolent, some corrupt, some both, and all superstitious, are but the milestones that mark the progress along the dismal path of degeneration,” it seems to me that he delivers a somewhat too strong judgment. Men like D. Constantin de Bragança or D. Luiz de Ataide ought to have been spoken of in quite different expressions.

5 There existed a famous standard of such books in the Pratica della mercatura of Pegolotti (c. 1340). Cf. Yule Cathay and the way thither, II, 137 ff.
countries they visited, though every such traveller has, of course, something of value to tell the student of Indian history and religions. From that point of view this literature has as yet been far too much overlooked.

I will now deal shortly with two voyages by Venetian merchants in the later half of the sixteenth century, which are certainly typical of this sort of literature. The chief reason why I have come to deal with them is the somewhat enigmatic position in which they stand to each other, which will be entered upon at the end of this paper. Little known as they seem to be, there may be some interest in first giving a short survey of their travels.

Cesare di Federici (or Fedrici) and Gasparo Balbi belonged to the merchant-class of the proud Venetian republic. Balbi was a jeweller, while his countryman has not, as far as I know, given us any direct intelligence concerning his chief business. In India he traded in jewellery, precious stuffs, spices, etc., and thus seems to have possessed some knowledge of the secrets of various commercial undertakings. Balbi dedicated his book to the clarissimo signor Theodoro Balbi nobile Venetiano, and seems to claim descent from the old and illustrious family of the Balbi, but I have not been able to obtain any knowledge whatsoever concerning the family to which Federici belonged. The years of their birth and death are alike unknown, and on the whole nothing more seems to be known of them than the facts connected with their respective voyages. Even encyclopaedias and biographical dictionaries, that I have been able to consult, do not give anything further: cf., e.g., Biographie universelle, XVI, 250 ff., s.v. Federici, and III, 261 ff., s.v. Balbi, or Boccardo, Nuova enciclopedia italiana, III, 117, s.v. Balbi. Tiraboschi, Storia della letteratura italiana, VII: 1, 212, only mentions il viaggio di Cesare Federici fatto nel 1563, and ibid., p. 216, he enumerates Gasparo Balbi among the less known travellers of the sixteenth century. Of other literature quoted as dealing with Federici I have not been able to consult Asiatick Miscellany, I, and Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register, I, 332 (1823), nor for Balbi the work of Mazzucchelli, Degli scrittori d'Italia and of Gingué, Histoire littéraire de l'Italie.

I have, however, been able to read the chapter dealing with them both in Zurla, Di Marco Polo, e degli altri viaggiatori veneziani più illustri, Venezia 1818, II, 252—264, and although it contains scarcely more than a summary of the two works, it does not appear to me to be wholly without value.

Federici's work first appeared at Venice in 1587 as a volume in 12° printed by Andrea Muschi. Later on it was reprinted in Ramusio, Navigationi et viaggi, III (ed. of 1606), fol. 360r—398r with the title: Viaggio de M. Cesare di Federici nell' India Orientale, et oltre l' India, per via di Soria. The last lines run thus: Io Don Bartholomeo Dionigi da Fano, da un memoriale del soprascritto M. Cesare, ha cavato il presente viaggio e fedelmente in questa forma disteso; che letto più volte dall' istesso Author, come vero e fedele, ha voluto a commune delibitatione & utile, al mondo publicarlo. I have not the slightest idea who this D. Bartholomeo Dionigi da Fano was, nor have I had an opportunity of seeing the editio princeps of 1587. But from Zurla I gather that the subscription was already in the first edition, and consequently da Fano must have brought some diary kept by Federici into its present shape and edited it.

6 In England this man is generally spoken of as Cesar Frederick, the form of his name used by Hakluyt and Purchas.
7 In this Italian work there is no entry at all on Federici.
8 This periodical apparently appeared at Calcutta in two vols. in 1785—1786.
9 As for these works I have not even been able to get information concerning the volume and page, owing to the bad methods of quotation often adopted in the older books.
11 II, 252.
The work of Balbi appeared in Venice in the year 1590, printed by Camillo Borgomini, with the following title: *Viaggio dell’ Indie Orientali, di Gasparo Balbi Gioielliere Venetiano. Nel quale si contiene quanto egli in detto viaggio ha veduto per lo spatio di 9. Anni consumati in eso dal 1579, fino al 1588. Con la relazione de i dati, pesi, e misure di tutte le città di tal viaggio, e del governo del Re di Pegu, e delle guerre fatte da lui con altri Re d’Awa e di Sion. Con la Tabola delle cose più notabili* (one volume in small 8°). According to the *Biogr. univ.*, III, 262, and Boccardo, III, 117, a second edition was issued in 1600, of which I have not been able to get any other information.\(^{12}\)

The works of Federici and Balbi have never, as far as my knowledge goes, been translated into any modern language except English. Both of them are found in Hakluyt, *The Principall Navigations, Voyages, Traffics and Discoveries*, and further, the whole of Federici and that part of Balbi dealing with Pegu, in Purchas *His Pilgrims*, II. X, 1702 ff., 1722 ff., (ed. of 1905—07, X, 88 ff., 143 ff.). There is also a Latin translation of Balbi in De Bry, *India Orientalis*, Pars VII (1600), pp. 43—126\(^{13}\), where, according to the method adopted in that famous work, some illustrations are added, of which there are none in the original.\(^{14}\) The statement of Boccardo\(^{15}\): *Oleario nella sua edizione dei viaggi di Mandelslo dà un compendio del viaggio del Balbi*, I do not quite understand, as it does not seem to be borne out by facts.\(^{16}\)

The voyage of Cesare di Federici is valuable from more than one point of view—above all for a very clear description of the trade-routes and products of the East. But it has also some value as a historical source, there being found in some passages notices of contemporaneous events in India and Pegu that do not appear elsewhere, or are here put forward in a special way.\(^{17}\) But as a historical source the work has, as far as I can see, scarcely ever been used,\(^{18}\) but this point cannot be further entered upon here, as being wholly outside the scope of this small paper.

Simple and clear as his style generally is, there is, however, one difficulty that cannot easily be mastered: although the author has, by the order of the places visited by him, approximately indicated his route, he has hardly ever told us the exact time of his visit to this place or that. Consequently it is difficult, and partly impossible, to form a clear opinion of what periods of his long travelling time (1563—81) he spent at the different places he found occasion to visit. In the following lines only a feeble attempt can be made to throw at least some light on the obscurities of his book.

---

12 In Esch—Gruber, the year of this 2nd edition is given as 1609, which may, after all, be a misprint.
14 As the work of De Bry seems to be extremely rare, I give here an index of these ten illustrations: (1) Hook-swinging; (2) A palanquin; (3) An audience with the king of Pegu; (4) Traitors burnt to death in Pegu; (5) A battle between the kings of Pegu and Ava; (6) Elephants in the corral; (7) Procession of elephants in Pegu; (8) Festivals in Pegu; (9) Sapan Daiche and Sapan Donon (festivals); (10) Funeral of the king of Pegu and of Talapoins.
15 *Cf.* i. c. III, 117.
17 Some small remarks of this sort I have given in a review of Vincent Smith’s excellent book on Akbar that appeared in the *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* of 1919.
18 In Sinclair and Ferguson, *The Travels of Pedro Tévez*, London, (Hakluyt Soc.), 1902, p. 194, I find a quotation from Federici (and Balbi) concerning the King of Ormuz.
The general extent of his travels is indicated by the names Venice-Malacca, as he does not seem to have penetrated further east, telling us in his own proper words: "io non son passato più inanzi d Malacca verso Levante, ma quello ch’io ne parlarò, sarà per buona informazione che n’ho havuto da quelli che vi sono stati." He left Venice in 1563 with the ship Gradena (patronigata di Giacomo Vatica), and went via Cyprus to Tripoli di Soria from which place in six days he arrived at Aleppo. Then he tells us that in Aleppo si fu poi mercatuta co’ mercanti Armeni, e Mori, per andar in lor compagnia in Ormus; e così con essi a Aleppo partitomi, giungessimo in due giornate, e mezzo al Bir. From Bir the route lay down the Euphrates to Feluchia, a journey of some 15—18 days according to the author, but on which he had to spend 44 days owing to the lack of rain and low water. From Feluchia to Babylon it took him a day and a half, and from there he proceeded to Basrah (Basra)—situated, according to Federici, fifteen miles from the sea—a journey for which usually eight to nine days were needed; however, Federici arrived in Basrah only eighteen days after having left Babylon (perché l’acque erano basse). In Basrah he embarked for Ormuz, the distance between the two places being, according to the author, 600 miles; and then the text runs thus: partendosi da Basra si passa dunque miglia di Golfo co’ l mare a banda destra, sino che si giunge nell’isola di Carichi, di dove fino in Ormuz si va sempre vedendo terra della Persia a man sinistra, et alla destra verso l’Arabia si vanno scoprendo infinite isole.

Only for that part of his voyage falling between Tripoli—Basrah has the author told us the length of time he spent (altogether 71 days); nor do we know at what time of the year 1563 he departed from Venice. Consequently we are not able to say if he arrived at Ormuz and further onwards during that same year or during the following (1564). However, he proceeded from there along the Persian and Indian coasts in order to reach Goa, the capital of Portuguese India, and at that time one of the two or three foremost emporia of the East. On his way thither he passed the usual stations Diu—Cambai—Damam—Bassain—Tana—Chialu—Daboul, whence he arrived at Goa—as usual he does not tell us at what time. But he states that in the year 1566 he undertook first a journey from Goa to Bezeneger (Vijayanagaram) in the Deccan and back again, and afterwards a journey from Goa to Malacca (cf. below). Consequently he was in Goa in 1566, and he was there again in 1570, when the "Dialecan" laid siege to the town for fourteen months. But it seems clear that he cannot, on his outward journey, have stayed the whole time until 1566 in Goa, as he was most probably already in 1565 in Negapatam, a fact that will be further dealt with below. Having left Goa he visited, one after another, the principal ports of the coast, viz. Onor, Mangalore,

---

19 Ramusio, III, fol. 391. 20 Ibid., III, fol. 386. 21 Ibid., III, fol. 386.
22 What is called 'mile' here and in the following pages is not the English mile.
23 This is the island of Currack in the upper part of the Gulf of Persia (cf. Yule-Burnell, Hobson-Jobson, p. 165, where this very passage is quoted).
24 Ramusio, III, fol. 389.
25 It seems curious that on fol. 387 he assigns only 990 miles to the distance Ormuz—Goa, which is absurd, when compared with the 600 miles between Basrah and Ormuz.
26 This is the name by which he designates the Adil Khán (Adil Shágh) of Bijápúr, whom the Portuguese writers call Hidalgo, Idalx. The other Muhammadan rulers, who routed the Hindu Raja of Vijayanagara at Tálikot (Jan. 25th, 1565), he calls (fol. 388) Zamaluc (=Nizám-ul Mulk), Cotamaluc (=Khub-ul-Mulk) and Veridi (=Malik Barid, Port. Melque Verido). The town of Vijayanagara had in 1567 begun to be depopulated (fol. 388).
27 According to Burgess, The Chronology of Modern India, Edinburgh, 1913, p. 44, this siege should only have lasted from June—Dec. 17th, 1570. It is difficult to get out the true dates from Do Couto Decada, VIII, ch. 33 ff., but I doubt whether Burgess is right here.
Barcelone, Canarese, Cranganore, Cochin and Colan (Quilon), and further on, Cabo Comeri (Cape Comorin) and the pearl-fisheries in the Gulf of Manar (Pescaria delle perle, fol. 390v). After that he went to Ceylon, chiefly in order to see with his own eyes the plantations of the cinnamon-trees, of which he gives a vivid description. He apparently had obtained good information concerning the political status of that island, as he says: il re legittimo di questa isola, sta in Colombo fatto Christiano e privo del Regno, sostenuto del Rê di Portogallo, by which he means the christianized D. João Dharmapala (1542—81). The usurper Madoni, of whom he speaks immediately afterwards, was his grand-uncle Maaya Dunning (†157), whose sons Federici calls Barbinas and Ragii. As a matter of fact, he had three sons; the names of the two elder I have not been able to ascertain from any source, but the youngest was Râja Simha I (1581—92), apparently the Ragii of our author.

From Ceylon Federici went to Negapatam, where he most probably must have been in 1565, as he speaks of an accident having happened there in that year, which he can only have heard of by being present there himself. From Negapatam he went to San Tomé (or Miala-pur), the main port for ships bound for Malacca, whither he proceeded through the Sombrero-Channel in the Nicobars. In the year 1566 Federici left S. Tomé for Malacca—on the way he seems to have visited the northern part of Sumatra (Achin). From Malacca he went northwards to Tenasserim, Mergui, Tavai and Martaban, where he arrived in 1567. Just at that time the king of Pegu had marched away with his whole army to conquer Siam, and Federici was forced to stay for two and twenty months in Martaban, before he could obtain permission to continue his journey. Consequently he could only leave Pegu in August 1569, whence he intended to go to Satagan (Chittagong); however, a typhoon arose during the voyage, and carried the travellers to Sundiva, whence they proceeded to Chittagong. Leaving this place he went back to Goa, just at that time (1570) besieged by the Adil Shâh of Bijâpur (Dialcan) and heroically defended by the then viceroy, D. Luiz de Ataide. According to our author, the viceroy did not permit any ship to leave Goa during this time. As he was thus obliged to stay there for a long time—during which he was seriously ill for four months (fol. 395v)—he suffered great losses, and consequently decided not to return to Venice, but once more to visit Pegu. Having decided upon this, he went to Cambaia, where he bought great loads of opium, that drug having at his departure from Pegu been very expensive there. However, bad luck seemed to persecute him; he was obliged to stay during the winter (apparently during the

29 The Portuguese call him Madone.
30 Tennent, Ceylon II, 13 ff.
31 Ramusio, III, fol. 391v. According to one author the army numbered 1,400,000 men.
32 According to Burgess, Chronology of Modern India, p. 43, this seems to have been the month in which the Siamese capital was sacked.
33 Yule-Burnell, Hobson-Jobson, p. 203 ff.
34 An island now called Sandwip to the northwest of Chittagong; the form Sundiva is found in a letter of 1591 in the Archivo Portugues Oriental, III, 257 (Nova Goa, 1861).
35 On another voyage, intending to go from Malacca to S. Tomé, he was carried away to Orissa, whence he went to Chittagong, and stayed there for four months.
36 The statement is curious as being directly contrary to that of Do Couto, Decada, VIII, p. 314 (1786), who says: "and as there were in the port of Goa ten or twelve ships for Ormuz loaded with merchandise, he (the Viceroy) gave them permission to leave, as well in order not to cause so great losses to the merchants as to show the Moor how little he cared for them." etc. Both Federici and Do Couto were eye-witnesses of the siege, but it is always to be remembered that the 8th Decada is not the original work, which was stolen while in manuscript, but is made up from fragmentary annotations kept by the author (cf. the preface to Decada VIII).
year 1571—72 at Manar; after that he proceeded to San Tomé, and from there to Pegu, where opium had in the meantime gone down in price, so that he again suffered great losses. In order to repair them he bought lac at Pegu, and went with it to San Tomé and thence toOrmuz; from there he returned by Chiaul—Goa—Cochin—San Tomé to Pegu, where he made good progress in selling opium. Finally he returned, and stayed during the winter in Cochin (fol. 398*), after which he left India, and proceeded toOrmuz. In that town he fell in with Messer Francesco Beretin from Venice and other Italians and accompanied them to Basrah, where he had to wait 40 days for boats; after that he proceeded to Babylon, where he stayed for four months. Thence his caravan arrived in 40 days at Aleppo (of which 36 were spent in the desert). Leaving Aleppo he went to Tripolis and Zaffo (Jaffa), and thence to Jerusalem, where he remained for 40 days to visit the holy places. Having returned to Tripolis, he embarked in the ship Ragazzona, and arrived safely at Venice on November 5th, 1581.

Gasparo Balbi, on the contrary, has in his book everywhere referred to the day and year when he arrived at or left different places, and it is thus quite easy to follow him closely during the whole of his journey.

He left Venice in 1579—he has not given the date—and went (probably by the same route as Federici) to Aleppo, where he arrived on the 13th of December. On the 15th, in the evening, he came to Albir (Bir), where he remained until the 5th January, 1580, when he continued the voyage, and on the 21st of that month he finally reached Babylon. On March 13th he left that town after a stay of more than six weeks, which he himself curiously enough speaks of as "some days" (dopo essersi stati alcuni giorni), and on the 21st he arrived at Basrah (Balsara o Basore, fol. 32*). After having spent about a month at that place, he and his companions set sail for Ormuz on April 22nd, 1580, in the morning; having experienced different adventures, they arrived on May 10th at the port of Ormuz in the morning. There Balbi stayed until September 29th, when he embarked in a ship belonging to the Portuguese governor, D. Gonçalvo di Mienza (fol. 47*), in order to proceed to Goa. On October 24th (fol. 58* they cast anchor in the port of Din, where they heard very important news: the Cardinal D. Henrique II, King of Portugal, had died without heirs, and further il gran Re di Magor poco prima dopo aversi fatto disputar la fede di Christo N. Signor da alcuni padri Reverendi di San Paolo si volese bateazzare insieme con le moglie, e due suoi figliuoli, etc. This refers to Akbar's invitation to the Jesuits in Goa and the mission of Fathers R. Acquaviva († 1583) and A. Monserate († 1600), thence to Fatehpúr-Sikri (November 1579).
From Diu Balbi sailed on October 30th, and on November 2nd they passed “Bombain,” where he notes the existence of the cave-temple *detto Allefante*—he was not the only author of his time, who held it for a construction raised by Alexander the Great (fol. 63r). On November 4th he arrived at Chial (fol. 65r), where he remained only for a day. His arrival at Goa took place on November 10th, 1580, after a journey that was not quite without danger because of the Malabar pirates.

In the capital of Portuguese India Balbi lived for nearly a year and a half. It was only on April 11th, 1582, that he proceeded southwards with the ship *S. Bastian*, (Captain Alfonso de Morais), and arrived at Cochin on April 18th, after having passed Cananore and Calicut. There he stayed on until April 25th, went on the next day to Silen (Quilon), where he remained for twenty-four hours, and doubled Cape Comorin on April 28th. Then the ship took the circuit round Ceylon, where our author seems scarcely to have landed; on May 2nd he passed Point de Galle, and on May 8th he came, after having sailed round the island, to a small island called La Vacca, apparently the Ilha das Vacas of the Portuguese. On May 9th the voyagers arrived at Negapatam, and on the 29th they continued to San Tomé (Mallāpur), which they reached on the following day (May 30th, 1582).

Here Balbi reports an episode that does not give a favourable opinion of his truthfulness. For speaking of the church of the Jesuit Fathers in that town (fol. 85v), he continues: *in fabricar la quale non si trovando travi tanti, che bastassero* (fol. 86v), *miracolosamente gli fu buttato un grosso legno dalla fortuna del mare, che pareva fosse stato fatto a posta, et à misura per detta chiesa.* *Et io mi trovai presente, quando detto legno arrivò, perché una mattina andando à Messa alla Chiesa della Madre di Dio, vidi molta gente, che correva alla marina, et accostandomi per saper cosi fosse, vidi questo legno spinto dal mare al lito. Era allora la Chiesa di S. Giovann Battista fatta di restaurarsi, ma perché non havessero travi da fargli il colmo, l'avevano coperta di paglia. Onde fu havuto per miracolo di Dio, che ivi fosse stato spinto dall'onde del mare un legno così grosso, il quale capitò a punta all'incontro del choro della Chiesa. Quando quei Reverendi Padri della compagnia di Gesù, di quali quelle Chiesa è Monasterio, videro il legno, n'ebbero grandissima allegrezza, e l'padre Luigi Ferrera Rettor del luogo, insieme con quegli altri Padri, e con tutto il popolo, vi concorsero, e fu presa la misura del detto legno, la lunghezza del quale fu trovato che bastava ad intraverlar la Chiesa, onde tutticon lieto applaudiro confessando ch'era stato miracolosamente da Dio, lo fecero segare per lungo e ne fecero tanti travi, (fol. 35r) e tanto grossi, che bastarono per armar tutto quel colmo da un capo all'altro. Mosse tanto questa cosa alcuni di quei gentili, che aggiunsero le persuasione di quei Reverendi Padri, correvano à gara l'uno dell'altro à battezzarsi, etc.*

What we read here appears to me somewhat suspicious, for the reason that it is only another version of the miracle of the St. Thomas Legend of the South-Indian Christians—a legend that had already at that time been dealt with by many famous Portuguese authors, e.g., Correa, de Barros, Camões, Do Couto, etc. But it must be added that the Jesuits in
the *Annua Littera* of the years 1582—84 do not mention one single word of this miracle, which they would certainly not have neglected to speak of, had it really happened. To me it seems evident that Balbi has made up the whole story from the muster of the miracle of St. Thomas.\(^61\)

At San Tomé Balbi remained for more than a year, leaving the place only on September 13th, 1583,\(^53\) in a ship bound for Martaban. On September 23rd the ship entered the so-called “Maccaro”\(^54\) in the Gulf of Pegu (Martaban), where the voyagers visited different localities and stayed between October 5th and 26th in Cosmi.\(^54\) Afterwards they also visited the then famous town of Sirian (Syriam), somewhat to the East of Rangoon, and finally they arrived at a place called Meccao, whence they made the journey overland to Pegu, probably arriving there on November 8th, 1583 (fol. 100\(^r\)). In Pegu Balbi had an audience with the King, which he depicts vividly, giving also a somewhat extensive description of the ruler himself, his town and his kingdom (he was just then at the highest development of his power) and successes in war (chiefly against the Siamese), and of the capture of his elephants, the festivals, processions, etc. (foll. 100\(^r\)—128\(^r\)). These passages may be looked upon as those claiming the chief interest in the whole work of Balbi, and we have already seen that the greater part of the illustrations in De Bry are to be referred to the description of Pegu.\(^55\)

After a stay of more than two years Balbi left Pegu on January 5th, 1586, and proceeded to Martaban (fol. 128\(^r\)), where he arrived on the 12th of that month. About a month afterwards, on February 10th, he embarked, and went by the Andamans and Nicobars to Ceylon, where on March 2nd he passed Point de Galle. On the 4th he passed Cape Comorin, and seems to have reached Cochin on March 7th early in the morning (fol. 135\(^f\)). There he had to wait for about seven months for a ship to take him further toOrmuz. Finally he left Cochin on October 8th, 1586. On October 14th the ship cast anchor at Chial, where the passengers remained for nineteen days, after which they proceeded further to Ormuz, Balbi arriving there on December 25th, 1586, and remaining until July 11th, 1587.

On the same day he continued his journey to Basrah, which lasted twenty-two days (fol. 142\(^f\)); consequently he seems to have reached that town on August 2nd, and to have stayed there for about two months and a half. This I conclude from his remark (fol. 143\(^f\)) that he arrived at Babylon on November 23rd, 1587, after a journey of thirty-eight days from Basrah—he ought thus to have left that place on October 16th. This seems to be the last date given by Balbi. He does not tell us how long time he remained at Babylon, nor at what time he came back to Venice—we only know that it was in 1588, and it may well have been during the spring.\(^66\) He had then been absent from his native country for about nine years.

Balbi and Federici in many points differ from each other, although they have generally described the same topics. Both of them have left quite a good description of their voyages; that of Federici even belonging to the better samples of that literature during the 16th century.

---

\(^{61}\) Some time after having written this down I found that Yule, *Cathay and the way thither*, III, 252\(^n\), when treating the St. Thomas Legend, gives a short reference to this passage in Balbi without any comments upon it.

\(^{52}\) Fol. 91\(^r\).


\(^{54}\) According to Forchhammer this Cosmi is the old Kusumanagara (nowadays Bassein) in the western part of the Irawaddy Delta (Yule-Burnell 1. cf. p. 259 ff.). *Cf. also ante*, Vol. XXII, pp. 18, 252 ff.

\(^{55}\) *Cf. above* p. 51, n. 14.

\(^{56}\) According to Federici forty days were needed for the way between Babylon and Aleppo and six days between Aleppo and Tripolis. How long it took to voyage from that place to Venice (by Cyprus) I do not exactly know.
He has told things in a very simple way, depicting the places he visited with their products and very seldom giving a more personal touch to his description. Balbi, on the contrary, has chiefly given us a diary of his voyage, with most careful annotations concerning the dates, so that we are able to follow him from place to place during his long journey. Into the frame of this diary he has put longer descriptions of manners and customs prevalent among the various peoples he visited; his chief interest, however, seems to have been a commercial one. To the description of every important place visited by him he has added careful notes concerning the coins, measures and weights used there, and he winds up his diary with a summary of the monsoons and trade-routes in the seas surrounding the Indian peninsula (chapter 46: Seguitano i tempi, ne' quali le navi si partono per i viaggi si per il Nori, come per il Sul for diverse parti delle Indie, le quali stazioni da loro sono detti Mansoni). He adds a table of the different coins used in India and their value in relation to each other (chapter 47: Seguita la tariffa delle monete di tutta l'India, ridotta da una sorte di moneta ad un'altra). Balbi consequently has tried to make his description a sort of commercial handbook, and also something on the same lines as Pegolotti's Pratice. We can scarcely doubt that his work seemed useful to his countrymen, and was perhaps at that time frequently read.

But the works of Federici and Balbi stand in a queer relation to each other, which has not, as far as I know, been observed or dealt with by former writers. The ideas and regulations concerning copyright are more developed in our day than they were at the time when our authors published their books, but it still seems to me somewhat marvellous that a man, who has himself made a journey and is writing down the chief events of it, should make use of a predecessor in a rather foolish way, writing out whole passages of his work and putting them into his own composition. However, this is undoubtedly the case here, and there can be no serious question as to whom we must denounce guilty of literary theft. For when Balbi in 1588 returned to Venice, the work of Federici had already been available for something like a year, and may have belonged to the books that were at that moment rather frequently read in the City of the Lagoons. As the book of Balbi did only appear in 1590, there is scarcely a doubt that he has in a most shameless way—at least according to our ideas—plundered his predecessor. I hereby let the proofs of my accusation follow without further comments:

**Cesare di Federici.**

386 A: Il Bir è una piccola cittade, ma molto abbondante di vettovaglia... (B) gli Arabi, che son ladri formichieri, non amazzano, ma robbiano, e fuggono, e contra questi sono molto buoni gli archibugi, temendone essi grandemente.

(I pass over some small coincidences on fol. 386 and foll. 18'—19' that are probably accidental.)

**Gasparo Balbi.**

12. Albir, la quale è piccola città, mà abbondante di vettovaglia... (12') gli Arabi i quali non amazzano, mà robbiano, e fuggono, contra di quali sono molto buoni gli archibugi temendone essi grandemente.

---

57 These names, as well as those on his wind-rose (fol. 144'), are Portuguese.
58 On the history and different forms of this word cf. Yule-Burnell, Hobson-Jobson, p. 577 ff. The form coming nearest to the one used here is Mansone in Carletti, Ragionamenti, II, 206 (Fremo 1701).
59 Some words in Zurla, c., II, 259, scarcely induce us to believe that even he observed the facts to be dealt with below.
60 Whether Federici was at that time still alive we do not know. Perhaps he was not, as Da Fano published his book.
316 C: La Feluchia... è una villa, di dove si và in Babilonia in una giornata e mezza.

336 C: alcune zattere fatte d' altri gonfiati, e ligati insieme, sopra i quali distendono delle tavole e sopra esse caricano la roba etc.

336 C: Et è Babilonia una città non molto grande, ma ben popolata) e di gran negotio di forestieri, per esser un gran passo per la Persia, per la Turchia, e per l' Arabia.

336 C: Giace questa città nel regno di Persia, ma da un tempo in quì è signorreggiata dal Turco; ha dalla banda, che guardia verso l' Arabia oltre il fiume, all' incontro della città, un borgo con un bel bazarro, e assai fonteghi, ove alloggiano la maggior parte di mercanti forestieri, che vi arrivano.

336 C: ma il fiume per le piogge s' ingrossa troppo, fa bisogno aprire questo ponte in mezzo, una parte del quale s' accosta alle mura della città, e l' altra s' appoggia alle rive del Borgo, et in questo tempo si passa il fiume con barche, con grandissimo pericolo, perciò essendo le barche piccole... spesso si ribaltano, o sono della correntina del fiume inghiottite, e vi s' annegano molte persone etc.

336 C: La Torre di Nembrot, è posta di quì dal fiume verso l' Arabia in una gran pianura, lontana della città intorno a sette, overo otto miglia qual è da tutte le bande ruinata e con le sue ruine s' ha fatto intorno quasi una montagna... pur ve n' è ancora un gran pezzo in piedi, circondato, e quasi coperto affatto da quelle ruine.

336 D: Questa Torre è fabbricata di quadrati cotti al Sole... di stuoie fatte di canne, tanto forti ancora etc... può circondare... intorno ad un miglio... Fa questa Torre effetto contrario a tutte l' altre cose... e quanto più l' huomo di gli avvicina, più grandi si dimostrano, ma questa da lontano pare una gran cosa... io stimo, che sia cagione di questo, l' esser

21° J: alcune barche, come zattere sopra dieci, o dodici udri gonfiati di vento ligati insieme, e sopra quelli mettendo alcune tavole, portano gran quantità di robbia.

25°: Babilonia... è città assai popolata, sebben non è molto grande, e vi si fanno molti negotii di mercantia da forestieri, per esservi gran passo per l' Arabia, per la Turchia, e per la Persia etc.


25°: quando l' acque è grande di detto fiume per le molte piogge, all' hora fa bisogno aprire questo ponte in mezzo, parte del quale così aperto, si accoste alle mura della città, e l' altra si appoggia alle rive del borgo, et è forza passar con barche con grandissimo pericolo, perchè essendo le barche piccole, spesso volte sono voltate mossopra, et inghiottite dal corso dell' acqua con morte di molte persone.

26°: La Torre di Nembrot è lontana da Babilonia più di otto miglia, et è di quì dal fiume Tigris... posta in una gran pianura verso l' Arabia, et è tutt' nowinata, e con le sue ruine si ha fatto intorno quasi una montagna. Pur ve n' è ancora un gran pezzo in piedi, che quasi e coperto da quelle ruine.

26°: Fu fabbricata già con pietra cotta al sole, e con stuoie di canna anchora esse fortissime... Circonda di giro intorno circa un miglio, fà effetto contrario da quello, che fanno gli altri edifici, che quegli quanto più se gli avvicina, più grandi si dimostrano, e questa di lontano par gran cosa... ch' è questo, perche d' intorno non ha alcuna cosa grande, nè alta, eccetto [26J] le pietre
Cesare Di Federici.

porto essa Torre in mezzo ad una larga pia- 
nura, e non avere intorno cosa alcuna rile-
vata fuor che le ruine etc.

386 E : Basora è città dell' Arabia, e 
la signoreggivano anticamente gli Arabi 
Zizaeri, ma hora dal Turco è dominata, il 
quale vi tiene con gran spesa un grosso 
presidio. Possedono questi Arabi Zizaeri un 
gran paese, nè possono essere dal Turco 
sottoposti, perche sono in esso diversi 
Canali, che vengono dal mare, crescedo, 
e calando di maniera, che par tutto diviso 
in isolete ; e por no vi si può condurre 
 essercito, nè per acqua, nè per terra, e sono 
i suoi habitatori gente molto bellicosa.

386 E : Basora è distante dal mare infor- 
no a quindici miglia, et è città di gran negoccio 
di speciarie, e di droghe, che vengono d' 
Ormus, e vi è gran quantità di frumento, di 
risi, di legumi, e di dattili, che nascono nel 
territorio.

386 F : Ormus è un' isola, che circonda 
intorno à venticinque, ò trenta miglia, et 
e la più seco isola, che al mondo si trovi, 
perche in essa non si trova altro, che 
sal, et acqua, e legne et altre cosa all' human 
vitto necessarie, vi si conducono di Persia, 
indi dodeci miglia distante, e dall' altre 
isola circonvicine, in tanta abbondantia, e 
quantità, che la città n' è copiosamente 
forntita.

386 F : Ha una fortezza bellissima, vicina 
al mare, nella quale risiede un capitanato del 
Rè di Portogallo. . . Nella città poi habitano 
i suoi cittadini. Si fanno in questa 
grossissime d' ogni sorte di speciarie di 
drogarie, sete, panni di seta, brocchati, e di 
diverse altre mercantie . . . e tra l' altre 
gran traffico è quelle de' cavalli, che di qui 
si portano in India.

386 F : Morto il Rè, il capitanato n' elegge 
un' altro di sangue Reale, e si fa questa 
elettione nella fortezza con assai cerimone,

casa 

Gaspardo Balbi.

della sua rouina, e porche è posta in un 
grandissimo piano.

327 : Balsara altrimente detta Basora è 
una città posta nell' Arabia, la quale al pre- 
sente è signoreggiata dal Turco, mà prima da 
gli Arabi detti Zizaeri, i quali nondimeno 
possedono un gran paese, nè possono esser 
dominati dal Turco, porche il paese loro 
patisce i fussi, e rinfusi del mare in modo, 
che hora una campagna resta attorniata 
dall' acqua in Isola, e hora coperta, e spesse 
volete senza. Per il che non vi si può condur 
 essercito nè per mare, nè per terra. I loro 
habitatiori sono genti molto bellicose, e però 
fa mestiero al Turco tener un grosso presidio 
Balsara con infinita sua spesa.

328 : Questa città è lontana dal mare da 
15. miglia, et è città di gran negoccio di 
spetiarie, di droghe, et altri merci, che ven- 
gono di Ormus, è abondante di dattili, risi, 
e grano, che nascon eno nel territorio suo.

479 : Ormus è una città non molto grande : 
mà popolata posta in un' Isola di trente miglia 
di grandezza : mà è la più sterile di quante 
mai lo n' habbia viste : perche che in essa 
non si trova altro, che sale, e le legne, e 
e le altre cose al vitto necessarie vi vengono 
portate dalla costa di Persia, ch' è distante 
da questa città da 6. miglia ; e vi si ne condu- 
cono in tanta quantità, che la città ne nè 
copiosamente fornita.

479 : Ha vicino al mare una fortezza 
bellissima, nella quale risieda un cap. del Rè 
di Portogallo. . . Nella Città poi habitano 
i cittadini di essa. . . Si fanno in questa 
grossissime di ogni sorte [47 ] di speciarie, 
di droghe, sete, panni di seta, brocchati . . . 
et altre sorte da mercantie . . . e frà le altre 
gran traffico e quello de cavalli, che di qui 
si portano in India.

47 : Morto il Rè, ne viene eletto un' altro 
di sangue reale dal cap. della 81 fortezza con 
assai cerimone, e eletto, che egli 82 giura
Cesare di Federici.

et eletto che egli è, giura fedeltà al Re di Portogallo, et all' hora il capitano li dà il scettro Regale in nome del Re di Portogallo suo Signore, et indi con gran pompa e festa l' accompagnano al palazzo Reale posto nella cittade. Tiene detto Re honesta corte, et ha sofficiente entrata senza fastidio alcuno, perciocché il capitano li difenda, e mantiene le sue ragioni; e quando cavalcano insieme l' honora come Re, nè può detto Re cavalcare con la sua corte, se prima non lo fa sapere al capitano.

387 A : Diu, posta in una piccola isola del Regno di Cambaia, ove è la miglior fortezza, che sia in tutta India, et è piccola città, ma di gran facendè, perché vi si caricano assai navi grosse di diverse merci, e droghie per lo stretto della Mecca, e per l' isola d' Ormùs etc.

387 E : Chiaul etc.
387 F : Il Re Zamalucco etc.

388 A : Goa è la principal città, c' habbiano i Portoghesi in India, nella quale stà il Vice Re con la corta regia, et è in una isola che può circondare da venticinque in trenta miglia; e città con suoi borghi honestamente grande, e per città dell' Indie assai competente bella; ma piü bella è l' isola, come quella, che è piena di giardini, e di boschi de' Palmari detti di sopra; sì per la quale sono alcune villette. È situata Goa nei paesi del Dicalan Re Moro etc.

389 D : Onor etc.
389 D : Cananoar etc.
387 E—F : Description of the cocoa-nut trees.
389 E : Tiene Cochín il primo luogo etc.

389 F—390 A : Description of the Nairs and their customs.

Gaspabo Balbi.

fedeltà al Re di Portogallo; et all' hora il Capitano gli dà lo scettro reale in nome del Re di Portogallo suo Signore; et indi con gran pompa, e festa l' accompagna al palazzo reale posto nella città. Tien detto Re honesta corte, et ha sofficiente entrata senza fastidio alcuno, perché dal cap. gli vengono difese, e mantenute le sue ragioni, e giurisdizioni, e quando il cap. cavalca in sicure con il Re, l' honora come Re; ma non può detto Re cavalcare con la sua corte; se prima non lo fà intendere al capitano.

59° : Diu è una città non molto grande ma di gran facendè; perché vi si caricano assai navi grosse di diverse merci, e droghie per lo stretto della Mecca, per l' Isola di Ormùs, è posta in una piccola Isola del regno di Cambaia . . . . Ha la miglior fortezza che Portoghesi possedono in quei paesi etc.

64 : Chiaul etc.
64° : Re Zamalucco Moro etc.

67° : Goa è una città con i suoi borghi honestamente grande per città delle Indie, et è assai bella: è porto ... in un' Isola di circuito di trenta miglia in circa tutta piena di giardini, e di boschi di noci d' India, con alcuni villaggi piccoli ancora. In somma è la principal città, che habbino i Portoghesi nell' Indie, per haverli la risidenza un Vice Re del Re di Portogallo con bella corte. È situata Goa ne i paesi di Dicalan Re Moro etc.

cp. 73° : Onor etc.
cp. 73° : Cannor (!) etc.
cp. 73° : alcuni alberi detti palmeri etc.
cp. 75° : Cocchi è dopo Goa la prima città etc.

63 As is seen from De Barros, Decada, II, 2, 7, and other writers this is the ruler called by the Portuguese Nizamulcoco [also Izam Maluco (Correa), Nizamuxa (Garcia da Orta) etc.], i.e. the Nizam-ul-Mulk, the Muhammadan king of Ahmadnagar (since 1490).

64 Balbi afterwards speaks of the siege of Goa by the "Dicalan," his troops counting some 200,000 men, and the siege lasting for fourteen months. We know of this siege already from Federici.
Cesare Di Federici

390 B–D: Federici here speaks of the Pescaria delle perle in the Gulf of Manar.

390 E: Description of cinnamon-trees, and how the cinnamon is prepared.

390 F: un monasterio di S. Francesco di gran divotione (at Negapatam).

391 A–C: Description of S. Tomè (Meliapur).

Gaspas Balbi

499–519: Balbi speaks of in che modo pigliano le perle, et in che luogo; but this really deals with the pearl-fisheries in the Persian Gulf (Bahrein etc.) However, on foll. 499–500 he has put in notes concerning the Manar fisheries which are mostly taken directly from Federici.

ep. 78*: Cinnamon-trees of Ceylon (many small coincidences).

82*: un monasterio di S. Francisco di gran divotione.

ep. 87*: description of S. Tomè (some small coincidences).

In the description of Pegu there are on foll. 91*, 97*, 100*, 102*, 116* and 117* some small coincidences with Federici foll. 391*–394* that need not be repeated here.

From this short survey, which is not wholly exhaustive, one can very well see how Balbi has in many passages of his work borrowed whole sets of words from his predecessor. Sometimes when copying a passage from Federici, he has slightly altered it, e.g., on fol. 67*(description of Goa) in comparison with Federici fol. 388A. But this is a well-known method amongst plagiarists. However, it seems remarkable that the coincidences are almost exclusively found in the former part of Balbi’s book, while in the latter part—chiefly dealing with Pegu—they become ever more rare. It is scarcely to be imagined that Balbi during the continuation of his work suffered from a somewhat bad conscience by reason of his robberies. It seems more probable that either he may have possessed better notes concerning his stay at Pegu than concerning his voyages in India, or he may have found some other source—unknown to us—to copy for the latter part of his work.58 Though I must leave these matters open to further investigation, I feel convinced that the facts pointed out here must to some degree alter the opinion concerning the value of the work passing under the name of Gasparo Balbi.

58 From Zuria, I, c. II, 260, one might infer that Balbi had perhaps copied Marco Polo in his description of the ships trading between Basrah and Ormuz [Balbi foll. 387*–405 and Polo in Ramusio, II, fol. 8 B (ed. 1583)]. But I am at a loss to find any verbal coincidences in these passages. However, I have not found time to compare other parts of Balbi’s work with that of his famous countryman, and it may well be that he has sometimes used him just as he used Federici. [My own experience has been that 16th and 17th century travellers of all countries copied each other without acknowledgment. The procedure seems to have been to put together their own notes on reaching home, and to add to them out of other recently published travels everything else that they thought might interest their readers and make their books more important. They never seem to have acknowledged the sources of their information, and often added further inaccuracies from their ignorance of those that they may have adopted. Vincent Smith has shown up Mandalob in this matter and I have occasionally taken the trouble to hunt a generally borrowed tale to its source. The difficulty in reading a traveller’s MS. or book of that period is to be sure as to how much of a description in his own or someone else’s.—R.C.T.]
PEARL AND COTTON MERCHANTS' SLANG.

BY Sir RICHARD C. TEMPLE, Bt.

The Curator of Libraries, Public Library Department, Baroda, has sent us a list of numerals out of the *Mirā'-i-Ahmadi* of 'Ali Muḥammad Khān, in which he says that the author gives "a kind of secret code which was used by pearl merchants in their transactions." His Department is publishing a supplement to the book and "desires the origin and etymology of the code." He adds, "I am told that *iran*, four, is the four-sided anvil on which a goldsmith works the gold, and that *ekwāhī*, three, is the three-pronged jeweller's instrument. *Wan*, nine, seems to be back slang for *nav*." There was also, he says, "a similar code which was used by cotton merchants. Many of these expressions are still in use by merchants, but those I have asked cannot tell me the derivation of the words." The Department is anxious to know if any of our contributors or readers can supply the information required.

I here give the table as sent with the letter.

### Secret Codes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Pearl Merchants terms</th>
<th>Cotton Merchants terms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>sali</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1½</td>
<td>sali</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2½</td>
<td>likhwa</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>akara</td>
<td>ek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3½</td>
<td>sala'ek</td>
<td>para kala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>samkas</td>
<td>salssang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4½</td>
<td>maha-ni-likhwa</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>samani</td>
<td>jur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>ekwahi</td>
<td>rakh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>iran</td>
<td>hok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>mol</td>
<td>bad or yad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>sapar</td>
<td>dik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>samar</td>
<td>pit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>tamal</td>
<td>mankh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>wan</td>
<td>kun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>angal</td>
<td>sala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>kakara</td>
<td>ekla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>patar</td>
<td>jurla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>nipar</td>
<td>rakhula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>chabar</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>molpar</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>pariri</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>samarpri</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>tahalpari</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>wanpari</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>sut</td>
<td>kuri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>ekwadahi</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>irandahi</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>pharena</td>
<td>bakpharena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1000</td>
<td>kathma-kothli</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Sir George Grierson on being referred to wrote:—

"The Cotton Merchants' list is evidently an argot like the others mentioned in Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. XI. Words are formed by the prefixing of or changing of consonants or vowels. Thus jur (in the list = 2) is for jora; hok for chaunk; rakh (for 3) is a puzzle, but is apparently built on some such word as trika."

In 1885 I wrote a long article in JAB, vol. LIII, pt. I, pp. 1-24 entitled An Examination of the Trade Dialect of the Naqqash or painter on paper-maché in the Punjab and Kashmir, in which I went into the slang numerals of several classes and professions. In 1885 I followed this up with an article in this Journal on The Delhi Dalâls and their Slang, vol. XIV, pp. 155-159. In vol. XVI, pp. 284 ff., Sir George Grierson had an article on "The Language of the Magahiya Doms," and in vol. XIX, pp. 160 ff., J. P. Lewis had one on the "Slang of the Tamil Castes in Ceylon." There was also a note on Technical Jargons in vol. XXXVII, p. 339, containing Mr. C. Otto Blagden's Review of D. R. Lashe's Über Sonder-sprachen und Ihre Entstehung. From these papers a certain amount of information on this interesting subject can be obtained.

On looking into the actual terms hitherto recorded, a few of the words given by the Curator of the Baroda Libraries can be directly identified: e.g., akâra, one, is used by the Naqqâsh and uan, nine, by the Dehi Dalâls. Point, seven, corresponds to the pit, and sola, ten, to the solat of the Dehi Dalâls. A closer examination may discover other analogies and the Pearl Merchants' slang quoted by 'Ali Muhammad Khân may arise in the same way as that of the Dehi Dalâls, as explained in the article above quoted.

The whole subject is very interesting and well worth examining in all trades by Indian scholars.

SPILLS OF ORIGIN.

By A. M. HOGART.

The Aitareya Brâhmaṇa contains these words: "Inasmuch as Indra was great, that is the Great Indranness of Great Indra." This sounds at first very much like nonsense. I venture to suggest that there is more in it than appears on the surface.

In Malaysia at one end and in Finland at the other there is a belief that if you can recite the origin and unfold the nature of anything you can control it. If you know the origin of iron, you acquire magic power over it. Skeat gives the following charm to keep a tiger at a distance:

"Ho, Bersênu! Ho, Berkaik!
I know the origin from which you sprang;
It was Sheikh Abûnish Lahab Abu Kasap.
Your navel originated from the centre of your crown," etc.

The Kalevala is full of such charms.

In the ninth canto Vâinâmôinen goes to see an old man, to get him to heal a wound; but the old man could not recall:

"'How the iron was first created,
And the unworked iron was fashioned.'"

"Then the aged Vâinâmôinen
Answered in the words that follow:
'Well I know the birth of Iron,
And how steel was first created.'"

1 Yan mahân Indro 'bhavat san Mahendresya Mahendram, III, 21.
2 Malay Magic, p. 167.
And proceeds to give a very lengthy account. Then the old man remembers and goes through the whole story again, using it to revile the iron and show how it has broken its solemn oath.

We may well expect to find the same idea in the countries that lie between Finland and Malaysia.

Indeed it appears in the Satapatha Brahmana: "That is Death which is the Year.... He who knows this death to be the Year, his life is not exhausted by days and nights before old age. He attains to a complete life." Thus the mere knowledge that Death is really the year preserves a man from Death until the natural term of his life. Whoever knows that Vytra is a consumer of food becomes himself a consumer of food (ibid., I, 6-3-17). This I think explains why the Brāhmaṇas so frequently give the "thatness," or essence of things: whoever possesses that knowledge has power over the thing. It seems fatuous to tell us that the Great Indraness of Great Indra consists in being great; but it is necessary to know this for purposes of charms; in order to conjure with Great Indra, it is necessary to know the legend which recounts how he came to be called Great Indra, which explains his Great Indraness. The essence is not always quite so obvious; thus the essence of Death apparently consists in being the Year and the Ender. The Brihaspatism of Brihaspati consists in being Ka or Who? Indra, according to the Āśvamedha Brāhmaṇa shares Brihaspati's nature; it follows then that both gods are swayed by the same sacrifice; and indeed we find in the Maitrāyaṇi Saṅhitā (II, 1. 12) a sacrifice called Aśvamedhďhāpaspatyam. These so-called etymological explanations would then seem to be really practical directions for the control of gods, and the formula "A is that which is B" should be taken as the standard formula of the schools.

If I am right the Brāhmaṇas were not merely treatises for the information of the curious, but practical directions for the control of gods and the world, through a knowledge of their 'thatness,' their true nature and origin.

MISCELLANEA.

CASSUMUNAR.

In A Memoir of the Two John Peachey, by G. C. Peachey, which appeared in Janus, Vol. XXIII, 1918 (published in Leyde, Holland), there is a mention of a pamphlet written by "John Peachey Doctor of Physick," published in 1679, entitled "Some observations made upon the root Cassumuniar called otherwise Rysagon Imported from the East Indies, showing its nature and virtues and its usefulness above others as yet written of, in Apoplexies... being the most proper Corrector of the Jesuits Powder."

The writer says he received the plant from his brother Jeremiah I and that it is "a plant esteemed even by Princes themselves, some part of what I have being taken out of the King of Golconda's garden..." Its properties, from the long description which follows, appear to have been antispasmodic.

At first sight the word looks like a Hobson-Jobson, but a reference to the Madras Manual of Administration, Vol. III, shows that the plant was commonly called Cassumun and is nothing more or less than wild turmeric, Cassumunar being the European spelling of the Hind. kaṃmunar.

The Telugu and Sanskrit names of the plant are karallamu and vanadraka, and it is also known as Bengal root, Curry turmeric and Downy-leaved ginger.

The alternative name Rysagon (also Rizagon, Rizagon) appears to be a word of doubtful origin, probably European, connected with Gr. rhiza, a root.

L. M. ANSTY.

3 Eka vai mṛtyuḥ yat samvratāḥ... Sa ya haitam mṛtyuḥ samvratāḥ veda na hāsyatā purā janām.

4 yad... tadbhīṣyate.

1 Jeremiah Peachey served the East India Company in Bengal from 1673—1693, when he was dismissed the service. He died at Madras in 1702. See Diaries of Stowynham Master, ed. Temple, foot-notes on pp. 19 and 342 of vol. II.

This valuable little book brings before us in enticing garb the well-known Alh-khánqāh, the great ballad of the Rajputs, recounting the stories that have come down in connection with Rai Pithaurā or Prithivī Rāja, the Chauhān, the last Hindu Ruler of Delhi before the advent of Muslim rule under Shahābuddīn Ghārī in 1192. Rai Pithaurā's best known action was the cause of the defeat of the Hindus before the Muhammadans at that time. He carried off the daughter of the great King of Kanauj, Jaychand, and the feud that arose between them in consequence, so weakened the power of the two great Hindu Rulers on what was then the frontier of Hindustan that the Hindus deprived themselves of the power to withstand the encroachment of their western neighbours of a strange religion. India went down before Islam, and Rai Pithaurā's abduction of his neighbour's daughter became a turning point in Indian history. The situation has long held a fascination for the present writer and made the relation of the deeds of the Rajputs of those days a study of extraordinary interest.

It has come down to modern days in two great recensions—the Prīthivīk Rākṣu of Chand Bardāi, the warrior poet who died with his master in the "Great Battle" of A.D. 1192, an epic of portentous length in true Indian fashion, and the Alkh-khánqāh, the property of illiterate minstrels handed down from generation to generation. They tell the tale with many incidental interpolations from the point of view of Delhi, i.e., of Rai Pithaurā, and of Kanauj and Mahbāb, i.e., of Jaychand, respectively, and so in a fashion we get both sides of the story.

The incident of the abduction of Jaychand's daughter is, however, outside the main tale, which is really an account of the fall of Mahbāb before Rai Pithaurā. Mahbāb lay in Bundelkhand, and at the time of the story was ruled by Parmal, the Chandēl. The Alkh-khánqāh is a long cycle of ballads recounting its destruction at the hands of Rai Pithaurā.

The great hero of the Alkh-khánqāh, the Lay of Alhā, is Alhā the Banāphar, of doubtful Rajput origin, but, with his brother Īdan, the great upholder of Mahbāb. They both met their death in its defence. Their story is told at great length in 23 Cantos. It is indeed a saga of Rajput chivalry, telling the Rajput life of the time, and is therefore of the highest anthropological value.

It has been fortunate in attracting the attention of four great enquirers into India, its ways and its languages, three of them now dead and the fourth a veteran: Sir Charles Elliott, Mr. Waterfield, Mr. Vincent Smith, and Sir George Grierson. In this Journal the last of them published a portion as long ago as 1886. Mr. Waterfield also produced in verse a portion of it in the Calcutta Review many years ago, and after his death in 1907 his MSS. and papers came before Sir George Grierson. Sir George found many more parts of it done into verse, and he has now published all these, adding abstracts in prose prepared by Sir Charles Elliott and himself of the remainder of the ballads. Mr. Waterfield's version is in English ballad verse, well suited to convey the original. Being a great scholar, Oriental and European, his translation is not only accurate, but lives and reproduces the full force of the poetry of the Indian ballad singers. Those who would know the Rajput and the feelings that sway him will do well to study his pages, guided by the informing introduction given by Sir George Grierson. They will find many things to surprise them which are worth knowing. The professor anthropologist will also see much to study, especially in the marriage ceremonies described at length.

R. C. Temple.

SIR SUBRAMANIA AYYAR LECTURES ON THE HISTORY OF SRI VAISHNAVAS, delivered by the late Mr. T. A. GOPINATHA RAO, pp. 61 (1923). Published by the University of Madras. Price 10 annas.

The first attempt at a serious study of the history and literature of Vaishnavism may be traced back to the days of the late Bishop Caldwell and Professor Seshagiri Sastri, with whose strange and misleading conclusions on the age and relative positions of the Āyārs and Āchāryas all students of South Indian History are fully familiar. Since then, several other South Indian scholars have studied the subject, some of them confining their attention to parts of the subject, such as the determination of the age of individual Āyārs. Among these may be mentioned the names of Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Mr. M. Srinivasa Aiyangar, Pandit M. Raghava Aiyangar and the late Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, and Mr. K. S. Srinivasa Pillai. The latest, the most comprehensive and authoritative publication on the subject is Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's "Early History of Vaishnavism in Southern India" (1920), in which he has embodied the results of his research on the subject carried on for the last twenty-five years, parts of which he had already published in his earlier works.

The present work on the "History of Śrī Vaishnavas by the late Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao" comprises two lectures delivered by the author before the University of Madras, when he was appointed to deliver the Sir Subramanya Iyer Lecture for
the year 1917 and has now been published in the form of a booklet by the University. The late Mr. Gopinatha Rao is well-known to all students of South Indian History as one of the most earnest, enthusiastic and active workers in the field of historical research with a special aptitude for epigraphy. As he himself tells us at the commencement of the lecture (p. 1) he began the investigation of the subject as early as 1905, and has revised his conclusions on the subject in the light of new materials collected since then.

The work opens with a brief account of the Āḷvārs as given in the orthodox Vaishnava traditional accounts (pp. 1–7), which is followed by a similar account of the Achāryas (pp. 7–14), at the end of which the author enumerates the sources of information. Then follows a critical account of the Śri Vaishnavas”, in which he discusses the dates of the various Āḷvārs and Achāryas (pp. 16–42). This occupies about 27 pages and is probably considered by the author as his special contribution to the subject. The rest of the work is devoted to an enumeration of the literary and inscriptive records having reference to the birth and important events in the lives of these saints. The last four pages contain the remarks of Dewan Bahadur L. D. Swamikannu Pillai who presided over the lecture.

It may at once be pointed out that the weakest part of the work, and the one which is most open to criticism, is the chronology adopted by the author for the Vaishnava Āḷvārs, and the dates that he assigns to them, which we are afraid cannot find acceptance by the majority of South Indian scholars. Let us consider a few of these dates here. On page 17 the author has “All things considered, the Pallava period, corresponding to the first part of the eighth century, appears certainly to have been one of great Vaishnava activity all over the presidency, in Tondamālālam as well as in the Pāḍiyā and Chōla countries. It would not be wrong, therefore, to assign the Mudal-Āḷvār and Tirumalaiśai-Āḷvār to this period.” In support of this he quotes the date arrived at by Mr. L. D. Swamikannu Pillai for Tirumalaiśai-āḷvār, namely, 720 A.D., and feels confirmed with his conclusion. For this date of the first three Āḷvārs, our author chiefly relies upon the reference to Māmallai (the birth-place of Pūtatāḷ) which he considers on the authority of Prof. Dubreuil. It does not exist before the days of Narasimharāman I (p. 16). This assumption, upon which our author mainly relies for his date of the ‘Mudal Āḷvār’, is entirely untenable, and is not supported by any positive evidence to show that the place referred to as Mālai by the Āḷvār did not exist before the seventh century. The probabilities are on the other hand that the place did have an existence, as a village if not as a town, from very early times, and as in the case of hundreds of such places, appears to have been simply renamed in the days of Māmallai. There is no reference, inscriptional or literary, which says that the place was founded for the first time by Narasimharāman I. The historical introduction that is furnished in the recently discovered Sanskrit work (Dandin’s Avanti-Sundari-Katha-sūtra) makes no reference to Māmallapura having been founded by this king. Finally, the recent discovery of the royal statues of Sinha-Vishnū and Mahēndranārman and their queens in the Adi-Varāha-Swāmī śrine at Mahabalipura completely destroys this assumption, and carries back the antiquity of this place much earlier than the days of Māmallai.

In this connection our author makes no attempt to arrive at the dates of these Āḷvārs on the evidence furnished by early Tamil literary works. The identity of the Vaishnava saint Poyyai with the early Tamil literary celebrity Poyyaiyar, the author of Kāvēṭi, on literary and stylistic grounds which has a strong element of probability, is not even alluded to by our author. Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar in his ‘History of Vaishnavism’ makes a careful examination not only of the internal evidence of the Āḷvārs’ own poems, but also that of early Tamil literature, and has come to the conclusion that the early Āḷvārs may be assigned to the second century A.D., the age of Nālamkāli and Śengūṭṭhavām (see page 75, Early History of Vaishnavism). As this view appears to satisfy all considerations, historical and literary, we must be excused if we feel sceptical as regards the soundness of Mr. Gopinatha Rao’s conclusions on this point.

As regards the much discussed date of Nam-Āḷvār, Mr. Gopinatha Rao thinks that the first half of the ninth century was the period when he lived and wrote his memorable Tiruvālvar. For this conclusion he chiefly relies upon the reference in Ananaiyai inscription to Māran-Kari, the Uttara-marata of the Pāḍiyā king Parantaka, who had also the name Maduraiyai. From the similarity of the names of the father of Nam-Āḷvār and Māran-Kari of the Annaiyai inscription, and that of the Madurai-kivi with the disciple of Nam-Āḷvār, the conclusion is drawn that Māran-Kari, the Pāḍiyā official, was the father of Nam-Āḷvār, and that Nam-Āḷvār gave his father’s name to his disciple as a Dasa-nāma. Such an identification, far from solving many an otherwise inexplicable difficulty, runs counter to all accepted tradition and historical sequence of the order of the Āḷvārs. It is surprising that Mr. Gopinatha Rao, who accepts the traditional accounts of the Āḷvārs in certain respects, such as the contemporaneity of the first four Āḷvārs, should deliberately overlook other aspects of genuine tradition regarding Nam-Āḷvār simply because it is inconvenient.
to his date. According to a well-known tradition Tirumangai Ålvâr, the last of the Vaishnava Ålvârs, arranged for the recital of Nam-Ålvâr’s Tiruvîravâsil at Srîrangam. This tradition, if it can be relied upon, clearly shows that Nam-Ålvâr must have preceded Tirumangai Ålvâr by a fairly considerable period of time. The traditional order of the Ålvârs does not also lend support to the position of Mr. Gopinatha Rao on this point. The other arguments advanced by the author, such as the one stated on page 20, that it became possible for Nam-Ålvâr to visit the inaccessible temples of Mala-nâdu, because he was the son of a prominent state-official of the Râyâya king Parântaka, are mere surmises, more amusing and fanciful than real. The difficulties in accepting Mr. Gopinatha Rao’s date for Nam-Ålvâr are fully discussed by Dr. S. Krishnaswamî Aiyangar in the third lecture of his work on Vaishnavism already referred to.

On the date of Kulaâkâhara our author is not disappointed by the “very little internal evidence” found in his works, to which he alludes (p. 22). He refers to a passage in Perumâl-Tirumoli alluding to the defeat and death of the lord of Mallâil, whom he identifies (p. 22) with the Pallava king Danti-Varman. By this process of reasoning he assigns Kulaâkâhara to the first half of the ninth century. The interpretation that our author gives to this passage referred to differs radically from that adopted by the commentator and cannot find general acceptance by Tamil scholars. Moreover, the clear terms in which the overlordship of Kulaâkâhara over Kûdâl, Kongu, and Köjî is referred to, suggest that he lived previous to the days of the great Pallavas, probably in the sixth century, as such overlordship would not have been possible at other times.

A reference may be made to the date assigned to Tirumangai Ålvâr by our author. After quoting the extracts from the Ålvârs’ decade on the Para-nâkâvara-Vinâyagaram containing references to the victories of an unnamed Pallava king, he identifies him with Nandi-Varman Pallavavallá (p. 23). He then refers to the final stanza of Âjâbûja-Pafikam and identifies the Vayinamøga, referred to therein, with the Pallava king Danti-Varman, and infers from the present tense used therein that he was a contemporary of this king. The accepted and the more reasonable interpretation of this stanza is that the Ålvâr is alluding to the Râshṭrâkûta king Danti-Durga by his surname Vairamøga. On this interpretation Mr. Gopinatha Rao thinks that there is little likelihood that Danti-Durga ever took Kanchi. On the other hand, there are unmistakable references in some of the Râshṭrâkûta copper-plate charters to the subjugation of Kanchi (see an interesting discussion on this question in the Journal of the Mythic Society, April 1923) where Professor S. K. Aiyangar gives ample reasons in support of the accepted interpretation of the Ålvârs’ stanza, which takes back the Ålvâr’s date to the middle of the eighth century.

Passing on to the account of the Ächârâyas, one or two points may be noticed. On page 30 Mr. Gopinatha Rao identifies the Ächârya of the composer of the Ambil plates of Sundara-Chola with Ächârya Nâda-Munigâl, which is probable, and may be confirmed.

On page 38 our author identifies the Chôla persecutor of Râmânuja with Kulottunga L. In doing so he says that the scholars who wrote before him on the subject uniformly failed to identify this Chôla persecutor. We do not believe that Mr. Gopinatha Rao intends this seriously. It is well-known that Prof. S. K. Aiyangar has made this identification in his Ramânuja, his Life and Times, published more than twenty years ago (1904), and later on in his Ancient India. In view of this, it is rather amusing that our author should claim originality on this point in 1917.

Finally, it may be mentioned a few of the misstatements and inaccuracies which mar the value of a university publication such as this, and which could have been avoided, if the authorities responsible for this edition were more careful. On page 4 we are told that besides Tiruvîravâsil, Nam-Ålvâr wrote Tirunuṟūram, Tiruvîrappâ and Peria-Tiruvâṉâdai. It would be obvious to any one that the Tiruvîrappâ is a mistake for Tiruṉûṟûram; Tiruvîrappâ is a Saiva work attributed to Kandârâdîtan. On page 16 the author says “We know from history that the Pallavas first came to Kanchi not earlier than the fourth century A.D. Here fourth century A.D. is apparently a mistake for the third century A.D.; as we know that the earliest of the copper plate charters of this dynasty, addressed from Kanchi, have been attributed on palæographical grounds, by most scholars, including Professor Dubreuil, to the beginning of the third century A.D.

The account of the Ächârâyas given by our author contains several omissions, the most prominent being Appûlår, the teacher of Vêdântâ Dêsiika. Going through the work under review, one cannot resist the impression that the book might have been made infinitely more useful, if the author had indicated the leading features in the teachings of the Ålvârs and Ächârâyas, and compared them with the early schools of the Pârâcharâstrins and Vaikhânasas. The author does not also indicate the influence of the southern school of Vaishnavism upon the northern movements, associated with the names of Nimbârka and Râmânâda.

The remarks of the chairman, Mr. L. D. Swami-kânnu Pillai (pp. 58-61), contain a very important statement with regard to his calculation of the dates of the Älvârs from the details of birthdates
furnished by the Guruparampara. "I must admit," he says, "that the details brought together in my Dates of Áśvatra are not generally perfect . . . . In the light of subsequent evidence and of the general verdict of history in regard to the general ascertainment of birth dates of even great men of the times with which we are concerned, I should now look, with more than ordinary suspicion, upon all these birth dates." This means a definite abandonment of the dates indicated by Mr. Pillai in his "Dates of the Áśvatra" quoted continuously by Mr. Gopinatha Rao in the body of the book.

In spite of what has been said in the foregoing paragraphs, Mr. Gopinatha Rao's work represents a valuable addition to the existing literature on the subject. We cannot at the same time resist the feeling that the work should have been entrusted to more competent scholars for publication, in which case many of the errors and mis-statements noticeable in the work would have been removed. We hope that this will be done when a second edition is called for.

R. G.

THE DATIVE PLURAL IN PÁLLI.

Professor Surendranath Majumdar Sastri's article on the above subject is evidently a reprint from the Journal of some Oriental Society, but contains no indication as to its source. It is well known that, ordinarily speaking, in Pālī and Prakrit, the dative has disappeared and that the genitive is used in substitution for it. We find traces of this even in Sanskrit, where the genitive is often used for the indirect object after verbs of giving and the like.

In Prakrit the original dative has survived sporadically in special senses, and Professor Surendranath Majumdar Sastri in the paper under notice draws attention to similar survivals of the dative plural in the Áśoka's Pālī. The termination is hi, which he derives from the dative plural termination bhya. This, as Pischel (Prakrit Grammar § 365) long ago pointed out in regard to the ablative plural, is phonetically possible. Personally, however, I am inclined to derive this plural termination hi from the plural instrumental termination bhıś. It is unnecessary to draw attention to the confusion of different cases which set in at an early stage of the development of Indo-Aryan languages, so that the change of meaning need not trouble us. Ordinarily speaking we should expect bhya to become hu or hūn, and the latter form is actually found in Apabhraṃśa. This, however, is a matter of detail, and the article certainly shows that in Áśoka's Pālī there are occurrences of a dative plural in hi.

G. A. GRIEBERON.


The first of these questions is interesting as showing that Kālidāsa, like Shakespeare, sometimes borrowed his plots. The love story of Sākuntalā and Dushyantasa is in the Mahābhārata, and is in fact probably much older, but Kālidāsa made it his own. Dushyanta, the King, marries Sākuntalā secretly on a hunting expedition, has a child by her, goes home and forgets all about her. After six years she comes to his Court to claim her rights for herself and her child, but Dushyanta fails to recognise her. That indeed is the kernel of the story. Kālidāsa adds to it that, leaving Sākuntalā in the jungles, Dushyanta gave her his signet-ring as a memento, and the poem centres on Sākuntalā's adventures round the ring.

The idea of the signet-ring as a keepsake is in the Rāmdāyaga, and Kālidāsa may have borrowed it thence. But Professor Majumdar Sastri points out that it is also in Herodotus, who relates a story in connection with Polykrates, King of Samos, which is based on the finding of a lost signet-ring, just as Sākuntalā lost hers. The Professor then discusses the possibility of Kālidāsa borrowing the story from Herodotus. It is an interesting point worth going into further, as it is quite possible that the signet-ring memento is general ancient folklore.

With regard to the second question, Professor Majumdar Sastri makes an examination of the Puranic texts regarding the Pradyota family. He points out that according to the texts the dynastic order in Māgadhā was Bāhradhrātas, Vitihotras, Pradyotas and Saisunāgas, and that the Vitihotras were not rulers of Māgadhā, but ruled contemporaneously with them. The question is, where did they reign? The Professor answers: "in Ujjayinī (Avanti)." He also finds that "the Pradyotas who ruled after the Vitihotras were rulers of Avanti." The identification is important.

R. C. TEMPLE.

NOTES FROM OLD FACTORY RECORDS.

47. Official Peculation, 1706.

Consultation at Bombay, 1 April 1706.—Resolved and Unanimously agree that . . . there be an Order signed as it is directed to Captain John Wynn immediately [to] send aaboar what Horses, Goates and Sheep to be under the care and inspection of the Steward; Barley for their Provision delivered by weight unto the Moody [mōdē, a revenue collector] and by him a daily allowance morning and Evening as shall be directed by the Steward, and no other food but hay [provided, thus] Easing the Company of that accustomed and extravagant charge, Oyle, Butter and Sugar, unnatural to Horses, as well as Sheep and Goates.

Bombay Public Consultations, vol. 2. R. C. T.
Pātalā—1. Tatta in Sindh, mentioned in the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* and Arrian's *Indika* (*JRAS.*, Vol. I (1834), p. 210; *Mbh.*, Udyogā, ch. 97). Cunningham identifies it with Hyderabad in Sindh (*Anc. Geo.*, p. 279). It is said to have been governed by the Nāga kings, who, according to Ragozin, were Dravidians (Ragozin's *Vedic India*, p. 308), the serpent (Nāga) being the Dravidian symbol of the Earth. Arrian calls the delta of the Indus, Pātalā. According to Mr. Schöff, its modern name is Minmargar, Min being the Sanskrit name of the Scythians (*Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, p. 166); the Usbega belong to the Min tribe of the Turks (Vambery's *Travels in Central Asia*). It is said that Egyptian vessels sailed to "Pattala, a sea-port of India" (David Macpherson's *Annals of Commerce*, I, p. 139). Perhaps it is the Pāṭalagrama of the *Av. Kalpa* (ch. 57) where a stūpa was built. Near Tatta is the Salilārāja Tirtha or the Vāruni Tirtha, Salilārāja being a name for Varsa (Mbh., Udyoga, ch. 97). 2. See Rasātala.

Pātalapura—The name was originally applied to Āśma of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Uttara, ch. 23), Oxyana of the Greeks, modern Aksu in Sogdiana situated on the northern side of the river Oxus, a little to the north-east of Balkh. Afterwards Balkh was called by the name of Pātalapura when the seat of Government was removed from it to Āśma (see *Rasa-tala or the Underworld*).


Pātaliputra—Patna, built in 480 B.C. by Śunindha and Vassakāra, the two ministers of Ajātaśatru, king of Magadh and contemporary of Buddha, for the purpose of repelling the attacks of the VaSSIPs and Vrijjis of Vaisālī (*Mahāvagga*, Pt. VI, ch. 29). The old capital of Magadh was Girivrajapura or Rājgir, but it was subsequently removed to Pātaliputra by Udayāsva, who was the grandson of Ajātaśatru according to the *Vīṣṇu P.* (IV, ch. 24), but according to the *Śrāvastīyopapal to-sutta*, he was the son of Ajātaśatru, but it has been proved that he was the son of Dārāsaka and grandson of Ajātaśatru (*JSB.*, 1913, p. 259). A very small portion of the modern town of Patna is on the site of the ancient Pātaliputra, the greater portion of which was diluviated by the rivers Ganges and the Sone in 750 A.D. The name of Pātaliputra, however, existed even at the time of Alberuni in the tenth or at the commencement of the eleventh century (Alberuni's *India*, Vol. I, p. 200). It was the birth-place of Ārya Bhaṭṭa, the celebrated Hindu astronomer, who was born in 476 A.D. Several Hindu sages, as Kātyāyana (or Vararuci, the author of the *Vārttika* and minister of the last Nanda called Mahāhanda, Yogānanda or Dhanananda) and Chāṇakya flourished in this place. It contains the temple of Pāṭalēṣvarī or Pāṭalā Devi, one of the Pithas mentioned in the *Bṛhad-nīlā Tantra*. A graphic description of the town has been given by Megasthenes, who was sent as an ambassador by Seleucus Nicator to the court of Chandragupta, king of Magadh, who reigned from 321 to 297 B.C. He describes the town as being situated near the confluence of the rivers Ganges and Rannoboa (Hiraṅyavāhu or the Sone), and says that it was eighty stadia (nearly 10 miles) in length and fifteen stadia (nearly 2 miles) in breadth, and it was surrounded by a ditch thirty cubits deep and six hundred cubits broad which received the sewage of the town, and that the walls were adorned with 570 towers and 64 gates. According to this account, the circumference of the city would be 190 stadia or 23½ miles. When Huien Tsiang visited it in 637 A.D., the kingdom of Magadh was under the subjection of the kings of Kanouj. The old city had been deserted for a long time and was in ruins, and a new city had sprung up close to it. Dr. Waddell, however, supposes that the site of the ancient Pātaliputra,
still exists. The Sugāga palace was situated on the bank of the Ganges (Mudrārūkhaśa, Act II, written about the eleventh century). It also contained the celebrated Vihāra (monastery) called Kukkuṭārāma where Upagupta, the preceptor of Asoka resided (Svayambhū Purāṇa, ch. I). The Kukkuṭa Vihāra was situated in a garden called Upakṣṇāthihārāma on the right bank of the Ganges (Asoka Avadāna in Dr. R. L. Mitra’s Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal, pp. 6f.) Dr. Waddell identifies the old palace of Nanda, Chandragupta and Asoka at Nili with Kumrār, Sandalpur and the Dargah of Shah Arzani, the eastern border of the palace was in a line running from the western border of the Sevai Lake through Dhanuki on the eastern margin of Kumrār to Mahāraja-Bhānda (Emperor’s meot) at Tulsi Mund which means the market place of the king. Dr. Waddell has identified the Āgām-kuān (the fiery or bottomless well) with a portion of Asoka’s “hell” with its fiery cauldrons; the brick mound to the east of the lake Gun-sar or Gaṅgāsāgara, containing a temple of Mahādeva on the top, with the first and greatest of the 84,000 stūpas built by Asoka to enshrine the relics of Buddha; the Pañchakātāra with the five Relic-stūpas, which emperor Akbar ascended to reconnoitre the fort and environs of Patna; the Chhota-pāhār with Upagupta’s (identified with Moggaliputta Tissa) Hermitage Hill built by Asoka; the Bhiknā-pāhār mound with Mahendra’s Hermitage Hill; the mound to the east of Rāṇipura with the Amalaka Stūpa situated within the Kukkuṭārāma monastery; the Jaina temple at Kamalih with the residence of the “heretics” of Hiuen Tsiang; the temple was built to the memory of Sthūlabhadra, the seventh Patriarch after Mahāvira in the third century B.C., and former minister of Nanda, who died at this place; Sthūlabhadra became the leader of the Jaina community at the time of the famine during the reign of Chandragupta (Dr. Hoernle’s Uvāsagadāsa, p. viii, Introduction); for the names of the Jaina patriarchs or Sthaviras after Mahāvira, (see Dr. Stevenson’s Kalpasūtra, p. 100); the spot which is less than half a mile to the east of Kamalih with Pataligrāma where Buddha stopped in a Chaitya preached and left his foot-print on a stone which was removed by Śāsānaka and which may now be found at Bulinda Bāgh (Dr. Waddell’s Excavations at Pātaliputra and Exact Site of Asoka’s Classic Capital of Pātaliputra, p. 38). P. C. Mukherji has identified Pataligrāma with Pāhārī (Bada and Chhota). He has identified Bada-Pāhārī with the great stūpa of Asoka; Chhota-Pāhārī with the stūpa of the four past Buddhas; Kumrār with Nili, containing on its western and southern sides the palace of the Nandas and Chandragupta, where Asoka was born; the spot on the north of Nanda’s palace between Kallu Tālāo and Chaman Tālāo at Kumrār with “Kālakāsa’s hell” or Jail; the Dargah of Shah Arzani with Mahendra’s Hermitage, on the north of which is a Mahalla called Mahandru; the mounds at Bāhādurpur with Upagupta’s Hermitage, Upagupta, according to Mr. Mukherji, was the spiritual guide of Kālakāsa and not of Asoka. Upagupta was the fourth Buddhist patriarch (for the lives of the 25 Buddhist patriarchs from Mahā-Kaśyapa to Bodhidharma, (see Dr. Edkins’ Chinese Buddhism, ch. VI, p. 435); Sugāga palace with the Killā at Sadargali in Patna city. The wooden palisade mentioned by Megasthenes has been traced by him from Lohānipura via Bāhādurpur, Sadalpura and Sevai tank to Mangal Tālāo. He also discovered an oval temple of the Maurya period at Naorattanpur (P. C. Mukherji’s Excavations of the Site of Pātaliputra, pp. 14-18). Asokārāma, the celebrated monastery, was situated near Pātaliputra and not within the town. It was situated on the west of the town, perhaps at Maharampura, a corruption of Mahā-arakṣa-pura. At the time of Fa Hian, Pātaliputra was seven miles to the south of the Ganges. The river then flowed considerably north. Kumrār, where the ancient palaces have been discovered, is evidently
a corruption of Kusumpura, where the king and the wealthy people resided (Mudrarakshasa, Acts I and VI). Six hundred years after the Mauryas, that is in the early part of the fourth century of the Christian era, the Guptas became kings of Pātaliputra. Samudra Gupta (326 to 375 A.D.) removed his capital to Ayodhya, though Pātaliputra was still regarded as the official capital. The last king of the dynasty Kumara Gupta II was deposed and he left Ayodhya and resided at Śrāvastī (530 to 550 A.D.); and Yaśodharman, the general of the Guptas who deposed the monarch, removed the seat of government to Kāñjakabja in 530 A.D. and became its king under the name of Vīshnuvardhana. According to Dr. Hoernle, he assumed the name of Vikramāditya after defeating the Scythians at Karur at 533 A.D., which gave rise to the Sanskrit era, but according to Dr. Bhandarkar, Mr. V. A. Smith and General Cunningham, Chandragupta II was the celebrated Vikramāditya of Ujjaini (see Ujjaini). Since that time Pātaliputra began to decline and Kāñjakabja increased in splendour and became the capital of India. Hiuen Tsiang, who visited India in the seventh century, found Pātaliputra as an ordinary village, for further particulars see Patna in Part II of this work. The dynasties from Chandragupta which reigned in Pātaliputra were (1) the Mauryas from Chandragupta (for whose life see Dr. Rhys Davids’ Buddhist India, p. 259) to Bṛhadhrath (321 B.C. to 188 B.C.) (2) the Śuāgas from Pushpanātra or Pushyāmitra to Devabhatti (188 B.C. to 76 B.C.) (3) the Kāyvas from Vasudova to Suśaraman (76 B.C. to 31 B.C.) (4) the Andhra-bhrītis (Śakarnis or Śakāvasāhas of the inscriptions) from Śipā to Gauṭamiputra (31 B.C. to 312 A.D.), but according to Dr. Bhandarkar the Andhra-bhrītis reigned from B.C. 50 to 164 A.D. (5) the Vāśīkṣiputras, according to Ferguson (History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, p. 718), from Puliman, son of Gauṭamiputra, to Pulomāchi, reigned from 333 A.D. to 429 A.D., but the Vāśīkṣiputras and Gauṭamiputras were merely metonymies (see V. A. Smith’s Early History of India, p. 186). For the Gupta kings and the change of capital, see Magadha. Patna is the birth-place of Guru Govind, the tenth Sikh Guru; and the house where he was born still exists; he died at Abjalmagar in the Deccan (for a brief account of the Sikh Gurus from Nānak to Guru Govind see JASB., 1845, p. 333, and also the Vīchitrā Naṭakā, a portion of the Sikh Granth, which is an autobiography of Guru Govind, in JASB. (Vol. XIX, p. 521; Vol. XX, p. 487).

The exploration at Kumrā in 1913 has disclosed the remains of what is called a “Mauryan Hall” with “8 rows of monolithic, polished columns, with at least 10 columns in each row” evidently adorned with “heavy stone sculptures of something over life-size.” Dr. Spooner with remarkable ingenuity has shown that this Mauryan Hall was constructed on the model of the Hall of a Hundred Columns or the Throne-room of Darius Hystaspes at Persepolis (see his Zoroastrian Period of Indian History in JASB., 1914 and 1915,
But further evidence is necessary to prove conclusively that the Mauryan Hall was a reproduction of the Achaemenian Hall at Persepolis. The question is whether the Mauryan Hall was a reproduction of the Persepolitan Hall, or the latter of the ancient Hindu Throne-room, of which the Mauryan Hall is an example, assuming that the Mauryan Hall was later in date than the Hall at Persepolis. It is admitted that several of the architectural passages in the Mahabharata are in such close agreement with the description of Chandragupta Maurya's palaces given by Megasthenes, that both the Greek and Sanskrit texts refer to the same class of buildings. But the Mahabharata, at least that portion of it which relates to the construction of the Throne-room of Yudhishthira (Sahha P. chs. I ff), must have been composed at a much earlier date than the Achaemenian period. So long as this portion of the Mahabharata is not shown to be an interpolation of a later date, the inference would be that the Persians had adopted the Hindu style of palaces and throne-room for their model. Then again it has been assumed that the Hall at Patthaliputra was of the Mauryan period. Patthaliputra was built when Ajatasatru, the contemporary of Buddha, was reigning at Rajagriha, and the seat of government was removed there by Udai, the successor of Ajatasatru. Darius did not invade India till 30 years after the death of Buddha (Prof. Max Duncker's Hist. of Antiquity, trans. by Abbott, p. 38). The Hall at Patthaliputra might have belonged to an anterior period when the Siwanaga and Nanda dynasties reigned over Patthaliputra, the Mauryas, if the Hall was constructed by them, might have adopted the architectural style as it prevailed at the time of their predecessors (Havell's Anc. and Mod. Arch., p. 83). Rajagir has not yet been excavated and explored. All these points should be cleared up before any definite conclusion can be arrived at one way or the other. See, however, Dr. J. J. Modi's "Ancient Patthaliputra" in Journal B. B. R. A. Society, Vol. XXIV (1916-17).

Pathayampur—Biana, ninety miles east of Jaipur in the Bharatpur State, Rajputana; it was the capital of the Yadavas at the time of the Muhammadan conquest. It was also called Shripatha.

Pateyana—The western division of India at the time of Buddha, including Kuru, Paunchala, Avantti, Gandhara, Kaumbha, Surasena, etc. (Mahavagga, VII, I, I—see Dr. Rhys Davids' note in SBE, XVII, p. 146).

Paudanya—Same as Potana. It was founded by Asmaka (Mbha., Adi, Ch. 179, v. 47—P. C. Roy's ed.)

Paudarika—Same as Pundrupura (Pdama P., Uttara, ch. 95).

Paudra—Same as Pundravardhana. It was also called Pundradesa after the name of Pundra, a son of Bali (see Sumha). It was bounded on the east by the river Karatoya, but according to Mr. Westmacott by the river Brahmaputra (JASB., 1875, p. 3), on the west by the river Kaukiki (Kosi), on the north by the Hemakuta mountain of the Himalaya, on the south by the Ganges. It was the kingdom of Vasudeva who was jealous of Krishna (Harivamsa, chs. 281, 282; Pdama P., Uttara Kh., ch. 94; Brahmanaga P., Purva, ch. 55). Pundradesa and Paudra were the names of the country and Pundravardhana was perhaps its capital. It was also called Karusha (Bhagavata P., X, ch. 66). It has been identified with Pundra in the district of Malda in Bengal. It was formerly situated on the Mahananda which has now receded four miles to the west. It contains the celebrated Adinath mosque and the Satasaaq which is supposed to have been the royal palace. Mr. Pargiter, however, relying upon the Mahabharata (Sahha P., ch. 51, and Bishama P., ch. 9) considers that Pundra and Pundra were two different countries, and
according to him, Paṇḍra was on the south side of the Ganges and Punḍra on the north side between Ánga and Baṅga, and Paṇḍra must have comprised the modern districts of Santal Parganas and Birbhum and the north portion of the Hazaribagh district (Ancient Countries in Eastern India in JASB., 1897, p. 85).

**Paṇḍra-Vardhana**—See Pundravardhana and Punḍra. It was the name of the capital as well as of the country. Jayapida Viṇayāditya who ascended the throne of Kasmir in the Laukika or Saptarishī year 3825 (3825–3075=750 A.D.) visited Paṇḍravardhana and placed Jayanta, his father-in-law, on the throne of Gauda by defeating the five chiefs of Paśiça-Gauda (Dr. Stein's Rājatarāgīśḍ, Vol. II, p. 163; Viṣṇu-kōśa, s.v. Kuliṇa).

**Paṇika**—Same as Punaka (Vāyu P., ch. 45).

**Paurava**—A country on the eastern bank of the Hydaspes (Jhelam) including the Gujrat district, the original seat of the Purus. The kingdom of Purus who fought with Alexander (Mbh., Sabhā P., 27; Harshaacarita, ch. VI).

**Paṇa**—Identified by Cunningham (Anc. Geo., p. 434) with Padraona, an ancient city on the Gandak, twelve miles north-east of Kusinagara, the last place visited by Buddha before he reached Kusinagara where he died. Dr. Hoey identified Paṇa with Pappaur, about three miles east of Sewan in the district of Chhapra. Paṇa was the capital of the Mallas, Padraona is a dialectic variation of Pādavana. At Pava Buddha ate at the house of Chunda, according to Dr. Hoey, sākara (not hog's flesh) but sākara-kanda (hog's root) which aggravated the illness that terminated his life (JASB., Vol. LXIX, p. 89). For the meaning of "Sākara-maddava" which was eaten by Buddha, see note at p. 244 of the Questions of King Milinda (SBE., Vol. XXXV) by Dr. Rhys Davids. According to Dharmapāla it means the tender top-sprout of the bamboo plant. Buddha himself interdicted the use of meat, "Let no one, O Bhikkhus, knowingly eat meat (of an animal) killed for that purpose: whoever does so, is guilty of a dikkata offence" (Mahāvagga, VI, 31, 14). It is not therefore likely that he would have taken meat at Chunda's house. Aśvaghosha does not mention the nature of the repast offered (see SBE., XIX, pp. 285, note, 286). But see Mahā-parinibbāṇa Sutta, ch. IV in SBE., XI, p. 71, where "boar's flesh" is mentioned. 2. Same as Pāḍa or Pāḍapuri, seven miles to the east of Bihar town, where Mahāvira, the Jaina Tirthākara, died (see Pāṇa).

**Pavamāna**—The Paghaman (or Pamghan) range. It appears to be part of Pārīpaṭra (g.v.) and therefore of the Hindu Kush (Devi-Bhāgaswata, VIII, ch. 7).

**Pāvani**—The river Ghaggar in Kurukshetra (district Ambala), or rather the united stream of the Sarasvati and the Ghaggar, which is called by the name of Sarasvati, the most sacred river in ancient India. The Pāvani, which means the 'Purifier,' is said to be one of the eastern streams of the Ganges (Rāmāyaṇa, Ādi, ch. 43). Bharata crossed the river Sarasvati at its junction with the Ganges (Ibid, Ayodh., ch. 71). Whether the Sarasvati ever joined the Ganges or not, it is a fact that to the north of Thaneswar there is a celebrated Tirtha on the Sarasvati called Gaṅga-Ārtha, where Gaṅga (the Ganges) is said to have bathed in order to get rid of her sins (Cunningham's Arch. S. Rep., 1863, p. 64; Panjab Gazetteer, Ambala District, p. 6), and the Ghaggar or Sarasvati is situated to the east of the Hīḍāni which is also one of the three eastern streams of the Ganges (Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodh., ch. 71, and Ādi., ch. 43). The Ghaggar was a very important river before and the Sarasvati was its affluent instead of being the principal river itself as it is generally supposed (Panjab Gazetteer, Ambala District, ch. I, p. 5). 2. Same as Baidyanātha or Chidābbhumi (Bṛihat-Śīva P., Pt. II, ch. 3).
Payasvini—1. The river Pāpanāśini in Travancore (Chaitanya-charitāmṛta; Garuda P., I, 55; Journal of the Buddhist Text Society, Vol. V—Life of Chaitanya, p. 45). 2. The river Paisum or Pissâni, a tributary of the Yamunâ between the Ken and the Tonse near Mt. Chitrakûṭa. 3. The river Chandragiri in South Kanara District, Madras Presidency; it rises in the Western Ghats.


Perimuda—The island of Salsette near Bombay, the Perimula of the Greeks. McCrindle approves Campbell’s identification of Perimula with Simyila (Ptolomy, p. 201), (but see his Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian, p. 142 note). But according to Da Cunha, the ancient name of Salsette was Shashthi (see Shashthi). It derived its sanctity from the tooth of Buddha which was enshrined there at the beginning of the fourth century of the Christian era, and which was visited by Buddhist pilgrims. The cave (chaitya) of Kanheri, which is called Krishnasagiri in the inscriptions of the island, is supposed by Fergusson to belong to the early part of the fifth century of the Christian era (Hist. of Indian and Eastern Architecture, p. 161). The cave temples are scattered over the two sides of a big rocky hill at many different elevations. The largest and most remarkable of all is a Buddhist temple of great beauty and majesty (Bishop Heber’s Indian Journal, Vol. II, p. 130).

Peteniika—The country about Paitâhān on the Godavari or Mahârâshtra (Aśoka’s Girnar and Dhauli Inscriptions in Smith’s Aśoka, p. 120; and Bhandarkar’s Early History of the Deccan, Sec. iii; JASB., 1838, p. 267).

Phalakti-vana—In Kurukshetra, where at Pharal on the Oghavati river, 17 miles to the south-east of Thaneswar, Śukra Tirtha is situated (Arch. S. Rep., Vol. XIV, p. 101; MBh., Vana P., ch. 83).

Phalgu—The united stream of the Nilâjana (or Niraśjana) and the Mohanâ is called by the name of Phalgu. The Nilâjana is united with the Mohanâ near the Mora hill, about a mile below Buddha-Gaya. The Phalgu flows through Gaya, and the whole channel of the river from Brahma-sarovara to Uttarâ-mânasa is considered holy (Agni P., ch. 219).

Phâlguna—See Pañchápâsâ-Tirtha (Bhâgavata, X, ch. 79).

Phenâ—Mr. Pargiter doubtfully identifies Phenâ with the Pengaîgâ or Pain-Gaigâ. It was also called Sindhu-Phenâ (Brahma P., ch. 123; JRAS., 1911, p. 803). It is a tributary of the Godavari (Brahma P., ch. 129).

Phenagiri—It is near the mouth of the Indus (Brihat-Sanhitâ, XIV, v. 18).

Phulagrâma—Chittagong.

Pichchhli—A river in Kamarupa or Assam (Yogini-Tantra, Uttara-khañca, ch. 1; Mahâbhârata, Bhishma Parva, ch. 9).

Pida—A country mentioned in the second edict of Aśoka at Girnar, it is the Pidika of the Brahmaṇḍa Purâṇa (ch. 49). It was situated in the Aroki district (JASB., 1838, pp. 160, 406).
Pinākini—The river Pennar in the Madras Presidency (Skanda P., Mahes. kh., Aruṇāchala Mahāt., ch. 2; Sewell’s Arch. Surv. of South India, Vol. I, pp. 123, 129). It was also called Pinākā. It is the Tyana of Ptolemy. It rises among the Nundidroog mountains in the province of Mysore, where on account of its northerly course it is called the Uttara Pinākini (Hamilton’s East India Gazetteer). The Dakshīṇa Pinākini is the same as Pāpaghni.

Pindaraka-Tirtha—Near Golagar in Guzerat, sixteen miles to the east of Dwarkā (Mbh., Yana P.) It was at this place that the Rishis cursed Sāmba, Krishna’s son, saying that he would give birth to a Mushala which would destroy the Yadu race (Bhāgavata, XI, p. 1).

Pīṣṭapura—Pīṭhāpura in the Godavari district, it was conquered by Samudra Gupta. It was the ancient capital of Kaliṅga (Smith’s Early Hist. of India, p. 234). Same as Gayāpāda.

Plakshaprasavaṇa—See Sarasvatī (1).

Polaura—According to Ptolemy it is the name of a town near the Kambyon mouth of the Ganges (McCrimode’s Ptolemy, p. 72). Same as Kola-Parvatapura (see my Early Course of the Ganges in I.A., 1921).

Potali—Same as Potana (Jātaka, iii, p. 2).

Potana—Paiṭhān on the north bank of the Godāvari. It was the capital of Assaka or Asmaka or Mahārāṣṭra (Mahā-Govinda Suttanta in the Dialogues of the Buddha, Pt. II; Jātaka, iii, p. 2). See Pratishthāna.

Prabhāsā—1. Somnath in the Junagar state, Kathiawad. It is also called Devapattana and Berawal; Somnath is properly the name of the temple and the city is called Devapattana (Yule’s Marco Polo, Vol. II, p. 334 note). “The neighbourhood of Pattana” (which contains the celebrated temple of Somnath at the south-western corner) “is esteemed specially sacred by the Hindoos as the scene of Krīṣṇa’s death and apotheosis. A small river known to the Hindu devotees as the Raṅgākshi, empties itself into the sea, at the distance of about a mile to the eastward of Pattana. At a particular spot on this river, sacred as that of Krīṣṇa’s death, are a ghāṭ and a few temples” (JASB., Vol. VII, p. 899—Note of a Journey in Girnar). The reservoir called Bhāṭ-kuṇḍa or Bhāḷakā-
kuṇḍa at a short distance behind Somnath’s temple is traditionally the scene of Krīṣṇa’s death, which took place on the first day of Kali yuga (Bhāgavata, XII, 2); the place where the Yaḍavas fell fighting with one another is also called Amarāpuri Gopitalā. Raṅgākshi is another name for the river Sarasvatī (Vāmana P., ch. 84). Somnath is known to the Jainas under the title of Chanda Prabhās or Chandraprabhā-prabhāsa. It was formerly frequented by a very large number of pilgrims from all parts of India during an eclipse of the moon. Chanda (the moon) is said to have been cured of consumption, with which he was cursed, by bathing in the river Sarasvatī and worshipping Mahādeva since known as Somanātha (Siva P., Pt. I, ch. 45; Mbh., Śalya P., ch. 36). Berawal is two miles to the north-west of the Somnātha temple. The celebrated shrine of Somanātha, which is one of the twelve great Liṅgas of Mahādeva (see Amaraśvara), occupies an elevated site on the south-western corner of the town of Pattana overlooking the sea and close to the wall. For a description of the temple of Somanātha, see Notes on a Journey to Girnar in JASB., Vol. VII (1835), p. 865. Somanātha, also called Someśvaranātha, was the family god of the Chalukya kings of Guzerat. The wooden temple of Somanātha was replaced by a stone temple by Kumārapāla, king of Anahillapattana, at the request of Hemachandra, the author of the celebrated grammar called Siddhāhema and the lexicography called Abhidhāna-chintāmaṇi (Tawney—
Prabandhachintamani, pp. 126, 129). 2. Pabhosa, now a small village on the top of a hill, 32 miles south-west of Allahabad and 3 miles to the north-west of Kosam Kheraj (Kauśambi), visited by Hiuen Tsang (Epigraphia Indica, Vol. II, p. 240). There is at rock-cut cave on the top of the hill, which is described by Hiuen Tsang, as being the dwelling of a venomous Nāga and situated on the south-west of Kauśambi but the hill is to the north-west from the fort of Kosam. 3. A place of pilgrimage in Kurukshetra on the bank of the Sarasvati near Chamasoddheda where the river reappears (Mbh., Vana, ch. 129). It was at this place that Vasudeva, the father of Krishṇa, performed a sacrifice (Bhāgavata P., X, ch. 84), and where the re-union of Śri Krishṇa and Rādhikā, the Gopis and the Gopas took place, which is generally known as Prabhāsa Milana. The Brahma-vaivarta Purāṇa (Krishṇa-janma Kh., ch. 54, vs. 20, 23), however, places the scene of reunion at Siddhāśrama (q.v.) (Ibid., ch. 128).

Prabhāsa-Sarasvatī—See Sarasvatī (2).

Prāchēi-Sarasvatī—See Sarasvatī (1).

Prāchya—That portion of Bhāratavarsha (India) which was to the south-east of the river Sarasvatī (Amarakosa); the Prasi of the Greeks which included Magadha (McCrindle’s Megasthenes, ch. 68). According to Dr. Oldenberg, the countries of the Kāśis, Kośalas, Videhas and perhaps Magadha were called Prāchya (Buddha, p. 393 note).

Pradyumna-nagara—Pāṇḍuā in the district of Hooghly (Mahābārata as quoted in the Gaṅga-mahātmya of Rāghunandana’s Prāya-chītta-tattva). According to tradition, Pradyumna, son of Krishṇa, is said to have killed here Sambarkāsa, and hence the name of the place was changed from Rikshavanta to Pradyumnanagara or Mārapura (Harivamśha, ch. 160). Pāṇḍu Śākya made it his capital when he left the Śākya kingdom for fear of falling into the power of Virudhaka, the parricide usurper of the throne of Kośala, and retired beyond the Ganges. His daughter Bhaddakachchhāna married Pāṇḍuvāsudeva, a prince of Sinhapura, present Singur in the district of Hugly in Bengal, who afterwards succeeded Vijaya on the throne of Ceylon (Turnour’s Mahāvamsa, ch. VIII). It appears that from the name of Pāṇḍu Śākya, who was Buddha’s cousin, being the son of Aniruddha, ancient Pradyumna-nagara is called Pāṇḍuā (see my History of the District of Hugly in JASB, 1910, p. 610); see Mārapura. It appears that Pāṇḍuā was conquered by the Mahomedans at the end of the thirteenth century; Shah Sufi, who was sister’s son to the Emperor Firuz Shah II, was oppressed by the Hindu Rāja of Pāṇḍuā who was called Pāṇḍu Rāja; he obtained assistance from his uncle at Delhi and overthrew the Rāja. The old temple was destroyed and the present mosque was built with its materials. The great tower of Pāṇḍuā, 125 feet high, is said to have been built by Shah Sufi in imitation of the Kutub Minar in Old Delhi as a tower of victory, and it served as a Muazzan’s minar for a call to prayer. Pāṇḍuā in the district of Hugly should not be confounded with Pāṇḍuā called Firuzabad near Maidia which is identified with Pratāparudra-dhana.

Prāgbodhi Hill—The Mora hill, across the river Phalgu, three miles to the north-west of Buddha-Gayā; from this hill Buddha went to the latter place to perform the penance (Arch. S. Rep., Vol. III, p. 105). The hill is washed at its south-western base by the Mora Lake and therefore the hill is called Morā-Tāl-kā-pāhād. The cave reached through the villages Manjhowli and Sahaiypura. For a description of the caves see JASB, 1904, pp. 30-35.

Prāgyotishapura—1. Kāmarupa or Kāmajahāyā in Assam (see Kāmarupa), Gauhati (JAS., 1900, p. 25). It was the capital of the kingdom of Kāmarupa. 2. There appears to be another Prāgyotishapura on the bank of the river Betwā or Betravati (Brahma P., ch. 28; Rāmāyaṇa, Kishk., ch. 42).
THE MARATHAS AT THE CLOSE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY
AS DESCRIBED BY A SOLDIER OF FORTUNE.

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

The recent work of Mr. R. E. Enthoven on the *Tribes and Castes of Bombay*, the third volume of which contains an important article on the Marāthās, based on the scientific data elicited by the Ethnographical Survey, serves to remind one of a remarkable, but now almost forgotten account of these people, published by an Irish adventurer, William Henry Tone, in 1798. His observations, which were originally embodied in a letter dated August 1st, 1797, addressed to Captain Malcolm in Madras, contain so much that is interesting about the condition and habits of the Marāthās before the British conquest of the Deccan, and in some respects anticipate so curiously the conclusions now rendered acceptable by the modern scientific inquiry conducted by Mr. Enthoven and his Indian coadjutors, that it seems to me worth while to lift the more important passages out of the obscurity into which they have fallen by the passage of time.

Before dealing, however, with his description of Marāthā institutions, a word may be said about Tone's origin and career. William Henry Tone, son of a ruined coachmaker and brother of the Irish rebel, Theobald Wolfe Tone, was born in 1764 at Naas in Kildare. At the age of sixteen he ran away from home to join the East India Company's service as a volunteer, and was sent to St. Helena. After six years' service on that island, he resigned his employment with the Company; but joined it again in 1792 and was posted to Madras. There he managed to obtain his discharge, and journeyed to Calcutta where he met Marigny, the second in command of the Nizam's army, who gave him an appointment in the Hyderabad forces. But he soon found out that, in consequence of the enmity between Marigny and the famous Raymond, he had little or no prospect of promotion, and he therefore returned to Calcutta, where his good looks and good manners secured him a letter of introduction to the court of Baji Rao the Peshwa. He reached Poona in 1796 and was given a post in the Peshwa's brigade of regulars, then commanded by the American adventurer, J. P. Boyd. In 1801 Tone commanded 200 native troops in support of Lakwa Dāda and the Báis at the defence of Saund, and was forced to surrender by Perron, who commanded Sindia's infantry. Perron permitted him to retire to Holkar's headquarters at Maheshwar, where Jasvānt Rao Holkar provided him with money and generally superintended his restoration to health. He was not, however, destined to live long, for in the following year, 1802, he was killed while serving with Holkar's forces in a battle near Choli Maheshwar. An enterprising and valorous soldier, Tone appears to have been one of the most attractive of the many soldiers of fortune who sought service with Indian rulers in those days; while as regards his literary legacy no less an authority than Grant Duff remarks upon his intelligence and declares that his account of what he saw is fully worthy of credence.

Tone's account of the Marāthās was, as stated above, embodied in a letter to Madras, and published in the *Bombay Courier* in 1897. A year later it was printed and published in book form at the Courier Press, Bombay, and was described as an attempt "to illustrate some particular institutions of the Mahratta People, principally relative to their system of War and Finance; also an account of the Political Changes of the Empire in the year 1796." Tone's justification for writing the letter may be given in his own words, as they appear in the "advertisement" or preface. "To understand the feelings or sentiments of any people, he (Tone) humbly conceives that it is necessary to see them in a state of perfect
independence; indeed it is essential, to enter fully into their character, that you act with them on the footing of complete equality; in circumstances of this kind you discover all the energies of their nature, their passions, prejudices, partialities and antipathies; in one word, their real character. Very few opportunities of discovering the Hindoo disposition can possibly occur in the settlements (i.e., Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, etc.) — Here we see the Natives in a state of inferiority, insensibly departing from his original habits and imperceptibly imbibing a certain proportion of European manners. Such a heterogeneous character is scarcely worth a disquisition: but the pure unadulterated Hindoo offers a subject infinitely more interesting. The Writer's opportunities as an officer in the native service afforded him advantages not within the reach of any individual in different circumstances."

One of the most important statements in Tone's letter concerns the social status of the Marâthâs. "In the great scale of rank and eminence," he writes, "which is one peculiar feature of the Hindoo institutions, the Mahâratta holds a very inferior situation; being just removed one degree above those castes that are considered as absolutely unclean. In this artificial climax he ranks next the Daira (Dhed) or Parvarry (Parvari, Mhâr); but while the lowness of his caste may deprive him of respect from the higher orders, it has highly qualified him for the purpose of war, and may be considered as one of the sources of that astonishing success which has attended all the Mahâratta expeditions." Here we have the definite testimony of an intelligent eye-witness to support the theory, arising out of the facts elicited by the modern Ethnographical Survey, that there is a considerable aboriginal element in the Marâthâs, and that the claim of the upper-class and land-owning Marâthâs to Râjput origin is a comparatively modern phenomenon originating in a rise in social status. Mr. Entenhoven has pointed out that even in these days the Marâthâs do not disdain to admit into their community persons of plainly aboriginal origin, like the Kolis, provided that they have adopted the Marâthâ profession of agriculture; and secondly, that the upper class Marâthâs, despite their modern claim to a Kshatriya origin and their adoption of the prohibition of widow-remarriage, differ little, if at all, in origin from the cultivating Marâthâ Kunbi and the various Marâthâ occupational castes. But perhaps the most striking justification of Tone's views regarding the position of the Marâthâs in the Brahmanic caste-scale is to be found in the list of devakas or marriage-guardians which Mr. Entenhoven has compiled. For a glance at the list shows that several of these totemistic guardians, which are common both to the upper-class Marâthâs and their Kunbi brethren, are shared by other low castes such as Bhoi, Mahâr, Gondhali, Phudgi, Burud, Chambar, Bhâmto, Mâli, and so forth. In short, the estimate of the Marâthâ position in the social scale which Tone formed from keen personal observation is corroborated to-day by the technical findings of the trained ethnological expert.

Tone laid stress upon the great simplicity of manners which distinguished the Marâthâs in his day, and ascribed this characteristic to the fact that they were composed, as a class, of three main tribes, all of whom followed rural occupations, namely the Dhangar or shepherds, the Gauli or cowherds, and the Kunbi or agriculturists. There seems little doubt that at the close of the eighteenth century, despite the rise of the Gaekwar, Holkar and other Marâthâ chieftains, the upper-class Marâthâs had not yet fully embraced the aristocratic aloofness which in these days divides them socially from their more humble kinmen. "Homer," remarks Tone, "mentions Princesses going in person to the fountains to wash their household linen. I can affirm having seen the daughter of a Prince (able to bring an army into the field much larger than the whole Greek confederacy) making bread with her own hands and otherwise employed in the ordinary business of domestic housewifery. I
have seen one of the most powerful Chiefs of the Empire, after a day of action, assist in kindling a fire to keep himself warm during the night, and sitting on the ground on a spread saddle-cloth, dictating to his secretaries and otherwise discharging the political duties of his station. This primeval plainness operates upon the whole people: there is no distinction of sentiment to be discerned: the Prince and his domestic think exactly the same way, and express themselves in the same terms. There appears but one level of character, without any mixture of ardour or enthusiasm; a circumstance the more surprising considering the great exploits they have achieved. But their simplicity of manners, uncorrupted by success, their courtesy to strangers, their unaffected politeness and easiness of access, must render them dear to every person that has had a commerce with them. Such a character, when contrasted with the insidiousness of the Brahman and the haughtiness of the Mogul, rises as superior to them as candour and plainness are to duplicity and deceit, or real greatness to barbaric ostentation."

The modern verdict is more succinct, but fully corroborates Tone's eulogy. "As a class," says Mr. Enthoven, "Marâthâs are simple, frank, independent and liberal, courteous, and when kindly treated, trusting. They are a manly and intelligent race, proud of their former greatness, fond of show, and careful to hide poverty." Perhaps the most unpromising of all the Marâthâs of that age was Jâsvant Râo Holkâr, who had acquired a well-deserved reputation for cruelty and violence. Yet none could have shown greater consideration than he did to the gallant Harding, when the latter was mortally wounded at the battle of Poona. Jâsvant Râo himself was badly wounded in three places, while charging Dawes' guns side by side with Harding; and directly the charge was over, his first thought was for his English comrade. Rejecting for the moment all treatment of his own wounds, he hurried to Harding's side and listened to his dying request that arrangements might be made to bury him by the side of his fellow-countrymen in the Residency at Poona. Jâsvant Râo scrupulously fulfilled the request.

Tone has much to say about the Marâthâ Government, which he compares with the "circles" of Germany and describes as a military republic, composed of chiefs independent of one another, but together acknowledging the supremacy of the Peshwa. As pointed out by Dr. Sûrendranâth Sen in a recent work on the Administrative System of the Marâthâs, the description of the Marâthâ State as a military republic is only true in the sense that the private soldier, if possessed of ability, could expect to become a Sardar of the Empire. The mutual confidence which was vital to the maintenance of such a "republic" was wholly lacking, and this fundamental distrust and hostility rendered incapable of realization any comprehensive policy of national patriotism such as had once inspired Sivâji. Tone himself put his finger unerringly upon one of the weakest features in the political and administrative system, when he described how the territories of the various chiefs were so blended and interspersed that it was not uncommon for a pargana, or even a single town, to belong to two or three different leaders. "A disposition so chequered," he remarks, "strikes me as having a tendency to weaken the combined strength of the whole; but whether this be the effect of policy or accident I confess I cannot determine." Grant Duff, who certainly made use of Tone's account, suggests that this arrangement was purposely adopted as a means of preserving intercourse and union among the principal Marâthâ officers; but it seems more likely that it owes its existence to the subtle mind of Balâji Vishvanâth, who realised that by dividing the revenue-collections of a single district among several Marâthâ chiefs, he could introduce endless complications in the revenue-accounts, and thus increase the power of his Brahman caste-fellows, who alone had sufficient intelligence and knowledge to deal with such accounts. It is fairly certain that about the date when Tone wrote his letter to Malcolm nobody except the Brahmins rightly knew what was due or to whom it was due.
The predatory character of the Marāthā empire, upon which Professor Jadunath Sarkar has laid stress in his *Shivaji and His Times*, was plainly apparent to the Irish soldier of fortune; who remarked that "the Empire always considers itself as in a state of war." "This eternal warfare is naturally the cause of an enormous expense: to supply which the Mahrrattas have many modes of Finance, but the most prevailing one is that of anticipating their landed revenues. These mortgages on the territorial income are negotiated by wealthy Souccars (between whom and the Minister there always exists a proper understanding) and frequently at a discount of 30 per cent. and then paid in the most depreciated specie. This ruinous method of raising the supplies springs entirely from the unstable and unsettled state of the country, which makes the Government prefer an actual certain sum in their hands, though at the most enormous usury, to the possible receipt of a precarious revenue, at the expiration of three or four years, to which extent they are frequently anticipated." The salient fact is that the current expenses of the Marāthā State were always in excess of its pecuniary resources, the chief items of which were the revenue from the proprietary right to the soil, the chauth paid by the Nizam, and the plunder raised by mulkgiri.

The condition of the peasantry under the Peshwas has been discussed by several writers, the latest of whom, Dr. S. N. Sen, finds that the Peshwas made sustained efforts to improve cultivation, made grants for irrigation works, offered special terms for the reclamation of waste lands, and advanced loans (tagai) on easy terms to the cultivator, to save him from the oppression of the money-lender. "The Marāthā peasant," writes this authority, "was certainly better off than his Irish brother, and he had practically gained the fixity of tenure and a fair rent for which the Irish were vainly crying even in the first decade of the nineteenth century." This picture differs very considerably from that drawn by Tone at the close of the eighteenth century. He describes the bulk of the people as "almost totally without property," adding that "there is not on record an example of any government so little calculated to give protection to the subject as the fluctuating and unsteady system of the Mahrattas; an administration formed of rapacity, corruption and inability. To this may be ascribed the accumulated misery of the people; oppression, poverty and famine, which last appears the appropriated curse of this country." He gives a terrible description of the effects of famine in the Deccan, and declares that it was a common occurrence in such seasons for large cities to lose three-fourths of their inhabitants, and for whole districts to be deprived of their population and remain for years a jungle. And yet, as he writes, "this disaster has never produced a rebellion against the Government that for the most part occasions it." He makes some pertinent reflections on the possibility of irrigation:—"In the hands of a European what canals, what ducts would not be cut to promote a general distribution of water? . . . In one word, presupposing economy on the side of the Government and industry on the part of the inhabitants, a famine might be a scourge unknown to this country." But how is one to reconcile the account given by Tone, which is obviously the outcome of personal experience, with the brighter picture supplied by the modern writer? The latter solves the difficulty by ascribing all the evils which Tone recorded to the malignant maladministration of the last Peshwa, Bāji Rao II. For, according to Dr. Sen, "he (Bāji Rao) reintroduced the old Muhammadan system of revenue-farming abolished by Shivāji so long ago. Mahāls and Māmlats were sold to the highest bidder, and the Peshwa's favourites were induced to bid high. The result was that districts changed hands every year, and Māmlatdars no longer felt any interest in the welfare of the rayats. If the Pātīl refused to assist the revenue-farmers, collection was made without his agency. So even the excellent village-
system of Mahārāṣṭra failed to be a remedy against the misrule of a wicked man." Doubtless the acute distress which Tone witnessed was largely due to the corruption and incapacity of the last Peshwa's administration; but it is doubtful whether the country could ever have secured real prosperity under a government which was forced to be constantly at war, in order to preserve its existence. Even under the best of the Peshwas, such as Madhav Rao I, the Marāthā government lived by predatory warfare, and Professor Jadunath Sarkar is unquestionably correct in his opinion that, despite the liberal policy of individual Peshwas, the mass of the people could never flourish or count upon the security necessary to their welfare under a government which commenced wholesale marauding operations, as a matter of course, at the close of every monsoon.

Tone gives some interesting sidelights on the military free-booting and on the composition of the Marāthā army, in which he himself served. On the festival of the Dusāhra "the jhoonda or great ensign of the Prince (i.e., Peshwa) is hoisted; the royal tents are pitched; and a camp immediately formed. The operations of the ensuing year are now determined on, whether to act against an open enemy, to collect the permanent revenue or chauch, or to go on mulkgiri. The countries subjected to these depredations are those of the Jaipur Rāja, the Marwarr [i.e., Marwar] and the north end of the peninsula of Gujerat, near the gulf of Cutch. The remainder of Hindustan is now (i.e., in 1797) entirely subjugated and forms a part of the Empire." The mulkgiri or "kingdom-seizing" expeditions were originally adopted by Sivāji from the Muhammadans, who regarded them as a legitimate source of income. "The coincidence between Sivāji's foreign policy and that of a Quranic sovereign," writes Professor Jadunath Sarkar, "is so complete that both the history of Shivāji by his courtier, Krishnāji Anant, and the Persian official history of Bijapur use exactly the same word, Mulk-giri, to describe such raids into neighbouring countries as a regular political ideal. The only difference was that in theory at least an orthodox Muslim king was bound to spare the other Muslim states in his path, and not to spoil or shed the blood of true believers, while Shivāji (as well as the Peshwas after him) carried on his Mulk-giri into all neighbouring States, Hindu no less than Islamic, and squeezed rich Hindus as mercilessly as he did Muhammadans."

To revert to Tone, he states that when the Peshwa took the field in command of the united force of the whole Marāthā Confederacy, the army was divided into the following three main bodies:

1. Cherry Fodge or Light Troops; that is to say, the advance army including all the infantry, under the orders of the holder of the jerry Put, though every chief commands his own distinct army.
2. Beech Lashkar, a reserve unencumbered with unnecessary equipage and artillery.
3. Boonga or rear-army, commanded by the Peshwa, which was in charge of the grand park or Jensa, and all the baggage of the whole army."

According to Yule and Burnell, the phrase "cherry fodge" is a corruption of the Hindustani chari-fauj, chari signifying "movable," "locomotive," so that the whole phrase would mean "flying brigade." Crooke has suggested that "cherry" may perhaps be chaśi, for chaśhni, in the sense of "preparation for battle." Whatever be the true explanation, the "cherry fouj" usually meant a detachment, lightly equipped, with little artillery, which was sent out on raiding expeditions into the territories of other chiefs. The "Beech Lashkar" is the central division (bichh lashkar), while the "Boonga" may perhaps signify the heavy brigade, from the Marāthi word bhonga, "clumsy or unwieldy."
The cavalry, which always formed the chief part of the Marāthā army, was divided into four classes, which Tone enumerates as follows:

1. Kassey Pagah [i.e., Khāsi paga] or household cavalry. Always a well-appointed body, mounted on excellent horses belonging to the government. The monthly pay of a trooper or Bauggeer [bāṛp] was Rs. 8.

2. Silladaur [śilāḥ-dāṛ] cavalry, who contract with the government to supply a certain number of horse on certain terms, generally about Rs. 35 per month, including the trooper’s pay.

3. Volunteers, bringing their own horses and accoutrements. Their pay ranged from Rs. 40 to Rs. 50 a month, according to the value of their horse.

4. Pindarins [i.e., Pindhāris], mere marauders, who serve without pay and subsist only by plunder, of which they give a fourth part to the Government. “These are so very licentious a body that they are not employed but in one or two of the Mahratta service.”

The Marāthā cavalry, according to Tone, was always irregularly and poorly paid. The Bāṛp scarcely ever received cash, but was given a daily allowance of coarse flour and other ingredients from the bazar, which just enabled him to subsist. The Silladār was almost as badly off. His contract with the State provided for the allotment to him of a strip of jungle, in which to pasture his cattle. Here he and his family resided, and his sole occupation, when not on active service, was the multiplication of his troop by breeding out of his mares. The Marāthā cavalry were mounted almost wholly on mares. When called up for service, the Silladār had to give a master. “Upon this occasion,” says Tone, “the Brahman who takes it invariably has to have a bribe; and indeed the bāṛp is such that it could not pass by any fair or honourable means. Not only are wretched tattoos [ponies] substituted for horses, but animals are borrowed to fill up the complement. Heel-rope and grain-bags are produced as belonging to animals supposed to be at grass: in short, every mode is practised to impose on the Sīrkar, which in return reimburses itself by irregular and bad payments: for it is always considered that if the Silladārs receive six months’ arrears out of the year, they are exceedingly well paid.” Such a system could not last.

Dr. Sen remarks in his Administrative System of the Marāthās that the Marāthā soldier was paid partly in cash and partly in clothes, because the latter form of remuneration enabled the Government to dispose of a portion of the spoils of their mulk-giri expeditions. Even allowing for this, the soldier, whether belonging to the infantry or cavalry, was usually so irregularly and poorly paid that only the prospect of loot and free subsistence in an enemy’s country can have induced him to undergo the hardships and privations of a military life.

In Tone’s day the infantry contained practically no Marāthās, being composed almost entirely of Rājputs and those whom Tone styles “Purvis,” [i.e., Purbiyas] “Easterners,” or men from Oudh, Benares and Behar. “They are all soldiers of fortune,” he writes, “and are called “Purdasis” [pardasis] or strangers.” In Sivājī’s time the Marāthās, as a fighting class, included many who were not Marāthās by race, but who were bound together by the bond of country and language. And as the Marāthā power spread, its army tended to become more professional and less national, and the Marāthās proper became almost wholly cavalrymen. Later still, as Tone’s evidence proves, the Marāthā infantry was recruited chiefly from Upper India.

The predilection of the Marāthās for the mounted arm necessarily involved a very thorough knowledge on their part of the care of horses and horse-breeding. A flourishing horse-trade from Turkestan to India commenced soon after the Muhammadan invasion of
India, and Marco Polo refers to the large trade in horses from Arabia and Persia to South India. The imported animals, however, did not flourish, as they were unused to the climate, and the people did not understand how to manage them; and it was not till the rise of the Bahmani Sultanate and the Vijayanagar Empire that further efforts were made to import foreign horses. With the appearance of the Marathas as a political power, the trade again improved and many horses were imported into the Deccan from northern India. "There are no people in the world," writes Tone, "who understand the method of rearing and multiplying the breed of cattle, equal to the Maharattas. It is by no means uncommon for a Sillahdar [sláhár] to enter a service with one mare and in a few years to be able to muster a very respectable Pagah. They have many methods of rendering the animal prolific; they back their colts much earlier than we do, and are consequently more valuable as they come sooner on the effective strength. I do not know, however, whether they attempt to improve the breed of their horses by crossing the strain as we practise in Europe. It is this persevering industry and consummate knowledge which is the true cause of the immense bodies of cavalry that the Maratta States can bring into the field."

Tone adds that a great number of horses were brought annually from Kandahar and Tibet and sold at fairs in various parts of India, but that these formed a very small proportion of the gross strength of the Marathá armies. The Marathá, in fact, depended almost wholly upon the indigenous Deccan horse and managed to bring it to a high state of perfection. Colonel Broughton, who saw this breed in Sindia's camp, describes them as "seemingly above fourteen and a half hands high, and the most valuable ones are often much less. They are short in the barrel and neck; have small, well-shaped heads, and slim, though remarkably well-formed limbs; they have generous tempers, and are full of spirit; and are said to be capable of undergoing more fatigue and hard fare than any horse in India. The sum of three and even four thousand rupees is often paid for a Dukhunee whose pedigree is well-known; and so fond are the Marathas of these beautiful and valuable favourites, that, when they can afford it, they will feed them on wheaten cakes, boiled rice, sugar, butter and other similar dainties." It was on such ponies as these of the Deccan that the Pindáris made their extraordinary rides across India. No other breed could have stood the strain.

In describing the commissariat arrangements of a Marathá army on the march, Tone gives some interesting information about the Vanjáris. "The Vanjarelí or itinerant grain-merchants furnish large quantities (of grain) which they bring on bullocks from an immense distance. These are a very peculiar race and appear a marked and discriminated people from any other I have seen in this country. Formerly they were considered so sacred that they passed in safety in the midst of contending armies; of late, however, this reverence for their character is much abated, and they have been frequently plundered, particularly by Tipperoo. They are able at times to resist a marauding party. They do not depend entirely on the sale of grain for subsistence, but take back large returns of merchandise from the Deccan to Hindustan. At their leisure they weave a coarse kind of hempen cloth called 'Tartpurtoo,' which is used for grain-bags and camel-cloths called salutas." As regards the origin and identity of the Vanjáris, Mr. Entwonen, in his article on the Lamanis or Vanjáris, gives the result of the most recent modern research. "An examination of the endogamous divisions of the tribe," he writes, "tends to establish the conclusion that though in origin the tribe may have been an aboriginal section of the population with a distinct identity, named from its occupation of carrying supplies on bullocks, it has since been so overlain with additions from Rájputs, Marathás, Mahárs, and a number of other well-known tribes
and castes, that it can only be described as a miscellaneous collection of the flotsam and jetsam of humanity that would be drawn into the wake of a large military expedition, of no distinctive type, though the tribe preserves for the most part a distinctive costume to this day." The coarse cloth to which Tone refers is clearly sackcloth, the first half of the word being the Hindustani tāṭ (Skt. tratra), and is identical with the modern "gunny." It is not known whether the Vanjāris of to-day still make this cloth, though Mr. Entchoven mentions among their modern occupations the spinning of coarse hemp tag.

After concluding his account of the Marāthā military administration, Tone describes the serāis, dharamshālas, and other features of the country, likely to be of use to travellers. "In every village," he remarks, "there are three persons maintained at the public expense, whose services every traveller has a right to demand." The first of these is "the Ishkaur [i.e., yeskar or village door-keeper] or chief of the low-caste people, whose duty it is to furnish baggage-cookies. If no Dher or Parwari can be found at once, he resorts to the Sonar; if none of these are ready, he goes through all the order, and if no one will take up the baggage, the Patel must carry it himself. I have frequently known very high caste Brahms pressed upon this service, though it is remarkable they never presume to compel a Mussalman, however mean and indigent he may be. These Bigaris are exchanged at the next village, where they receive a certain quantity of coarse flour from the Patel, but no payment is ever required."

Tone, without knowing it, is here referring to the old village organization—the Bārā Bālute and Bārā Alute, described in some detail by Grant Duff. The Yeskār or Šārī was always a Māhar, whose duty it was to remain in the village and never to quit its boundary. "He is at the constant call of the Patel," writes Grant Duff, "but his particular duty is to attend strangers, and take care of all travellers from the moment of their entering the village; of which, if walled, the Tural is porter. He furnishes all necessary information, as well as supplies to strangers, and is often extremely useful to them." Out of the original twenty-four recognized village servants, who were assigned definite shares of the village crops and other perquisites and rights in return for their professional services, Tone mentions only the Yeskār, the Bhīl and the "Kooly" (Koli). He speaks of two or three Bhīls being attached to every village at the government expense, meaning probably Rāmosis, in regard to the majority of Deccan villages: but he gives no information as to the precise service they were expected to perform. Grant Duff, however, states that they acted chiefly as watchmen, or, when the country was settled and free from "alarums and excursions," as useful auxiliaries of the village police in the person of the Patel. The Koli is declared by Tone to be "of so high a caste that every other Hindu can eat what they cook. If you like, the Kooly will dress your victuals, bring you what you want from the bazar, and for all this no compensation is expected." This at first sight appears somewhat odd, though the fact that Grant Duff mentions the Koli among the Bārā Alute as the recognized water-carrier of the village shows that his position in the scale of caste cannot have been very low. Mr. Entchoven, in an article on the Malhar Kolis in his Tribes and Castes of Bombay, fully corroborates Tone's account, and quotes MacKintosh's statement that this section, which is also called Panbhāri or water-filling Kolis, is "one of the purest and most respectable of all the Koli tribes." "They are also called Chumalis from the cloth-fenders they wear on their heads as water-pot rests, and Kunum Kolis, because according to MacKintosh they eat and associate with Kunbis . . . . As the name Panbhāri shows, their usual calling is to supply villagers and strangers with water and to clean out the village rest-house and office. Near Pandharpur many Malhar Kolis are yeskars or village door-keepers, and in Khandesh and Ahmadnagar a few are husbandmen.
During Maráthá rule, to the south of Poona, Malhár Kolis were the hereditary guardians of the hill-forts of Purandhar, Sinhgad, Torna and Rágjad. According to Mr. A. M. T. Jackson, Malhár Kolis in the Thána District frequently become Maráthá Kunbis, and the process has been recognized in parts of the Poona District."

Tone in his remarks on the "Kooley" is clearly referring to the Malhár branch of the tribe, and although his view of their position may be a trifle exaggerated, it is quite clear that in his day they ranked, as they still do, above other branches of the tribe, and were regarded as quite eligible for inclusion in the Maráthá agricultural caste.

After a brief survey of the weaknesses of the Maráthá State, Tone concludes with the following words, "I certainly most sincerely deprecate a war between the British and Maratha power: but independent of natural predilection, I can see nothing in the prospect but which promises the most certain hopes of ultimate success." These words were written in 1797. Eighteen years later the Peshwa, in whose army Tone had served, surrendered himself, a hunted fugitive, to Sir John Malcolm, after a series of operations by British troops which were crowned with the success foreseen by the Irish soldier. Taken as a whole, Tone's account of the Maráthás fully deserves the epithets "accurate and elegant," which were once applied to it, and it is somewhat surprising that one who had presumably undergone no lengthy course of education, and from an early age had led a roving and adventurous life, should have been able to pen so useful and well-written a document. One wishes he could have lived longer and written more about the people among whom he spent the best years of his life. As it is, his letter to Malcolm forms an agreeable pendant to the long, and occasionally tedious, chef d'œuvre of Grant Duff.

BHARTR-PRAPANCA: AN OLD VEDANTIN.

BY PROF. M. HIRIYANNA, M.A.

It is strange that the name of this old Vedántin should now be all but forgotten, though references to him are fairly plentiful in Indian philosophical literature; and the strangeness of it will appear all the greater when we remember that Brahman or the Absolute, as conceived by him, is of a type that has commended itself to some of the most profound philosophers. Like so many other old Indian thinkers, Bhártṛ-Prapánca appears not as the author of an independent system but as an interpreter of the Upaniṣads. We have not so far recovered any of the works of this writer and probably none has survived to the present day. But we know for certain that he wrote a commentary on the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad. Śaṅkara has many references to it in his own bāhya that on Upaniṣad, and the fact is besides specifically mentioned by Ānanda-jñāna in his gloss on that bāhya. From what is stated by the latter, we gather that B. commented upon the Madhyandina recension of the Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad and not on the Kāṭya, as Śaṅkara did; and that B.'s commentary was even more voluminous than Śaṅkara's. It seems from another statement

1 The only modern works in which I have found references to Bhártṛ-prapánca are K. C. Bhāṣjayá's Studies in Vedántin, p. 25; Guha's Jñātartha in the Brahma-Sūtras, pp. 245 and 227—both Calcutta University publications; and T. M. Tripáti's Introduction to Tarka-Saṅgraha (Gaekwad Oriental Series III), pp. xx-xvi.

2 Brahman, according to Bhártṛ-prapánca is, as will be seen, saprapánca—Cf. Tika on Vērtika, p. 1123, st. 67—not robbed of its manifestations but possessing all of them. The conception resembles that of the "concrete universal" in modern philosophy.

3 Hereafter referred to as B.

4 See p. 2, Ananda Śrama Series; second edition (the one that is referred to throughout this article): Ucch. eti Elena okārādhyayikā—Bhártṛ-prapánca—bāhyāga-yāga-thātavacayika | Tadadbī divyā nityādī | Madhyandina-rūtirnuṣṭhākikā-pravīram | Iyam punah, uch. eti avy辆yādi-bāhyāga | rūtirnuṣṭhātyeti | Bhārtṛ-prapánca-bāhyāgādhyāsīntarāmśa alpa-grantheti | ...
of Ānanda-jñāna, that B. commented upon the Īsāpaniṣad also. From a different source we gather that he possibly expounded the Vedānta-sūtras: and, if we may trust Gopaḷa-Yaśadvendra's gloss on the Kāṭhāpaniṣad, 7 B. must have commented upon that Upaniṣad as well. Since we now have none of these commentaries, nor any other work written by B., it is difficult to say what precisely his view of the teaching of the Upaniṣads was; but in the many references to it in Śaṅkara's commentary on the Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad and Śaṅkara's full and masterly Vārtika 8 on the same, we get some clues which we propose here to utilise for a tentative reconstruction of B.'s doctrine in its broad outline, contrasting it at the same time for the sake of clearness with Śaṅkara's Advaita. 9

I.

B. maintained like Śaṅkara that monism was the ultimate teaching of the Upaniṣads. A conspicuous feature of the latter's doctrine is the distinction between a para or higher and an aparā or lower Brahman. B. also appears to have recognised this distinction10; but while Śaṅkara explains the lower Brahman as an appearance (viveka) of the higher and therefore not of the same order of reality, B. regards them both as real in the same sense. 11 This is a difference of much philosophical significance and to it, practically all the other important divergences between the two teachings are to be traced. According to Śaṅkara, the two Brahmanas form, as it is put, a non-duality (a-dvaita). The relation between them (tātātya) is unreal, it being a relation between things of different orders of being. In B.'s doctrine on the other hand the two things related being equally real, the relation also is real. But the things are not altogether disparate, so that the relation is not one of entire distinction (bheda) as between a 'pot' and a 'piece of cloth.' It is rather bhedabheda and the ultimate Reality may therefore be described as an identity in difference. 12 We might illustrate what is meant by this term—bhedabheda—by the well-known example of 'the snake

8 See Tīkā on Vārtika, p. 771, st. 1717—Sūtropāgya kāmādi dhiṇaḥ phalam...vidyām eva vidyām cetādadvikātan. See also ibid., p. 779, st. 1764 ff. The Br. Up. in the Kāṇeśa recension contains Īśa Up. 9 as IV, iv, 10; the Madhyandina recension substitutes Īśa Up. 12 for it; but the mantra, Vidyāmcha... is in neither. It may be added that the Īśa Up. forms an earlier section of the same Veda to which the Br. Up. also belongs.

6 Compare Siddhi-traya (ch. i) by Yāmuna-muni reputed to be the parama-guru of Rāmānuja: Yadapi bhagavatā Bṛhadāranyaka-tāntrika pranītāni... tathāpya eva Taṇḍeka-Bṛhatī-prapāṇa-Bṛhatī-mūrdh-Bṛhatī-hari-Sri-bhakti—Bṛhadrājī—vīcārā—ānātī—vīcārā—ātāṇa—srādha—irāna jayantī ca pratipādaṃ iti tat-pratipattaya yuḥka prakaranaḥ—prakaranaḥ.

7 Ānanda-dārāma Series: second edn., p. 3.

8 Referred to as Vārtika in this article.

9 B.'s commentary on the Br. Up. seems to have been known at least in parts not only to Śaṅkara and Śaṅkara but also to Ānanda-jñāna; for there are in the latter's gloss on the Br. Up. Bhāṣya many passages which are undoubtedly extracts from it. Cf. e.g., Tīkā on Vārtika, st. 1467 (p. 724), st. 1693-5 (pp. 767-8). It may be noted that Śaṅkara mentions several points in B.'s interpretation not referred to by Śaṅkara. See e.g., Vārtika, p. 1155, Tīkā en st. 48.

10 See Śaṅkara on Br. Up. I, iv, 10 (p. 151): Ato desaiyataścānaṃ bhṛmadi—vidyaya karma-vairya para-bṛhma—bhāvamatiyavipranāṇaḥ... para-bṛhma—bhāvi. See also Tīkā on Vārtika, p. 709, st. 1059. The description of the antardhānātād (of B.'s doctrine) by Ānanda-jñāna in his Tīkā on Śaṅkara's com. on Br. Up. (I, iv, 15), (p. 192) also implies the same distinction.


12 See e.g., Vārtika, p. 876, st. 46 ff.
and its coils, hood, etc.,' or the 'sun and its rays' alluded to in the \textit{Vedánta-sūtras}.\textsuperscript{13} This relation may however exist, as indicated by these very illustrations, between several types of things. Four such are mentioned in the works we are now considering:\textsuperscript{14}

1. \textit{Kāraṇa} and \textit{kārya}: i.e., the material cause and the effect, as for example, 'clay' and 'pot.' The \textit{apara-brahman} with all its variety springs into being from the \textit{para} and eventually returns to it, so that the two are neither altogether distinct, nor quite the same.

2. \textit{Avasthāvat} and \textit{avasthāh}: i.e., Substance and its modes: as for example, the unagitated and the agitated ocean. The \textit{apara-brahman} would accordingly represent a heterogeneous transformation of the homogeneous \textit{para-brahman}. The difference between this and the previous view is to be explained by the well-known difference between the conceptions of 'creation' and 'evolution.'

3. \textit{Amsa} and \textit{amśa}: i.e., whole and part, as for example a 'tree' and its 'branches,' 'leaves,' etc. The \textit{para-brahman} would thus be the whole of which the parts are to be found in the variety constituting the \textit{apara-brahman}.

4. \textit{Sāmānyya} and \textit{viśesa}: i.e., the universal and the corresponding particulars, as for instance 'cow-ness' and the several individual 'cows.' According to this view, the \textit{para-brahman} would be the basic or inmost principle revealing itself in all existent things—the particulars;\textsuperscript{15} and the \textit{apara-brahman}, these existent things themselves.

It is difficult to determine which of these views B. specifically had in his mind when he formulated the relation of \textit{bhedobheda} between the \textit{para} and the \textit{apara-brahmans}. To judge from what Śaṅkara says in his commentary on the \textit{Br. Up.}\textsuperscript{16} it would seem that these views were maintained by different thinkers. But according to Ananda-jiśu's more explicit statement in his gloss on the \textit{Vārttika},\textsuperscript{17} all the four views were acceptable to B. Whichever of these statements may represent the actual fact, the view most commonly associated with B. is (2) \textit{viz.}, that of \textit{avasthāh} and \textit{avasthāvat} and he seems to have reduced the variety of the universe into eight \textit{avasthās} or 'modes' of \textit{Brahman}, \textit{viz.}, (1) \textit{antaryāmin}, (2) \textit{sākyin}, (3) \textit{avāśyaka}, (4) \textit{sūtra}, (5) \textit{virdi}, (6) \textit{devatā}, (7) \textit{jāti} and (8) \textit{piṇḍa}.\textsuperscript{18} We shall say a few words about each of these following B., except in one or two cases where, as it is not possible to get at his views definitely, we have to be content with the statement of the general \textit{Upaniṣadic} position.

1. \textit{Antaryāmin}: This is the spiritual principle controlling everything from within as described in \textit{Br. Up.}, III, vii, and is also sometimes termed \textit{Īśvara} on that account.\textsuperscript{19} It is

\textsuperscript{13} III, ii, 27-8. The relation considered here is between \textit{Brahman} and the \textit{Īśa}. In B.'s doctrine, it holds not only between these two but, also between \textit{Brahman} and the physical universe. See Śaṅkara on \textit{Br. Up.}, V, i, 1 (p. 731).

\textsuperscript{14} See e.g., \textit{Vārttika}, pp. 633-4, st. 948-50, and \textit{Tīkā} on st. 952. The \textit{Paśca-pāṭhikā—Viveka} mentions five types of things instead of four (p. 259).

\textsuperscript{15} According to \textit{Vārttika}, p. 573, st. 693, and p. 625, st. 954, these particulars would include not only the individuals (\textit{antya-videga}) but also what the \textit{Vārāhika} would describe as \textit{apara-sāmānyya}, so that the whole is not a mere mass of unrelated particulars but an ordered system.

\textsuperscript{16} III, viii, 12 (p. 492). Śaṅkara does not mention here all the four views but, according to the commentary, they are all meant. More than one form of the \textit{bhedobheda} doctrine is known to Indian Philosophy. Compare, e.g., \textit{Sruti-prakāśikā} on Rāmānuja's commentary on the \textit{Vedánta-sūtras}. I, i, 4: \textit{Avid-brahma-prabhobhedobhedas suddhedikā ti Bhākara—Yadavocarayapramitam | Cidbrahmamatu bhedobhotel sudhikotavitī Yādu-mata-maya-dāyārthamāda jñāti |}

\textsuperscript{17} \textit{Tīkā} on \textit{Vārttika}, (p. 634), st. 949-950; \textit{kavacīdityaprabhātā tadīya-granthaa-debōtī,}

\textsuperscript{18} See e.g., \textit{Tīkā} on \textit{Vārttika}. (p. 643). st. 1043.

\textsuperscript{19} Cf. \textit{Vārttika}, p. 633, st. 487.
not Brahman in its pure state, but Brahman with its homogeneity somewhat disturbed preparatory to the creation that is to proceed from it.\textsuperscript{20}

2. Śākṣīnu: This is the individual soul which is regarded as another and a much more heterogeneous modification of Brahman.\textsuperscript{21} It is otherwise termed kṣetrajña ("the conscious principle in the body") or viṣṇumamaya ("transformation of viṣṇu or Brahman").\textsuperscript{22} The śākṣīnu are either cosmic or individual according as they have a universal or a particular function to discharge. Hiranyaga-bhā and the deities like Āditya are cosmic;\textsuperscript{23} the rest, individual.\textsuperscript{24}

3. Ayākyā: This is the whole of the physical universe in its subtle or causal form.\textsuperscript{26} It may be viewed as the adjunct of the antaryāmin. Together, they constitute the first transformation of Brahman and the distinction between the two is sometimes overlooked.\textsuperscript{28}

4-6. Of the next three 'modes,' the first or śūtra springs from the ayākyā and is the adjunct of Hiranyaga-bhā, the highest cosmic soul. From this again the gross material, constituting the visible universe, proceeds. That is viṁśa.\textsuperscript{27} It is well known that this cosmic soul is often described in the Upaniṣads as having for its 'sense-organs' various devatās through which its activity, which is the same as the life of the world, goes on. These devatās, because they correspond to our indriyās, are sometimes so termed.\textsuperscript{28}

7-8. Of the last two—jāti and pīnā— the meaning of the second is clear.\textsuperscript{19} It stands for the individual bodies, such as the human, from which as material cause, no subsequent effects are produced. The meaning of the first term is not quite so certain. It cannot be therefore understood here in its Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika sense, as there can be no enduring universals in monistic Vedānta. It may stand for ākṣaya, a familiar conception in ancient Indian philosophy,\textsuperscript{30} and denote types as distinguished from individuals. These numerous types and the still more numerous individuals are all the creation of the viṁśa.\textsuperscript{31} In other words, we have here what is known as the vyaṣṭi-sṛṣṭi or 'secondary creation' in its double aspect of sāmānya and visēṣa.

Thus on the whole Brahman may be said to evolve in two distinct lines—one (1–2) the spiritual and the other, (3–8) the material which constitutes either the adjunct or the environment of the spiritual.\textsuperscript{32}

\textsuperscript{20} See Śaūkara on Br. Up., III, viii, 12 (p. 492).
\textsuperscript{21} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{22} See e.g., Vārtika, p. 1000, st. 49, and Śaūkara on Br. Up., IV, iii, 7 (p. 560), and Vārtika on the same (st. 318–23).
\textsuperscript{24} This is on the supposition that sākṣīnu are many, and it is the implication of statements like that found in st. 100 of the Vārtika (p. 1006). But to judge from the context in which B. is mentioned in a somewhat later work, (Vedānta-Tattva-Viśeṣa by Nāsaṅghāram, p. 38, Benares edition) he seems to have believed in only a single śūtra, not however in a sense which would make his doctrine solipsistic, but in the sense that the one śūtra simultaneously expresses itself through all the bodies in existence, just as in aneka-jīva-viśeṣa one and the same śūtra is supposed to manifest itself through several bodies successively (i.e., in successive births). For a similar view among the followers of Śaūkara, see Śrīdhāra-Saṅkṛitya (Kumbhakonā, edition), pages 107–8.
\textsuperscript{25} See Tilē on Vārtika, ii, st. 91-2.
\textsuperscript{26} See Tilē on Vārtika, p. 1295, st. 29-30.
\textsuperscript{27} See Br. Up., III, vii, 2, and Vārtika-Sāra by Vidyārāṇya (Benares edition), p. 743, st. 5, where virāj is referred to as viṁśa. Cf. also the description of these and the next two as mahāddha-saṃāṃsthā-viṁśa in the Tilē on Śaūkara's commentary on Br. Up., III, viii, 12 (p. 492).
\textsuperscript{28} Cf. Tilē on Vārtika, p. 356, st. 511.
\textsuperscript{29} Cf. Ibid., Tilē on p. 447, st. 68.
\textsuperscript{30} See e.g., Nyāya-sāra, II, ii, 63. Śrīmadnā in instance understands the term in this sense; cf. Śrīdhāra, p. 32 (Bombay Sanskrit Series).
\textsuperscript{31} Cf. Vārtika, p. 430, st. 117, and p. 432, st. 21; cf. also Vidyārāṇya's Vārtika-sāra, p. 209, st. 149.
\textsuperscript{32} See Vārtika, p. 1007, st. 91.
These eight forms together with Brahman according to B., may be divided into three rásis,33 in which we have the threefold subject-matter of all religion and philosophy, viz., God, Soul and Matter.

1. Paramātma-rāsi: This is the absolute Brahman and we have probably to include under this head the antaryāmin also, since it can be brought under neither of the remaining two rāsis.

2. Mūrtamūrtā-rāsi: This comprises the six material forms beginning with the aveyāta. Its designation is derived from Br. Up., II, iii, where mūrta and amūrtā are described as the two 'phases' of Brahman. According to Śaṅkara, the term mūrtā here refers to prithivi, ap and tejas and the term amūrtā to the remaining two—ākāsa and vāyu. B. understands these terms somewhat differently: amūrtā means for him the aveyāta, the source of the material world and mūrta, the last of the bhūtas to evolve from it, viz., prithivi, the intermediate 'elements' being describable secondarily as either mūrta or amūrtā.34

3. Jīva-rāsi:35 According to Śaṅkara, this does not form an independent category, for the jīva according to him is only Brahman in disguise and is therefore already included in (1). But B. regards it as a real transformation of Brahman and therefore counts it as a third rāsi. The determining factor of the jīva is its beginningless vāsanās.36 These vāsanās are the characteristics, as in the Śākhya, of the internal organ (antahkarana) which is evolved out of the aveyāta and should therefore belong to (2). B. recognises this; but at the same time he considers that they are transmitted to the jīva with which the antahkarana is associated and thereby transform it into a 'knower' and 'enjoyer.' The transformation to the soul of what really belongs to Matter is accounted for on the analogy of fragrance which, though actually belonging to a flower, may be distilled into oil, for example.37 The jīva thus is a real, though temporary, transformation of Brahman and is not the result purely of a misconception as in Śaṅkara's Advaita. B. also recognises avidyā like Śaṅkara: but it accounts only for the lapse of Brahman into the jīva-condition of finitude and not also for its worldly life or saṁśāra.38 Though springing from Brahman, avidyā does not affect the whole of it but only a part which thereby comes to be cut off, as it were, from Brahman and forgets its identity with it. Avidyā has accordingly its abode in the jīva and not in Brahman. The jīva is thus the result of two conditions—one, avidyā which delimits it (pari-chetra) and the other, vāsanā which modifies it (vīkarta).39 The second condition is sometimes stated as ātmāga40 or 'attachment' since the vāsanās are eventually traceable to it.

II.

It seems necessary to differentiate in some sense or other between common and metaphysical knowledge; otherwise there would be no justification for any philosophic inquiry at all. Hence it becomes a matter of importance for a metaphysician to define the relation between these two kinds of knowledge. According to Śaṅkara, both are valid, but while common knowledge is so only for the purposes of everyday-life, the other, as known

33 Śaṅkara on Br. Up., II, iii (p. 328).
34 See Vārtika, II, iii, 72—90.
35 This rāsi, though described in somewhat different terms by Śaṅkara and Sūrēvara in the jīva which word is explicitly used by Vidyākara in his Vārtika-vāra, p. 563 (Benares edition).
36 I.e., the traces of previous karma and jīvāna. See Br. Up., IV, iv, 2, and the reference in note 33 above.
37 See Vārtika, p. 1015, st. 117-8. The word vāsanā indeed means 'perishing.'
38 See Vārtika, p. 1154, st. 42, and p. 1156, st. 53.
40 Cf. Ṣāda, p. 1156, st. 51, and p. 1163, st. 59. Śaṅkara traces 'attachment' itself to avidyā.
through the scripture, is absolutely valid. Empirical knowledge thus stands on a lower footing than metaphysical knowledge. It is provisional and true only in a particular ‘universe,’ so to speak. Any discrepancy between the two is to be explained by reference to the distinctive spheres to which they belong. All empirical knowledge, for instance, presupposes variety but the scripture teaches unity; yet there is really no conflict between them, for empirical knowledge while it involves a reference to duality does not also vouch for its validity. The view which B. took of this matter was altogether different. To him both empirical and revealed knowledge are equally valid and in exactly the same sense. Perception not only gives diversity but also validates it; for nothing that is properly ascertained by a pramāṇa can ever be otherwise than true. Moreover, the scripture itself confirms the truth of diversity in such of its portions as describe Creation. And it very properly emphasises in its purely metaphysical portions the unity underlying it which we commonly miss. B. accordingly concluded that Brahman, the ultimate Reality, should exhibit both the features and be a unity-in-diversity (dvaitādīvāda). This view is termed pramāṇa-samuccaya by Ananda-jñāna in one place. Šaśkara explains the reference to variety in the Upaniṣads as a mere amudāda of what is empirically known and so, as carrying no new authority with it. Thus he restricts the scope of the scripture, as an independent and primary pramāṇa, to the teaching of unity alone.

III.

As the doctrine of unity is the specific teaching of the Upaniṣads, it is not only perceptual knowledge that is provisionally true, according to Šaśkara, but also the subject-matter of the karma-kāṇḍa of the Veda. Hence one that desires to realise Brahman should rise above the notions of obligation implied in that kāṇḍa and renounce the world completely. B. follows here the same course as before and tries to co-ordinate the teachings of both the kāṇḍas recommending the combination of jñāna with karma for attaining mokṣa. In other words, pramāṇa-samuccaya on the theoretical side has for him its counterpart of jñāna-karma-samuccaya on the practical. Just as in the former case, neither Perception nor Revelation is alone to be taken as valid but both, so here also both karma and jñāna should be regarded as the means of mokṣa, for both alike are prescribed in the scripture. Šaśkara too does not discard karma; but, as is well known, he is not a samuccaya-vadān. Karma, according to him is only indirectly or remotely useful in securing mokṣa. It is the means of jñāna which brings about mokṣa, unaided.

According to all Vedāntins, virakṣi or ‘detachment’ is necessary before one qualifies for mokṣa. But while Šaśkara looks to doṣa-dhāśa in the objects of our desire as its means, B. considers that result as possible only through bhoga. It is only by learning, through actual experience, the real worth of all things that in one way or another minister to our desires that we can grow indifferent to them. This view is based upon a very ancient Indian...
theory known as kāma-pradhānavāda. The gradual exhaustion of all worldly enjoyment is obviously impossible; but there is another course open to us according to the Upanisads and that is by attaining to Śūtra-hood and in that state participating in universal life. Nobody, according to B., can acquire genuine viroki who has not reached this state. Hence the first aim of a person that is desirous of liberation is to strive to reach this stage, by identifying himself, through upāsana as taught in the Upanisads, with the Śūtra or Hiranya-garbha and carrying on simultaneously the nitya-karmas enjoined in the scripture. This is the first kind of samuccaya. It leads to apavarga or ‘escape from saṃsāra,’ which B. viewed as distinct from mokṣa though on the way to it. The soul that has so far succeeded will not be born again, for it has given up all narrow attachment, and its condition then is described as anurāḍhavasthā, (i.e., a condition intermediate between saṃsāra and mokṣa). It is there free from all the ills of life. Though the baleful influences of attachment (āsāga), one of its two limiting factors, have then been overcome, the jīva has not yet realised its true nature, for avidyā, the other factor, persists separating it from Brahma. For accomplishing this further end of overcoming avidyā, samuccaya again is necessary. The precise nature of this second samuccaya, however, is unfortunately not quite clear. One element in it is certain. The jīva has so far identified itself with only Hiranya-garbha, a part of Brahma; and it has now to realise it as a part thereof. In other words: the oneness of the jīva with Brahma—not merely with Hiranya-garbha—is to be known, as taught in Aham brahma asmi. This knowledge is avidyā. But it is not regarded as sufficient by itself to destroy avidyā and is required to be combined with meditation upon the śūtra once again. The object of this second element in the samuccaya is not manifest. It is introduced probably because it is thought that the knowledge of Aham brahma asmi, while it may lead to the conviction that all spirit is one, leaves out of account the entire physical universe. Hence also probably the statement that the meditation now on the śūtra (i.e., the adjunct of Hiranya-garbha) should be, not merely as a finite effect as in the previous stage, but as one with the infinite Brahma, its cause. It seems that karma also has to be performed here as in the case of the previous samuccaya but in a totally different spirit—not as a means to an end, but, like all else, as one with Brahma. The doer, the deed, its means and its end are all Brahma, for Brahma is the sole reality. Thus for apavarga as well as for mokṣa, samuccaya is necessary according to B.

IV.

A distinguishing feature of Śaṅkara’s doctrine is that self-realization is attained directly through revealed texts like Tat tvam asi, for he believes that verbal statements also may yield immediate knowledge. According to B. and also according to all other Indian logicians, verbal statements, whether revealed or not, can never lead to immediate knowledge. Thus from the formula Tat tvam asi only mediate knowledge is possible; but it is not adequate

49 See for an account of this theory, Vārāka, p. 106, st. 343 ff. See also Manu-smriti, ii, 94, which clearly contains a criticism of it. It is necessary to add that this was formulated not purely as an ethico-psychological theory but in the course of reconciling the teaching of the karma-kānda with that of the jīva-kānda.
50 See Vārāka, p. 778, st. 1761.
51 See Śaṅkara on Br. Up., I, iv, 10 (p. 151); also Tīka on Vārāka, p. 650, st. 1128-9, and Br. Up., I, i and ii.
52 Cf. Śaṅkara on Br. Up., III, ii, 13 (p. 416) : apavargākhyā mantarādavasthām.
54 Ibid., p. 770, st. 1709.
55 Cf. Vārāka, p. 769, st. 1709.
57 See e.g., Vārāka, p. 61, st. 206.
58 Ibid., p. 1837, st. 708.
to destroy our *immediate* belief in the truth of mere diversity, until it also has been transformed into immediate knowledge. The means of doing this is constant meditation (termed *prasaṁkhyaṁ, bhāvanā, dhyāna, etc.*) upon it. It is only when one successfully carries out this meditation that one can realise the self. While B. like Saṅkara admits the aid of the scripture as essential for knowing the ultimate truth, he considers that that scriptural knowledge has to be supplemented by meditation. It is the result of such meditation that we have to understand from the *Vidyā* of the second *samuccaya* referred to above and not a mere intellectual apprehension of the truth of *Aham brahma asmi* or *Tat tvam āsi*. If bhāvanā is thus necessary for securing *mokṣa* and if the need for it, which is a *kriyā*, i.e., something to be done, is known only through the scripture, the two *kāyaṇas* of the Veda are drawn together more closely here than in Saṅkara's *Advaita*. As in the *karma-kāyaṇa* we find injunctions about sacrificial acts, so in the *Upaniṣads*, we find, according to B. injunctions about meditative acts. Saṅkara makes a vital distinction between *jñāna* and bhāvanā or *upāsanā*; and while he regards the former as *kriyā* and admits *vidhi* in respect of it, he uncompromisingly denies that the former is either a *kriyā* or requires a *vidhi*.

A consequence of this difference of view is that statements like *Tat tvam āsi* which are of the first importance in Saṅkara's *Advaita* are useful in B.'s doctrine only as supplying the theme for meditation and statements like *Atmānāmeva lokam-upāsāna* take precedence of them.

V.

So far we have recounted the more important doctrines of B. as they can be gathered chiefly from the writings of Saṅkara and commentaries on them. There, however, remains an important point to be mentioned yet. Surēśvara in more than one place in his *Vārtika* tries to explain B.'s viewpoint as in effect the same as Saṅkara's and represents B. as a *vivarta-vādin* instead of a *parināma-vādin*. Whatever of the latter view we find in B. is to be explained, according to Surēśvara, as only a provisional solution of the ultimate philosophical problem, exactly as it is the case in Saṅkara's *Advaita*. It seems strange that if B. did teach such a doctrine, Saṅkara should have subjected it to so severe and so frequent a criticism. Surēśvara is not unaware of this objection, and, raising it in his *Vārtika*, answers it by saying that what Saṅkara intended to controvert was not B.'s view but rather his viewpoint as expounded by some of his followers. Generally speaking, however, Saṅkara's criticism appears to be directed against B. himself. However that may be, one point becomes clear from this, viz., that B. was long anterior to Saṅkara and Surēśvara; for B.'s teaching by then had been, in certain respects, forgotten.

Another fact of importance is that Surēśvara thought it worth his while to cite B. in his favour. Whatever B. might have taught, it is clear that his name carried weight with the *Vedántins* at the time; and the expounders of *Vedánta* found it useful to quote his authority in support of their own views. This attitude of regard on the part of Surēśvara bears out the relative antiquity of B. With the information available, it seems, we may also determine the superior limit of his date. In the very beginning of passage 10 of Br. *Up. (I, iv)*, the word *brahma* occurs and Saṅkara in his commentary notices two interpretations of this word, both of which he discards before giving his own explanation of it. Ananda-jñāna

---


61 See e.g., Saṅkara on *Vedanta-sūtras, I, 4.*

62 See e.g., *Tīkā* on *Vārtika*, p. 666, st. 1184.

63 See *Vārtika* p. 666, st. 1163.

64 In note 9 above, it was stated that B.'s commentary was in all probability known to Surēśvara and even to Ananda-jñāna. This need not clash with the present statement that B.'s doctrine, in some of its details, was differently understood by different interpreters at the time. Witness variations of view among the followers of Saṅkara regarding his teaching.
in his gloss refers the first of these to the \textit{Vṛttī-kāra}, and the other to \textit{B.}. In his gloss on the corresponding passage in the \textit{Vārttika}, he makes the \textit{Vṛttī-kāra}'s view the \textit{pūraṇa-pakṣa} or \textit{prima facie} view leading to \textit{B.}'s interpretation. If it thus involves a reference to the view of the \textit{Vṛttī-kāra}, it follows that \textit{B.} should have flourished after him.

This is perhaps the best place to allude to a point of some biographical interest touching \textit{B.}. He seems to have been a devotee of \textit{Agni-usūdānara} and \textit{Surēśvara} has more than once a gibe at him in reference to it. But it is not clear what exactly is the significance of this allusion. It may be that it refers to what was a noticeable feature of \textit{B.}'s creed in life; for his doctrine, as we know, lays stress on the importance of \textit{Hirasya-gaṇbha},—identifiable with \textit{Agni},—in the penultimate stage of a \textit{Vedāntin}'s training. Further since \textit{Surēśvara} pointedly draws attention to a \textit{vara} or 'boon' received by \textit{B.} through the \textit{prasāda} or 'grace' of \textit{Agni}, we may also probably conclude that \textit{B.} recognised in some form the doctrine of \textit{bhakti}—a doctrine which does not find any considerable place in \textit{Saṅkara}'s \textit{Advaita}.

VI.

The resemblance between the \textit{Sāṅkhya} and the doctrine of \textit{B.} is noteworthy. There is, of course, this important distinction that while \textit{B.}'s \textit{Vedānta} is monistic and idealistic, the \textit{Sāṅkhya} is dualistic and realistic. Barring this distinction, there is a general similarity in the philosophic standpoint of the two. Both are theories of \textit{prakṛti}, though in the \textit{Sāṅkhya}, it is the \textit{Prakṛti} that evolves, and here it is \textit{Brahma}. In the process of evolution, according to both, the ultimate reality becomes differentiated into the manifold things of experience which are both identical with and different from it. This parallelism extends beyond this general standpoint to details also:

1. Though the conception of the \textit{antaryāmin} can have no place in atheistic \textit{Sāṅkhya}, it has something more or less corresponding to it in the sister system of \textit{Yoga}. \textit{The sākṣins of \textit{B.} are practically the \textit{Puruṣas} of the \textit{Sāṅkhya} and the \textit{Avāyāka}, its \textit{Prakṛti}. The \textit{sūtra} again may be identified with \textit{mahat} since, as \textit{buddhi}, it is the pre-eminent element in the \textit{līṅga-sāvira}, though for a complete equivalent of it we shall have to take along with it the eleven \textit{indriyas} (devatās) and the five \textit{tattvamātras}. When the gross elements emerge from the last, we have the \textit{vīra}—the visible vesture of the cosmic soul. This comparison, it will be noticed, breaks down in the case of two of the eight \textit{avasthās} recognised by \textit{B.}, and only one out of the twenty-five principles known to the \textit{Sāṅkhya}. The lack of anything corresponding to \textit{jāti} and \textit{piṅğa} in the \textit{Sāṅkhya} system is significant. It has in all probability to be explained by the supposition that, while \textit{B.}'s scheme includes not only the \textit{samaṣṭi-sraṇi} but also the \textit{yāṣṭi-sraṇi}, the \textit{Sāṅkhya} concerns itself only with one of them. This deficiency

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{65} See \textit{Tīkā} on \textit{Br. Up. Bhāṣya} (p. 152). \textsuperscript{66} \textit{p. 671}, \textit{st. 1189}. \textsuperscript{67} The suggestion of T. M. \textit{Tripāṭhi} in his \textit{Introduction} (p. xv) that \textit{B.} is the \textit{Vṛttī-kāra} is thus beside the mark. (See note 1 above.) \textsuperscript{68} \textit{This} is merely the personification of \textit{tejas}—the first creation, Ch. \textit{Up.}, VI, ii, 3. \textsuperscript{69} \textit{Cf.}, for example, \textit{Vārttika}, I, iv, 460, 700, 701, etc. \textsuperscript{70} \textit{See} Br. \textit{Up.}, I, i and ii, as also I, iv, 15. \textsuperscript{71} \textit{See} \textit{Vārttika}, p. 1164, \textit{st. 98}, p. 1236, \textit{st. 136}. Compare generally in this connection the speculations contained in the \textit{Agni-rahasya} (\textit{Satapatha Br. X}), wherein also occurs the name of \textit{Sāḍhīn]a} associated from very early times with the doctrine of \textit{bhakti}. \textsuperscript{72} \textit{Cf.} \textit{Vārttika}, p. 1286, \textit{st. 38}. \textsuperscript{73} \textit{The} \textit{Mādhava-vṛttī, for instance, equates} \textit{mahat} with \textit{Hirasya-gaṇbha}. \textit{See} under \textit{Kārīkā} 22, \textit{Benares} \textit{edition}. \textsuperscript{74} \textit{See} \textit{Śāṅkhya-pravacana-bhāṣya}, II, 18.}
in the Śāṅkhya scheme throws light on what has always been a matter of some perplexity to scholars, viz., whether its tattvas are cosmic or individual. The comparison here instituted suggests that the whole of the Śāṅkhya scheme is in reality cosmic only and that the adjuncts of the individual Puruṣas—their subtle and gross bodies—are further pariṇāmas as jāti and pisāda are from virāj. If this conjecture is right, it will be easy to see that the dropping of the idea of the cosmic soul, at some stage, transformed an originally cosmic scheme of tattvas into one having reference to individuals only and the introduction into the evolutionary series of aham-kāra, to which nothing corresponds in B.'s doctrine, led to the definite emergence of classical Śāṅkhya. The word mahat with its cosmic significance though often replaced by buddhi—the adjunct of an individual—is still there to disclose the course of this transformation.

2. A familiar point in the Śāṅkhya doctrine is what is known as prakṛti-laya, which is the designation for the condition reached by one that has succeeded in realising the nature of Prakṛti but has not distinguished it from Puruṣa. In this condition the Puruṣa has neither pain nor pleasure, and so far, it agrees with what B. terms antarātavasthā, to which allusion has been made already. There may be points of difference between the two, but the coincidence is still striking.

3. Both according to the Śāṅkhya and the doctrine of B. the knowledge of the ultimate truth—acquired in the one case mainly through Reason and in the other mainly through Revelation—is only mediate; and this knowledge, being, as already stated, not adequate to remove the wrong convictions on which our empirical activity is founded, has in both cases to be transformed into immediate knowledge through meditation.

4. The Śāṅkhya describes the evolution of Prakṛti as designed to bring about bhoga or apavarga. The emphasis laid upon bhoga as a preliminary to apavarga may suggest a kinship with the kāma-pradīpikā-vāda as in the case of B.'s doctrine. But in the form in which the Śāṅkhya-Yoga teaching has come down to us, virākṣi is explicitly traced, as in Śaṅkara's Advaita, to doṣa-darśana in the objects of our desire. Hence we cannot point to this as another feature common to the two doctrines we are considering. But it probably suggests some original connection of the Śāṅkhya with the theory of kāma-pradīpikā.

We may conclude by drawing attention to the confirmation which this inquiry brings to the conclusion already reached by some like Deussen, that the Śāṅkhya is an off-shoot of the teaching of the Upaniṣads. We may assume that there was from very early times a dualistic interpretation of those works like the monistic one. This view also by the way satisfactorily accounts for the comparatively large number of references to the Śāṅkhya in the Sūtras of Bādarāyaṇa. It would perhaps be not far from correct to say that one of the foremost aims—albeit a negative one—of Bādarāyaṇa in composing the Vedānta-Sūtras was to refute the view that the realistic and dualistic Śāṅkhya was the teaching of the Upaniṣads.

75 See, for example, Max Müller's Six Systems, pp. 246-7; Deussen: Philosophy of the Upaniṣads, pp. 244 ff.
76 See Śāṅkhya-pravacana-bhāṣya, iii, 9-10.
77 Cf. Deussen: Philosophy of the Upaniṣads, p. 245.
78 See Karātka, 45. Śāṅkhya-pravacana, ii, 54.
79 See Śāṅkhya-Kārikā, 64.
80 See Śāṅkhya-pravacana-bhāṣya, iv, 27-8, and Yoga-sūtra Bhāṣya, ii, 15.
BOOK-NOTICES.


This is a valuable work on Zoroastrian ceremonies and customs, which will serve as an authoritative work of reference, not only to the Parsees themselves, but also to European scholars engaged in the study of Avesta and Parsi texts. The author states that the book is the outcome of the work on the Parsee ceremonies and customs, which he undertook for Dr. Hastings’ monumental Dictionary of Religion and Ethics, and that, in consideration of the numerous points which arise from time to time for decision both in the sphere of historical research and in the domain of the law, he has omitted no detail of value and has made the book as exhaustive as possible. The whole subject has been divided into five principle heads, viz., Socio-religious ceremonies, Purification ceremonies, Initiation, Consecration, and Liturgical ceremonies. It is needless to remark that the book is a mine of information, based upon the careful researches of a lifetime and presented with all the authority attaching to one who is a past master of Iranian lore. It is furnished with an ample index.

S. M. Edwards.


This annual review of the work of the Archaeological Survey of India marks the commencement of a new epoch in the history of the Department. For under the constitutional reforms inaugurated in 1920-21, the entire cost of the Department and of all its activities is to be borne by the Central Government, and, although the Local Governments still remain in executive control of the provincial staffs, they act in this respect as the agents of the Imperial Government. Moreover, the officers of the department are now to confine their attention to those monuments only which have been declared “protected”, and which have been accepted as a central charge by the Government of India. As these monuments number in all 2,500, the average number in charge of each of the eight Superintendents of Archaeology will be roughly 312,—a by no means insconsiderable burden.

Under the main head of Conservation, the Director-General reports that the restoration of the dālāns or cloisters which originally bounded the enclosure of the Taj Mahal is rapidly nearing completion, and the photographs in Plate I at the end of the Report show how greatly the appearance of the enclosure has thereby been improved. The tomb of Akbar at Sikandrārah has likewise been improved by the restoration of the eastern one of the four great causeways, and Sir John Marshall expresses his regret, which will be shared by many, that owing to extensive dilapidation and lack of funds the northern causeway cannot be similarly treated. Important work was also carried out on the tomb of Asaf Khan, Jahangir’s Prime Minister, and on the domed ceiling of the crypt of Jahangir’s tomb, and on several other important historical relics in the Panjab, United Provinces, and Bengal. In the Rajagir valley in Bihar an effort was made “to preserve certain curious and yet undeciphered inscriptions in the so-called Shell Character, which occur on a rocky pathway running through the vale,” while in the Southern Circle special attention was paid to the Krishnagiri Fort in Salem District, which, situated on a bare and lofty mass of gneiss, twice repulsed British attempts to take it by storm. It was only on the ratification of the treaty of Seringapatam that the fort passed into British hands, and a garrison was established, which was maintained “until its final abandonment, owing to an accident, in 1801, when Captain Henry Smith and many of the garrison were destroyed by the blowing up of the magazine.”

The repair of the famous Ajanta frescoes was an achievement of more than common interest. Under the auspices and at the expense of H. E. H. the Nizam’s Government, two Italian experts, Professor Oscoi and Count Orsini, were engaged to execute the necessary repairs; and despite the difficulties of the problem, the patience and skill of the restaurateurs have succeeded in re-affixing the paintings to the rock in a manner likely to endure for some centuries to come. Another useful achievement was the restoration of the ancient staircase leading up to the main stupas at Jamalgari in the Frontier Circle.

Exploration was carried out at Harappas in the Panjab and resulted in the discovery, inter alia, of two seals, which, like the seal originally published by Cunningham, exhibit the device of a bull without the hump and “legends in the same indecipherable script, to which we have as yet no manner of clue.” Further excavation, together with other relics thus brought to light, indicate that the Harappan seals and their pictograph legends belong to the pre-Mauryan epoch. At Taxila, which under Sir John Marshall’s guidance has already yielded so many important data, exploration was resumed at the city of Sirkap and at the earlier city on the Bhir Mound. Previous excavations at the latter site had already revealed three distinct strata of buildings, to which must now be added a fourth and still later stratum, containing a few scattered remains, which Sir John Marshall assigns to the 3rd or 4th century B.C. The stratum next below is, which contains the
majority of the buildings already excavated, must be placed in the 4th or 5th century B.C. Sir John Marshall discusses also the character and purpose of the curious "pillars" and narrow "wells," which are salient features of the Bhir Mound, and leaves no room for doubt that the "wells" were soak-pits for the disposal of sullage. The use of the "pillars" still remains undetermined. One of the "wells" was packed with earthenware vessels of all shapes and sizes, all upside down and obviously laid there with some care, precisely as earthenware vessels, kerosene tins etc., are used in modern soak-pits, to prevent the pit from collapsing, while at the same time permitting the sullage to soak in without hindrance. Plates XV to XVII at the end of the Report give excellent illustrations of some of the smaller relics found in the buildings of the Bhir Mound.

Two very important sculptures were discovered near Mutter, United Provinces. One of these, 6 feet in height, represents a Kushan king, seated on a throne, and is in perfect preservation, including head and headdress, in contrast to the other known statues of that dynasty. The dress resembles that in the statue of Wima Kadphises, and the headdress is the high conical cap, evidently of Central or West Asiatie origin, which appears on several beads at Mutter and in certain early Indian bas-reliefs. It is hoped that further examination of this statue may reveal an epitaph of the royal name on the pedestal. The other statue is that of a female, carved in the round and now worshipped as Manasa Devi in a modern temple. Between the feet of the statue is an inscription in Brahmi characters, identical in part with the inscription on the Parkham statue. The reading and interpretation have not yet been clearly determined, but are likely to prove of the highest historical interest. In the Bogra District an interesting ruin was closely surveyed by Mahashtangarh, which Cunningham identified with the ancient city of Puamda-Vardhans, and was found to show traces of walls constructed of bricks measuring between 10 and 15 inches, and therefore to be of great antiquity. Proper excavation of the site, as soon as funds are available, will very likely yield important results. At Nalanda the most important find of the year was a large copper-plate inscribed on both sides with a long and important record of King Devapaladeva, the third representative of the famous Pal dynasty of Eastern India. The record contains certain lines glorifying "the ambassador, Bala-Varma and his ligeo-lord Sri Balaputradva, king of Suvarnadipa," which Pandit Hirananda Shastri identifies with the modern Sumatra. This identification is strengthened by the fact that Balaputradva is styled grandson of the king of Yavabhuhi, which is evidently Java; and "as" in the words of Sir John Marshall, "the epitaph shows that King Devapaladeva granted these villages and apparently built this monastery of Nalanda at the instance of this king of Sumatra.

The Report contains most interesting sections on important exploratory work carried out in Arakan and on discoveries made in several Indian States, while the gist of several hitherto unpublished inscriptions is furnished in the epigraphical sections. Among the latter may be noted a new inscription of Kanishka's reign, dated in the Kushan year 23, which, when read with the Mathura Yupa inscription of Vasishka, further shortens the interval hitherto known to exist between these two kings, who came to the throne one after another. Another new record of King Karna of the Chedi dynasty of Dahala enables the first regnal year of that king to be definitely fixed at A.D. 1052-53. There are many other points of the highest interest in this valuable Report, which should find its way into the hands of every student of Indian history and antiquities, and one can only hope that the activities of Sir John Marshall's Department will be as valuable under the new arrangements introduced with the political reforms as they have been during the past fifteen years. The Report is, as usual, embellished with good photographic plates.

S. M. Edwards.

A History of Ancient and Modern Festivals of the Aryans by R Vivek.

A most interesting book, especially to the student of comparative religion and ancient history. A very readable book, written in choice Gujarati, and in which the flow of the narrative is not unduly arrested by the introduction of Sanskritisms. There are, however, numerous printer's errors. And lastly, a very opportune book, if, as noted in the preface, the hesitancy of the 8th standard boy as regards the sequence of Dāsārā and Divālī be characteristic of the general want of knowledge of the rising Hindu generation concerning their festivals and the origin and meaning of those festivals. Much as if an English boy were doubtful whether Easter preceded or followed Whit'sun tide.

The author, in his preface, classifies Hindu festivals in respect of their origin as (1) seasonal; (2) historical; (3) domestic. But in the body of the book the detailed description of each festival proceeds in its monthly sequence, commencing with the month of Chaitra (March-April), and its place in the prefastary classification is duly discussed and determined.

Our author treats of forty-three festivals in all. He states for each the method of observance and the rites prescribed by the Shastras on the one hand, and the present-day vogue on the other hand. Divergent practices, prevailing in different
parts of India, are duly set out. Historical references are then given, myths and legends are discussed and inferences drawn as regards the origin and development in process of time of a festival, or a change in its character and observance.

A most important part of the book consists of those sections in which the author sets forth the moral to be drawn from the valorous deeds and the righteous actions of the central figures of worship, and makes suggestions as to the use to which such festivals might be put to the public advantage. Thus, in dealing with the Rāma-vana, the festival, according to the author's views, of the deified prince Rāma, whose exploits are celebrated in the Rāmadāyana epic, Rāma's prowess as a warrior and right conduct as a man, Śiśu's fortitude and chastity and Janaka's wisdom and policy are dwelt on. Or, in treating of the Mahā Khāda festival, he advocates the holding of exhibitions and public meetings, the establishment of museums and libraries, the provision of play-grounds, where cricket, football and other games could be played, cinematograph representations of the deeds of the deified heroes and holy men of the past, and so forth, in connexion with this and other festivals. Thus will the national spirit, he says, be fostered, the national material wealth be increased and attention be directed to the deeds of glory and piety of the Past.

The author has approached his task with a broad mind. He claims to take up no particular doctrinal standpoint of Hinduism, and he invites criticism, apparently with special reference to the historical portion of his work, in the compilation of which his intimate knowledge of Vedic and Puranic lore has stood him in good stead.

As instances of his liberal views the following may be cited. He describes Viṣṇu and Indra as Aryan warriors, who took an active part in the conquest of India, who were first revered as ancestors and subsequently became deified. He writes: 'Krṣṇa was born, lived and died, as other men came to life, lived their lives and passed away.' Viṣṇa, he thinks, was no dwarf, but a very clever Aryan, who with his followers encroached on the dominion of the Dāitya King Bali and finally drove him out of the land. Hanumāna he takes to have been a non-Aryan warrior chief, who in the lapse of time attained to Godhead. And so on, and so on.

That this treatment represents a great advance over the narrow-mindedness of Hindu Orthodoxy, we will all admit. When, however, we forsake the safe oasis of the divine origin of the gods, we are cast out into the arid wastes of Mythology with its mirages of History. We may, if we be fortunate, arrive at some other pleasant and stable foot-hold, or we may not. The ancient history of India knows not chronology and is for the most part inextricably interwoven with myth and legend. The author suggests that an attempt be made to unravel the mystery, but if the chronological key be missing, we can only peep through the rents and holes of the door which veils the Past. At most we must be satisfied with plausible inferences, and we are never certain that even the small substratum of facts, which appears to underlie the incubus of myth and legend, may not have been altered in the telling to lend colour to the mythical and legendary matter. Take Viṣṇu and Indra. The author considers that they were Aryan warriors of the Dāitya clan or clans, who first fought with their kinsmen, the Dāityas or Indo-Iranians or Persians and then colonized the Panjab. The very origin of the Dāityas, the descendants of Diti, one of the thirteen daughters of Dakṣa, is enveloped in myth. Those thirteen fair maidens married the equally mythical or remotely semi-historical Kāśyapa, and some of them, according to some Purāṇas, were the ancestresses of beasts as well as of men. If we concede, as perhaps we may, that the Aditya-Davas fought with the Dāityas, we have still very slender ground for holding that the god Viṣṇu, who subsequently superseded Indra as the chief Aryan god, was the warrior who led the Aryan into India. There were probably many Viṣṇus, as there were, as the author admits, many Indras. That Viṣṇu again was instrumental in the advance eastwards, from a consideration of the mere fact that he is called Śrāvaṇa-gāṇi ('armed with a bow'), while poor Indra had only his club (śastra) for close combat, is interesting, but hardly convincing. It must further be noted that Indra is a very ancient Aryan god. His name is found along with those of Mitra, Varuṇa and the Nāstikās in the Boghaz-Kiš tablet of 1400 B.C. in Anatolia. As Mr. Pargiter, on credible grounds, fixes the presence of Aryan Kings in India as long ago as 2100 B.C., it seems to follow that the original Indra could not have led the Aryan into India. He must have existed as a god or deified hero before 2100 B.C. in Anatolia for his memory to have been retained by those Aryans, who stayed on in the Anatolian home, while the bulk of the horde passed on through Persia to India. Incidentally it may be remarked that the derivation of Sura from Sūrā, the Somā-juice, is, to say the least of it, doubtful.

That the oldest part of the Veda speaks of the Davas or Aryan gods (? deified ancestors) as Auras, and that the Equation a-sura = non-sura is of later date. The Indo-Iranian gods or deified heroes no doubt were termed aburas (= auras). Subsequently when the Indian Auras split up into tribes and came to be known by their tribal names, Auras became a term of reproach, reminiscent of the hated Indo-Iranians, and was applied in that sense to non-Aryans.
The book under review claims to be an account of the festivals of the "Aryans". It would have been as well to define more clearly the term "Aryan". Perhaps the author applies the term to Aryans proper and their mixed progeny, and uses the term "non-Aryan" for those pre-Aryan and present-existing races, which were not conquered by the Indo-Aryan. It must always be remembered that the ethnological (and more especially the chronological) evidence shows that Aryan penetration of India was strongest in the Panjab, that a mixed Arya-Dravidian race arose in the Ganges Delta, that the semi-Dravidian, semi-Mongolian East (Bengal) received a sparse Aryan infiltration, and that southwards, Aryan colonization reached its furthest limits in the Deccan plateau. It is probable therefore on prima facie grounds that non-Aryan religious cults continued to flourish in the East and South, that they influenced Aryan belief, especially in the Gangetic Delta, as well as that they were influenced by them, and that in seeking to elucidate the evolution of Śiva from the Vedic Rudra, or the vermillion-daubed Hanumān-stone of Mahārāṣṭra from the man-apes of the Rāmâyana, we must take due account of the interaction of these conflicting religious standpoints. We should not, it is submitted, neglect the vestiges of animal and fetish worship where they are apparent, and seek to give an "Aryan" gloss to what were clearly non-Aryan practices assimilated into the high-developed philosophical creed of Brahman Pandits. Thus, while the author admits that phallic worship was grafted on to Śaivism, we have no clear exposition of the non-Aryan character of the rapid growth of Pārvati, the gentle 'Maid of the Mountain,' into the fierce, tiger-riding Durgā, or the terrible Kāli, to whom human sacrifice was dear. We may suspect here that orthodox Brahmanism compromised with local and non-Aryan sects, as it does at the present day, and that it has added a theological tinge to horrible and revolting savagery.

Nora is the evolution of Śiva from a mere epithet, or epithets, satisfactorily accounted for. That Rudra, a storm god, or a god presiding over cattle and medicinal herbs, is called Śiva (auspicious) in the Rg Veda is true enough. But Rudra was an entirely subordinate Vedic Deity, and the hymns to him are few. A god similar to Rudra may have been worshipped by "thieves, robbers and mountaineers generally," but he could hardly have been the Vedic Rudra, as the author asserts. The author says that they conceived of their god as garlanded with skulls, inhabiting crematories, and clothed in deer-skins. Śaivism appears to be a medley of non-Aryan cults, to which a Brahmanical linking up with the Vedic Rudra, who served as a prototype of the god, and the elaboration of Puranic legends, gave a more or less composite appearance. Yet when all is said and done, phallic worship still remains the most prominent form in which the god is publicly and privately propitiated, and it is in that worship, against which the Vedic Aryans strove and prayed to their gods not to allow the followers of the Śiva deus to interrupt their sacrifices, that we should probably seek for the effective and principal origin of the Śaiva cult.

The author has, in treating of the Mahā Ekādaśī, given a very interesting account of the development of Vaishnavism, which may be summed up as follows: Viṣṇu in Vedic times was a sun god, but inferior in power to Indra, Varuṇa, Savitar and Agni. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa has it that Indra cut off Viṣṇu's head. The Purāṇas added fables about Viṣṇu's three strides (in the Vāmana incarnation) and adopted the ethical thesis that Viṣṇu became repeatedly incarnate to punish the wicked. Nara and Nārāyaṇa were two Beis, who performed severe penances. The Vāsudeva creed was current in India in Patañjali's and Pāṇini's time, before Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva were canonized. When Śri Kṛṣṇa recited the Gitā, Vāsudeva, Nārāyaṇa and Viṣṇu were not considered to be one and the same god. In process of time Kṛṣṇa himself was deified and came to be considered as Bhagavān, Vāsudeva and Viṣṇu. The Bhagavata or Vāsudeva creed developed into philosophical Hinduism, through the Advaita and Dvaita phases (Sankarāchārya, Rāmānuja, Rāmānanda, Madhavāchārya) up to the 16th century Chaitanya (a Kṛṣṇa bhākta), who is nowadays considered to be an incarnation of Kṛṣṇa; Vaishnavism attained its highest pinnacle as a practical creed in the theism of the bhākta school. To turn now to the seasonal festivals. Several are held in Chaitra, which marks the commencement of Spring. There is the Sanskrit Pratīpāda, when the village is belflagged, choice foods are partaken of, and in some places children are presented with new clothes. House-to-house parties are given, the poor are fed, and the day is spent in general jollity and mirth.

Another important seasonal festival, coming down from post-Vedic times and connected with the worship of Varuṇa as Neptune, is the Narālī Purnimā, when cocoanuts are thrown into the ocean in the month of August as a propitiatory rite. In ancient times sea-voyages were not forbidden. Witness the colonization of Sumatra and Java by Indians. The author says that the moral to be drawn from the observance of the festival is, that not by adopting "the condition of frogs cooped up in a well" will India progress. "Take," says he, "from our ancestors attachment to the truth, kindness to all creatures, love, unselfishness, spiritual conduct, and attachment to wisdom; from the new, courage, zeal, enterprise and industriousness."

The Daśera in October is another important seasonal festival. The author adopts the view
that it was in its inception a Harvest Home festival, and that subsequently it became a horse festival of the Rajputs. In Northern India dramatic representations of the sack of Lankā are held. In the Deccan the cattle and horses are garlanded and paraded. Before the Pax Britannica came, the Dāsā was marked the appropriate time for starting on wars and forays. It may, however, be noted that the horse was held in high esteem by the ancient Indo-Aryans, worshipped as Sahlār was in Vedic times, and credited with miraculous powers. Witness Uchchaisrava, Indra's horse. Āśvamedhas or horse sacrifices were celebrated by conquering monarchs, and worship of horses and weapons was prescribed in the Śastra. It is possible that we have here the blending of two festivals into one, rather than the development of one out of the other.

A fourth important seasonal festival is the Dvālī, of the origin and development of which our author gives a very lucid and interesting account. He shows that its present-day aspect is embraced three ancient festivals—(1) the Pārvaṇa, or worship of ancestors; (2) Yama, now worshipped and propitiated at the Dvālī to avert untimely death, having been in pre-Vedic times the great ancestor and protector of men, who pointed the way to Heaven. This explains why lighted torches are now lit on the first night of Dvālī and lamps placed outside the house next morning. (2) Āśvayujī or the full moon day of the month of Āśvin. In ancient times sacrifices of butter and curds were made to Indra and his wife Sītā, the goddess of Agriculture. In Puranic times Lakṣmī, as the wife of Viṣṇu who has become connected with the god of Dvālī. Hence the explanation of the present-day worship of Lakṣmī at the Dvālī, of the gambling which is carried on far into the night and of the worship of account books by bankers and traders. Reminiscent of Sītā and the agricultural phase of the festival is the worship of cows, the lighting of the cow-pens and cow-stalls and the ablation of grain before partaking of the new harvest's yield. (3) Agrāyana, when in ancient times sacrifices were made to the goddess of the Seasons at the commencement of the year in Spring. In later times the Dvālī marked the commencement of the New Year and is spent with great rejoicings as a Harvest Home. Hence the lighting up of the roads and houses with lanterns which is a marked characteristic of the festival, can be explained as of tri-partite origin.

The last of the seasonal festivals to be noticed is the Holi occurring in March. The author rejects as a Puranic fairy tale, the story of Kṛṣṇa's slaying of the cobra Pūtnā, and the idea that the Holi bonfire is symbolical of the burning of that lady, He takes the sensible view that the Holi is a festival to mark the close of the cold season and the approach of Spring, which has its counterpart all over the world (e.g., the Roman Lupercalia, etc., etc.). Of the domestic festivals or rites noticed by our author, several are observed by women alone, e.g., the Vaṣṭu Sāvitrī. On this occasion the ōkṣa indicā is worshipped by married women to ensure long life to their husbands. The Sāvitrī of the pretty and affecting legend, connected with this rite, was the daughter of a king named Aśvakapati. The significance of the fig tree worship connected with this story and of the fig leaves with which the houses are decked is ambiguous. Sāvitrī, it is stated, resided in the jungle in a hermit's anānā when she had set forth in search of a husband. Can there be here a reminiscence of tree worship?

One important festival, the Nāga-paṛchham, is noticed by our author as being merely religious in origin. He rejects the Puranic story of Kṛṣṇa and Kāliya (a Nāga chief); also the story of the Manipur cultivator who in ploughing his field killed the young snakes and had thus to do penance to the snakes. He notes, however, that in Bengal a snake-goddess named Manāsī, sister of Śeṣa (the world serpent) and the wife of a Rāja, is portrayed as a golden-haired woman, surrounded by and standing on snakes. She is worshipped by an oblation of curds, milk, ghee and grain, and milk is placed under trees for snakes all and sundry to drink. He is aware that Nāga temples exist, especially in the South of India; that in Bihar low caste women impersonate snakes and collect charity. He cannot say when the worship of snakes arose, but adds that 2500 years ago it was prevalent among the “Aryan” and that seven snake sacrifices were enjoined in ancient times for warding off harm from snakes. He thinks that snakes in olden times were accounted lords of wealth and protectors of the homestead, and that hence they came to be worshipped in material form.

But his statement that such worship arose out of a mistake made in confusing the allegory of the “five breaths” of the Śṛṣṭras with the actual five-hooded cobra, looks like putting the cart before the horse. Have we not here in the Śṛṣṭras the theological gloss of the Brahman who had to accept the wide spread snake worship of the non-Aryan? Why does Viṣṇu recite on a snake, and how explain the snake-necklace of Śiva or the snake girdle of Gaṇapati? What of the Yajurveda and its songs to be sung at sacrifices to gratify snakes? The rites prescribed by the Śṛṣṭras themselves enjoin worship of an image or drawing of a snake and the feeding of it with an oblation of curds, milk, ghee and grain. The Nāgas of Puranic fable are often of as human in their actions. Takṣaka, the great “snake” king, Vāsuki and all
Vāyu, one of the oldest Purāṇas and in its original recension pre-Buddhistic, deals with līṅga worship, in which the līṅgam, the yoni and the bull Nandi were the outward and visible objects of adoration. In Patanjali's time līṅga worship took place in temples to Śiva. When man's mind once conceived of the Deity, or supernatural Power as possessing anthropomorphic form, or as indwelling in material objects, it is but a step for his hands to give to his thoughts material shapes as aids to his devotion or as charms to ward off evil or to induce benefits. Tree worship and animal worship prevailed among the non-Aryans, with whom the Aryan invaders came into conflict and with whom they eventually assimilated. When all the above is borne in mind it seems probable that image worship was not unknown to Brahmanism before Buddha. It may be conceded that the public worship of images became more general after the decay of Buddhism and the establishment of numerous public Hindu temples. But decadent Buddhism can hardly be charged with suggesting image worship to the Brahmans, who were already imbued with the idea and had practised it in private worship, while the non-Aryan had practised it in public.

W. DODERER.


The effect of the War on literary studies is very plain still. Quite lately in reviewing a work on the Glass Palace Chronicle of Burma, I noticed that the extensive notes of the author had to be laid aside because the Society which published the text was financially unable to publish the notes also. So all the reader could get was the bare Chronicle unannotated. In this case exactly the same thing has happened. In order to get his text printed, the author has had to cut out the extensive references he had collected, so as to keep down the cost of publication and to meet the finances of another Society. Such a state of affairs is a matter for great regret. In this case, too, much besides the references has also had to be omitted, so that we have not even a map of a little known region.

The regret is all the greater, because the subject matter of the book deals with a period of which all the certain information possible is urgently required, since it covers the early Arab conquests in Central Asia—their doings in fact in the centuries immediately following the introduction of Islam. As it stands therefore, the book is merely the dry bones of history, but its importance to the student is clear from the contents list—the early raids, the conquests of Qatâyba, the Turkish counterstroke and the reconquest of Transoxiana. I sympathise with the author in the difficulties he has found in securing a publisher for all the good and useful work he has done.

R. C. TEMPLE.
English.

232. In September 1617 the Bee (Captain John Hatch), one of a fleet under Captain Martin Pring in the service of the East India Company, captured two Interlopers (or unlicensed traders), viz., the Francis (Captain Samuel Newse, sent out by Sir Robert Rich) and the Lion (Captain Thomas Jones, sent out by Philip Bernaroe of London), together with a great Surat ship belonging to the Mother of the Great Mughal, which they had chased and were preparing to plunder (Kerr, IX, 453, and Pring to the Company, dated Royal James, Swally Road, 12th November 1617, Ind. Off., O.C. 564).

233. On the 4th March 1618 the Reverend Patrick Copland wrote home that his ship the Royal James had taken two English pirates (evidently the Francis and the Lion just mentioned) in the act of chasing a junk off Gogo. On the 23rd February 1621 John Byrd wrote to the Company that the Commanders of the Company's ships had taken three rich China junkes and had sold the booty on their own account instead of that of the Company (Cal. State Papers, East Indies). Apparently at this time the Company expected their commanders to cruise as well as trade.

Barbary Rovers.

234. I have already mentioned (see para. 192 above) that the trade between Portugal and India was harassed in one part of its course by the Barbary Pirates. These latter, by the way, were often called Turkish pirates, for Barbary was under the suzerainty of Turkey, and the chief part of the Turkish fleet was recruited from the Barbary corsairs, who, under their own or under the Turkish flag, attacked the vessels of the Christian nations. On the 10th July 1629 Sir Dudley Carleton wrote to Secretary Naunton that the Dutch East India Company's ship the Devil of Delft had, in a fight with seven pirates of Algiers, sunk two and driven off the rest but, having lost 100 men in the struggle, had been compelled to return to Holland. On the 26th October 1621, Sir Walter Aston wrote from Madrid that two Portuguese carracks, when nearing home, had been attacked by seventeen sail of Turkish pirates. One escaped into Lisbon, but the other, valued at three million ducats, after sinking two of the pirate vessels, had herself been set on fire and sunk with all on board by the Turks, when they had given up all hopes of taking her (Cal. State Papers, East Indies; Faria, III, 305).

The Red or Bloody Flag.

235. From the very earliest times the colour red appears to have been associated with blood and fighting, and the use of the colour in any form by fighting men has denoted either resistance to the death (i.e., No Surrender) or the refusal, if victorious, to show any mercy to the conquered (i.e., No Quarter). When used by a particular officer in the presence of others, it (like the Imperial purple) denoted supreme command, but when displayed only on occasion, it was the signal for attack. From Roman times we have as signs of attack the purple cloak of Romulus with which he gave the signal for the rape of the Sabine women, and also the red tunic displayed over the tent of a general on the morning of battle. As signs of supreme command we have the Imperial purple, which dates even earlier, and was used in other countries, and the purple sails of the galleys which carried the chiefs of a Roman fleet. The earliest mention of the colour as a sign of No Quarter with which I am acquainted is in the case of the rebel Fan-chung or Fan tsung, during the reign of the usurper Wang Mang (9-23 A.D.) in the Province of Shantung in China. He made his followers, as a sign of their ferocity, dye their eyebrows red, so that they were known as Chih Mei, i.e., Red or Carnation Eyebrows (Maöğowä, pp. 111-114; Staunton in China Review, XXI, 159).52 The earliest

52 It was used apparently in this way at the Fort of Spin Baldak on the Afghan frontier, when recently attacked by the British. Almost the whole of the garrison were killed (Times, 2nd June 1919).
use of red as a sign of No Surrender with which I have met is the red flag hoisted by the inhabitants of Debal (Karachi) in 711 when they were besieged by the Arabs (Al-Biladuri in Elliott, I, 118-120. See para. 18 above). In Europe the use of flags (as opposed to ensigns) was apparently not known until the crusades, but it is said that the use of the red flag as a sign of war to the death (i.e., No Surrender and No Quarter) was universal amongst seamen before the battle between English and Norman fleets off St. Malo (or St. Malo) in April 1293 (Documents inédits, Brequinay and Champouillon-Figeac, I, 306-7). Red flags or banners were used at an early date by the Church for those Saints who had suffered martyrdom (i.e., as symbols of resistance to the death) and when carried in battle (e.g., the Oriflamme or Banner of St. Denis, properly to be used only in conflict with Infidels), those who fought under it could neither give nor take quarter. The French hoisted the Oriflamme at Cressy in 1346 and the English in reply hoisted the Red Dragon Flag (or Ensign) which meant the same thing and, being victorious, took no prisoners (Joshua Barnes, Edward III, p. 276; Stow’s Annals, p. 242). In the year 1310 Tiepolo’s fellow conspirators at Venice carried a (red) flag with the device of Libertas on it (Crawford, Gleanings, p. 235), and the Florentines, when they joined the anti-papal party in 1375, carried a crimson banner with the same device (Okey, Avignon, p. 172). Ordinarily the sign of peace was white, and the white flag was commonly used in the East from very early times, but amongst Muhammadans green was sometimes substituted. Thus in 1534 or 1535, when the Emperor Humayun, having ordered a general massacre in Mandu, was moved to pity by the singing of the minstrel Bachur, he changed his red garments to green and stopped the slaughter. (Mirat Sikandari, p. 192; Bayley, Gujarat, p. 289.)

In England red or bloody flags as they were called (see Laughton, State Papers... Armada, II, 249) were supplied to English ships as early as 1588, presumably as signals for attack, but red was the colour of the flag of the Admiral of the Fleet until 1703 (Naval Chronicle, XIV, 376) and it is still the colour of the Commodore’s broad pendant. The courtesy rank of Commodore not only belonged to certain King’s officers but was assumed by the senior of the commanders whenever a number of merchantmen sailed in company, provided a King’s ship was not present. When, in the presence of any other ship a merchant commander hoisted the red pendant, it was a claim to superiority, and if that ship was a King’s ship it was an act of defiance and a sign of piracy. Add to this that almost all Muhammadan States used some kind or other of red flag and were perpetually at war with Christians, and we see that the Red Flag as a sign of (1) No Quarter and No Surrender, (2) Liberty and Independence, (3) Attack and Defiance and also as the flag of the enemies of Christianity, was the inevitable flag for European pirates, who boasted that they were enemies of the human race. As such it remained until replaced by the Black flag about the year 1700, and even then it was long used in addition as the sign of No Quarter. The first instance that I have found of the use of the red flag by a professed pirate is the case of the pirate Mandamus (Mendes) in 1616 when he was attacked and captured by the Danish Admiral Jorgen Daa in the White Sea, but it is not at all clear from the context whether it was used as a piratical sign or simply as the sign of No Surrender (Life of Jon Olafsson, Cap. XVII).”

236. The first mention that I have come across of the use of the Red flag in Eastern seas by the English is in 1610. In January of that year Sir Thomas Dale, in command of an English fleet, appeared off Jacatra. “The English hoisted their bannière rouge and by a

---

53. As such it was used in the English and other navies up to the beginning of the 19th century.
54. Communicated to me by Miss Bertha Philpotts, Mistress of Girton College.
trumpet summoned the Dutch to surrender, threatening to attack them if they refused, to which they replied with their cannon." After an indecisive fight in which the English were assisted by the Javanese, they withdrew for reinforcements (Ambassades Mémoires, p. 26). In an "Account of the General War the English began against us in December 1618" (Haque Manuscript Records) it is stated:—"We tried to go before the wind as much as possible, but could not reach the English ships, as we anchored at some distance from them. As we saw they all had the blood flag hoisted on their stern, ours were hoisted as well." Mr. Arnold Wright, who gave me the above quotation, says the 'blood flag' dates from the Sea Dogs (1568), but, as I have shown, it is of much earlier origin. Sir Thomas displayed his 'bloody colours' not only to the Dutch but also to the Portuguese, as e.g., on the 13th August 1619 when he met "Don Christofylus de l'Orayne," the Portuguese Admiral, and demanded of him 200,000 dollars "in part satisfaction for losses our Company had received" from the Portuguese. After a long delay, bad weather came on, and it seemed possible that the enemy might escape, so Sir Thomas accepted 70,000 dollars for the Company and 10,000 for the men in his fleet (Cal. State Papers, 1620, p. xxi and Ind. Off. O. C., 767). Presumably the Portuguese commander is the Admiral Don Christopher de Noronha mentioned by Faria (III, 281), who was deprived of his command by the Viceroy and sent to Lisbon as a prisoner for his cowardly compliance with the English demands.

Dutch and English.

237. The attacks of the Dutch on the Chinese have already been mentioned. Their cruelty towards their victims excited such indignation amongst their English allies that one can only wonder why the English continued to act in common with them, especially when they must have remembered that the Dutch had so often committed similar atrocities under the English flag. Arnold Brown (Journal, Purchas, X. 504) says, under date 26th May 1621:—"The Dutch frigate fought with a Chinese junk but could not take her: our frigate went up and took her, and the Dutch, coming aboard after they had yielded, killed and made leap overboard to the quantity of 60 or 70, like bloody..." On the 30th the English, having taken another junk, which had proved too strong for the Dutch, took the precaution to secure the lives of the men by putting them ashore, but even then the Dutch found satisfaction in setting the junk on fire. Robert Fox, in his account of the voyage of the James (April to July 1623), mentions the capture of various junks, which the English plundered and then made over to the Dutch (Ind. Off. Marine Records, vol. 39).

238. On the 22nd April 1622 the English, under Captains Blyth and Weddell, assisted by a Persian land force, took Ormuz from the Portuguese. Though England was not at war with Spain and Portugal and the Company's ships were acting under their own charter and without any assistance or commission from the Admiralty, the latter demanded a share of the booty, and the Company was forced to pay £10,000 to the King and £10,000 to the Duke of Buckingham, who was Lord High Admiral (Bruce, I, 237; Low, I, 40).

239. In June 1623 the Dutch Admiral Kornelis Reyerszoon, with 13 ships, attacked the Portuguese Settlement at Macao, but without success (Faria, III, 312; Ljungh, 73).

240. In the same year (and again in 1623) the Mughal Government imprisoned the English factors at Surat, Agra and Ahmadabad, because the Dutch had seized a number of vessels belonging to Gujarat, but by the judicious expenditure of money their explanations were accepted and they were released (Bruce, I, 235; Bomb. Gaz., II, 80, 83). On the 13th December 1622 the Spanish Ambassador in London formally complained of piracies committed by the merchants of the East India Company (Rymer's Foederis).
241. In 1623 Governor Jan Pieterszoon Coen, on leaving Batavia, advised his successor Pieter de Carpentier to buy as many slaves as possible:—"No greater service can be rendered the [Dutch] Company than by going everywhere to find men of any country to populate our country [i.e., Java]. This will be doing service and honour to God and will strengthen the Company in the Indies. Let slaves, especially young men, be bought in all parts of India, where they can be got cheap. Buy thousands; buy an infinite number. There will never be too many in Batavia." (Delbœuf, Le Cap de Bonne Espérance, p. 198).

242. It was in 1623 that the Dutch committed the infamous massacre at Ambon of a number of Englishmen and Japanese, who, they pretended, had plotted to seize their Settlement.

243. In 1624 the Dutch deserted and destroyed their Settlement at Pehou in the Pescadores, and withdrew to Formosa, where the Japanese settlers (see para. 213 above) foolishly allowed them to establish themselves. (Dubois, p. 150; Ljungstedt, p. 33.) According to Brinkley (X, 181) the occupation of Formosa was with the approval of the Chinese, who refused to allow the Dutch to trade in China until they had abandoned the Pescadores.

244. In 1627 the Dutch took the Moluccas from the Portuguese (Abbe Raynal, I, 148).

Portuguese and Spanish.

245. The massacres of native Christians in Japan, owing to their connection with the Portuguese, were followed by the prohibition of trade with the Portuguese. In 1624 this prohibition was extended to the Spaniards as being subjects of the same crown (Murdoch, II, 626). In 1625 the Spaniards showed their resentment by plundering a Japanese vessel in Siam waters (Singapore Chronicle, 27th Feb. 1834). Kaempfer (II, 59) says that this outrage was committed near Manila, and that the Spaniards, in order to conceal the crime, scuttled the ship and left the crew to drown. One man however got to land and news of the event was sent to the Japanese authorities, who waited quietly their opportunity for revenge. In 1627 an embargo was laid on all Portuguese ships in Japanese ports until reparation should be made (Singapore Chronicle, 27th February 1834).

246. In 1630 a Danish ship entering the port of Coulam was, after a sharp fight, taken by nine Portuguese vessels under Emanuel de Camara e Nicote (Faria, III, 381).

247. Cases of piracy on native vessels on the Malabar coast, committed by Portuguese pirates, are mentioned by President Methwold of Surat in his Diary under date 17th April 1636.

Dutch.

248. In 1626 the Dutch Admiral Wybrand Schram arrived at Batavia. In the latitude of Sierra Leone, his own ship and one other of his fleet had been attacked by a Dutch corsair "named Claes Campen, who spread terror through those seas." After a fierce fight against four well armed ships, Schram drove off the enemy, who withdrew badly damaged (Dubois, p. 79).

Malabarese and English.

249. In 1627 a small English fleet attacked a Malabar pirate junk near Swally Road with two barges, each carrying fifty musketeers, but the barges were driven off with the loss of half their crews killed, wounded or scalded, as the bad weather prevented the ships of the fleet from supporting their barges (Herbert, pp. 41-42).

250. In this year Khem Sawunt became ruler of the State of Savantvadi, founding a pimatical dynasty long known to the English as the Kempaunts (Bomb. Sel., N. S. X., p. 1).

85 According to the Chinese account, the Dutch played upon the Japanese the trick which Queen Dido played upon the Africans, asking only so much ground as could be covered by a bull's hide (Imbault Huart, Formose, p. 6).
251. In April or May 1628 a small English fleet off Mangalore saw a junk of some 70 tons, bound for Achin, attacked by a Malabar pirate. The junk sought refuge with the English, but the latter, instead of protecting her, confiscated the cargo and treated the crew so roughly that some sixty of them threw themselves into the water to escape from their hands (Herbert, p. 334).

Chinese.

252. On the 18th December 1627, Governor de Witt reported from Batavia (Ind. Off. Dutch Records, vol. VII) that a certain Iouan (formerly Interpreter of the Company) had, about a year previously, fled from Taiwan (i.e., Formosa) and begun ‘his career of piracy, gathering many junks and a large crew, whereby he greatly disturbs the coasts of China and destroys towns and villages in the country. Thereby commercial navigation at the sea-coast has totally ceased, and whereas that country cannot exist without commerce and navigation, the Lords of China . . . . and others, regents of the Province of Hochsien, requested us, through our merchant Simson who lives at the river of Chinehan, that the Company might assist them against the pirates.’ This man, better known as Chinchilung, was the terror of the Chinese Seas until his capture by the Tartars in 1646. Slightly varying accounts of his origin are to be found in de Mailla’s Histoire Générale, Père d’Orléans’ History of the Tartar Conquerors, the Chinese Repository, vol. XIX, the China Review, vols. XIII and XXI, and Boulger’s History of China, vol. II. From these it appears that he was born at the village of Shih Tsing, near Anhai (20 miles from Amoy), in the Prefecture of Chincheo. His name as a child was I-kuan. Poverty took him to Macao, where he became a Christian and was given the name of Nicholas Gaspard and served as a valet. The Père d’Orléans says that his Portuguese godfather left him a large fortune which was the foundation of his greatness. Governor de Witt’s letter shows that he served the Dutch in Formosa as Interpreter before he became a pirate, about the year 1626. Some time previous to this he visited an uncle who was settled in Japan, where he married a Japanese woman (some accounts, e.g., von Sebold’s Nippon in Chin. Repos., 3 April 1864, p. 424, say a Japanese courtesan) who became the mother of his famous son Koxinga. With one of his uncle’s ships he and his brother joined a pirate named Yen-su-chi or Yenchin, and together with him opened up a great part of Formosa, presumably outside the Dutch sphere. When Yen died, Chinchilung was elected chief of the Chinese pirates. Having destroyed a rival party under one Leau Yang, he collected a number of ships and a formidable force of men, including a body guard of 500 Christianized negroes, whom he led in fight with the war-cry of St. Jacob (? St. James or Sant Iago) and who were the terror of the Manchus. So formidable was he that he was welcomed by the Ming partisans as a recruit, and about 1628 was made Admiral of the Ming fleet, in which capacity he assisted in the repulse of Dutch attacks in 1630 and 1633.

253. After the fall of the Ming Dynasty (1628) a class of natives named Hoklos, all sea-faring men, settled in the Great Ladrone (now known as Hongkong) and its neighbourhood. They were specially addicted to robbery and piracy and, of all the coast pirates, were the most dreaded for their ferocicty and daring. In later years they supplied the crews of nearly all the smuggling vessels which were the terror of the Chinese cruisers (E. J. Eitel, Europe in China: The History of Hongkong, p. 132).

Dutch.

254. About this time the Japanese in Formosa were so ill-treated by the Dutch, that one of them, Hamada Yabei, a native of Nagasaki, obtaining assistance from home, surprised the Dutch Settlement at Taiwan and compelled the Dutch to restore twice what they had robbed from his compatriots and to promise decent behaviour in the future. Returning to Nagasaki he was, in 1628, appointed to a high official post (Capt. James in As. Soc. of Japan, Trans., VIII, 199).
255. Apparently this lesson was not enough for the Dutch, for in July 1630 two Japanese ships having been detained in Formosa by Governor Peter Nuits, the combined crews, numbering some 500 men, seized the Governor after killing his guard and forced the Council to agree:

(1) that their action had been just, legitimate, in self defence and for the honour of their nation;
(2) that they should be free to return to their country when they pleased and that all their property, arms, etc., should be returned to them;
(3) that the Dutch vessels in the harbour should not insult or interfere with them and should be disarmed;
(4) that the Dutch should give five hostages;
(5) that they should be compensated for all the losses they had suffered in consequence of the Governor’s misconduct.

Even these terms did not satisfy the Emperor of Japan who would not suffer the Dutch to trade until in 1634 Nuits himself was surrendered to him (Charlevoix, II, 361). Nuits was kept prisoner until 1637 (Imbault Huart, pp. 28-29).

256. In 1634, the Dutch built Castel or Fort Zeylandia at Taiwān in Formosa (de Mailla, XI, 50; Formosa, 15; Duhalde, I, 91). According to Tavernier (III, 22) even this they achieved by treachery, for the English being in possession of the place, a Dutch ship put in with every appearance of being distressed and, whilst the Dutch officers were at dinner with the commander of the Fort, they picked a quarrel with him, and drawing their swords, which they had concealed under their cloaks, killed him and all the soldiers of the garrison. I have not found any corroboration of this story.

Malays.

257. In 1628 a Spanish expedition against the piratical Sulu Islanders was disgracefully defeated (Crawfurd, II, 471, 518, 519).

258. In 1634 the Mindanaoans sacked and burned Tayahas, eighteen leagues from Manila, and nearly captured the Archbishop Fray Miguel Garcia Serrano. In June 1635 the Spaniards erected a fort at Zambangan in the Island of Mindanao, the Captain of which soon after defeated and dispersed the fleet of King Correll (of Mindanao), which was returning from a plundering cruise in the Philippines. In 1637 the same officer took the chief town of the King, who for a long time after kept quiet, but rebelled in 1657 (de Morga, 360; Zuniga, I, 265; Chino. Resos., VII, 528). Crawfurd (II, 521) says that in 1637 Don Sebastian Hurtado, Governor of the Philippines, reduced both Sulu and Mindanao, but was speedily forced to evacuate his conquests.

Japanese withdrawal from the Sea.

259. The troubles which resulted from foreign intercourse had now impressed themselves very forcibly on the mind of the Japanese. On the 27th January 1616 the Shogun Ieyasu issued a proclamation, ordering the banishment of the Christian propagandists and other leaders, the destruction of their churches and recantation of their doctrines (Brinkley, III, 147-8). It was necessary however not only to keep out the foreigner but to keep the Japanese themselves from going abroad. About 1629 the Japanese withdrew from the Philippines (Crawfurd, II, 467), whilst, in order to make sure that no Portuguese or Spanish priest crept in to make mischief under the cover of the Dutch flag, they introduced the curious and insulting practice of Fumi-ya or trampling on the picture or figure of Christ, whom they called the

56 Charlevoix (II, 482) calls this practice Jesumi, and says that Japanese suspected of Christianity were forced to perform it as a test.
'Man of Manilla,' the first Christian missionary having come from that island (Lettres Edifi-antes, IV, 38). At first they made use of paper pictures, then figures cut in wood, and in 1669 twenty bronze plates, 5 by 4 inches, made from metal taken from Christian altars, were cast and engraved by one Yusa of Nagasaki (As. Soc. of Japan, Trans., IX, 134). Presumably the Dutch, with their fanatical hatred of image worship, had no objection to submit to this test. In the Records of Macao (quoted in the Hui-Kwoh-Tu-Chi) it is stated that in the stones of the Batavian quay at Nagasaki the Japanese had engraved a crucifix upon which foreigners were compelled to tread as they landed. In the threshold of the gate of the city was a stone image of Jesus placed there for the same purpose (Chin. Repos., XIX, 217). How long this custom remained in force is shown by the fact that when in 1850 the British ship Eamont was wrecked on the coast of Japan, and the crew were taken to the Town-house of Nagasaki, each man was forced to tread as he entered upon a brazen crucifix in the doorway (Chin. Repos., XX, 112).

260. In 1631 Sinao Vaz de Pavia was sent by the Portuguese from Macao with presents and excuses, but the Japanese rejected their advances (Sing. Chron., 27th February 1834).

261. In 1636 the Japanese Shogun Iyemitsu restricted foreign commerce to Nagasaki and Hirado and, to keep the Japanese at home, ordered the destruction of all foreign built ships or ships built on foreign models; which were in the possession of the Japanese: nothing was allowed for the future except the coasting junk. Such Portuguese as remained in Japan were imprisoned on the small island of Deshima in the harbour of Nagasaki (Murdoch, II, 470). In 1637, owing to the Christian rebellion in Shimabara, in which from thirty to forty thousand Christians were killed, they were expelled altogether from Japanese territory (As. Soc. of Japan, Trans., IX, 130). The Dutch however were allowed to trade at Nagasaki, but when Captain Weddell visited Deshima in 1637 he was not well received (Logan's Journal, V, 661). The Japanese did not consider Protestants and Greek Catholics as 'Kristans,' as these did not worship images, had no connection with the Inquisition and did not attempt to make converts (Griffis, Mikado, p. 173).

262. In 1639 it was ordered that all Portuguese ships coming to Japan should be burnt with their cargoes and that every one on board should be executed (Murdoch, II, 663).

263. In 1840 the Portuguese, in the hope of renewing friendly relations, sent envoys to Nagasaki. These the Japanese Government caused to be executed for their temerity. In the same year a very strongly armed Spanish vessel entered the harbour of Nagasaki and proceeded to load a rich cargo, whilst the orders of the Government were being ascertained. Though repeatedly warned of their danger, the Spaniards, out of curiosity, delayed until, when the order for their destruction arrived, unfavourable winds made their escape impossible. The ship was surrounded by boats and, after a desperate resistance, in which 5,000 Japanese are said to have been killed, all the Spaniards were slain or drowned, and the ship set on fire and sunk. For many years after, portions of the treasure were from time to time fished up (Kaempfer, II, 58, 59). Such is the Spanish story; the Japanese is somewhat different:—

57 Faria (Hist. of Portugal, p. 42) says that four Portuguese ambassadors with 53 of their retinue were executed on this occasion.
their comrades and of the prohibition against the coming of foreigners. In 1663 the sunken cargo was presented to the Maohi-doshi-yori, who succeeded in raising over 45 kwamme of gold (Matsura To in As. Soc. Japan, Trans., IX, 125).

264. In 1641 the Dutch were confined to the little island of Deshima (Murdock, II, 1).

265. By 1642 the Japanese had completely evacuated Formosa (Zuniga, I, 275) and from this date to the coming of foreigners in 1854, Spaniards and Portuguese coming to Japan were treated as pirates and the Japanese Marine was dead (Bonar in As. Soc. Japan. Trans., XV, 123; Kaempfer, II, 57-9).

266. On the 26th July 1647 two Portuguese ships arrived off Yuwojima with ambassadors from Goa and asked permission to trade. Preparations were made for their capture but, under orders from Government, they were allowed to depart (As. Soc. Japan. Trans., IX, 139).

267. About 1633 the Japanese settlers in Siam were expelled on account of their turbulence, but when in 1656 the Siamese sent an envoy to Nagasaki to renew the trade, their proposals were refused as the Edict of 1636 prevented Japanese from going abroad. Still, indirectly through the Chinese, trade was carried on between the two countries as late as 1745 (Satow in As. Soc. Japan. Trans., XII, 179—200).

268. In 1673 the English Captain Delboe was refused permission to trade in Japan on the ground that the English must be connected with the Portuguese, since Charles II had married a Portuguese Princess, and all the English in Japan were ordered to leave the country. In 1791 Captain Colnet was refused permission to trade on the west coast of Japan (Logan’s Journal, V, 663).

**English.**

269. In the year 1630 King Charles I sent Captain Richard Quail of the Seahorse to the Red Sea with a commission there “to make purchase (as well as anywhere else) of any he could meet with that were not friends or allies to His Majesty” (Ind. Off. Marine Records, IV, 12). Quail, of course, made great booty and Mr. Foster (English Factories, 1630-33, p. xvii) suggests that it was his success that provided the incentive for Captains Cobb and Ayres a few years later. It may be noted that in later days the pirates used to refer to their booty as ‘purchase’ and to their expeditions or cruises as being made ‘on the Account.’ Quail’s commission was wider and more sordid than that granted to Raleigh in 1554, which gave him authority to discover and seiz “any remote hostien and barbarous lands not actually possessed by any Christian Prince nor inhabited by Christian people.”

**Malabar.**

270. Under date 2nd February 1634 Peter Mundy tells us that his ship was boarded by one Babaraunt “an arch-pirate of Malabar,” who, with six ships, had on the 19th January attacked a Surat junk. The pirate traded some pepper, etc., for a brass gun. Apparently he was an inhabitant of Calicut, for Mundy again mentions meeting his ships off Mangalore on the 21st March 1636-7, when Babaraunt was about to settle at Battacal (Bhatkal), a little south of Onore, having been driven out with his followers by the Zamorin, who had burnt all his houses. Under the last mentioned date, Mundy states that some Malabar pirates had just taken a Portuguese ship from Malacca, laden with Chinese commodities and carrying some Dutchmen who had been taken by the Portuguese in the Malacca Straits. (Hak. Soc., II, 216, and III, 110). Evidently this is the pirate Babia, with whom the English, as the Portuguese Viceroy reported to the King on the 5th October 1637, had made friends (Danvers, Portuguese Records, p. 35). Possibly also he is the petty pirate, David Bahia of Gujarat, mentioned by President Methwold of Surat in his Diary on the 30th April 1636.

---

58 Mundy (II, 316) describes his vessel as single-masted, latten-rigged with two tiers of oars, carrying 180 men, with a swallow-tailed pennant at the mastshead and a swallow-tailed streamer at the peak of the yard.
French.

271. In 1635 the French under M. de Flacourt established themselves in Madagascar (Journal d’un voyage aux Indes Orientales, I, 7). This was, no doubt, a bona fide attempt at colonisation, but other French seamen were frankly engaged in seeking what the English called 'Purchase.' The Court Minutes of the English East India Company, for the 28th April 1637, state that it was reported that the St. Louis of Dieppe, 250 tons and 67 men, had lately arrived at Dieppe from the East Indies, where she had been fifteen or sixteen months, during which time she had taken and robbed three junks of Cambay, and had brought home gold, silver and goods worth £30,000.

272. During the years 1638 and 1639 French ships from Dieppe continued to trouble the Eastern Seas and formed a small settlement in Madagascar (Foster, Eng. Factories, 1637-41, p. xxviii).

273. In 1642 the French Government granted the sole right of colonisation in Madagascar to Captain Ricaud (Rigault) and his Company. A Settlement and Fort were established at Fort Dauphin on the south-east coast of the island, but proper relations with the natives were not cultivated, and we find one of the Governors, a Monsieur Jacques Pronis, treacherously seizing a number of natives who were visiting the Fort and selling them as slaves to the Dutch Governor of Mauritius (Flacourt, Relation, p. 193). The treachery of Pronis caused a revolt of the natives in which the Fort was burnt (Bernardin de St. Pierre, Voyage, pp. 60, 162 n.). This disaster occurred in 1655. The Fort was rebuilt in 1663 and abandoned about 1671 (Abbé Rochon in Pinkerton, XVI, 751, 758). According to Father Brown (Lettres Edifiantes, XIII, p. 303) the French who escaped the massacre at Fort Dauphin in 1655 fled to Don Mascarenhas with their native wives. Their number was augmented by the crew of a pirate vessel which was wrecked on the island as well as by the slaves of both sexes who were on board. M. de Flacourt, appointed Governor of Madagascar in 1648, settled in Mascarenhas in 1657, and renamed the island Bourbon (Grant, p. 27). The first European to discover Mauritius was Ruy Pereira in 1505. He named it St. Laurentio. Next came Don Mascarenhas in the same year and named it Cerné. The Dutch Admiral James Cornelius Van Neck landed there in 1598, found it uninhabited and named it Mauritius. In 1638 the Dutch settled in the island, but evacuated it in 1712. In 1715 M. du Fresne renamed it 'Ile de France,' but the French did not actually occupy it until 1721. (Bernardin de St. Pierre, p. 162 n.; Grant, pp. 18, 20, 26, 28, 29.)

English.

274. On the 27th February 1635 Charles I granted a commission to Captain William Cobb "to range the seas all over . . . . and to make prize of all such treasures, merchandises . . . . which he shall be able to take of infidels or of any other Prince, Potentate or State not in league or amity with us beyond the Line Equinoctial [i.e., the Equator] Ind. Off., O.C. 1565). In the treaty of Vervins between France and Spain, 2nd May 1598, its provisions were made effective only north of the Tropic of Cancer and East of the Azores, beyond which "toue serait à la force," but Cobb's commission is an early justification of the saying which soon became common amongst English sailors that there was no peace beyond the Line.

275. Cobb, in the Samaritan, and Captain Ayres, in the Roebuck, were sent to India by certain merchants who, a little later, combined themselves into the Courteen Company and obtained from King Charles a Charter which seriously encroached upon the rights of the East India Company. The Samaritan was wrecked on the Comoro Islands and Ayres finished
his cruise in the *Samaritan*, taking a number of native ships in the Red Sea, with the booty of which he rejoined Cobb at Socotra. Naturally the Agents of the East India Company were ready to oppose any efforts of Cobb to trade, but he was not intent on trading, and the outrages committed by Ayres gave good reason for the arrest of the two Captains at the Comoros by Captain John Bond in 1636. He forced them to disgorge much of their booty but allowed them to go free with their ship. After a further cruise in the Red Sea, Cobb and Ayres returned to England in 1637 (Foster, *Eng. Factories*, 1634—6, pp. xx—xxix). The Company pressed charges of piracy against Cobb, and the case hung on at least as late as 1644. Cobb’s behaviour had very serious consequences for the Company, already compromised in the eyes of the Mughal Government, not only by the Dutch and other foreigners who misused the English flag, but by English Interlopers who had some sort of right to use it. Now the Company had to explain that English ships carrying the King of England’s license had no connection with the Company which claimed from that King an exclusive privilege. The Mughal Governor did not believe what they said and imprisoned the President and English Council at Surat, releasing them only on payment of £18,000 (Bruce, I, 337, 362).

276. Under date 11th May 1636 President Methwold of Surat mentions in his *Diary* some attacks by English pirates on native vessels.

277. The English and Portuguese having come to an agreement as to the China trade, Captain Weddell, of the Courteen Company, went with a small fleet to Canton. The Governor refused to allow Weddell to trade and the Chinese fleet hoisted their *bloody ensigns*. Weddell bombarded and took the castle and also a number of junks with the Chinese Admiral, whereupon the Governor withdrew his prohibition (*Ancient and Modern History of China*, p. 72.) Peter Mundy, however (*Travels*, 9th August 1637) says that the Governor gave in at the sight of “our bloody ensigns”, so, if the Chinese did hoist the bloody flag, it is not clear what significance it bore. Schouten (I, 134, 148) mentions the use of the red flag by both the Portuguese and the natives of Macassar in 1660.

278. Captain Weddell’s conduct in obtaining the release of Captain Clark and his crew (see next paragraph) was certainly to his credit, but the means he used must have appeared suspicious as showing the English connection with pirates. His use of force at Canton, however effective for the moment, could produce no lasting benefit. So also the high-handed proceedings of the Courteen Company’s captains in Madagascar, where, at St. Augustine’s Bay, they attempted to establish a post in 1645-6, committed great excesses against the natives and even coined false pagodas and reals, only added to the East India Company’s difficulties (Bruce, I, 418). Bruce, (I, 338) draws the following conclusions on the effect of their proceedings:—“This event is perhaps of consequence, not so much from the immediate effect of it as from its having been the first instance in which the Interlopers or Private Traders were permitted to carry on a kind of regulated commerce to the East Indies, and under their license had been charged with or had been guilty of depredation, which struck at the root of all *farmdins* or grants, which the London Company had procured by heavy expenses from the Mughal Government, and from its having been the source of those oppressions and that injustice by the native powers which, in the sequel, often interrupted and frequently endangered the existence of the trade of England to the East Indies. Nor was this the only consequence, for when the Interlopers were detected and subsequently punished, pirates, who could not be brought to justice, arose out of this example, the suppression of whom required for more than half a century the united efforts of the Crown and the London Company.” Of Captain Weddell, he remarks:—“The excesses which he committed set the example, whilst his rich
booty provided the temptation, for later acts of piracy. Fortunately, in January 1649—50 the Courteen, now known as the Assada Company, was merged in the London Company and an end was put to this pestilent form of competition (Bruce, I, 419, 439, 568). It would appear that the violence of which complaint was made was not limited to the actions of the Courteen Company, for John Darell (p. 14) says that in 1643 the English seized and plundered two ships from the Red Sea, belonging to the King of Cannanore, for trading with the Courteen ships. Some hundreds of the crew were killed or drowned and treasure taken to the value of thirty or forty thousand pounds.

Malabarese.

279. In November 1638 the Company's ship Comfort (Captain Walter Clark) was taken by a fleet of 25 or 30 Malabar pirates. The English, being nearly all wounded, blew up the upper deck, killing, says Mandelslo (p. 87) six hundred of the enemy (Tavernier, I, xi, says 1,200), and themselves leaped into the sea. They were picked up and carried ashore as prisoners (Ind. Off., O.C., 1631). Their release on ransom was obtained by Captain John Weddell through one Bardaratt of Calicut, probably the pirate Babarau, mentioned by Peter Mundy in 1634 (Sainsbury, Court Minutes, 1635-39, p. 107 n.). Tavernier (I, xi) says that 4,000 crowns were paid as ransom for the Captain and that two piastres or eight shillings a piece (amounting in all to 2,400 crowns) were paid to the widows of the pirates who had been killed in the fight. Mandelslo (p. 89) says that these Malabar pirates kept the sea from October to May and that during these months the Portuguese were forced to patrol the sea to keep them in check. On the other hand, as the Portuguese had prohibited the trade in pepper, the Gujarats bound for Achin, in Sumatra, could not sail during this season for fear of capture by the Portuguese, and were forced to make their voyage during the remaining months. "The Malabars", he says (p. 87), "inhabit the coast from Goa to Cape Comorin and are mostly pirates or soldiers." On the 26th January 1639 his ship, the Mary (Captain James Slade) met near Calicut 18 of their vessels, which dared not attack them by day but did so by moonlight. Two of the pirates were sunk and three or four disabled, whereupon the rest withdrew (Ibid., p. 89).

280. On the 12th December 1641 Jan Jensen de Quesnay wrote to Commander Cornelis Leenderts Blauw:—"The pirates of Bergera, Chambay and other places [on the Malabar Coast] infest the seas and proclaim that they will attack any vessel they may meet with (Ind. Off., Dutch Records).

281. The Court Minutes (of the English East India Company) of the 14th February 1644 mention that their ships were to be allowed a few guns and blunderbusses to prevent the mischief of the Malabars. As the Company's ships were always well armed, I do not understand this order. Tavernier (I, xiv) tells us that in January 1648, wishing to go from Minaglia to Goa, he wrote to M. St. Amant, the Engineer, to send a man-of-war for him "for fear of the Malvares which are on the coast."

Dutch.

282. In 1638 the Dutch settled in Mauritius (Bernardin de St. Pierre, p. 60. See para. 273 above).

283. The Dutch, having no such bitter cause for hating the Portuguese as they had for hating the Spaniards, behaved towards them with more humanity. In fact, the earliest instance with which I have met of victors in a naval fight risking their lives to save the beaten enemy, occurs in a fight off Goa on the 6th October 1639. Commander Symonsz van der
veer reported:—"We set fire to the St. Sebastian and the Bon Jesus, which communicated itself to the Boa Aventure. The crews, consisting of about 200 men, among whom were 150 whites, tried to save themselves by swimming to the shore. Not twenty of them were saved. We killed some and made seventy-two prisoners, among whom were the Captain and superior officers. Whilst we were still engaged in rescuing the men in the water, three hundred barrels of powder took fire on the Boa Aventure, with the result that a great number of the enemy were killed, and we lost six men" (Ind. Off., Dutch Records).

284. In 1641 or 1642 the Dutch took Malacca from the Portuguese (Marsden, 330n., 444; Begbie, p. 48).

285. On the 8th March 1642 the Dutch Governor of Mauritius concluded a treaty with the native King of Antongil in Madagascar, engaging the latter not to sell rice or slaves to any one but the Agents of the Dutch East India Company (Deheine, p. 37).

286. In 1642 the Japanese having completely evacuated Formosa, the Dutch occupied the whole island. It now became their business to check the pirates who infested the coasts of China (Zuniga, I, 275).

287. In 1643 a Dutch officer named Gayland plundered one of the Courteen ships, the Bona Esperanza, in the Straits of Malacca, and in the same year another of these ships, the Henry Bonaventure, was plundered by the Dutch near Mauritius. Letters of reprisal were given to the Courteen Company in 1668 by Charles II. (Justice, p. 463.) In 1644 the Dutch abandoned Mauritius but reoccupied it in 1650.

Danes.

288. The Danes had settled themselves at Tranquebar in Tanjore about 1618 (Abbé Raynal, II, 129). Apparently they had confined themselves to peaceful paths in trade as long as possible, but as we have seen (para. 230 above) their ships were attacked by the Portuguese as early as 1618 and now they appear to have thought a show of force (designated as piracy by their rivals) was necessary to their prestige and security, for on the 9th July 1645 Cornelis Van der Lyn, Governor of Batavia, wrote home:—"We are charged with acts of piracy committed by the Danes. The latter keep up their policy, but make no captures of any importance and do but little trade (Ind. Off., Dutch Records).

Malays and Spanish.

289. In 1645, in reprisal for Malaya attacks on the Philippines, the Spaniards sent an expedition against Borneo, which plundered and burned the coast villages and carried off from two to three hundred prisoners to be sold as slaves (Chin. Repos., IV, 449; Crawfurd, II, 524).

Chinese.

290. In 1639 thirty thousand Chinese revolted against the Spaniards in the Philippines, and were not forced to submission until their number was reduced to seven thousand (Crawfurd, II, 522). This appalling slaughter was not, I believe, matched for a hundred years, when, in 1740, ten thousand Chinese were, on suspicion of a conspiracy, massacred by the Dutch in Batavia (Ibid., 553, see para. 614 below).

291. In 1646 the pirate Chinchilung (see para. 252 above) fell into the hands of the Tartars. In 1645 his influence had secured the election of Tang Wang as Emperor, but, for some reason or other, Tang Wang refused to acknowledge Koxinga as his father's heir, and Chinchilung began to intrigue with the Tartars (Boulger, II, 276). According to the Ambassades Memorables, he was now so powerful that he had "got into his hands the whole Indian trade.

64 The Imperial Gazetteer says the settlement was made in 1620.
He traded with the Spanish in the Philippines, with the Dutch in Formosa and Batavia, with the Portuguese in Macao and with the Japanese. He monopolised the carriage of merchandise from China and imported that of Europe into it. He had 3000 vessels at sea and fed his mind with such lofty dreams that he thought of royalty and the Imperial crown. The Tartars getting wind of so important a design and thinking him to be too powerful to attack openly, they resolved to take him by fraud, and seeing that he was besotted with the idea of royalty, they elevated him to the royal dignity and promised to give him the provinces of Fokien and Quanton. Iquan [i.e., Chinchilung] allowed himself to be lulled into security, left his fleet but badly provided in the harbour of Fokien, his pretended kingdom, and went on shore to salute the Tartar Emperor who was residing there, but was immediately arrested and carried to Pekin, where he was put to death by poison”. One account (Gemelli Careri, in Churchill, IV, 389) says that, having been ordered to write to his son to come to him, he wrote and warned him not to do so. His messenger, a barber, betrayed him. Now fearing to be forced to write again in the required terms or to give some information which might harm his friends, we are told (Dubois, p. 214) that he bit off his tongue and the fingers of his right hand. This reminds one of the Chinaman tortured by Scot (see para. 185 above), and an earlier parallel exists in the story of the philosopher Anaxarchus, when tortured to death by order of Alexander the Great (Pliny, VII, 23). The pirate fleet, under Chinchilung’s brother and son, Ching-ching-kon, put to sea immediately they received news of their leader’s death. Ching-ching-kon was now elected to succeed his father. He is mentioned by various names, such as Kwe-Sing Kong or Kwooshen, Koksing by the people of Fokien (Gutzlaff, II, 24), Quesin (Careri), Coosin (Hamilton), Koxinga or Coxinga by the Portuguese (Crawford, II, 528). It is said that he had been a tailor in the employ of the Sieur Pitman, Dutch Governor of Taiwan (Schouten, I, 271), but probably this refers to his father. Mr. Phillip (China Review, XIII, 60) says that at the age of seven he left Japan to join his father at Anhai. He was an exceedingly clever boy and attracted the attention of the Ming Emperor, who authorized him to prefix the name Chu to his own name of Cheng Kung. Hence he was known as Kwo-Sing Yeh (pronounced in the Amoy dialect Kok-Sing-la or Kok-Sing-ya) which meant “He of the Royal surname.”

292. The Jesuit Martinus Martinus, a German but born at Trent, was taken by pirates on his second voyage to China and very cruelly treated (Sotwell, Bibliotheca). As Martinus was in China from 1647 to 1651, it is probable that he fell into the hands of Koxinga’s pirates. He writes that in Fokien “there are many pirates who rob at sea. They are thought to be the most cruel of all Chinese pirates, as retaining the original barbaric humour and being the last to submit to the gentleness of the laws and manners of China” (Thévenot, Relation, pt. III, p. 152.) They long retained this evil reputation : Hamilton (II, 242) says that in 1603 they had been largely repressed by a certain Chinese general, for which the people were so grateful that they had erected a temple in his honour and placed his image in it. Again, in 1719 Hamilton (II, 216) speaks of the courage of the pirates of Kwangsi, the southernmost province of China:—“One of their little galleys will attack four of the Emperor’s and make them flee before them, for they give quarter to none that bear arms under the Tartar Prince.” It would appear from this that the pirates of southern China at this time were actuated, at least in part, by patriotic motives (see paras. 568, 739 and 754 below).

293. In 1660 Koxinga destroyed the Tartar fleet besieging Canton, but that town having been taken by treachery, he again betook himself to sea (Chin. Repos., III, 66).
294. In 1652 Koxinga instigated a rebellion of the peasants in Formosa against the Dutch (de Mailla, XI, 51) but was unable to give them the necessary support. The plot was, in fact, betrayed by one Pauw, the brother of the Chinese pirate captain Fayet. Fayet was killed in the fighting; his Lieutenant Longa was roasted alive before a slow fire and then dragged through the town at the tail of a horse. The other rebel captains, who had been guilty of gross atrocities, were broken on the wheel and then quartered (Dubois, p. 150). Mr. Phillip (China Review, X, 125) says that Fayet was ruler of Smeerorp.

295. In 1653 Koxinga attacked Amoy and took it, defeating the Tartars, but in 1655 was himself defeated with a loss of 500 ships at Nankin (Chin. Repos. III, 66). In 1656 he established himself at Tsong-nung at the mouth of the Kiang River and captured Tong-Chow which commanded the approach to Nankin (Boulger, II, 310). In 1658 he vainly attempted to obtain assistance from Japan, but the latter refused and warned the Dutch that he had had designs against Formosa as early as 1646 (Chin. and Jap. Repos., 3rd April 1864, p. 424). In 1659 Koxinga defeated a Tartar fleet and cut off the ears and noses of 4,000 prisoners. The latter were put to death by the Tartar Emperor as a warning to his soldiers and sailors that he had no use for men who allowed themselves to be defeated by pirates. Koxinga now ravaged the whole coast and in an attack on Nankin destroyed the greater part of the Tartar fleet. He was however forced to retire, for the Tartars, observing that his men were off their guard whilst engaged in celebrating the birthday of their chief, surprised his camp and killed all but 3,000 of his men. These escaped to his ships, of which 500 were taken (Gemelli Careri in Churchill, IV, 389). As the Emperor was still unable to protect the coast, he ordered the inhabitants to retire twelve miles inland (Chin. Repos. 1834, p. 66). Mr. T.F. Tout tells us (Pol. Hist. of England, III, 334) that in July 1338 Edward III ordered dwellers on the south coast of England to take refuge in fortresses and remove their goods four leagues from the sea owing to the activity of French corsairs.

Dutch.

296. In 1652 the Dutch settled at the Cape of Good Hope (Dubois, 151). From August of this year to April 1654 they were at war with England, but besides engaging in general acts of piracy in the Red Sea (Bruce, I, 448), they anticipated the declaration of hostilities by attacking and destroying English vessels in the Persian Gulf (Ibid., p. 482).

297. In 1656 the King of Gilolo, having been made prisoner by the Dutch, was secretly drowned with twenty-five of his people, for fear his execution should excite a tumult (Crawfurd, II, 527-8).

298. From 1655 the Cape was supplied with slaves brought from Malabar, Coromandel, Bengal, Ceylon, the Malay Archipelago and especially, Madagascar. To the last of these places there came as slavers the English from Jamaica and Barbados, the Portuguese of Mozambique and Brazil, Musulmans from Melindi and Arabia, the Dutch of Java and Mauritius. The Dutch went chiefly to the Bay of St. Augustine on the southwest coast, and the Bay of Antongil on the northeast (Dehérain, pp. 202, 204). In 1658 the Dutch ship Amersfort landed at the Cape 166 slaves from Angola in West Africa whom she had taken out of a Portuguese ship which she had captured not far from the coast of Brazil (Dehérain, p. 208).

299. In December 1659, Johan van Riebeck, Governor of the Cape, discovered a conspiracy amongst the garrison and settlers to master the fort, kill the chief officials, seize the ship Erasmus, then in harbour, and turn pirates (Dehérain, p. 70).

Malays.

300. In 1653 a Dutch expedition from Amboyna reduced the inhabitants of the Papous Islands who had infested the surrounding seas with their piracies (Dubois, 165). In the same year Correlat, King of Mindanao, put to death two Jesuits and some Spaniards who had
been sent as ambassadors from Manila (Crawford, II, 527). The treacherous behaviour of the natives of the Archipelago was in part the cause of the severe treatment which they received from the Dutch, e.g., in 1638 a whole Dutch crew was treacherously surprised and murdered by the inhabitants of Palembang on the coast of Sumatra (Schouten, I, 24).

**French.**

301. In 1655 a French pirate ship was forced into Aden by bad weather and lack of provisions. The crew were imprisoned and then sent inland and forced to submit to circumcision. Soon after they managed to escape to Mocha, where they said that they had had a consort, an English built ship of 26 guns, of which they had lost sight in a storm. Possibly these two ships were part of the squadron of six ships sent out by the Duc De Meillerey about this time to take recruits to Madagascar and to cruise in the Red Sea (Foster, *English Factories*, 1655-60, p. 59; Dehérain, pp. 22, 96).

302. According to Nicolo Manucci (II, 45), a Farangi pirate having taken a Moor vessel from the Maldives with a load of cowries (for which of course the pirates had no use), was persuaded by the merchants to accept of a ransom which they were to receive at Mocha, but when the pirate and her prize arrived there, the merchants found two royal ships (on which were many fakirs, lords and ladies of Hindustan) in the harbour. Obtaining their assistance and that of some other vessels, to the number of ten or twelve, they sailed out to take the pirate ship. The latter however completely defeated them, took one ship which they plundered and burned, and then chased the royal ships and took one of them off Diu, plundering its cargo and dishonouring the unfortunate women on board. Aurangzeb, enraged at this affront, would not accept any excuses on the part of his officers, until he had received ocular demonstration of the power of European ships of war. This was furnished by an Italian, Ortencio Bronzoni, who built a small ship, provided it with guns and manned it with European artillerymen (probably runaway sailors) who were in Aurangzeb's service. The ship was launched on a large tank and its working (including the firing of its guns) demonstrated. Aurangzeb was convinced and gave up the idea of building a fleet with which to suppress the European pirates. It is not certain who the Farangi pirate was, whose exploits gave rise to the above story, but the *Dog Register* of Batavia for 1663 (pp. 306, 316) says that the Dowager Queen of Bijapur went to Mocha on pilgrimage in 1661, and that on her return her ship was plundered by a sea-rover, commanded by one Herbert Hugo, who held a commission from Havre de Grace. The Queen herself was robbed of a diamond worth 25,000 Great Bijapur pagodas. From his name, Hugo may have been English or Dutch, but his commission was French. Of course all three nations repudiated responsibility.

303. As regards Manucci's account of Aurangzeb's determination to leave the mastery of the sea to Europeans, when the Caliph Omar (634-43) was asked by Meiwiyah to send forces to Egypt by sea, he replied, "The Syrian sea, they tell me, is larger and broader than the dry land and is instant with the Lord, night and day, seeking to swallow it up. How should I trust my people on its accursed bosom?" (Muir, *Caliphate*, p. 212). Again, when in April 1453, the whole Ottoman fleet of 100 ships was unable to prevent five Austrian and Genoese warships from entering the harbour of Constantinople, which Sultan Muhammad was besieging, "from that time and after the disaster of the High-Admiral of the Ottoman fleet [who was bastinadoed for his want of success] was born that opinion, which was ever after held by the Turks, that God had given them the Empire of the Land but had left that of the Sea to the Infidels" (Ducis, Bk. XXXVIII, p. 152; Von Hammer-Purgstall, I, 233). As regards the Hindus also, we are told that the mysterious counsellor of Shivaji always advised him against enterprises by sea,
304. In 1669 Admiral de la Haye took possession of Madagascar in the name of the King of France (Jules Sottas, *Journal*, p. 44). In 1672 the French colonists in Madagascar were massacred by the natives. (Pouget de St. André, p. 13; Sottas, p. 52.)

**Malabarese.**

305. In 1489 the island fortress of Janjira, opposite Danda Rajpuri, fell into the hands of a number of mercenaries, originally Abyssinians and Caffres (kaffirs) in the service first of Ahmadabad and then of Bijapur (*Imp. Gaz.*, XIV, 58; Bruce, II, 50, 51), and became the capital of a coastal district. These mercenaries were known as the Sidis. In 1660 they formed a kind of democratic state. "Sidi Sambo was the head of them, but his captains preserved a distinct command over their crews and dependents, and a council of them decided on the affairs of this singular association. They were considered as the navigators of India and held themselves to be not inferior to Europeans" (Bruce, II, 50, 51). In 1660 Sivaji took Danda Rajpuri from them and Sidi Sambo, seeing that Bijapur was not strong enough to protect him from the Marathas, in 1670 offered his services to Auranâzzeb and was made Mughal Admiral. The condition of this appointment was the maintenance of a Marine for the protection of commerce and the convey of pilgrims to Mecca. It was not hereditary but was conferred upon the most daring Abyssinian officer in the fleet, who was styled the Wazir (Duff, I, 139; *Bomb. Gaz.* II, 89).

306. No sooner had the Marathas taken possession of the coast (in 1662, Orme, *Hist. Freg.*, p. 16) than they began to organize a fleet which grew rapidly in numbers. "The Marathi chronicles speak of Shivaji's fleet as consisting of 400 vessels of various sizes and classes... Their cost is put down vaguely as five or ten lakhs of rupees, but the English reports never put their number above 160 and usually as 60 only. They were formed into two squadrons (of 200 vessels each, if we accept Marathi accounts) and commanded by two Admirals who bore the titles of Daria Sarang (Sea Captain) and Mai Nayak (Water Leader)." Shivaji's fleet was largely recruited from low caste Hindu tribes such as the Kolis, Sanghars, Vaghers, the Marathi clan of Angrias, all of which were accustomed to the sea, and the Bhandari husbandmen of the Ratnagiri district. To these were added a number of Muhammadans under such chiefs as Daulat Khan and the discontented Sidi chief Misri (*Bomb. Gaz.* I, ii, pp. 87, 88; IX, i, 519-22; X, p. 124; XI, 145; Jadunath Sarkar, p. 336). Sivaji's navy, as might well be expected from the character and tradition of the races from which it was recruited, immediately took to plundering the coast of Canara and Goa (Orme, *Hist. Freg.*, p. 10). The Sidis also indulged in piracy and were amongst the most feared of the freebooters, though apparently they seldom interfered with Europeans except when acting under the orders of the Mughal Government (*Imp. Gaz.*, XXI, 34-35).

307. In 1665 Sivaji built the fort of Sindhudurg on the outer of the two islands in the Bay of Malvan (in Ratnagiri district), which latter gave its name to the Maratha pirates, whom the English called Malwans (*Bomb. Sel.*, N.S., X, 155; *Imp. Gaz.*, XVII, 96).

**English.**

308. In January 1666 Mr. Humphrey Cooke, Governor of Bombay (once a greecer in Lisbon, Danvers, II, 356) seized a junk belonging to the Mughal Governor of Surat, in order to reimburse himself for losses by pirates, but was forced to restore it (Bruce, II, 177).

309. In 1668 the English began to convoy the pilgrim ships to the Red Sea (Low, I, 58; see para. 324 below), and in 1669 armed three ships as a protection against Malabar and Marathi pirates (Bruce, II, 244). In February 1671 the President at Surat wrote to Bombay that the Surat Council had passed a standing order that one-third of the booty taken from pirates should be given to the captors (*Bomb. Gaz.*, XXVI, i, 65). In England the captors' share in the booty of a prize had been fixed at one-third by Parliament in 1642 (Oppenheim, p. 293).
MALABAR MISCELLANY.

By T. K. JOSEPH, B.A., L.T.

(Continued from Vol. LII, p. 357.)

III. Calamina.

In a Syriac MS. in the British Museum (Add. Cod. 17193, folio 80, of the year 874) an anonymous Syrian writer says: "The Apostle Thomas preached . . . . in India interior, and taught and baptized and conferred the imposition of hands for the priesthood. He also baptized the daughter of the king of the Indians. But the Brahmins killed him at Calamina. His body was brought to Edessa and there it rests."¹ This is the earliest dated record yet discovered, in which Calamina in India is mentioned as the place of martyrdom of the Apostle Thomas. But it appears earlier in a group of undated, mostly anonymous, writings in Greek, which may be assigned to A.D. 650–750.² Καλαμίνα (Calamina), Calamene and Calamite are the several forms of this word as found in these latter writings.³

Several interpretations have been put upon this word by modern writers.

1. **Calamina means 'the port of Kālāh.'**

   "The word 'Calamina'" says Bishop Medlycott,⁴ "is a composite term, consisting of the words καλά, the name of a place, and ἐλμίνα, which in Syriac denotes a port. The two words joined together with a necessary elision gives the product Calamina, or Calamine, signifying originally the 'port of Kālāh.'" And Kālāh, according to him is "a place in the Malay Peninsula." (Op. cit., p. 156).

2. **Calamina means 'upon a stone.'**

   a. "Father Kircher," says Renaudot, "pretends we must read Calurmina, instead of Calamina, and that the word signifies 'upon a stone'; because in that country they still show a stone figured with some crosses, and other ensigns of Christianity, and upon this stone the Malabars tell you, he was pierced by a Brahmin."⁵

   b. Baldous agrees with the above author (Kircher) in his interpretation of Calamina, that it is not the name of a place, but merely descriptive of the spot where the apostle is said to have been martyred 'upon a rock, or stone.'⁶

   c. Father Paulinus also interprets it in almost the same way. *Calla Malabarice et Tamulice lapie, saxum rupe, mel supra, mina ex, Callamelnina ex rupae, cx saxo . . . . Tunc ergo corpus ejus ex Callamelnina in Edessam translatum fuit, id est, cx rupe, cx monte, cx saxo sublatum, cx translatum est . . . . Malanina cx monte, substitue litterae M. litteram C., cx Calanina, parum absonum a dictione Calamina.*

The true forms of the compound words suggested above must have been, in old Tamil and old Malayalam, *Kallinēl* or *Kallinēlē* or *Kallinētē,* all meaning 'upon a stone, and Malayilninnu, from a mountain or hill..

---

⁶ Baldous' *Description,* etc., ch. XX. Churchill's *Voyages,* etc., vol. III, p. 578. (So in Hough's *Christianity,* I. 39, footnote 3).
⁷ India *Orientalis Christiana,* by Paulino A. S. Bartholomaeo, Romae, 1794, pp. 134, 135.
⁸ See the form Calamite, ante.
Now, the tradition of the Syrian Christians of Malabar is that St. Thomas died in or very near the place called Chinnamalai (Little Mount) near Mylapore. A Malayalam song composed on the 3rd of July 1601 A.D., has the following:

"In July seventy-two (A.D.)
On the third day in the morning,
He arrives as a traveller,
At Chinnamala in Mylapore—(Lines 325-328).

A cruel man took a big lance,
And hard in the chest the Apostle,
Stabbed, and they fled and hid themselves,
All of them, the temple priests;
And St. Thomas in the jungle on the beach,
Fell on a stone and prayed.
The angels made all this known
To Bishop Paulus (Paul).
Bishop Paulus and the King
And all their retinue,
They ran and came to a rock
Close to Kājī’s (Goddess’s) shrine (at Chinnamala).
The lance found in the fresh wound
Bishop Paulus quickly pulled out.
When, for comfort, in a car
They tried to take him away:
‘No more comfort, my bliss is nigh,’
So did St. Thomas say anon—(Lines 351-368).

And St. Thomas breathed his last"—(Line 376).

Rev. Fr. Bernard, from whose History the above lines are translated, says that “it is a fact that St. Thomas died near Chinnamala (Little Mount) and there is no question at all about it among the Syrian Christians.” (Bernard’s History, I, p. 32.) Another history in Malayalam says that “a temple priest threw a lance and he was hit hard and thereby he died at Chinnamala in Mylapore in about A.D. 90 and was buried there.” It has to be remarked here that Mylapore (or San Thomé), the Great Mount (or St. Thomas Mount) and the Little Mount (Chinnamalai) are three different localities. The Great Mount is about six miles and the Little Mount about two miles from Mylapore (or San Thomé), which is a suburb of Madras, about three and a half miles south of Fort St. George, Madras. Fort St. George and San Thomé are on the sea coast, while San Thomé, Little Mount and Great Mount are almost in the same straight line, making an angle of about 60° with the coast extending southward.

9 See the sketch map of San Thomé, Mylapore, and environs facing p. 111 of Medlycott’s India and the Apostle Thomas and plate at p. 128, op. cit. Also the small but clear sketch on p. 358 of Yule and Cordier’s Marco Polo, vol. II (London, 1903) and the picture on p. 356 of the same.


11 But Bishop Medlycott, op. cit., p. 123, note 1, says that the Great Mount is traditionally reputed to be the site of the Apostle’s martyrdom. Vide also Marco Polo, II, 358.

12 Ittup’s History of the Syrian Christian Church of Malabar, p. 90 (2nd Impression, Kottayan, 1906). This history in Malayalam was first published in 1899.

13 See Medlycott, op. cit., p. 123, notes 1 and 2; and Marco Polo, II, 355, note 1.
In the present writer's opinion it is this Chinnamala, the place of the Apostle's Martyrdom, that appears as Calamina in the Greek and Syrian writers of the early centuries. The metamorphosis may be represented thus:

1. Chinnamalai of Tamil softens into
2. Chinamali in the mouth of Greek travellers.

By metathesis this becomes
3. Chilamaqi, quite naturally.

Ch becomes K and we have
4. Kalamari in Greek, and again by metathesis
5. Kalaniri, in which form we find it in the Greek writers.

The mutation of ch to k (No. 4) seems natural in the mouth of European speakers. Cf. Chōlamandal—Coromandel Coast, Chēraputra—Kerobothros.

IV. Some Place-names in Travancore.14

Interesting evidence as to the lie of the ancient seaboard of Travancore is afforded by the names of some inland places in the State, which are now eight or ten miles away from the present shores of the lagoons and the Arabian Sea. Megasthenes, in the fourth century B.C., mentioned as "on the sea-coast" the town of Tropina (Tripunittura in Cochin) now on the mainland side of the backwaters. In the time of Pliny (circa 77 A.D.) and the Periplus (circa 60 A.D.) 15, Musiris (modern Cranganore, the Musiri of Tamil works of the early Christian centuries), Bacare (modern Pākkāti, 17 a few miles south of Alleppey), Pyrrhon, the dark red mountain of Vārkala, Balita (Tiru-‘vallatte’, not Varkala as some authorities seem to suppose) and the Cape of Komari (modern Cape Comorin) were on or near the sea coast, as they are even now. The lapse of eighteen centuries has not shifted the seaboard to any great extent. So, the fact that the old coast places mentioned below are now about half a dozen miles away from salt water — either of the lagoons or of the sea — leads one to the inference that the sea must have laved them ages ago and that their names also are of hoary antiquity.

Beginning from the south of Travancore, we have Nāvāy mentioned in a Tamil inscription, 19 probably of the first half of the twelfth century A.D., in the temple at Cape Comorin. This Nāvāy, 20 still retains its old name, which means a ship. Then there is Kajukkara (=sea beach), a village further north.

Nāvāyikkulam, about 7 miles north-east of Vārkala, and on the road from Trivandrum to Quilon is now an inland village abounding in igneous rocks and clear, white, free quartz crystals of small size. The name in its present corrupt form means 'a tank in a dog's mouth.' But the real name of the place as found in inscriptions of A.D. 1439 and 1644 is Nāvāykkala, 21 meaning 'ship-ground.' A copper-plate inscription of A.D. 1520 in Vaṭṭelutu characters, a photo of which is exhibited in the Napier Museum, Trivandrum, has the modern form

---

14 A paper on the same subject, entitled Notes on Malabar and its Place-Names appeared in Indian Antiquary, Aug., 1902.
15 Schoff's Periplus, p. 212 (Longmans, 1912).
16 Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's The Beginnings of South Indian History, p. 146 (Madras, 1918).
17 E with a diacritical dot below is used here to denote the Malayalam vowel which has almost the same phonetic value as e in the English words other, father, etc., which in modern phonetics is represented by c, an inverted c. The long variety of this vowel occurs in observe, servant, pert, heard. Vide Elementary Phonetics by Scholle and Smith, pp. 11, 12, 22 (second ed., Blackie, London).
18 Vide Schoff's Periplus, pp. 44-46. (Longmans, 1912).
20 There is a well known place of the same name (Tiru-nāvāy, blessed Nāvāy) up in the north, in British Malabar, on the sea-coast. Logan's Malabar, I, 228 (Madras, 1906).
Nāvāyikkujam, but it has been wrongly read as Tiruppārikkañam by some epigraphists, as is evident from the label. An unpublished copper-leaf document of 1435 A.D., belonging to a temple near the above 'ship-ground,' mentions a place Kaṭṭātanam (=sea-place) close by. Paravur (para-vai-ur = sea-village) to the south-east of Quilon is a litoral village even now.

In central Travancore we have the sandy region known as Oṇāṭṭukara comprising the taluks of Karunagappalālī, Kaṭṭiikkappalī and Māvelikkara. Oṇāṭṭukara seems to be a corrupt form of Oru-naṭṭukara, salty region or briny land. Ochira in this same region is briny bank (Oṛ-chira) or salty pool by name, and Māvelikkara, ordinarily taken to mean the village of Mahabali of Puranic fame, may be the 'great tidal shore,' vēli meaning tide. Going further north, we come across Kaṭṭappra (=sea-place), now about 10 miles from the sea, Alanturutti (properly, Āṭa-turutti, Buddhist saint's island), Turuttikāṭē (=island jungle) and Kaṭṭutānam (sea-site). This last name occurs in an unpublished copper-plate inscription belonging to the Tiruvallā temple.

Further on there are Perumneyil (=great littoral village) and Trikkāṭṭānam (=blessed sea-site). The former name appears in its correct form, Peruneyatūr, in several tenth or eleventh century stone inscriptions in the temple at that place. Then there are Kaṭṭuturutti (=sea-island) and Oṇāṭṭurutti (Oṇam-island) both north of Kottayam, well-known to antiquarians as the place where the far-famed Syriac Christian copper-plates and the two Persian crosses with Pahlavi inscriptions are deposited. Perunturutti (=great island) is about twelve miles west of Kottayam and on the western shore of the Vembanād lake. This lake being geologically a part of the sea, there is no doubt that the sandy tracts (including Perunturutti) between it and the sea on the west were once in the ocean. In the interior there is Kaṭṭanāṭē (=sea-country) eight miles east of Kaṭṭuturutti, which latter is now nearly eight miles from the eastern edge of the backwaters and about fourteen miles from the sea. Passing Ernakulam (Irānakujam, salty ground or tank. Cf. Skt. Irīṇa, salty ground) in Cochin we come to Paravur, a sandy country. The name seems to be a modification of Paravūr (differing in the first r) already mentioned as the name of a place near Quilon.

23 This appears as Oṭunāṭē in the well-known Kottayam copper-plate of the reign of Vira-Rāghava and as Oṭanāṭē in Uṇṇuttīlī Sandēkām, a Malayalam lyrical poem of 516 M.E. (1340-41 A.D.) denoted by the cryptogram Taṇṇīṇāmad forming the opening word of the poem.
24 Sanskrit vēld, tide or sea-coast, Tamil vēlai and Malayalam vēlī as in vēlīṇāram, flood-tide and vēlīṇākkun, ebb-tide.
26 Ibid., pp. 34, 44.
27 This is the Carturte of Gouvea and other Portuguese writers. The Sanskrit name for the place is Sindhudvīpam (=sea-island) occurring in old works like Uṇṇuttīlī Sandēkām, (1340-41 A.D.).
28 Vembanād is the Tamilized and Anglicized mode of writing the Malayalam name Vempanāṭē, the change of p and ṭ into b and d denoting recent Tamil influence, and the dropping of the final vowel e denoting English influence. It has an old form Velpalanāṭē and a Sanskritized form Bimbali-dēśa. It is this Vempanāṭē that, in the present writer's opinion, appears as Pimenta in Gouvea's Jornada. Vempanāṭē pronounced by the common people as Dempanēṭē was, we may suppose, pronounced and written by Gouvea as Pimenta, which subsequently became Pimento.
29 Kaṭṭanāṭē may also mean end-country, or 'inhabited place' (ndēṭē as opposed to kōṭē, forest) at the eastern extremity (kōṭa). One may legitimately object here that none of the place-names containing kōṭa, mentioned above (Kaṭṭappra, Kaṭṭātanam and Kaṭṭuturutti) have any reference to Kaṭṭai, the sea. Very well. But the geological evidence of oceanic formations at these places remains unshaken.
30 Three different sounds in Malayalam: are represented by r (in this paper) with diacritical marks. The first (r) is that occurring in the Sanskrit words Rāma, rājā, and in the English word caravan, and the second is the initial consonant (r) in the English words ram, royal, room, etc. The third (r with two dots below) is the sound "formed by the front part of the tongue pressing against the fore-gum" and represented by r in the English words late, latter, cat, etc., Elementary Phonetics (ante), p. 69. In phonetics r is called the trilled r and r an untrilled one. Op. cit., pp. 73 and 74.
This evidence from place-names, apart from the geological one, warrants the conclusion that the Arabian Sea extended to the above localities in ancient times very far remote from the time of the Periplo or even the time of Megasthenes. Was it ten thousand years ago? Do these place-names date from those ancient days? If they do, we have in them Dravidian words of extreme antiquity.

NOTES ON SOME MUHAMMADAN SAINTS AND SHRINES IN THE UNITED PROVINCES.

BY THE LATE DR. W. CROOKE, C.I.E., D.C.L., F.B.A.

I. THE SHRINES OF THE SÀBÍRÍA BRANCH OF THE CHISHTÍ ORDER AT PIRÁN KALIYAR, IN THE SÀHARANPUR DISTRICT.

1. Pirán Kaliyar. 'Alá-ud-din Sâbir, whose shrine is close to Rurki, in the Sàhàranpur District, is said to have been the only son of the sister of Bâba Farid Shakarganj’s mother. Of this latter saint it is told that his mother was very devout and it was she who bade him practise austerities. After twelve years of askesis, he asked her to test his power, but when she pulled his hair he cried out, and she bade him begin anew, as he had not yet got rid of the passions of humanity. For the next twelve years he hung himself in a well, and kept his gaze riveted on the Heavens above. Though crows tore his flesh he made no moan, but when one tried to pluck out his eyes, he exclaimed:—

Kágh rë, tî ñkáïyò chun chun mëri mës:
Do vánàt mat chhëriïyò, píyã miñan lá ñé.
"O crow! You may eat my flesh, choosing as you will.
But spare my eyes, my only hope of beholding my Beloved."

As he sojourned in a forest where caravans were constantly passing, he once, though this was not his habit, asked a miserly Bânîa what goods his camels were carrying. The reply was:—Mîtti sittì hai ('tis only earth). So the saint said:—‘May thy earth prosper’ and lo! the sugar with which the camels had been laden became earth. But on the merchant’s supplication the saint turned it back to sugar.

As the mother of 'Alá-ud-din was poor and he was growing up a weaking from underfeeding, she sent him to her wealthy sister, the mother of Farid. But though she offered him food, he lived on the fruits of the wild, and gave what he received to the poor. In the fulness of time he came to the village of Pirán Kaliyar, where dwelt a Râjâ, by name Karan, who claimed the juss præmæ noccæ at all his subjects’ weddings. The saint protested in vain, and the Râjâ threatened him with death for his interference. Then the saint (not condescending to deal with the matter himself) bade his disciple Kilkilli overturn the Râjâ’s city. This Kilkilli did by reversing a peg stuck in the ground in front of the hermitage. The saint was buried at Pirán Kaliyar, and near his tomb5 grows a fiq-tree, whose leaves Muslumans carry home to use as charms.

1 As to whom, see Crooke, Popular Religion and Folk-lore of Northern India, I, pp. 214ff.
2 In a Panjâbî version of this miracle the sugar is turned into stones.
3 The inscription on this tomb reads:—
Qâsîm az lutf izo dar qábûle Harâtash,
Bud gum nâmà kúrând an dar do ‘alam nâm yást.
Chun bînd o samâna himnâtash anjâm yást.
Soûldar kohsh adpuridàm za jîr qâla gûfi,
In bînd an dar hazrât esa wa haft tamûn yást.

"Qâsîm, the builder of this tomb, was in favour with the Saint: he too was going astray, but since he set up this tomb he has found fame in the two worlds. The tomb of Mir 'Alá-ud-din 'Ali was built by his generosity. To the wise elders I say that it was completed in the year 1037 of the Hijrá."—Râm Gharîb Chaubâ.
2. Bandagi Diwán. At Rânpur, in the same District, is the tomb of 'Alâ-ud-din's minister, who out of respect for him lived a few miles away from that saint. The fair held in his honour on the first day of Muharram is largely frequented, and people offer flowers, sweets, animals, etc. On Friday nights the sound of music is heard from a distance, and it only ceases when they go near the tomb. Similarly the clash of arms is also heard, and Râm Gharib Chaubé was told by one of the priests that he had heard it just before the outbreak of the Mutiny. After much blood had been shed, the sepoy of the saint Bandagi Diwân mustered one night, speak in hand. But the saint in sorrow said—'take not these spears, they are broken.' And so the sepoy sat down.

3. Two Girl Saints. A little way from the tomb of 'Alâ-ud-din lies a ruined fort, wherein three historical persons are said to be buried. These are Imâm Abû Su'âl Muhammad, Bibi Binur Sâhibâ, a Banjâra girl, and Bibi Gauhar Sâhibâ, the daughter of a Sayyid. These tombs are worshipped by Hindus as well as by Musalmans. The priest informed Râm Gharib Chaubé that Râjâ Karan was so bigoted that he would not permit any Moslem to dwell in his city, but a Sayyid concealed himself in it. Now this Sayyid had a daughter, as lovely as she was learned and inspired, and Râjâ Karan had a cow which yielded milk without having calved, and was therefore called Kâmdhenu by the folk. Her milk was offered to his family gods, 1½ māns of gold being also given daily to Brahmans. The cow was turned out to graze where she listed, and no one dared molest her, until one day the Sayyid, whose family was starving, slew her at her daughter’s behest, she declaring that its hour had struck. So it was killed and its flesh eaten. Next day Karan learnt what had been done from an informer, and his ministers advised him to demand the Sayyid’s daughter as the price of his pardon. The Sayyid demurred, but at his daughter’s instance agreed to surrender her on payment of Rs. 2,000. Of that sum he gave her half for her subsistence while he went away, and with the rest he journeyed to Mashhad, where Imâm Abû Su’âl Muhammad was then ruling. To him he presented a naked sword and a betel (ek bû̍râ pân), and told his tale. The Imâm in anger resolved to attack Pirân Kaliyar, many hundreds of miles away, and marching there with his seventy amirs, bade Karan embrace Islam. But the Râjâ refusing, a bloody fight ensued and in it the Imâm, the Râjâ, and the Sayyid, with his daughter, were all killed. The Imâm and the Sayyid’s daughter were buried in the fort, and the third tomb is said to be that of the daughter of the Banjâra who supplied the Imâm’s army in all his campaigns. Of her it is related that in battle she always stood by the Imâm’s side, with two pitchers full of water on her shoulders, and that she too fell in this battle. The fair is held on the 6th of Muharram.

II. Some Miracles of 'Abd-ul-Qâdir Jîlânî.

1. Miracles in Infancy. It is related that while an infant 'Abd-ul-Qâdir refused to take the breast during the day-time, as soon as Ramazân came round; and once, when the moon did not appear, owing to the sky being overcast, on the last day of the month, the folk asked his mother about the date. She replied that it was certainly the first of Ramazân, as the child had not sucked that day.

It is also related of the saint that, while yet a child, his dâya or ayah took him for an airing, and that he flew away from her bosom, far away into the sky where he hovered, like a bird, near the sun. But seeing her alarm, he flew back to her bosom. Once this dâya, who was a native of Jîlân, came to see the saint when he was at Baghâdâd, and jestingly asked him if
such happenings as he had displayed in childhood had ever occurred since he left her. Smiling, the saint replied:—'Mother, in childhood there is more bodily agility. Although, by God's grace, my power to work miracles has increased a hundred-fold, yet it is not fitting at my age that it should be displayed publicly.' So she saluted the saint in silence.

2. Miracles in boyhood. One day as the saint sat writing, some dust from the roof of his home fell on his clothes thrice. When it fell a fourth time he looked up and saw a rat making a hole in the ceiling. But as soon as the saint's glance fell on it, its head was wrenched from its body, and fell in one place, while its body fell in another. The saint wept, and when one sitting by him asked why, he replied that he was grieved lest any Muhammadan should ever be dealt with by him as the rat had been. On another day, a bird let its droppings fall on him while he was performing his ablutions before prayer, and when he looked up it fell dead. The saint wrought these miracles while yet a boy.

3. Piety required. Once when the saint was on his way to Mecca, he bade his companions find the house of a poor, obscure, and pious man to stay in. The notables of the place besought him to bless their houses with his presence, but he chose the dwelling of an aged woman, and during the night so much money and goods came to her that no one there surpassed her in wealth.

4. Disrespect punished. One day Abu'l-Fazl, a servant of the saint, went to a cloth-seller's shop and asked for some cloth which was selling at one dinar a yard. The dealer asked for whom it was wanted; and the servant replied that it was for his master. The dealer muttered that that fakir left nothing even for the King to wear. But no sooner had he said this than an iron peg from above fell and pierced his feet. The servant returned to his master, leaving the dealer in grievous pain. The saint on learning what had passed, sent for the dealer and told him not to make remarks about saints, as what they did was done by God's permission, and he who objects is punished. The dealer then threw himself at the saint's feet, and when he had placed his hand on the wound it was healed forthwith.

5. A dead son restored to his father. Once a man had a dearly loved son, but he died, and in his grief the father wandered afar, until he came to the saint at Panipat. There he prayed the saint to let him see his son, even if it were only in a dream. But the saint promised to show him his son while he was awake; and next day an old woman passed the inn where he was staying with a boy who exactly resembled his dead son. The man caressed the lad and gave him sweets. Then both woman and child disappeared. Thrice this happened, but after that they were seen no more. The man went to the saint and begged that he might see his son every day. But the saint replied that that could not be, for God, not he, had both created and supported the child, and that He had entrusted it to the man as long as He pleased, but now that He no longer willed it so, he had no cause for repining. Then the man understood the saint's lesson, and being comforted returned home.

6. Use of a Hindu charm. One day a Hindu named Kālikā Prasād went to the saint and complained that he had used every remedy for his disease, but had not been cured. The saint called his physician Maulū Khān, and he found that the man was at the point of death. But the saint bade the sufferer stand every morning in the open air, facing the sun, and repeat:—Shiva! Shiva! Ganesh! Kāto kalesa! O Shiv! O Ganesh! Remove my affliction!
AN UNKNOWN BATTLE BETWEEN A RULER OF GUJARÁT
AND A KING OF MEWÁR.

By R. R. HALDER.

There is no mention of the battle, which forms the subject of this article, in any
history of Gujarát or of Mewár. Nor do we find any trace of it in the inscriptions of either
country. The only clue that we have appears in the inscription, dated Samvat 1287 (A.D.
1230), in the temple of Nemínátha, originally known as Lūvavasahikā, on Arbuda (Mt. Abu),
built by Tejpála, brother of Vastupála and minister of the Chaulukya chief Viradvahala.
The text of the inscription was composed by Śomeśvaradeva, the well-known Gurjara-puruhita
of the Chaulukya kings and the author of Kārīkāumūḍī and other works. The inscription
runs, "His (Dhārāvarsha's) younger brother Prahládana, whose sword was dexterous in
defending the illustrious Gurjara King, when his power had been broken on the battlefield
by Sámathasimha, again displayed on earth the behaviour of the greatest enemy of the
descendants of Daun.""¹

Now, who was this Sámathasimha? Up to the present, only two inscriptions of
Sámathasimha have been found; one on a pillar of the temple of Dēvi in the village of Jagat
in Udaipur State, which is dated Samvat 1228 (A.D. 1172),² and the other in the temple of
Boreśvara Mahádeva, about one and a half miles from the village of Solaj in the Dungarpur
State, which is dated Samvat 1236 (A.D. 1179).³ From these it appears that Sámathasimha
was reigning between the period Samvat 1228 and 1236. No other ruler of this name ruled
at this period, either in Gujarát, Rajputana or other neighbouring provinces, except this
Sámathasimha of Mewár.

Turning our attention to Prahládana, we find that there are two inscriptions of Prahládan or Pālhaqadeva in the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer. One is dated Samvat 1220 (A.D.
1163) and the other Samvat 1265 (A.D. 1208). Both of them were found in the Sirohi State,
the first at Kāyadrāna and the second at the village Oriya on Mt. Abu. From these we learn
that Prahládana or Pālhaqadeva lived between the years Samvat 1220 and 1265.

Thus, Sámathasimha of Mewár and Prahládana were contemporaries.

From the Mount Abū inscription of Samvat 1265, which says that "the Lord of Chandrāvati,
the chief of the feudal barons, the illustrious Dhārāvarshadeva, being the only
possessor of a regal parasol protected the earth,"⁴ it appears that Dhārāvarsha, the elder
brother of Prahládana, was a feudatory of Bhimdeva II, the ruler of Gujarát, just as his
father, Yaśodhava, was a feudatory of the preceding ruler, Kumárapála, of Gujarát.⁵
Hence it is reasonable to infer that Dhārāvarsha sent his younger brother Prahládana to
render assistance to the King of Gujarát with his army, when the latter was attacked by
Sámathasimha of Mewár.

Next, we have to ascertain which king of Gujarát gave battle to Sámathasimha and
whose power the latter broke in the battlefield?

¹ Epigraphia Indica, vol. VIII, pp. 211, 216; verse 38.
² समवत् 12२५ वर्षे ( व वे ) कल्याणु गुरुः ॥ गृही भी अमुकाचारी महाराज भी सामंतसिध्वेन सुवर्णा ( च )
नवकालेन ( सा ) प्रकाशः।
⁵ Epigraphia Indica, vol. VIII, pp. 201, 211.
We know that the throne of Gujarāt was occupied by Kumārapāla from S. 1199 to 1230 (A.D. 1143 to 1174); by his nephew Ajai-pāla from S. 1230 to 1233 (A.D. 1174 to 1177); by Mūrāja II (Bālamūralajā), son of Ajai-pāla from S. 1233 to 1235 (A.D. 1177 to 1179); and by Bhimadeva II (Bhōlābhiṇa), the younger brother of Mūlarāja II, from S. 1235 to 1298 (A.D. 1179 to 1242). All these four rulers were, therefore, contemporaries of Sāmantasimha of Mewār. Of these, Kumārapāla was the most powerful, and as he was a staunch supporter of Jainism, many learned writers of the age wrote an account of his reign. Therein we find various interesting facts relating to his enterprises and achievements, but in none of them do we find any account of this battle. The other rulers were Ajai-pāla, Mūrāja II, and Bhimadeva II, of whom the last two, being of tender age at the time of accession, and there being no authentic historical evidence of the fact, cannot be supposed to have fought the battle. Hence the likelihood is that the battle was fought with Ajai-pāla of Gujarāt, the successor of Kumārapāla.

To corroborate this view, we may refer to a passage in the writing of the same Gurjarapurūhita Somesvara. He mentions in his Surabhōtisava Kavya while giving an account of his ancestors, mentioning therein various services offered by them to their spiritual clients, the Kings of Gujarāt, that his predecessor Kumāra, having propitiated Kāpukēśvara Shiva (Ardhanārisvara), healed the torturing pains of wounds received by king Ajai-pāla of Gujarāt in a battle. It will, therefore, be safe to say that the battle was fought between Sāmantasimha of Mewār and Ajai-pāla of Gujarāt.

It is not known, however, why and when this battle was fought. But it seems probable that after the death of the powerful king Kumārapāla, Sāmantasimha seized the opportunity to regain possession, from the hands of an incapable successor of Kumārapāla, of the fort of Chitor, which belonged to his (Sāmantasimha's) ancestors and which had long been in foreign possession.

As to the date of the battle, nothing can be said with precision: but there can be no doubt that the battle was fought sometime during the short reign of Ajai-pāla, between Sambat 1230 and 1233 (A.D. 1174 to 1177).

The result of the battle has special importance, as it gave rise to the foundation of the Dungarpur State in Rajputana. Sāmantasigha's power declined after this battle, and, taking advantage of his weakness, Kirtipāla (Kitū) the Chaubān king of Jālaur and third son of Aḥaṇadeva of Nādau (in Jodhpur State), attacked Mewār and took it from Sāmantasimha. Sāmantasimha was thus compelled to leave Chitor and to flee to the other territory called Bāgar (Dungarpur State), where he made Baroḍā his capital; and there he and his descendants settled permanently. Thus he became the founder of the Dungarpur State. Then his younger brother, Kumārasimha, opened negotiations with the king of Gujarāt, and with his assistance turned Kitū out of Mewār and took possession of his ancestral dominion, of which he subsequently became the ruler.

---

8 Supplementary Notes to Tod's Rajastan, by R. B. P. Gourishankar H. Ojha, pp. 434-436.

7 शीतलसम्म शुभकृत्याधिक पूर्वसूत्रुपतियापितीवेष्टुः।
तं शरणागति रणाकृष्ण जयतालोकम्भणमनव तपस्याविश्वात् || —Surabhōtisava, XV, 42.

8 सामान्यरघवः पुरुषामुखे जाताः॥ १५४॥
श्रवाकुर्मंगलसहित पृथिवर्षभागिने परं
देवतात्यार्गविवाहविवाहाग्निं वं श्रवः॥ १५५॥ —Kumbhalgarh Inscription (unpublished):
स्वयंकुष्ठमात्या गुरुपरं पृथिविविति प्रसारसः।
वेन नृपसे नक्षे तन्नु रूपणयासी न ॥ १५९॥—Ibid.
of the younger brother ruled over Chitor, and that of the elder brother at Dungarpur—a fact still admitted by the historians, chiefs and rulers of Mewar.

Although it appears that Sāmantasimha of Mewar was thus the real founder of the Dungarpur State, nevertheless there are many controversies on this point. We need not enter into the details, but it is interesting to examine the opinions of a few historians of Rajputana on the matter. The author of Rājaprakāśī Mahākāvyā says that the state was founded by Māhapa, elder son of Karpā, who was the son of Rāwal Samaraśimha of Mewar. In fact, Ratansimha, and not Karpā, was the son of Samaraśimha. Colonel Tod also says that Māhapa, son of Karpā and grandson of Samaraśimha, was the founder. If we believe that Māhapa was the grandson of Samaraśimha, his date will fall about the middle of the fourteenth century A.D., because several inscriptions of Rāwal Samaraśimha show that he was the ruler of Mewar from S. 1330—1356 (A.D. 1273—1299). Major Erskine gives two versions of the foundation of the state, but he is not positive about them. His supposition that in the thirteenth or fourteenth century Māhapa went to Bāgār and, by gradually driving back the Bhīl chieftains, he and his descendants became masters of that country, is in all probability erroneous. For the state came under the sway of the present ruling dynasty before the year S. 1236 (A.D. 1179). And again, the date of Sihardeva (Schdi), the fifth ruler from Māhapa, would fall in the fifteenth century A.D., while his inscriptions are dated S. 1277 and 1291 (A.D. 1220 and 1234). The version of the celebrated writer Mūhnūt Nansi (A.D. 1649—1668) that Samata (Sāmantasimha), King of Mewar, having made Bādār in Bāgār his capital, gradually brought all the surrounding territory under his control, is supported by several inscriptions; but his statement that Sāmantasimha willingly gave the fort of Chitor to his younger brother is unfounded. After many years of controversy the real facts are at last disclosed. It may be that these historians had to walk with faltering and uncertain steps on the slippery path of the legendary information then available; but, now, in the light of the recent discoveries of so many inscriptions of Abu, Kumbhalgarh, Dungarpur, etc., the dark spots in their path have been sufficiently illumined to remove uncertainty and clearly establish the truth.

---

10 स रायवशति तनवं निबुज्वस सविचिन्द्रकलखलपाय || कुंभालगर्थ इन्सर्प्ट || रू. १७१ ||—Kumbhalgarh Inscription.
14 Unpublished Inscriptions of Bhikrom and of the village Jagat:—
15 The MSS. of Mūhnūt Nansi's Khydia, p. 19.
The article on the history of the Poona District in the Provincial Volumes of the *Imperial Gazetteer of India* contains the following sentence: “In 1826 the Ramosis rose in revolt and were joined by the Kolis from the hilly western tracts. This rising and a similar one in 1844 were quelled without much difficulty.” If this summary reference to operations which were begun towards the end of the Governorship of Mountstuart Elphinstone and were concluded during the régime of Major-General Sir John Malcolm, were all that we had to depend upon, we should know very little about the somewhat remarkable figure of Umáji Naik, or Umia, the Ramosi robber-chief, who at one period of his career of outlawry certainly cherished ideas of emulating the great Sivaji and securing an independent political position. Fortunately, however, there still exists a stray copy or two of an excellent treatise on the Ramosis of the Deccan, written and published in 1833 by Captain Alexander Mackintosh of the 27th Regiment, Madras Army, who took part in the operations against the outlaw; and the latter portion of his work is concerned particularly with the history of Umáji himself, and describes in considerable detail the achievements of his gang of lawless followers. It seems worth while to summarize Mackintosh’s story of the revolt, not only because it possesses a certain historical value, but also because it indicates how easily a similar movement might again be engendered and supported under a weak, inefficient or corrupt administration.

Umáji, who was the son of Dádáji Naik, a Ramosi chief of Purandhar fort, was born in 1791 in a village two miles north-east of Purandhar and sixteen miles south-east of Poona. He and the clan to which he belonged claimed certain hereditary rights in the fort and other places in its vicinity, and there seem grounds for supposing that those rights had been recognized in previous years. During the constant warfare of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it is more than likely that bodies of militant jungle-tribesmen, such as the Ramosis, Bedars, Kolis, Bhils and others, gave valuable assistance at various times to local chieftains and native governments, receiving in return gifts of land and other rights and emoluments, which were generally granted in perpetuity. Dádáji Naik died in Purandhar fort in 1802, a little while before the arrival of Holkar’s army in Poona: and it was in the following year, after the return of the Peshwa Baji Rao II to Poona from Bassin, that the incident occurred which may be said to have ultimately driven Umáji into outlawry. Baji Rao ordered the Ramosis of Purandhar to deliver the fort to him: the latter, persuaded of their hereditary right to live there, declined to do so; the Peshwa retaliated by expelling them forcibly from the fort and depriving them of their pay, emoluments and lands. The Peshwa thus destroyed the one inducement to these wild men to lead a more or less settled life: the Ramosis, under their headmen or naiks, left Purandhar with a grievance, among them being Umáji, who took shelter in a neighbouring village with his mother, the second wife of Dádáji Naik.

Nothing definite is heard of Umáji until the year 1814, when, in company with his cousin Ragho and other Ramosis from the Poona District, he joined forces with other members of his tribe, resident near Parenda in the Nizam’s territory. Here he and his associates were implicated in the murder of the second wife of an Inâmdar near Bér, and were obliged by the activity of the Nizam’s deputy in Aurungabad to flee back towards Purandhar with their families, flocks and cattle. The Nizam’s troops, however, pursued and brought them to bay, and after a sharp conflict forced them to surrender. Umáji and other survivors were carried off to Parenda and there imprisoned: but three months later they managed to obtain their freedom by offering all the property, of which they were possessed, to the officials in charge. In the conflict just mentioned Umáji’s cousin Ragho was killed.
Umáji's second escapade was equally disastrous. About six months after the downfall of Bāji Rao and the British occupation of his territory, Umáji, in company with the Ramosis of Sakurdi and Saswad, suddenly descended upon Kālapur in the Konkan, 18 miles from Panvel, and there looted the property of a sahukār of Poona, which was being sent to Bombay. He and three others were shortly afterwards arrested, tried, convicted and sentenced to a year’s imprisonment and a flogging. On the expiry of his sentence he recommenced his plundering excursions, and was again arrested, although on this occasion he defended himself with great cleverness and managed to escape conviction. As showing that Umáji was rather superior to the average Ramosi, it may be mentioned that he employed his sojourn in jail in learning Bālābodh with his brother and fellow-prisoner, Kistnāji. There is little doubt that he was already aiming at being something more than a mere dacoit or jungle-robber, and that he recognized the value for that purpose of a knowledge of Marāthi. Yet he was still working with only a small party of followers and confined himself to highway robbery of a minor character. In December 1821, he came directly into conflict with the authorities by rescuing from police custody a Saswad Ramosi, named Sattu Naik, who had caused the death of a woman during an altercation. In April 1823, he went a step further and killed one Annāji Naik, the officer in charge of the Poona police, because the latter had arrested another of his brothers, named Amrita. Alarmed at what he had done, Umáji decided that he must strengthen his position and command a larger following, and he and his brothers therefore joined Sattu Naik, mentioned above, who was being hunted among the hills by the police. By the close of 1823 they had considerably augmented their joint forces and had committed various heavy robberies, designed to supply them with the money necessary for an intensive campaign against authority.

At the beginning of 1824 Umáji and his followers moved to Singarh, where some of Sattu's spies brought him information of a large sum of money lying in the Government Treasury at Bamburda, a suburb of Poona. He accordingly detailed thirty men, headed by Umáji, to attack and loot the Treasury, which they did successfully on February 24th. The attack was launched after nightfall. The Sīhbandi treasury-guard was overpowered without much difficulty; and the Ramosis decamped with about Rs. 6,000, of which the major portion was given to Umáji and his brothers. The favour of their tutelary deities was secured by the presentation of large sums to the shrines of Khandoba at Jejuri and of Bhavānī at Kondana Pur near Singarh. In March an inconclusive skirmish took place in the hills south of Saswad between the Ramosis and a mixed force of Sīhbandis, Ramosis of Poona, and a small body of regular infantry; and this was followed on April 28, 1825, by an attack upon Umáji and his gang at Saswad by a body of Poona Sīhbandis and some cavalry and matchlock-men belonging to the Jāgirdar of Purandhar. Though Umáji and Kistnāji were both wounded, they and the rest of the gang managed to escape into the hills. In July 1825, the magistrate of Poona decided to make a fresh effort to break up the gang, and dispatched a detachment under Captain Mansfield to waylay them near the Harali ghāt. This attempt met with little more success than before. The main body of the Ramosis made good their escape in the jungles; but Umáji's brother, Amrita, and some of the families of the outlaws were taken prisoners. Amrita was detained in jail at Poona until the offer of a pardon to Umáji in 1828.

The next event of consequence was the death of Sattu Naik from cholera in August, 1825. He was succeeded as head of the outlaws by Umáji, who during the next two years organized and perpetuated a series of daring robberies and crimes. He commenced by plundering a vakil of a member of the Patwardhan family, on his way from Miraj to Poona, and in April 1826, treated in the same way a Brahman sahukār of Pandharpur. Three
months later he attacked the family of the Jâgirdar of Phâltan in the hills between Dhond and Jejuri, seizing Rs. 8,000 in cash and the principal lady of the party, whom, however, he subsequently set at liberty. Ten days later, July 26th, 1826, he descended on the house of Jowahir Singh, head of the Purandhar police, at Kikwi, as the latter had shown some determination to checkmate his marauding activities. The Râmosis seized Jowahir Singh's son, stole all the weapons in the house, and then decamped to the Purandhar hills. Here it was intended at first to put the prisoner to death; but milder counsels ultimately prevailed, and Jowahir Singh's son was permitted to depart, after making a solemn promise that he would interfere in no way with the Râmosis. This last exploit appears to have stirred the British authorities in Poona to a fresh effort; for troops under the Officer Commanding Poona Horse were ordered to suppress Umâjî and his followers. The latter were in no wise daunted. In October Umâjî attacked a party of police, which had been detailed to watch his movements and give protection to travellers, and wounded severely three sepoys and two Brahman officers. He armed his own men with their swords and matchlocks. In the following month he made a surprise attack at Purinchí upon a party of ten men under a Sir Naik, a Mhâr by caste, who had agreed with Captain Robertson, the Collector of Poona, to assist in hunting down Umâjî. The attack was successful; the Mhâr leader, though he fought bravely, was cut down and terribly mangled, and most of his men were severely wounded.

The Bombay Government, anticipating little success from the current operations, now ordereddetachments of regular infantry to support the Poona police and the Poona Horse. Thereupon the Râmosis, who received early information of these orders, promptly disappeared into hiding in the Purandhar hills. In March 1827, they looted Rs. 3,000 from a Brahman traveller; and after spending some weeks in the least accessible parts of the Sahyârids, sixty of them, headed by Umâjî, descended to the foot of the Bhor Ghat and there seized a costly consignment of silks and satins, destined for Poona. This occurred in May 1827, and in the following month, after robbing the agents of certain Poona shroffs of Rs. 3,100, they returned once more to the Purandhar hills and attacked the Kolis of Purandhar, who were in the pay of Government and had shown a disposition to act against them. In July, certain villagers in the neighbourhood of Purinchí had the temerity to assist a party of cavalry in attacking Umâjî and his followers. They paid rather heavily for their action; for Umâjî escaped once more, and returning shortly afterwards, burnt their houses to the ground. For the next few weeks the Râmosis, finding themselves rather pressed, concealed themselves in some dilapidated forts in the Wai district, whence they sallied forth at intervals for the purposes of loot. Before the close of the monsoon the Bombay Government took the further step of offering rewards publicly for the apprehension of the leaders of the gang, the prices upon the head of each being as follows:—Umâjî, Rs. 1,200; Kistnâjî, Rs. 1,000; Pândû, Rs. 800; Padûjî, Rs. 500; Bhavânî, Rs. 200; and Bhojâjî, Rs. 200.

The proclamation had little effect. As soon as the rains ceased, Umâjî opened negotiations with the Rája of Kolhapur, who was at the time in active opposition to the British authorities. Shahâjî alias Bâya Saheb, who had ascended the gadi in 1822, proved a quarrelsome and profligate ruler, whose aggressions between that year and 1829 obliged the British to send forces to subdue him on three separate occasions. He welcomed an offer of help from Umâjî, who undertook to make a diversion by striking a blow at Poona. The suggested action, however, never materialised, and the Râmosis contented themselves in October by again attacking the Kolis, who had remained staunch to their duties, and burning their village to the ground. It was at this date that Umâjî seems to have contemplated the possibility of acquiring a position of chieftainship, and his active promotion of the cause of the recalcitrant Rája of Kolhapur was doubtless meant to draw public attention to his own importance and reputation. He commenced issuing proclamations, and
together with Bhojájí, one of his Naiks, sent peremptory orders to the village-officers in Saswad to pay him a portion of the village-revenues. He realized in this way about Rs. 14,000, and proceeded to levy similar contributions in the northern area of the Rája of Satara’s territory, as well as in the district belonging to the Pant Sachiv. Further, he endeavoured to exact from the people of the countryside the respect and attentions which are customarily shown to Rájas and ruling princes, and ordered his own followers and persons of the lower classes and castes to address him by the title of Rája. Visions of independence and a principality floated before his eyes; but he failed to realize that in the British Government he had a far tougher and more powerful opponent than Sivaji faced in Aurangzéb.

The remainder of the year 1827 was spent in casual skirmishing with the troops and police. In November, Umájí attacked a party of troops at a village seven miles from Saswad, set fire to the Patel’s house and burnt the Patel’s daughter. A few days later he fell in with a party of infantry and ten horse, whom his followers attacked vigorously, shouting their war-cry “El-kct,” and drove them back to Jejuri. He then made a forced march to the western Ghats, plundered some sepoys who were travelling on leave to Hindustan, and returned to Sonapur in the Saswad district, where he fought another engagement with a party of infantry and cavalry. Having escaped from this encounter with the loss of two of his men, Umájí moved into the Mawals, levying contributions as he went both from British villages and from those belonging to the Pant Sachiv. He was shortly afterwards joined by Bhojájí, who had been commissioned to raise fresh levies of fighting jungle-folk, and found his forces augmented by about sixty men belonging to various tribes of the Deccan and Carnatic. In company with these, he moved to the hill-fort of Koari, one of the first strongholds seized by the great Sivaji at the outset of his career. A few days later, December 20th, 1827, he committed one of his worst crimes. Descending with 140 men into the Konkan, he seized a havildar and four sepoys, ordered them to be put to death, and then sent their heads in a basket to the authorities, with a letter threatening further reprisals, if his demands were not conceded. The Bombay Government replied by issuing a second proclamation, calling upon the Ramosí gang to disperse, and offering the following enhanced rewards for the capture of their chief Naiks:—Umájí, Rs. 5,000; Bhojájí, Rs. 5,000; Yesu Nikdí, Rs. 5,000; Pándú, Rs. 5,000.

As the attentions paid to his movements by the troops and police were now becoming rather irksome, Umájí decided to make overtures to Government, with a view to obtaining terms for himself and recovering the ancient rights and dues claimed by the Ramósí of Purandhar. He accordingly ascended the Ghats on December 28th and watched the movements of several detachments, which were scouring the jungles in search of his gang; then moved to Mhásavad, where his followers had a skirmish with the troops of the Rája of Satara; and finally turned south-eastwards towards the Purandhar hills, meeting en route a military detachment under a havildar, whom he persuaded not to attack him. Having decided that, before opening negotiations with the Government, he must make a show of disbanding his followers, Umájí, on reaching the neighbourhood of Purandhar, sent his main body into the Mahadev hills, south-east of Pháltan, while the rest were hidden to hide in the country to the north and east of Jejuri. He remained where he was in company with Bhojájí, a Vághe with whom he was very friendly, and two other Ramosís, while his brother Kistnái opened communications with a Risaldar of the Poona Horse. Various adventures befell him, while he was awaiting the result of his overtures. On one occasion he watched from a convenient cache a pig-sticking contest carried out by the officers of the troops which were hunting him; on another he narrowly escaped capture by the Rája of Satara’s troops near Sonegaum.

(To be continued.)
CONTRIBUTIONS TO PUNJABI LEXICOGRAPHY.

SERIES IV.

By H. A. ROSE, I.C.S. (Retired).

(Continued from Vol. LII, page 330.)

Kurān: a wooden spade: Ch., 229.

Kurra: a measure made of reeds, its 1/4, 1/2 and 3/4 being marked by leather thongs.

A mala kurra is 3/4ths of this measure or an odi filled but not heaped up: (? ) Hazāra.


Kutūf: a field made by breaking up a steep hillside: Mandi, 65.

Kuvā: a garment: Ch., 142.


Lāhul: the 2nd of Baisākh, and one of the days for Bhat marriages: Mandi, 24.

Lāh: a turn, at a wedding. The four turns or rounds about the sacred fire constitute the binding rite in the marriage and are called chār-lāh; another circumambulation is the ath-lāh: Ch., 145 and 146.

Lakharhār: an official who supplies wood: Ch., 264.


Lakhaos: ghumao, or the area sown with 20 pathas: SS. Bilāspur, 21.

Lāhār: a thread tied round the leg of a boy whose elder brother has died and not removed until he has passed the age at which he died: B., 198.

Lakh notea: Li-, the time-table of a wedding, written by the parohit: B., 141.

Lalehoti: a necklace, worn by men: SS. Bashahr, 42.

Lāngā: a man’s load: Ch., 224.

Lanka: a stack or heap of fuel (?): SS. Keonthal, x.

Lap: a handful, in the Bel śadāq of Hazāra.

4 laps = 1 chothā (= 1 bohn in Bakot)
2 chothās = 1 kurra.

..........

4 kurras = 1 odi in Rajoia.

Laphī: also made of ḍāḍ: SS. Bashahr, 41 (add to III).

Lappī: a mixture of gur, ghī and wheat: B., 96.

Lārd: apparently a wife of equal caste: Comp., 73 (Add to III).

Lassī-pair: fr. lassi, ‘diluted milk,’ into which the bridal pair put their feet (pair or per), the bride holding a piece of pur in hers, while the boy endeavours to remove it. This observance is one of the symbolical contests for supremacy during married life: B., 110.


Lāũ: a neck ornament, worn in Churāh: Ch., 206.

Launchi: a kind of fish: Sirmūr, 7.

Lehrī: manured, of land: SS. Nālāgarh, 11.

Lela bhāk: the distance a lamb’s bleat will carry: D. I. K.

Lerwā: = Bijn, q.v.


Līh: a unit of area, estimated to produce 200 mans khām a year, =20 takas: SS. Dhāmi, 4.

Linda: lit. ‘homeless,’ = Konsal, q.v.

Liu: = Lelu in Series III.

Loder: Symlocos crapeagoides: Ch., 239.
Lohal: made of iron, a ploughshare; = Phāl: Siala S. R., xlv.
Loi: a fair held from 22nd Kātik to 1st Māgh: Loi Jeḥ, held from 22nd Baisākh to 1st Jeḥ: SS. Bashahr, 61.
Luānehā: a bridegroom's garment, and luāncherī, the bride's dress: Ch., 142.
Luchhī: a round cake: Ch., 124 and 142.
Lugru: the day on which the Tikka is first given solid food, and for which a cess is levied: SS. Kumbhārssaī, 22.
Luk-lukāni: 'hide and seek': Ch., 212.
Lundā: a custom whereby a wife compels her husband to give her up, relinquishing her dowry and sometimes paying him a sum of money to divorce her: Comp., 57.
Lūt: a seab: SS. Bashahr, 53.
Mādhuparak: the name of the 6th and last chūr at a wedding. A cup is filled with milk, līl, and rice, and put in the boy's left hand. He daubs the fingers and thumb of his right hand with the contents, lifts his hand towards his mouth, and again putting it in the cup, sprinkles its contents on the ground. The cup is then given by one of his companions to the tom-tom player. This companion must be purified before he is allowed to rejoin the others: Ch., 143.
Maharāṇā: a due of Rs. 10 per plough paid by each headman every 10 years: SS. Nālāgarh, 17.
Mahesa: a wooden drag used to level the surface of a field when muddy: while the māhi is used on a dry surface: Mandi, 43.
Mahindā: a tree, whose bark is used for shoes in Churā: Ch., 206.
Mahirī: a mess, made of butter-milk and rice with salt: Ch., 214.
Majī: (?)
Majṭhī: land midway up the hillside: SS. Jubbal, 16.
Majū: a widower, in Jhang: Glossary, I, 792.
Makhṭal: a special form of sit, payable when a widow marries a stranger, to her late husband's family: SS. Bashahr, 14.
Mala: see under Kurra.
Malāhar: the extra share of the youngest son, consisting of a house; said to = mal-ghar, or 'original house': Comp., 73. (Churā). Cf. Mulwāher.
Malānā: a fee paid to a contractor, see Got: = Utkar: Ch., 279.
Mall: rinderpest: SS. Jubbal, 18.
Malla: ber, Zizyphus nummularia: Sirmūr, App. IV, iii.
Maluh: a manure, heap: Ch., 221.
Mān: 'consent'; (i) a form of divorce in which the husband gives his wife Rs. 6 for her assent to the divorce and then breaks a dry stick in two pieces over her head or accepts a certain sum for her and then breaks the stick over her head or the money: (ii) a sum paid to a first wife to reconcile her to a co-wife; (iii) a sum paid to a fiancée for her consent to a breach of the betrothal: Ch., 157-8.
Mānashāri:= Darhadhāri, q.v.
Mand: generally 'the domed roof of a temple'; -dhi, a diminutive (i of mand); Gurseon: Gloss., I, pp. 353 and 354.
Māndar: maple, Acer caesium: Ch., 236.
Manden: a tax levied on flocks: SS. Bashahr, 74.
Mandhnā : a mortar : B., 197.
Māng ghalla : grain revenue : SS. Tarhoch, 4.
Mānī : a grain measure : Ch., 144. See also under Topā and Daropā.
Manihār : a ceremony at a wedding in which 9 walnuts, to represent the planets, are put on as many handfuls of rice, and their blessing is invoked; and the bridegroom is taken to the doorway and touches with his dagger a bored copper coin in which he pretends to make a hole. The term is also applied to the things used in the ceremony, viz., the 9 walnuts, the copper coins, a betelnut and a cotton dōrī. The dōrī is passed through the coin and put in a mani or grain-measure. The rite concludes with a sanctification of the manihār which are tied round the boy’s head-dress by his mother-in-law at the gateway after the ārtī :
Ch., 143-4.
Manihāri : a tax on retail shops : Suket, 42.
Mānjāyā bhāī : fem. mānjāi bahin, ? mother’s brother’s brother or sister.
Mānki : wall-eyed : B., 184.
Man-marzi : =Jhind-phuk, q.v.
Mānsā, mother’s sister’s husband : v. Mānsi.
Mānsi : (1) mother’s sister, (2) father’s second wife or step-mother, (3) brother’s or sister’s mother-in-law.
Marāl : elm tree, Ulmus Wallichiana : Ch., 139.
Mār : a clod crusher : S.S. Jubbal, 16.
Mārām : elm ; =Marāl : Ch., 239.
Mārī : a place at a temple where lights are put and food cooked once a year; Kulu.
Gloss., I, p. 432.
Mārhnā : to snuff : B., 153.
Mārī : ? to die, so ‘a death’ : -on, ‘at a funeral’ : B., 156.
Marpi : an observance at weddings in which the bridal pair is seated on a carpet side by side, and the bride’s maternal uncle gives them a portion of totū, the rest being divided among the guests : Ch., 161.
Maruri : Berberis aristata : Ch., 237.
Masān : an obedient spirit : Sirmūr, 61.
Mashāna : a temple official; one of the kārdars of a deota, but appointed by the State;
Mashāra : a torch : Ch., 218.
Masit : wide level loamy ground ; =ser : Sirmūr, App. I.
Matēa : for half-mother read brother on p. 738 : P.D.
Mātērā : religious affairs, opp. to Jātērā : Ch., 142.
Mathe-lagāwan : ‘touching the forehead’ ; ? lit. ‘to make the foreheads touch’ ; a rite to cancel a betrothal (apparently by making the betrothed brother and sister) : B., 106-7.
Mārī : a nymph or goddess : S.S. Kumhārsain, 9.
Mattan : a box for clothes, made of earthenware : Ch, 209.
Maula : a mother’s brother : Ch., 144.
Mâyân: the state or period in which the bride and groom wear dirty clothes after the châkân rite and up to the wedding day: B., 105. Cf. P.D., 703.

Mâwâ: a free grant of land: SS. Mahlog, 1; hence MawâT, Máwi or Movanna, the practically independent ruler of a tract: ib. Bashahr, 20 and Kumhârâin, 1.

Megât: a cow or bullock iron-grey in colour with black spots on the tail, and unlucky, like the Phangat: Jallundur S. R., 55.


Mehri: window; = dafhî: Simâr, App. V, viii, (not mori, as in III).

Meharâf: a sub-division of a wazîrî, under a mehar or pînjoli; also called gaţh: Mandi, 59.

Merwan: Clerodendron sp.: Ch., 239.

Mèl: a share of the grain, a cess in kind on superior crops: SS. Bashahr, 70 and 74.

Mênd: an iron bar with a flat end: SS. Bashahr, 46.

Meî: = Multâni matti: B., 195.

Mezmi: a woman represented by a mask at the Châr or Spring festival: Ch., 45.

Minjar: a silk tassel: Ch., 214.

Miri: chîgoza, edible pine, Pinus Gerardiniana: Ch., 240.

Missî: gram: B., 179; of P.D., p. 754, s.v. Missâ.

Mithâ: a disease of children accompanied by coldness in the ears: Simâr, 25.

Mitrâ: a brother made by sacred observance; in the pl. the bridal pair’s newly acquired brothers: Ch., 147.

Mogarî: Indian clubs: Ch., 211.

Mei: Pyrus lanata: Ch., 238.

Mohra: aconite, black or white: SS. Bashahr, 61; (2) an image; Simla Hills: Gloss. I, p. 346.

Monâ: as much as two men can lift in a cloth between them: D. I. K.

Morwân: a cloth measure in the Bet of Muktsar Tahsil. Cloth is measured with morwân hands (one hand and ½ hand) turned round: Ferozepur. The term is clearly derived, fr. mornâ, ‘to turn’; but its precise meaning is not clear.

Motî: a kind of cloth: Ch., 125.

Muda loba: a tax on the use of imported iron: Suket, 42.

Muddâ: a modification of the gôhr system under which the landlord receives a fixed amount of produce, instead of a moiety of it: Ch., 230.

Mudyârî: a tenant who pays a fixed share of grain, etc., after each harvest. He may also be liable for services: Ch., 155 and 377.

Muhârâ: a curtain, red in colour to keep off mosquitoes: B., 103.

Mujâz: ‘licensed’ to make disciples: B., 170.

Muka: fist: Ch., 138.


Mulwâher: the family house allotted to the third son on inheritance as his special share; of. Jethwâgh: Ch., 154.


Munehar: a pasture near the village; = Gorehar and Juh: Ch., 277.

Mundar chor: = Mâun chhor, q.v.

Mundavand: partition by ‘mouths’ or heads, i.e., equally among the sons, as opposed to Chunavand; = Panj. Pargvand: Ch., 148. Also used in Kulu: Comp., 72.

Mungar: = Chhannâ.

Munj chhor: or Mundar chhor, a supper given to a bereaved family: Panj. Kauré

Munh-erá: early dawn: Ch., 195.

Munhsání: presents made by women to a bridegroom: Ch., 147.

Muníári: the opening from a channel into a field; = Onyári: Ch., 224.

Murapuli: (1) the visit paid by the bride's parents to a newly wed pair, at which food is brought by them: SS. Bashahr, 13; or (2) the presents then exchanged: B., 108.

Murge: a term used by Arofás for the ceremony which precedes a wedding.

Muri: dried wheat or barley: SS., Kumhárain, 12, and Bashahr, 75.

Muriári: the golden eagle, Aquila chrysaetus: Ch., 37.

Musállá-nashí: a girl vowed to celibacy: Comp., 135.

Mustáhab: Ar., lit. 'approved': deeds done in imitation of the Prophet, over and above the prescribed prayers and fasts: B., 179.

Math: the root of a kind of grass: Ch., 143.

Muçá: a fastful; = Kanh.

Náchhuhan: lit. 'not to be touched,' excommunicated: Saket, 12.

Nád: a figure shaped like an hour-glass and worn as a necklet against the influence of an autar: Ch., 195.

Nád: inferior land: Mandi, 42.


Nádá: a silver ornament shaped like a drum, offered to Shiva: Ch., 155.


Nág: a whitish-coloured snake, that frequents house-walls and is said to drink milk; its presence is regarded as a good omen and puja and incense are offered to it: Ch., 39.

Nabáni: a sweet-smelling root: Ch., 143.

Nahaura: = nanwati a peace-offering among Pashtaús: Gloss., I, p. 906. U,

Nahrú: the umbilical cord: Ch., 124.

Nahun: a stone font for water; cf. Paníhar: Ch., 198.


Nairved: sweets and flowers, offered to Mahádeo: Saket, 23.

Nakáśi: an octroi: SS. Koti, 11-12.

Nali: wrist; = pagran, to hold the wrist, a game: B., 201.

Nánaksháhí: in Sikh times silver used to be weighed against the Nánaksháhí rape which weighed 11 mashas, 1 rati: Amritsar.

Nandau = nandoi, husband's sister's (nandé)'s husband; nandú, the son of a nandoi; = bhánja.

Nahníla: (1) the family of one's mother, collectively, (2) the village in which it lives.

Nansál = Nanhiál, q.v.

Nanwa: a holding, lit., 'a name on the rent-roll'; each nanwa thus meant one chákar or servant to the State: Ch., 270.

Náp: an earthenware vessel of varying capacity, generally holding from 1 to 2 mans, used in Kárnál for estimating or dividing produce.


Nathatil: the tree-creeper bird: Ch., 38.

Nath-súrá: a rite at betrothal in which visitors are feasted with chóba, but nothing that has been cut with a knife is served: B., 104.
Nau-dori: dorís' or (red) cords, plaited into the hair, four on each side of the head and converging into a 9th thick dorā which hangs down the back: Ch., 142.
Neozna: the edible pine nut: SS., Bashahr, 49.
Newa: an image of a man who has died childless (sonless?) worn round the neck by his heir or heirs, if of metal, and set up in a trough, if of stone: = Pāp, Och, Diāi, and in Kanāwar Gurohāch: SS. Bashahr, 33.
Newal: warm low-lying land in the Sutlej valley: SS. Bashahr, 46, and Jubbal, 16.
Nīmar: a son born to her former husband by a woman after her remarriage: Comp., 113: Cf., Gadhelra and Gelar.
Nīrtān: the cleaner of a granary and grain: Suket, 38.
Nīghār: fr. nirū, a kind of grass and gāhar, pasture; a high mountain pasture: Ch., 277.
Nīgī: Daphne cannabina: Ch., 239.
Nīhār: Nīrān, Nīrnhār, breakfast: = hānjhāll or chhawela: B., 192.
Nīhāri: a light meal taken at sunrise: Suket, 27.
Nīgūr: = monāl, Lophophorus impeyanus: Ch., 36.
Nīmosām: twilight: Ch., 204.
Nīru: a 'kind of grass': Ch., 277.
Nīwālā: animal sacrifice, a common feature in the worship of Shiva: Ch., 181.
Nīyāh: the Spring crop. Mandi, 62: (Spelt nīyāt on p. 42.)
Nōhārī: the morning meal: Ch., 204.
Obar: kādāi, manured but not irrigated; ghair-khādi, neither irrigated nor manured: Sirmūr, App. I.
Obera: a cattle-shed, separate from the house. Sirmūr, 59: Cf., Obra in III.
Och: Newa, q.v.
Odhru: an official, now abolished, superior to the kārdār: Ch., 265.
Odt: a measure of capacity used for grain; Hazāra.
Ogār: a first ploughing: Ch., 221.
Oglas: Fagopyrum poligonum, buckwheat generally eaten on fast days and called phalwār; other varieties are Kathu or Phaphra (F. esculentum) and Dhanphari: Simla, S. R., xii.
Ogra: a lower storey: SS., Bashahr, 43.
Oī: a hole in the ground, Simla Hills; cf. ul, rat's hole, Kulu Dialect of Hindi, p. 97.
Onlyārī: the opening from a challa into a field: = Muniārī: Ch., 224; = Khol.
Ordā: evil: Ch., 138.
Orīhān: pl., nurseries: Ch., 233: Cf., Ori in III.
Otar: unirrigated land: Ch., 220.
Oṭī: land rugged or uneven: Ch., 220.

(To be continued.)
MISCELLANEA.

THE DISPOSAL OF DECEASED LAMAS.

The interesting note on this subject by Sir Richard Temple reminds me of an important passage in Strabo's Geography upon similar customs prevailing in Central Asia at the time of Alexander the Great. It runs as follows:—

Τὸ μὲν οὖν πάλαιον οὐ πολὺ διεφόρον τοῖς βίοις καὶ τοῖς ἱεραίς τῶν Ναμαθίων οὐ τὰ Σαγκιανὶ καὶ οἱ Βακτριανοὶ μεροὶ δομός ἠμέρωσιν ἢ τὰ τῶν βακτριανῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τοῦτον οὐτὰ βιαστοὶ λέγουσιν οἱ περὶ Οσιακρηνίου τοὺς γὰρ ἀπελευκτοὺς διὰ νοσοῦ ἢ γῆρας παραβάλλεσθαι τρεφομένους κυνίς, ἐπιτθέντος δὲ πρὸς τούτο, οὐο "Ἐνταφαιτάς" καλεσθαι τῇ πατρίῳ γλυκασίᾳ, καὶ ὀφεῖλεται τὸ μὲν εἴρο πεῖγον τῆς μυροπολέμος τῶν Βακτριανῶν καθαρᾶ, τῶν δὲ ἐν τοῦ πλεόν ἀπιστῶν πλῆρες ἀνθρώπων, καταλείπεται δὲ τὸν τούμον Ἀλεξανδρὸ. Τοῦτο τὸ ποις καὶ τὰ περὶ τοὺς Κασπιοὺς ισχυροίσι, τοῖς γὰρ γονίαις ἑπιθέουσα ἐβδομοῦντα ἐν γεγονόσι περιβάλλοντας, ἐγκυμώνειται λιμεσοῦνεσθαι. Τούτῳ μὲν οὖν ἀνεκτότερον καὶ τῷ ὀκελῷ νομίμῳ παραπληροῦν κατά περὶ Σκυθικῶν τοῦ μεντοί Σκυθικότερον τὸ τῶν Βακτριανῶν.

(Geog. XI. XI. 3.)

"Anciently the Sogdian and the Bactrian did not differ much from the nomads in their life and manners, yet the manners of the Bactrian were a little more civilized. Oniscus, however, does not give us the most favourable account of the people. Those who are disabled by disease or old age are thrown alive to be devoured by dogs kept expressly for the purpose, and whom in the language of the country they call "Entombers." The places on the exterior of the walls of the capital of the Bactrians are clean, but the interior is for the most part full of human bones. Alexander abolished this custom. Something of the same kind is related of the Caspii also, who, when their parents have attained the age of 70 years, confine them, and let them die of hunger. This custom, although Scythian in character, is more tolerable than that of the Bactrians and is similar to the domestic law of the Celts; the custom, however, of the Bactrians is much more according to Scythian manners." 1

Bactria, the ancient Persian Bakhthi and the modern Balkh, was the outpost of Iran on the borderland of the Scythian waste, and its population was largely Scythian. It was intimately connected with Zoroaster and his teaching. It is highly probable, therefore, that the custom prevalent among the Parsees of giving their dead to vultures was borrowed from the Scythian or Turkic tribes with whom the early Zoroastrians came into contact in Bactria. The explanation given by the Parsees is that the Priest wished them to avoid polluting the elements of Earth and Fire. But the pre-Zoroastrian Persians solved the question quite satisfactorily by coating the body with wax before burial (κατασκευακ. See Herodotus I. 140, and compare IV. 71.). It is noteworthy that all the great Achemenian kings were buried in this way; perhaps, as Dr. Jackson suggests, they were emblazoned also. It is curious that no was not made of the historical aspect of the question in the recent controversy between the orthodox and re-forming Parsees on this subject.

The Tibetan custom of disposing of the dead in the revolting manner here described (cutting the body up and throwing the pieces to dogs and birds), is only used in the case of the middle classes. The higher Lamas are cremated in the same fashion as Gautama Buddha (see the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta). The Grand Lamas are embalmed and placed under shortens or dāgāsas.

It has been held that this custom is the real source of those Jātaka stories which depict the Bodhisattva as giving his body to feed a starving tiger and so forth. The whole question is replete with interest, and deserves fuller treatment.

H. G. RAWLINSON.

BOOK-NOTICES.

The Eastern School of Prakrit Grammarians and Paśačāl Prakrit. By Sir George Grierson, K.C.I.E.

All who are interested in the vexed question of Paśačāl will welcome Sir George Grierson's article entitled "The Eastern School of Prakrit Grammarians and Paśačāl Prakrit," contributed to the "Sir Ashtoosh Mockeck's Silver Jubilee Volumes." In it Sir George Grierson has given us those portions of Rāmākrama's Prākrtakalpataru, which are concerned with Paśačāl, or Paśačākā as Rāmākrama calls it. To this he has added an excellent annotated translation, compared throughout with the relevant portions of Mākkaṇḍiyā's Prakśāravāsa, and has prefaced the whole with some interesting remarks on the Western and Eastern Schools of Prakrit Grammarians.

The author repeats his theory, first suggested by Barth, that a number of so-called Paśačāl dialects were only local varieties of Pali.

1 In the island of Coos, the food being limited, all over 60 were given hemlock. ο μὴ δυνάμενος ζῆν καλὸς ὡς ζῆν κακὸς, says Menander.
Of great value is his insistence on the fact that, with the possible exception of Vararuci, all the extant Prakrit Grammarians based their grammars on the works of predecessors or on the manuscripts of Prakrit books, and were in no case describing a contemporary spoken language. This would account for so much that is contradictory in their statements, for the continual mention of optional forms and for the difficulty we experience in identifying any particular modern Indo-Aryan language as the descendant of any particular Prakrit.

Of all forms of Prakrit, Paśācā is the most difficult in these respects. The descriptions are very meagre, and, as is clearly shown in the paper under review, do not agree among themselves.

The feature generally considered the most characteristic of Paśācā is the alleged unvoicing of voiced stops.

The Vālmiki Sastras lay down that the only voiced stop universally unvoiced is d. A priori this is unlikely; since such a change usually affects systems and not individual sounds: witness the Armenian and Germanic sound shiftings, the unvoicing of original voiced aspirates in Latin, Greek and Gypsy, the loss of the distinction between hard and soft vowels in Serbo-Croat, etc., etc. But his Cūlica-Paśācīkā agrees with the Paśācā of Vararuci.

Rāmaśarma and Markandeya however substitute surds for all voiced stops. If this represented an actual spoken language, we might expect to find a modern language showing the same shifting. But none has yet been discovered, and there are scarcely even sporadic examples, which might be supposed to have been borrowed from such a dialect.

In the 'Kharoṭhi Inscriptions,' discovered by Stein and edited by Boyer, Rapson and Smart, the form śīṇakara appears 4 times. But the regular śīṇakara is used 22 times; and in two of the four cases where śīṇa is written it is preceded by the syllable -ts of karta. Further the signs for t and d are very much alike.

Sir George Grierson in his 'Paśācā Languages in North-West India' gives no example of a surd derived from a Sanskrit initial or intervocalic voiced stop, nor, with one exception, of the preservation of a Sanskrit intervocalic surd as such. The exception Bāgālī tōt father, etc., is a child's word and cannot be adduced to illustrate a general phonetic rule (cp. Eng. daddy, etc.). In Sindhi (L.S. I. VIII. p. 6), he gives chutō 'touched,' sūtō 'asleep,' kitoj 'done,' pitoj 'drunk,' sūtdō 'recognized' as examples of the retention of Sanskrit intervocalic -t. But sūtō and chutō must be referred to sūpatō 'chuppatō (cp. akupatō and Pa. chupati), while Hindi and chod are new formations after the present stem where intervocalic -p was lost. On the other hand kitoj (beside kitoj), pitoj and sūtdō (also jātō 'known' with j after the present stem jātō < jāntō) are new formations after past participles of the type pūta 'attained,' where -t rests on earlier -tt < -pt. (Skt. pṛptah). This type of analogical formation is common in Sindhi: e.g., pito 'bought,' gīnātō Skt. spṛptah after kitoja 'taken' < labhā etc. It can be seen too in Gujarātī kīdō 'done,' khādō 'eaten,' dīdō 'given,' pīdō 'drunk,' bīdō 'fear'd, dūta 'taken,' which are all formed after the type of past participle in Prakrit with -ddh. < Skt. -gadh. -ddh.-ddha.

To what linguistic reality then does the statement of the Grammarians, that voiced stops were unvoiced in Paśācā, correspond? The solution, I believe, lies in Hemacandra's description of Paśācā. According to him initial and intervocalic stops remain unaltered, thus differing from the general Prakrit in which intervocalic surds became voiced (and later for the most part disappeared). But in his Cūlica-Paśācīkā all voiced consonants are unvoiced. Yet even here, as Sir George Grierson notes ('Paśācā Languages,' p. 8), Hemacandra says that, according to some authorities, when initial or forming part of a consonant group, they were not unvoiced in this latter agrees in the main with Vararuci's description, according to which jakana = gagana, gusqā = gagāq.

Again, a priori this rule does not seem to rest on an actual pronunciation, since the intervocalic position is that in which the change of voiced to surd is least likely to take place.

A modern parallel may give the clue to the correct interpretation. South Germans, e.g., in Alsace, pronounce their surds as well as their voiced stops as lenes. To people, like the French and English, who only possess voiced lenes and surd lenes, the surd lenes give the impression, quas lenes, of voiced sounds. Thus in books and journals, Germans, speaking French or English, are often represented as turning surds into voiced consonants, although they actually only pronounce them as lenes without voice. Further, the same people tend to unvoicel final voiced consonants.

If such a speaker continues the same practice in his pronunciation of the foreign language, the unthinking hearer imagines that the speaker is unvoicing all voiced consonants, although actually he only unvoices the final. Thus we find the representation in books and journals of Germans interchanging all surd and voiced consonants when speaking a foreign language.

Now in Indo-Aryan, in what may be called the Prakrit stage, nearly everywhere by the beginning of the present era and in some districts by a very much earlier date, all intervocalic surd stops had become voiced (on their way in most cases to complete disappearance), while initially and in consonant groups they remained in this respect unchanged.

In the North-West however this change seems to have been longer delayed. In the Kharoṭhi Inscriptions already referred to, which are dated
about the middle of the third century A.D., intervocalic surds appear to be generally maintained, although occasional voiced stops or the use of a slightly different sign for the intervocalic as compared with the initial consonant, indicates that at this date the change was at least beginning. Gypsy, which almost certainly belongs to the N. W. Himalayan group, bears witness also to this late voicing and consequent late loss of intervocalic surds, in that it preserves Skt. *t* as *t*.

There must then have been at one time contemporary dialect groups in the Indo-Aryan area, one of which represented Sanskrit intervocalic surds by surds (N.W. group up to c. 250 A.D.) and the other by voiced stops, while in both the development of initial and post-consensetal stops, surd and voiced and of intervocalic voiced stops was the same (i.e., they remained in principle unchanged). Thus to Pkt. *ghadām* (< Skt. *ghādām*) the Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions correspond with *ghrīda*. But to Pkt. *pādā* and *pīdā* they correspond with *pada* and *pig a*.

Obviously the former correspondence, namely Pkt. *d* = Khar. *t*, would be felt as a distinguishing mark. In the light of the modern parallel given above, is it too much to suppose that anyone in attempting to reproduce in literature the language of a speaker of a dialect like on which the Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions rest, would make the speaker turn all the intervocalic voiced stops of Prakrit into surds instead of only those Prakrit voiced stops which represented Sanskrit surds? This would be the traditional literary Pāśācā of Vararuci and the modified Cūlika-Pāśācāika of Homacandra. And since *t* was very common in Sanskrit, e.g., 3rd sg. pres. fut. ind., the infinitive, gerundive and past participle—all forms of great importance in the Middle India verbal system—the correspondence Pkt. *d* = Pāśācā *t* may have been seized upon as the difference par excellence between the two languages. This would be the Pāśācā of the Vālmiki *śrutis*. The schools represented by Rāmaśarma and Mārkaṇḍeya have gone a step further and have made Pāśācā correspond to all the voiced stops, in whatever position, of Prakrit with surds. The growth of such a literary dialect based on a not fully understood series of correspondences would be strictly comparable with the exaggeration of the Hometic dialect among the Alexandrinians—e.g., the wrongful use of the hiatus based on those instances where owing to the original presence of a digamma the hiatus was only apparent—or the hyper-doricism of the Attic stage.

In the text before us, and in Homacandra's grammar, there are noted other sound changes (or conservations), which, though not conclusive in themselves as to the home of Pāśācā, are at least shared by Pāśācā with members of the N-W. group.

1. *ny* > *nd*: this accords with the Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions and with the modern development in Kāśmirī and probably Kāsānī.

2. *y* remains unchanged: as in the Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions, and in Kāśmirī. Sindi also distinguishes *yr* (>*j*) from *y* (> *j*).

3. *t* > *j*: Sindi distinguishes *t* (> *r*) from *t* (> *l*). This cerebralisation is found in the N-W. Himalayan group (excluding Gypsy and Kāśmirī) as far East probably as Kunponi. It is however shared also by the Western group—Rājasthāni, Gujarātī, Marāṭhī—and in the Eastern group by Oriya and probably Singhalese.

4. *ry* > *jj*: Sindi distinguishes *ry* (> *j*) from *y* (> *j*).

5. *ry* > *riy*: (after a heavy syllable? e.g., *bhārya* = *bhārya*). This, regular in the Rigveda (where it is probably based on an Indo-European phenomenon), appears sporadically in various modern languages: but it seems to be carried out with striking regularity in the Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions, where, e.g., *aroj* and *aroji* = *arojan*.

6. *s* > *s*: in *kasa* = *kasa*: is this simply a spelling for *s*? The groups *s* (ṣ) and *s* (ṣ) are maintained in the Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions and among the modern languages in Gypsy.

7. In the word for 'six' *s* does not become *ch*: this is in marked agreement with the whole of the N-W. Himalayan group (Gypsy, Kāśmirī ṣe, Bāgalī ṣa, etc.) as opposed to general Prakrit and the other modern languages which have all forms with *ch*: the only ambiguous forms are Marāṭhī saha and Singhalese sa and ha, which however are probably to be referred to forms with *ch*.

In opposition to these striking agreements, Pāśācā has only one sibilant *s* (or *s* in Śaurāsaṇa Pāśācā, according to Rāmaśarma). The Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions distinguish three sibilants, *s* (ṣ), and European Gypsy distinguishes two, *s* (ṣ) and *s*. The same distinction is found in a number of other N-W. Himalayan dialects, e.g., Shing, which possibly distinguishes three and Kāśmirī which distinguishes two. On the other hand the distinction is lost in Armenian Gypsy, in the more easterly of the N-W. Himalayan dialects, and in Lahnda and Sindi.

There is thus a certain amount of evidence connecting Pāśācā with the N-W. group. But wherever the original home of the dialect at the base of Pāśācā was, it may not be unreasonable to suppose that Pāśācā came to be used as a generic term for any dialect diverging from the norm of Prakrit. This may account for the dialects described in Sir George Grierson's text under the name of Śaurāsaṇa-Pāśācā, Pāncāla-P., Gauda-P., Madagadi-P., Brādī-P., Śūkmanbhed-P.

At all events what Sir George Grierson has given us here emphasizes the remoteness of the grammarians from the languages they described and the
very artificial character of the dialects, particularly of the Sanskrit-Paśaṭika.

R. L. Turner.

ARDAHĀ-MAGADHĪ READER. By Banarsi Das Jain, M.A.; The University of the Punjab, Lahore, 1923.

This book, containing a grammar of the language in which the principal Jain scriptures are written, a useful review of the Ardhā-Magadhi literature, and extracts from some of the more important Jain works with an English rendering thereof, owes its preparation to the fact that hitherto, by reason of the absence of any authoritative primer, the Jain scriptures have attracted far less attention from Western scholars than similar Buddhistic literature. At the instance of the Principal of the Oriental College, Lahore, the author, who in 1917 held a roving commission to collect Jain works for the library of the Punjab University, has prepared the present work for inclusion in the University's Oriental series. The grammatical portion of the work is moderate in volume and to the lay reader is less interesting than the author's succinct account of the origin and character of the language and of the Jain sacred books. This is well worth perusal. As regards the English rendering of the select passages in Ardhā-Magadhi, the author acknowledges his indebtedness to Professor Jacobi, Dr. Barnett and Dr. Hoernle in respect of one or two extracts, while for the remainder he has relied on his own expert knowledge of the language, aided by Sanskrit commentaries. As not infrequently happens in the case of books produced in India, there are several printer's errors which might have been avoided.

S. M. Edwards.


The earlier part of this Report is a record of useful work done during the past year under great financial difficulties. In one case however, the note that the Sanyamg at Amarapura is to be removed from the list of monuments maintained by the Government, reads rather unpleasantly, as it seems to publish a record of neglect to carry out orders issued so long ago as 1904, until the buildings became too dilapidated for repair. On the other hand it is interesting to note that Mr. Kyn Po, M.A., the archeological scholar, is devoting himself to collecting notes of the history of Burma.

To the general student of things Burmese, the most interesting pages are from p. 28 to p. 37, dealing with archeological subjects. In an article on the Apocryphal Geography of Burma there is supplied a very useful list of some of the "classical" names for places in Burma, which are so common and so puzzling to the student. It ought not to be confined to a Government Report, and one hopes that a wider circulation will be found for it. There is also a valuable note on the limited saint-worship existing in Burma, with accounts of Shin Upagok, Shin Thûvrai, Shin Ašwini, and Shin Pëndola. This too is worth extracting and publishing for the general student.

There are also three useful notes on the introduction of the Burmese alphabet into Arakan, and on a figure of Sûrya found at Mrohaim, and on Gupta influence in Arakan. There are also notes on the identification of Patikkarâ, a Western city connected with the days of Anawrahâ, and on the uncertainty of the date assigned in the Chronicles to the accession of King Thâhâpaṭe or Minbyauk of Sagaing. Altogether Mr. Duroiselle is to be congratulated on the year's work.

R. C. Temple.


The chief point of interest in this Report by the Curator of the Museum is the discovery of no less than twenty copper-plate inscriptions of the rulers of Valabhi, including three of Dhrusasena I, two of Dharasena II, three of Śiladitya I and two of Śiladitya III. The plates have, however, been so mutilated by careless handling and the passage of time that only four dates can be deciphered with precision; but three of these are historically important and have not been previously recorded. The Curator also brought to light three land grants of the Paramara rulers of Mâlva, which are reported to be the earliest grants of the dynasty yet known and to throw considerable light on the early history of Mâlva and Gujarât. Two of the grants are those of Siyâr and a certain King Yâgârâ, whom the curator suggests was a Chavda ruler, who came to the throne after A.D. 896. The third grant is that of the famous Bhoja of Dîhâr.

The Curator also mentions that during a visit to Bombay he inspected an old Marâthâ MS. in Modi characters, which belongs to the Forbes Gujarât Sabha. The MS. purports to give various dates in Marâthâ history and incidentally states that Sivaji was born in the month Phalgun of the Saka year 1505, which is equivalent to A.D. 1630. Hitherto it has been generally supposed that the founder of the Marâthâ empire was born in 1637, on the authority of the bakhars and the Târîkh-i-Shârdâj; the Jâdha Chronology alone places his birth in February, 1630. This date is apparently corroborated by the MS. mentioned above. One would, however, like to know more details as to the authorship, age and authenticity of this document. The Curator throws no light on these points.

S. M. Edwards.
Prajāpātvedi—A sacred place in Allahabad where Brahma performed sacrifices; this is the temple of Alopī, which is considered as one of the Pithas where Sati’s back is said to have fallen. The temple contains no image, but only a Vedi. There are five Vedas of Brahma; at Gayā on the east, Birajā (Jaipur) on the south, Pushkara on the west, Samantapañchaka on the north and at Prayāga in the middle (Bāmana P., ch. 22). With regard to Samantapañchaka as Uttara-vedi of Prajāpati, see Mbh., Salya, ch. 54.

Pralambha—Madawar or Mundore eight miles north of Bijnor in western Rohilkhand (Rāmdgaṇa, Ayodhya K., ch. 68). See Matipura.

Praṇāhita—The united stream of the rivers Wardha and the Waingaṅga is called Pranhit. Same as Praṇītā.

Praṇī—Same as Praṇītā (Agni P., ch. 219).

Praṇītā—Same as Praṇāhita (Padma P., Uttara Kh., ch. 62). The river Pranhit falls into the Godavari and the confluence is a place of pilgrimage (Brahma P., ch. 161).

Prasravana-giri—The hills of Aurangabad situated on the banks of the Godavari (Rāmdgaṇa, Aranya K., ch. 64) graphically described by Bhavabhuti in his Uttara Rāmācharita (Act I) who places it in Janasthana on the banks of the Godavari. In one of the peaks of those hills dwelt the bird Jaṭāyu of the Rāmdgaṇa. The Rāmdgaṇa (Kishk. K., ch. 27) places another Prasravanagiri at Kishkindhā near Anagandi on the banks of the Tuṅga-bhadras; it is called also Mālyavāna-giri (see Mālyavāna-giri).


Pratishṭhā-Nagara—Same as Pratishṭhāna, the Prākrit form of which is Paiṭhāna (Dūraidṛisūtāputtalikā, 1st story; Vikramorvaśī, Act II).

Pratishṭhāna—1. Bithoor, where the remains of a fort, which is said to have been the fort of Rājā Uttānapāda, still exists. The celebrated Dhuvara was the son of Uttānapāda, he was born at this place; he practised asceticism in the forests of Mathura. 2. Brahmāpuri Pratishṭhāna, now called Paiṭhān or Pattaṇa or Mañjila-Pattaṇa (Mañjila-Paiṭhān), the capital of Asvaka or Mahārāṣṭra, in the district of Aurangabad, on the north bank of the Godavari, twenty-eight miles to the south of Aurangabad. Paiṭhān is a corruption of Paiṭṭhāna, the Pāli form of Pratishṭhāna. It was the birth-place and capital of Raja Śālivāhana who is said to have founded the Šaka era in 78 A.D. (see, however, Pāṇeṣa-nada). It is the Paiṭhāna of the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea (p. 195) and Potali of the Buddhists (Jātakas, Cam. Ed., iii, p. 2) and was a great emporium of commerce in the Andhra country and a capital of Andhra (Padma P., Uttara, ch. 62; Kathāsarat-sāgarana, (Tawney’s trans.) I, ch. VI, p. 32; Antiquities of Bidar and Aurangabad). See Mahārāṣṭra. It was the capital of ancient Ānikha, called also Alaka or Mulaka (Sutta Nipāta, Pāṭiyagāvagga, I: History of Bābari in Sponc Hardy’s Manual of Buddhism).

3. Jhusi, opposite to Allahabad, across the Ganges; it is still called Pratishṭhāpura (Kārma P., ch. 37; Agni P., ch. III; Vikramorvaśī, Act II; Mbh., Vama, ch. 85). It was the capital of Rājā Pururavāś and other kings (Līṅga P., Pt. I, ch. 65; Bhavishya P., Pratisarga Parva, Pt. 2, ch. 2). See Prayāga. It was founded by Rājā Ila (Rāmdgaṇa, Uttara, ch. 90). It contains the places of pilgrimage called Haṃspapatana on its northern side, and on the bank of the Ganges Urvashi-tīrtha and others. 4. Pathankot, the capital of Audumbar, the present Gurudāspur district (see Audumvara).
Pratyagaha—Same as Ahilechchhatra (Hemakosha; Mbh., Adi, ch. 63).
Pravaniga—It has been identified with Aiga (Pargiter’s Marasha, P., p. 325).
Pravarapura—Srinagar in Kashmir named after its founder Pravarasena II; the city was built on the site of the village called Sharitaka; Pravarasena reigned for sixty years (Dr. Stein’s Rājataragīni, Vol. I, p. 20 note). Bilhana, who gives a description of the town in his Vikramādikadeva-charita (C. 18), says it was situated on the confluence of the Bistā (Jhelum) and the Sindhu. Bilhana flourished in the eleventh century A.D., he is also said to be the author of the Panchāśikā, the authorship of which is generally ascribed to poet Chaura (see Buhler’s Introduction to the Vikramādikaddevacharita, p. 7).
Pravijaya—Same as Prāgijaya (Marasha, P., ch. 57).
Prayaga—Allahabad. It formed a part of the kingdom of Kosala at the time of the Bāma-gana and Fa Hian in 414 A.D. The celebrated Akshaya Bāta is the undecaying banyan tree, which is still an object of worship and which is now situated within a dark subterranean chamber called Patalapurāna in the fort of Allahabad built by Akbar in 1581, is thus described by Huien Tsang who visited India in the seventh century: “In the city there is a Deva temple beautifully ornamented and celebrated for its numerous miracles. According to their records, this place is a noted one for all living beings to acquire merit.” He further says “Before the hall of the temple there is a great tree with spreading boughs and branches, and casting a deep shadow. There was a body-eating demon here, who, depending on this custom (viz., of committing suicide), made his abode here; accordingly on the left and right one sees heaps of bones. Hence when a person comes to this temple, there is everything to persuade him to despise his life and give it up; he is encouraged thereto both by promptings of the heretics and also by the seduction of the (evil) spirit. From very early days till now this very false custom has been practised.” (See also Kārma P., ch. 37; and also the story of king Ranāditya in Rājataragīni, Bk. III; Anaragāhavāha, Act VII, 129). Puraravā, the hero of the Vikramorvāsī is said to have been the king of the country of Prayāga (Allahabad), the capital of which was Pratisthāvana, now called Jhansi. Nahusa, Yayaṭa, Puru, Dushmanta and Bharata are said to have reigned in this city (Brahma Purāṇa, chs. 10, 11, 12; Liṅga P., Pt. I, ch. 63). The fort of Allahabad was built by Akbar on the site of an ancient Hindoo fort and within it is one of the celebrated pillars of Asoka, set up there in the third century B.C., promulgating the necessity of erecting hospitals and other charitable institutions and interdicting cruelty to animals (see JASB, 1837, p. 785). The Khosru Bāgh contains the mausoleum of Khusru, the ill-fated son of Jahangir; it is situated between the mausoleum of his mother, the sister of Mān Singh, and that of his brother Purvīz. The temple of Alopī is one of the Pīthas, where Sati’s back is said to have fallen. The temple of Benimādhava on the confluence of the Ganges and Yamuna is mentioned in the Mādhavāchārya’s Saṅkaravijaya (ch. VII).
Pretoddhārīṇī—the river Pyri or Pairi which joins the Mahānadi at Raju (Asiatic Researches, Vol. XV; Cunningham’s Arch. S. Rep., XVII, p. 8). See Devapura.
Prāshtha-Champā—Bihar (Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson’s Heart of Jainism, p. 41).
Prithūdaka—Pehoa in the Karnal district, Panjab, on the river Sarasvati where the celebrated Brahmayoni-tirtha is situated. It is fourteen miles to the west of Thanesvara (Mbh., Vana P., ch. 83; Bhāgavata, Bk. X, ch. 77; Cunningham’s Ancient Geography of India, XIV, p. 101; Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 184). According to the Bāman Purāṇa (ch. 58, v. 115), Prithūdaka is situated on the Oghavati. For the Prithūdaka inscription, see JASB, 1853, p. 673.
Pulaha-śārama—Same as Śāligrāma (Barthā P., ch. 143).

Pulinda-ṛṣa—1. It included the western portion of Bundelkhand and the district of Sāgar (Bāmana P., ch. 76). The Kāthā-surī-sāgara confounds the Savaras with the Pulindas, and Sāgar is the same as Sāgar (Arch. S. Rep., Vol. XVII, pp. 113, 139). According to Ptolemy the town of the Phullitoc (Pulindas) was Agara (Sāgara). A branch of this tribe called the Podas lived in Bengal. According to the Tārā Tantra, Pulinda lies to the east of Silakhaṭā (Sylhet) and to the north of Kāmarūpa. 2. A country to the northwest of Hardwar (Mbh., Vana, ch. 139).

Punahpunā—The river Punpun, a tributary of the Ganges in the district of Patna (Vāyu P., ch. 108; Padma P., Srishṭi, ch. 11).

Punaka—Poona. In the copper plate inscriptions of the 8th century A.D. found at Teli-gāon, the name of Poona is mentioned as Punaka or Puna: it was then also the headquarters of a district. Same as Paunika.

Punḍarika-kṣetra—Same as Pāṇḍupura. It is called Punḍarikapura in the Br̥hat-Nārādiya P. (Uttara, ch. 73) where a Liṅga of Mahādeva was established by Jaimini.

Punḍariya—The Śatrunjaya mountain in Guzerat; it is one of the five hills sacred to the Jainas, see Samet-sikhara (Antagada-Dasdeo, Dr. Barnett's trans., p. 58).

Pundra-ṛṣa—Same as Pūndra and Pūndra-vaṛdhana. Same as Gauḍa (Barooah's Dictionary, Vol. III, pp. 109, 110). The name of Pūndra first appears in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa. According to Mr. Pargiter Pūndra and Pauṇḍra were two different countries, and the former comprised the district of Malda, portion of Purnea to the east of the river Kosi and part of Dinajpur and Rajshahi: see Pauṇḍra (Ancient Countries in Eastern India in JASB., 1877, p. 85).

Pūndra-vaṛdhana—1. Pāṇḍu, called Firuzabad in later times, six miles north of Malda and twenty miles north-east of Gaud (Sir H. Elliot's History of India, Vol. III, p. 298; Gauḍa Purāṇa, I, ch. 81). It was formerly situated on the river Mahānandā which has now receded four miles to the west. It was the capital of Pūndra-ṛṣa, or Pauṇḍra (see Pauṇḍra). It contained the temple of Pāṇḍalī Devī (Padma P., Uttara, ch. 51). According to Prof. Wilson (Vishṇu P., II, pp. 134, 170), the ancient kingdom of Pūndra-ṛṣa included the districts of Rajshahi, Dinajpur, Rangpur, Malda, Bogra and Tirthu. According to other authorities the country of Pūndra or Pūndra-vaṛdhana was situated between the rivers Mahānandā and the Karatoya. Mr. Ferguson has shown that the region of Dinajpur, Rungpur and Bogra formed the ancient Pūndra-vaṛdhana; in short, it was North Bengal. Mr. Westmacott identifies it with Pāṇjara and Bardhankuti (or Khettal) in Dinajpur (JASB., 1875, p. 188; see also "Notes on the Geography of Old Bengal" in JASB., 1908, p. 267). Cunningham has identified the capital with Mahāsthānagad on the Karatoya river in the district of Bogra, twelve miles south of Bardhankuti and seven miles to the north of Bogra, and also with Pabna (see Barendra). In the Saṃgāḍhāvardha in the Aua. Kalp. (ch. 93) Pūndra-vaṛdhana is said to be 160 yojanas or 640 miles to the east of Śrīvaśti. Whatever may have been the extent of the kingdom of Pūndra-vaṛdhana, there can be no doubt that the district of Malda was included in it. James Taylor in his Remarks on the Sequel to the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea (JASB., Vol. XV) says that in Kēśava Sena Plate, found at Euilpur in the district of Faridpur, Bikrampur is said to have been a part of Pauṇḍraka (see a transcription of the plate in JASB., 1833, pp. 45, 50). In the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VII, 18), the Pūndras are mentioned. According to the Rājatarāṅgī (Book IV) Pūndravardhana was the capital of Gaud in the eighth
century A.D., when it was visited by Jayapāda, king of Kasmir, during the reign of Jayanta. Ilyas Shah after a long struggle united Eastern Bengal, the capital of which was Sonārgāon (near Dacca) and Western Bengal, the capital of which was Sātgāon, in 1352, and the provincial capital was fixed at Pāṇḍūrā to which Firoz gave his own name and Ferrozabad remained the capital till 1446 (Lane Poole’s *Medieval India under Mahomedan Rule*, p. 164). 2. Same as Pundra-deśa.

**Purālī**—Travancore; the Paralia of Ptolemy and the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* (see Schoff’s *Periplus*, p. 234). It is a corruption of Paraloka, celebrated for its pearl fishery (Bhoja’s *Yuktī-Kalpataru*, published in Law’s *Calcutta Oriental Series*, pp. 111, 112).

**Purānādhikśhāna**—Pandritan, about four miles to the south of the south-east of Srīnagar. It was the ancient capital of Kasmir (Rājatarangini, Bk. V, v. 266). The capital was removed to Srīnagar which was built by Pravarasena who reigned from 432 to 464 A.D.

**Purla**—Jagannātha in Orissa. It was visited by Vajrasvāmin, the Jaina patriarch after Suhastin. It was then governed by a Buddhist king (Shāvatavatī, XII, 334).


**Purāna**—1. A branch of the Tapti (Padma P., Uttara, ch. 41); but see Payushnī. 2. The river Pīrā, a branch of the Godavari (Brahma P., ch. 106).

**Purṇadārī**—Kalīñjār (Vāyu P., ch. 45).

**Purushapura**—Peshawar, the capital of Gāndhāra (Devi Purāṣa, ch. 46). See Gāndhāra and Nava-Gāndhāra. It was the capital of Kanishka who built here a reliquary tower containing a superstructure of carved wood of thirteen storeys, the ruins of which still exist in the mound called Shahji-ki-Dheri outside the Lahore gate of Peshawar (JRAS., 1912, p. 113). A magnificent monastery built by Kanishka stood by its side; it was destroyed during the invasions of Mahmud of Ghazni and his successors (Vincent A. Smith’s *Early History of India*, p. 227). For Kanishka’s contemporaries see Tāmasavāna. It was called Purushavir in the eleventh century A.D. (Alberuni’s *India*, Vol. I, p. 206). The Buddhist monk Asaṅga lived here in the 6th century A.D. It was also the birth-place of Vasubandhu, Asaṅga’s youngest brother (JRAS., 1905, p. 37).

**Purushnī—Same as Purushnī.**

**Purushottama-kṣetra**—Puri in Orissa (see Śrikṣetra and Puri). Indradyumna, king of Malwa, is said to have caused the image of Jagannātha to be made out of a log of wood which he found floating at Bāskimohana, and set it up in a temple built by him. (Skanda P., Vaiṣṇu Kh., Purushottamakṣetra-Māhāt., ch. 1; Brahma P., ch. 51). The image was removed and kept concealed at Sonepur-Gopāli, on the western border of Orissa, when it was attacked by a Yavana named Raktavāhu at the time of Rāja Śiva Deva otherwise called Subhan Deo. The temple was destroyed by an extraordinary flood at the time of Raktavāhu’s invasion. The image was recovered several centuries after by Rāja Yayaṭi Keśarī in the sixth century of the Christian era. But the present temple was built by the minister Paramahāsa Bājpai at a cost of one crore of rupees by the order of Anasiṅa (Anisanka) Bhāma Deva. The image was afterwards burnt by a Hindu convert named Bājju, who was called Karāpāhāj, the general of Suleman Shah, one of the Pathan kings of Bengal (Kalās Chandra Sen’s *Dāru Brahma*; Stirling’s *Orissa*). Cunningham says in his *Bhāsa Topes* that the image of Jagannātha was made according to the figure of the Buddhist Tri-ratna. In fact, the image of Jagannātha, Balarāma and Subhadrā
represent Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha respectively, and also the Viṣṇu of the letters V, R, V, L and S of the ancient Asoka alphabet as signifying the four elements air, fire, water and earth and the Sumeru with the lotus and crescent above it (Cunningham's *Bhāsa Topes*, p. 355 and *Puṣā-Kāṇḍa* quoted in Hodgson's *Literature and Religion of the Buddhists*, p. 105). Fa Hian and Hiuen Tsang speak of the drawing of the ears of Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha. It has, however, not yet been investigated whether the images of Jagannātha, Balārāma and Subhadrā correspond to the images of Krishṇa, Baladeva and the goddess Ekānātha respectively, mentioned by Varāha-mihira in his *Bṛhat-samhitā* (ch. 58, v. 37): for the origin and name of Ekānātha or Śāvitrī, see *Vāyu P.*, ch. 25. Mr. Patterson says that the images are the representation of Oṃ (ॐ) (Asia, Res., viii, Jagannātha). It is now a settled question that Puri is the ancient Dantapura where Buddha’s left canine tooth was kept enshrined (see Dantapura and Śṛṅkhala). Sākshi-Gopāla, which contains a beautiful image of Krishṇa, is ten miles by rail from Puri, and Remunā, which contains the image of Khirchora-Gopinātha, is five miles to the west of Balasore.

Pūrva-gaṅgā—The river Nerbuda.

Pūrva-Kosala—Same as Kosala (*Mbh.*, Vana, ch. 19).

Pūrva-Sarasvatī—A branch of the Gomati (Gumti) which flows through Nainishāranya (*Devi-Bhāgavata*, IV, ch. 8; *Matsya P.*, ch. I, 162).

Pūrva-sindhu—Same as Daksinā-Sindhu.

Pūrvasthali—See Parthailas.

Pūrva-Videha—See Apara-Videha (Dr. R. L. Mitra’s *Lalita-vistara*, ch. 3 and his note at p. 52).

Pūrkalāvati—Pushkalavati or Pushkarāvati, the old capital of Gándhāra, is said to have been founded by Bharata, brother of Rāmāchandra, after the name of his son Pushkala who was placed here as king (*Rāmāyana*, Uttara, chs. 101, 114; Lassen in *JASB.*, 1840, p. 476). Alexander the Great besieged and took it from Astes (Hasti) and placed Sangoeus (Saṅjaya) as his successor. It was probably Ashṭanagara or Hashtanagara (Chaśadādhal), eighteen miles north of Peshawar, on the Landi (formed by the united streams of Swat and Panjkora) near its junction with the Kabul river in the district of Peshawar. It was the Peukelaotes of the Greeks, situated on the Indus, fifteen miles north-eastward beyond the Kabul river. See Gándhāra. The ancient name of Pushkalavati or Pushkarāvati is said to have been Utpalavati (in the Uttarapatha) where Buddha in a former birth as Brahmaprabhā, a hermit, gave his body to a famished tigress who was about to eat her two new-born cubs (*Divyāvadāna-mālā* in Dr. R. Mitter’s *Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal*, p. 316).

Pūrkhara—The Pushkar Lake, six miles from Ajmir. It is called also Pokhrā. At the time of the *Mahābhārata* the seven tribes of Mlechchhas called Utsasasaṅketa lived near or about Pushkara (Sabhā Parva, chs. 27, 32), and also in the Himalaya (*Raghuvamśa*, ch. IV, 78).

Pūrkhara-dvīpa—A portion of Central Asia commencing from the north of the Oxus, including Western Tartary. Perhaps it has derived its name from Bhushkara or Bokhara. It was comprised in Scythia of the Greeks.


Pūrkarāvati—Same as Pūrkalāvati.

Pūrkarāvati-nagara—Rangoon. It is said to be situated in Ramaṇya Maṇḍala. Tapasa and Bhalluka, two brothers who gave honey and other articles of food to Buddha just after
he attained Buddhahood, came from Puskăravatī-nagara, which is also called Okalla by other Buddhist writers. They built a dagoba called the Shaidagon Pagoda upon the hairs given to them by Buddha after their return to their native country (Upamā's Buddhist Tracts in the Sacred Books of Ceylon, Vol. III, p. 110; JASB., 1859, p. 473).

Pushpa-giri — A part of the Malaya range, in which the river Krītamallā (Vaiga) has got its source (Mārkaṇḍeya P., ch. 57; cf. Vīshnū P., Pt. II, ch. 3).

Pushpapura — Patna. It appears that it was originally the name of a quarter of ancient Pāṭaliputra and inhabited by the rich and the nobles (Mudrārākṣasa, Act I); from the name of this quarter the whole town was called Pushpapura or Kusumapura (or Kumrār) where the royal palace was situated. Same as Pāṭaliputra and Kusumapura.

Pushpāvati — The river Pāmbai in Travancore (Barāha P., ch. 85).

Rādhā — That part of Bengal which lies to the west of the Ganges (Ananda Bhaṭṭa’s Ballāda-charitam, pt. II, ch. 1), including Tamluk, Midnapur (Wilson’s Introduction to Mackenzie Collections, chaps. 138, 139) and the districts of Hugli and Burdwan. A portion of the district of Murshidabad was included in its northern boundary. It was the native country of Vijaya, who conquered Ceylon with seven hundred followers (Upamā’s Rājāvata, pt. I; Rājatavasugijñi, ch. 2; Mahāvaṇī, chaps. 6, 47); see Śrī-mallā. It is the Lāṭa of the Buddhists and Lāṭa of the Jainas. According to the latter, Bajjrabhumi and Subhhabhumi are the two divisions of Lāṭa where Mahāvīra or Vardhamāṇa, the 24th Tirthaṅkara, wandered for more than 12 years before he attained Jinahood (Bhūleri’s Indian Sect of the Jinas at Jinnbihakurāma on the river Rūjpālikā near the Pāransāth hills (Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson’s Heart of Jainism, p. 38). Prof. Jacobis supposes that Subhabhumi is probably the country of the Subhas, who are also identified with the Rādhas (Jacob’s Achārāṅga Śūtra, bk. 1, ch. 8, sec. 3 in SBE., Vol. XXII, p. 84). The ancient name of Rādhā was Sumha (Nilkanṭha, see Sumha) and its name in the medieval period was Lāṭa or Lāla. The Purāṇas call the country by the name of Sumha, excepting the Devī-Purāṇa (ch. 39) in which Rādhā is mentioned. Kālidāsa mentions Sumha in his Raghuvāsī, IV, v. 35. Rādhā is perhaps the Gāṅga of the inscriptions (Epigraphia Indica, II, 195; IV, 288). It is the country of the Gangridē Calinge of Pliny and Gangaridai of Megasthenes and Ptolemy. Its capital according to Ptolemy, was Gāṅga which is identified with Saptagrāma or Sātgaṇ. To account for the names of Gāṅga, Gāṅge and Ganges Regia, either we must suppose that at the beginning of the Christian era the country was either conquered by some monarch of the Gāṅga dynasty of the south (see Palakāḍa for the Gāṅga dynasty of Mysore), or that it derived its name from its capital Saptagrāma, called Gaṅgā on account of its situation on the Ganges. See Gāṅga. According to Diodorus the Ganges flowed by the eastern side of the country of the Gangaridai. It should be stated that according to Prof. Wilson, Ananta Varma, the first of the line of Gangā-vanśa kings of Orissa was also called “Kolāha, sovereign of Gangā-Rādhī” (Mackenzie Collections, Intro., cxxviii). Rājaśekhara who flourished in the tenth century mentions the name of Rādhā instead of Sumha (Karpura-māñjari, Act I). The Prabodhachandrodjayā-Nāṭaka (Act II) which was written in the eleventh century speaks of Dakshina Rādhā, indicating that before that period Rādhā was divided into Uttarā and Dakshina Rādhā. The portion on the north of the river Ajaya (including a portion of the district of Murshidabad) is Uttarā Rādhā and that on the south is Dakshina Rādhā. In the Mahā-
Lingēśvara Tantra in the Hundred-names of Śiva the names of Tārakesvara and Siddhi-nātha are mentioned and their temples are said to be situated in Rādha. Hence the celebrated temple of Tārakesvara must have existed before that book was composed. For the history of Rādha before the Mahomedan period see my Notes on the History of the District of Hughly in JASB., 1910, p. 599. It should be stated that Rādha is a corruption of Rāshīra, and an abbreviation of Gaṅgā-Rāshīra or Gaṅgā-Raḍa (the kingdom of Gaṅgā the "district of the Ganges" of the Periplus and Ganga-ride of Megasthenes. Gaṅgā-Raḍa was contracted into Gāḍa mentioned in the Kauṭīkata Upanishad and in the Karhād Plate Inscription of Krishna III, and also into Rāḍa which is further corrupted into Lāḍa and Lāla.

Raibhya-Aśrama—Kubjāmra at a short distance to the north of Hardwar; it was the hermitage of Rishi Raibhya.

Raivata—Mount Girnar near Junagar in Guzerat. It was the birth-place of Neminātha, hence it is one of the five great Tirthas of the Jainas (Tod’s Rājasthāna, Vol. I, ch. 19; Mbh., Sabhā, ch. 14); see Samet-Sikharā. For the names of the 24 Tirthakaaras of the Jainas, see Śrāvasti. It is the Revayac hill of the Jainas near Bāravai or Dwārabat (Antagada-Dasdo, Dr. Barnett’s trans., p. 84).

Raivataka—Same as Raivata (Mbh., Adi, ch. 220).

Rājaigrīha—Rājgir (Agni P., ch. 10), the ancient capital of Magadha (see Girivrajapura). The new town of Rājaigrīha was built by Bimbisāra, father of Ājatassatru, at a distance of about a mile to the north of the old town of Rājaigrīha or Girivrajapura of the Mahābhārata (Śvabhagbha’s Buddhā-charita, in SBE., XLIX). 2. Rājgir on the north bank of the Bias in the Panjab, the capital of Asvapati, king of Keka and maternal grandfather of Bharata (Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyā k., ch. 70).

Rājamahendra—The capital of Kāliṅga, said to have been founded by Mahendra Deva, but see Rājapura.


Rājapura—The capital of Kāliṅga (Mbh., Śānti, ch. 4). Perhaps it was the ancient name of Rājamahendri.

Rājapuri—Rajauri, south of Kasmir and south-east of Punach called Puhata by the Kasmiris.

Rāmadāsapura—Amritsar in the Panjab. Rāmdās, the Sikh Guru, built a hut on the margin of a natural pool of water which was the favourite resort of Bābā Nānak. Rāmdās obtained a grant of the pool which was considered sacred. It was improved and formed into a tank which was called the tank of nectar (Punjab Gazetteer—Amritsar). It was also called Chak.

Rāmagad-Gauḍa—Balarāmpur, twenty eight miles north-east of Gonda in Oudh.

Rāmagiri—Ramtege (Ramtak), 24 miles north of Nagpur in the Central Provinces (Wilson’s Mephadāta, v. 1 note). Traditionally Ramtek was the place where Śambuka, a Śūdra, performed asceticism, for which reason he was killed by Rāmachandra, hence it may also be identified with the Saibala-giri (mountain) of the Rāmāyaṇa, (Uttara, ch. 88). It contains a temple of Rāmachandra and also a temple dedicated to Nāgarjuna. Kālidāsa places the scene of his story in Mephadāta at Rāmagiri Rāmagiri has also been identified with Rāmagād in Sirugujā, one of the tributary states of Chhota Nagpur. There is a large cavern called Śītā Baṅgira cave high up in the rocks, forty-five feet deep and six feet high at the entrance, containing inscriptions of the time of Asoka. There is also
a natural fissure in the mountain called Hátiphor tunnel (cave), through which a small rivulet has worn out a passage. The tunnel is 450 feet long with a diameter ranging from 55 to 16 feet, and height 108 feet. The cave is said to have been noticed in the Rámâyána and in the Raghuvamáśa (Archaeological Survey Reports, Vol. XIII, p. 41; Lists of Ancient Monuments in the Chhota Nagpur Division). But the identification of Rágamgíra with Rámága does not appear to be correct. There can be no doubt therefore that the Sítá Bágíra Cave at Rámága in the Sirugíra State is the Riksha-víla of the Rámâyána (Kisāh. k., chs. 51, 52), but there is another Bindhýáchaíla: see Bindhýáchaíla (2).

Rámagráma—Rampur Deoríya in the district of Bastí in Oudh, which once contained a stúpa over a portion of the remains of Buddha's body, now washed away by the river (Arch. S. Report, Vol. XVIII, p. 4; XXII, pp. 2, 111; Upham's Mahávamóshi, ch. 31). It was visited by Fa Hian and Huen Tsiang.

Rámáhráda—A sacred tank or lake situated on the northern side of Thaneswar; it is 3546 feet in length from east to west and 1900 feet in breadth from north to south. It was called Dwap páyanáhráda on account of an island in the middle of it, which contained a well called Chandra-kúpa. It was also called Sáryapavánt or Sáríyánáváta in the Rig-Veda (I, 84, 14), a small tank situated on the north-eastern side of this tank is still called Sunetar which is evidently a corruption of Sáríyánáváta the two tanks being formerly one. It was also called Brahmasara on account of Brahmá having performed austerities on the bank of this tank. It was likewise called Rámáhráda as Páraśúráma gave obligations with the water of this tank to the manes of his ancestors after destroying the Kshatriyas. It was also called Chakra-úrtha as on the bank of this tank Kriṣñá attempted to kill Bhíshma with his discus (chakra) in violation of his promise not to use any arms in the Kurukshetra war. It was on the bank of this tank that Kuru performed austerities on account of which the surrounding country was called Kurukshetra (but see Oghavati). On the bank of this tank Purúravá recovered Urváśí, and Indra killed Vítraśura by a thunderbolt made of the bone of Dadhichi Muni (Mahábhárata, Vana, chs. 83, 100, 101; Cunningham's Anc. Geo., pp. 331-336).

Rámakélí—A village about 18 miles to the south-east of Malda in the district of Rajshahi in Bengal. It contains two tanks called Rúpaságara and Sanáthanáságara, said to have been excavated by the two brothers Rúpa and Sanátha, the celebrated followers of Chaitanya who were formerly ministers of Hassain Shah, king of Gaúḍa. It was visited by Chaitanya (Chaitanya-Bhágyaváta, Aníya Kh., ch. IV). A fair is held here every year in the month of Jýaishtha to commemorate the conversion of the two brothers into Vaishnavism.

Rámaḷýaka—A pleonastic form of Rámaṇiya, that is Armenia (Mahábhárata, Ádi, ch. 26: see my Rásátala or the Under-world).

Rámanya—Pegu and the delta of the Irawadi. It was also called Arámaṇa (Phaye's Hist. of Burma, p. 30).


Rámesvaram—Same as Setubandha (Rámâyána, Lánkā k., ch. 25). The island of Rámesvaram is separated from the mainland of India by the Pumber Passage. It contains the celebrated temple of Rámesvaram said to have been established by Ráma and Rámáchandra himself. Rámájharaká, containing the impression of Ráma's feet, is one mile and a half from the Rámesvaram temple, from this place Ráma and Rámáchandra is said to have supervised the construction of the Adam's Bridge.
Râmeśvara-saṅgama—The confluence of the river Banas with the Chambal.

Raṅkṣu—The Rangit, a tributary of the Tistā in the Darjeeling district (Márkaṇḍ. P., ch. 57).

Raṅtīpura—Rintambur or Rintipur on the Gomati, a branch of the Chambal. It was the abode of Ranti Deva alluded to by Kâlīḍāsa in his Meghadūta (pt. I, ś. 47). The story of Ranti Deva’s sacrifice of cows is related in the Mahābhārata (Drona P., ch. 67).

Rāsa—The river Jaxartes, the Ranha of the Avesta (Macdonnel and Keith’s Vedic Index of Names and Subjects, Vol. II, p. 209; Rig Veda, X, 75).

Râsâtala—Western Tartary, including Turkestan and the northern side of the Caspian Sea, the country of the Huns who were also called Te-le, the Sanskrit form of which is Tula. Râsâtala or Pâtalā was the general name of the country as well as the specific name of one of its provinces. The seven “spheres” or provinces of Râsâtala derived their names from the different tribes of Huns and Scythians (Sakas) who dwelt there and belonged to the Turanian stock. (1) Atala derived its name from the A-teleites; (2) Bitala from the Ab-teleites; (3) Nitala from the Nephtelites; (4) Talâtala from the To-chars (or the Takshakas of the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas, see Todd’s Rājāsthān, vol. I, ch. VI, p. 61 note). The Vishuv P. (ii, ch. 8) has Gabhastimat instead of Talâtala; Gabhasti appears to be the same as the Jaxartes (ibid., ch. 4), especially the upper portion of it; (5) Mahâtala from the Hai-teleites; (6) Sutala from the Ce-delites or Su tribes who lived in the Upper Jaxartes and the Oxus. They were the Surabhis or cows (Chorosmi of the classical writers) and Suparnâs or Garudas or birds of the Mahābhārata (Udyoga, chs. 100 and 101), who lived in the Trans-Caspian District. The names of the several tribes of Suparnâs commence with Su (ibid., ch. 100). The Garâlas were Sakas, but they followed the Zend-Aryan religion; (7) Râtala is the valley of the Rasa (q.v.) or the Jaxartes. It derived its name from the river Rasa, on the banks of which the Huns and the Scythians (Sakas) resided. They were called Nágas or serpents. The word Nága is evidently a corruption of Hu-nu, the ancient name of the Huns, and according to some authority they believed that the Serpent (Nága) was the symbol of the earth (Ragozin’s Vedic India, p. 308). Each name of the serpents of Pâtalâ as mentioned in the Mahābhārata (Adi, ch. 35) represents a tribe of Nágas, as Śeṣa—the Sēsa of Soḍīna, Viṣṇu—the Usūvis, Takshakas—the Tochars, Aśvata—the Asis, Titti— the Tatars afterwards called Tartars, etc. For the different names of the Huns, or rather of their tribes, see Dr. Modi’s Early History of the Huns in JBBRAS., vol. XXIV (1916—17), pp. 565, 548. Some of the Scythians also were Hunnic tribes (ibid., p. 563). Pâtalâ, though a general name, is evidently derived from the Eph-teleites or the White Huns; they were called white in contradistinction to the black or sun-burnt Huns of the North (ibid., p. 565). Râsâtala or Pâtalâ was also the abode of the Dânayas (demons) who were also Turanians. [Dr. J. J. Modi’s Ancient Pātaliputra in JBBRAS., vol. XXIV (1916—17), pp. 519, 521]. The classical name of the Caspian Sea was Mare Caspium or Hyrcanum, which shows that the name was derived from the two parts of the name of Hiranyakaśipu (a dāitya), the son of Kaśyapa; and the ancient town of Hyrcania near the modern town of Ásterabad to the south-east of the Caspian Sea must have been his capital, the ancient Hiranyapura (Padma P., Śrīśasti, ch. 6) though tradition places it (q.v.) in India, Bali’s palace was situated in Sutala or in the Trans-Caspian District (Harivamśa, ch. 262). Kaśyapa was the progenitor of the aforesaid tribes. The idea of Pâtalâ being below the surface of the earth, which can be entered through a subterranean passage and the conception that it contains seven spheres one above the other, have arisen out of a hazy memory of a primeval age, and the association
of the region with the Nāgas or serpents living underground has naturally led to the idea that it could be entered by subterranean passages through holes on the surface of the earth. Its association also with the demons, cows and Garuḍa birds that cannot live with the serpents has resulted in its division into several distinct spheres. (For a fuller description, see my Rasālata or the Under-World.)

Rāṣṭiḥka—See Lāṭa.


Ratnadīpa—Ceylon.

Rātaśākara-nadi—The Kānā-nadi on which is situated Kānākula-Krishṇanagara, a town in the district of Hugli in Bengal, which contains the temple of Mahādeva Ghanēśvara (Mahāēśvara Tāntara).

Ratnapura—Ratanpura, 15 miles north of Bilaspur in the Central Provinces, was the capital of Dakshiṇa Kośala or Gondwana. It was perhaps the capital of Mayuradhvaja and his son Tānradhvaja who fought with Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa for the sacrificial horse (Jaimini-Bhārata, ch. 41). Ratanpura became the capital of the Haihaya kings of Chhatīs-gad, where they ruled for fifty generations.

Rāvanahṛdaya—It is supposed to be the Anava-tapta or Ano-tatta lake of the Buddhist works. It is called by the Buddhists Langak-tso and Rakhas-tal. The lake is fifty miles in length and twenty-five miles in breadth. There is a hill in the middle of the lake. On the bank of the lake in the Gyantāg monastery, there is a gigantic image of Rāvane, king of Lanka. He is said to have bathed every day in this lake, and then worshipped Mahādeva in the Kailāsa mountain at a place called Homa-kunja. The Sutlej is said to have its source in this lake. (For a description of the lake, see Sven Hedin’s Trans-Himalaya, Vol. II, ch. 47).

Remunā—Six miles to the west of Balasore in Orissa, containing the temple of Kṣirachorā-Gopinātha, visited by Chaitanya.

Reṇukā-irīṭa—About sixteen miles north of Nahan in the Panjab (Padma P., Swarga, Ādi, ch. 11). Reṇukā was the mother of Paraśurāma. The Padma Purāṇa mentions nine holy places (uśarās) in Northern India; Reṇukā, Śākara (Sorōn on the Ganges), Kāśi (Benares), Kāli (Karra on the Ganges), Īśvara, Kālājāra and Mahākāla (Ujjain).

Revā—The river Nerbuda (Meghadūta, Pt. I, v. 20; Padma P., Swarga, ch. 10), but according to some Purāṇas the Revā and the Narmadā are different rivers (Bāmāna P., ch. 13, vs. 25, 30; Bhāgavata P., Bk. V, ch. 19).

Revāpura—Same as Śivālāya. Ghusrīneśa Mahādeva is said to be in Revāpura (Padma P., Uttara, ch. 82); hence Revāpura is identical with Śivālāya.

Revavanti—Revadanāṇa (see Champāvati).

Rījupālikā—The river Barākār near Giridih in the district of Hazaribagh, Chutia Nagpur division. From an inscription in a temple about 8 miles from Giridih, containing footprints of Mahāvīra, it appears that the name of the river, on which it was originally situated but in a different locality, was Rījupālikā, the present temple being erected with the materials of the old ruined temple removed to this place. Hence the original site of the temple must have been Jrimbhikagrāma which was near the Pārasnath hills (Kalpasūtra in SBE, XXII, p. 263; Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson’s Heart of Jainism, p. 38).

Riksha-parvata—The eastern part of the Vindhyā range extending from the Bay of Bengal to the source of the Nerbada and the Sone (Brahmārāja P., ch. 48), including the mountains south of the Sone, namely those of Chutia Nagpur, Ramgar, etc., as well as the mountains
of Gondwana in which the river Mahānadi has got its source (Mbh., Sānti, ch. 52) and also the mountains where the rivers Nerbuda, Sone, Suktimati, etc., take their rise (Barhā P., ch. 85; Skanda P., Revā Kh., ch. 4).

Rishchavīla—The Sītā-Baṅgira cave at Rāmgad in the Sirugija State of the Chutia-Nagpur division (Rāmāyana, Kishk., k., chs. 51, 52; List of Ancient Monuments in the Chota Nagpur Division). The latter work wrongly indentifies Rāmgad including the Sītā-Baṅgira cave and the Hátiphor tunnel with Rāmagiri of the Meghadūta. See Rāmagiri. But this Rishchavīla appears to have been situated in the Vindhyāchala of North Mysore (Rāmāyana, Kishk., chs. 48, 50) and not of Northern India.

Bishabhā-parvata—The Palni hills in Madura, which form the northern portion of the Malaya mountain (Mbh., Vana P., ch. 85; Chaitanya-charitāmrita, II; Gaurasundara, p. 214). (The Mahābhārata, Vana P., ch. 85) says it is situated in Pāṇḍya. The hills are locally called Barāha Parvata.

Rishikulyā—1. The Rishikulīrī river on which Ganjam is situated; it rises in the Mahendra hills (Brahmānda P., Pūrva, ch. 48). It is also called Rasikola (Thornton's Gazetteer, Ganjam). 2. The Kiyul which rises on the Sukmatī mountain in Bihar sub-division not far from Raigir (Arch. S. Rep., Vol. VIII, p. 124).

Bishipattana—Sārnāth near Benares—Isipattana of the Buddhists (Lalitavistara, ch. 28).

Rishyamakā—A mountain situated eight miles from Anagondi on the bank of the Tuṅgabhadrā. The river Pampā rises in this mountain and falls into the Tuṅgabhadrā after flowing westward. It was at this mountain that Ramechandra met Hanumān and Sugrīva for the first time (Rāmāyana, Kishk., ch. IV). Mataṅga-vana, where the female ascetic Savari resided, was near this mountain on the western side of the river Pampā.

Rishyaśriga-aśrama—The hermitage of Rishi Rishyaśriga of the Rāmāyana was situated at Rishi-kunda, twenty-eight miles to the west of Bhagalpur, and four miles to the southwest of Baripar, one of the stations of the East India Railway (Rāmāyana, Adi k., ch. 9). The hermitage was situated in a circular valley formed by the Maira hill which is evidently the Muruk hill of Captain Thuiller (see the Kharakpur Hills in JASB., 1852, p. 204). The valley is open only on the northern side. It contains seven springs issuing from the foot of the western hills, five being of hot water and two of cold at their extremities. The combined water of these springs is collected in a tank or pool called Rishi-kunda, the superfusive water of which issues out of the northern side of the valley in the shape of a small stream called the Abhi-nadi and falls into the Ganges at a distance of five miles; but it is evident that the Ganges formerly flowed very close to the north of the valley. A small space enclosed with broken stones on the north bank of the tank is pointed out as the place where the Rishi and his father Bibhāndaka used to sit in meditation, and a stone slab near its northern bank is shown as the place where they used to perform ablutions. A fair is held here every third year in honour of the Rishi Rishyaśriga. Other places as the Singarika or Rishyaśriga Parvata, 8 miles to the south of the Kajra station (Ind. Ant., vol. II, p. 140) also claim the honour of being the hermitage of the Rishi (see Rohinnāla), but from the proximity of Rishi-kunda to the Ganges, which afforded facility to the public women sent by Romapāda, king of Aiṅga to entice away the young hermit from his seclusion, preference should be given to it as the likely place where Rishyaśriga and his father Bibhāndaka performed austerities. The Rishi's hermitage is said in the Mahābhārata to have been situated not far from the river Kusi (ancient Kauśkī) and three yojanas or twenty-four miles from Champā, where the houses of the public women were situated. (Mbh., Vana, chaps. 110, 111).
Rishyāśṛiṅga-giri—Same as Śringagiri.
Rāśālēśvara—Roālsar, a celebrated lake and famous place of pilgrimage within the territory of the Rājā of Mundi, a hill-state stretching along the middle course of the Bias in the Panjab, about 64 miles to the north-west of Jvālāmukhi. The lake contains seven moving hills, one of which called Gauri Devi possesses special sanctity. Padmasambhava, the founder of Buddhism in Tibet, is worshipped here not only by the Lamas, but by the Brahmins as Rishi Lomaśa (JASB., 1902, p. 39). His temple is situated on the side of the lake and is visited by Buddhist pilgrims from China, Japan and Tibet.
Rohana—Adam’s Peak in Ceylon; it is also called Sumana-kūṭa (Murarı’s Anarāgarāghava, Act vii, 90; Rājataranginya, iii, v, 72; Upham’s Rājāvalī).
Rohi—Afghanistan; it was also called Roha. *Same as Loha.*
Rohitā—The rivulet Rohin in the Nepalese Terai which separated Kapilāvasu from Koli (P. C. Mukherjee’s Antiquities in the Terai, Nepal, p. 48). An impending fight for the exclusive right of drawing water for the purposes of irrigation from the river Rohi between the Koliyas and the Sakiyas was averted by Buddha (Jātaka, Camb. ed., vol. V, pp. 219-221).
Rohinnalā—Lo-in-nil-lo of Hiuen Tsang. Vivien St. Martin has identified it with Rohinnalā and General Cunningham with Rajaon which is two miles to the north-west of the Lakhisarai station of the E. I. Railway. General Cunningham also surmises that by Lo-in-nil-lo Hiuen Tsang meant Kiyul (Arch. S. Rep., vol. III). Rohinnalā of St. Martin is not fictitious as supposed by Cunningham. There is actually a village called Rehunālā situated on the Ganges; perhaps it also existed at the time when it was visited by the Chinese traveller. Rehunālā, which is evidently a corruption of Rohit-nilā or Rohinnalā, is five miles to the north-west of Urain in the district of Monghyr. There are many Buddhist and other ancient ruins at Urain (which was formerly called Ujjain) and also at Rehunālā. Rehunālā must have been a celebrated place, otherwise there would have been no foundation for the local tradition that “one Rehunālā was in the dominion of Indradumna, the last king of Jayanagar, who is supposed by General Cunningham and Buchanan (Eastern India, II, p. 29) to have been the last of the Pāla Rājās of Magadha (Bihar) who was defeated by Mukhdum Maulana Bux, one of the chiefs under Bakhtiar Kiliṣi. Seven miles to the south of Rehunālā there is a spur of the Vindhyā Range called Singhol hill, where according to the local tradition, Rishyāśṛiṅga’s āśrama was situated; it contains several springs and some temples (see *Rishyāśṛiṅga-āśrama*).
Rohita—Rohtas, in the district of Shahabad in Bengal, celebrated for its fort, which is said to have been built (Harivansha, ch. 13) by Rohitāśva, son of Rājā Hariśchandra of the Rāmāyaṇa and Mārkandeya Purāṇa and ancestor of Rāmchandra of Oudh. It was also called Rohitāśva (JASB., viii, p. 698). The buildings in the fort were repaired and renovated by Man Sing in 1597 A.D. after he was appointed Subedar of Bengal and Bihar. The Rohitas hill is a spur of the Kymore range a branch of the Vindhyā mountain. For Man Sing’s inscription and the genealogy of the kings of Rohtas, see JASB., 1839, pp. 354, 693.
Rohitakā—Rohtak, forty two miles north-west of Delhi in the Panjab. It was conquered by Nakula, one of the Pāṇḍavas (Mbh., Sahhā P., ch. 32). The ancient town called Khokra-kot is at a small distance to the north of the modern town.
Rohitāśva—Same as Rohita (JASB., vol. VIII, p. 695).
Rudra-Gayā—In Kolhapura (Padma P., Uttara, ch. 62).


Rudrapada—In Mahālaya or Omkaranātha, where Mahādeva (Rudra) left his foot-mark (Karma P., Pt. II, ch. 36).

Rurumūḍa Parvata—Same as Urumūḍa Parvata (Divyāvadāna, Cowell’s ed., chs. XXVI, p. 349; XXVII).

Sābhramati—The river Sābarmati in Guzerat (Padma P., Uttara kh., ch. 52). It rises from Nandikūṭa (ch. 53) or the modern Dhanbar Lake near Mirpura, twenty miles north of Doongapura, and falls into the Gulf of Kambay.

Sādānirā—1. The river Karatoyā which flows through the districts of Rungpur and Dinajpur, the ancient Pundra (Amarakosha, Patāla, V; Tihitāvata, p. 796). The river is said to have been formed by the perspiration which flowed from the hand of Śiva at the time of his marriage with Durgā. 2. A river mentioned in the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa as being situated between Videha (Tīrhit) and Kosala (Oudh); the river was the limit of the Aryan colonisation and conquest on the east at the time when the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, was composed by Yājñavalkya (see Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, IX, 4). It has been identified with the river Gandak (Eggeling’s Introduction to the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa in the Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XII, p. 104), but in the Mahābhārata (Sabhā P., ch. 20), it has been placed between the Gandaki and the Sarayu, and in the list of rivers Sadānirā is mentioned as a distinct river from the Karatoyā or the Gandak (see Mbh., Bāhūma P., ch. 9). Mr. Pargiter identifies it with the Rapti, a tributary of the Sarayu (see his Mārkaṇḍeya P., c. 57, p. 294).

Sāgalā—Same as Sākala, the capital of Mālinda or Menander, king of the Yonakas or Bactrian Greeks (Milindā Paśha, Vol. XXXV of SBE., p. 1). The Saṅkhya monastery was near Sāgalā. It was the capital of Madra-đesa (Jātaka, Vol. IV, p. 144).

Sāgaras-aṅgama—A celebrated place of pilgrimage still called by that name or Gaṅgā-śāgarā near the mouth of the Ganges, said to have been the hermitage of Rishi Kapila, same as Kapilāśrama (Bṛihat-Dharma Purāṇa, Pūrva khaṇḍa, ch. 6; Mbh., Vana, ch. 114). The temple in honour of Kapila Muni in Sāgar Island was erected in 430 A.D., but it was washed away by the sea in 1842. It once contained a population of 200,000 (JASB., 1850, p. 538, note).

Sāhaṇājana—Same as Sanjān (Harivaśeśa, ch. 33).

Sahasārāma—Sasiram in the district of Shahabad. Aśoka’s inscription is on Chandan Pir’s hill situated on the east of the modern town. It is ninety miles to the south-west of Patna. Within the town is situated the tomb of Sher Shah in an artificial tank. For Pratāpa Dhaval’s inscription of 1173 A.D. and Aśoka’s inscription on Chandan Sāhid hill, see JASB., 1839, p. 354.

Sahyādri—The northern parts of the Western Ghats north of the river Kāverī; the portion south of the river Kāverī was called Malaya-giri (see Mahāvira-charita, Act V, v. 3).

Sahyādrijā—The river Kāverī (Śiva P., Vidyāśarasāmskṛtī, ch. X).

Śalibala—Same as śilvālaya (Bṛihat-Śiva P., II, ch. 4).

Śalibala-giri—Rāmagiri or Rāmtek mountain, 24 miles to the north of Nagpur in the Central Provinces. At the foot of this mountain a Śūdra, performed asceticism, on account of which he was killed by Rāmachandra (Rāmāyaṇa, Uttara k., ch. 88). See Rāmagiri and Śamboča-āśrama. It was situated on the southern side of the Vindhya range (Ibid.).
Sailodá — The river Jaxartes which flows through the northern extremity of Sogdiana (Matsyu P., ch. 120 and JASB., Vol. LXXI, p. 156). But the Jaxartes has been identified with the river Sitâ (see Sitâ). The identification of Sailodá with the Jaxartes does not appear to be correct (see Brahmanda P., ch. 51). The river is said to be situated between the Meru and Mandâra mountains (Mbh., Sabha, ch. 51) and near Utërâ-kuru (Râmâyana, Kishk., ch. 43).

Sairindhra — Sirhind (see Brihat-samhita, XIV, ch. 29).

Sairishaka — Sirsa in the Panjab (Mbh., Sabha, ch. 32).

Saitabáhīni — Same as Bâhuda (Amarakosha).

Sâkadvipa — Tartary including Turkestan in Central Asia, the country of the Sâkas (JASB., Vol. LXXI, p. 154). Scythia and Sog-dia-na are corruptions of Sâka-dvipa. According to the Greek geographers the Sâkas lived to the east of Sogdiana, now called the Pamir, the country between Bokhara and Samarkhand. According to Strabo the country lying to the east of the Caspian Sea was called Scythia (see also Ragozin’s Assyria, ch. 12). In 160 B.C. the Sâkas or Sce were expelled from Sogdiana by the Yushis or Yuechis, a tribe of the Tatars. The Sâkas, after fighting their way, through the Greek kingdoms, ceded to Chandragupta by Seleukos and which had become independent after the death of Ašoka, invaded India through Sindh and established themselves at Mathurā, Ujjayinī and Girinagara, as Kshatrapas or viceroyes under their king at Seistan which means “the land of the Sce”, or Sâkas. Meanwhile the five tribes of the Yushis or Yuechis being pressed from behind conquered Baktria in 126 B.C. (see Bālhika and Sâkala and Pañcahananda). About a century afterwards the Kushanas one of the branches became predominant. The Kushanas after defeating the Sâka suzerain in Seistan pushed forward and conquered the Panjab and ousted the Sâkasatrap from Mathurā, and they made Takshaśilā their capital of the kingdom extending from Baktria to the Doab of the Ganges, and Mathurā remained their subordinate capital. Kanishka, belonging to the Kushan tribe of the Tartars, became the king of the Kushan kingdom in the first or second century A.D. The resemblance of the following names of the countries, rivers and mountains in Sâkadvipa as given in the ancient Hindu works to those mentioned by Ptolemy in his geography is striking:—


Sâkadvipa.

**Countries (Varshas).**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kumuda</th>
<th>Inhabited by the Komedai (a mountain district called Komedorum Montes by the Greeks) between the source of the Oxus and the Jaxartes. Komedorum Montes is the Tsungking mountain of Huen Tsiang; see Kiu-mi-to in Beal’s <em>RWC.</em>, Vol. I, p. 41.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sukumāra</td>
<td>Komaro.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jalada</td>
<td>Golaktothagoi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jalandhara</td>
<td>Salateroi (p. 268) or the Zaratoi (p. 288).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Countries (Janapada).**

| Masaka                        | Massagatet.                                                                                     |
| Mandaga                       | Makhaitegoi.                                                                                    |
Rivers.

Sita ... The Syr-daria or the Jaxartes (daria means river).
Chakshuvarddhana ... The Oxos or the Oxus.
Kumāri ... The Rha or the Volga.

Mountains.

Meru ... Mt. Imaus.
Malaya ... Alana mountain.
Śyāma-giri ... Kaukasos Mount (including the Beoortag and the Mustag mountain which means the Black mountain. It is identical with Mount Syāmaka of the Avesta (Yast. XIX, 5; SBE., Vol. XXIII, p. 288).


Countries.

Kusumoda ... Inhabited by the Khorasmai (p. 282).
Maudādi ... Inhabited by the Mardyanoi (p. 281).

River.

Ikshu ... The Oxos.

Mountain.

Asta-giri ... Aska-tangka (tangka means mountain, p. 285).
Durga Śaila ... The El Burz mountain, as both the words Durga and Burz mean a fort (see my Rasátala or the Under-World).

Town.

Mārkanda ... Samarkand (p. 274), the capital of Sogdo or Sogdiana, called Maracanda (Bretschneider’s Medieval Researches, II, p. 58; McCrindle’s Invasion of India by Alexander the Great, p. 40).

It should be noted that in Śākadvipa, the river Hiraṇvati (the river of gold) mentioned in the Mahābhārata (VI, ch. 8), forming the boundary of the country of the Suparnas or Garudas, is evidently Zarafshan, the (distributor of gold) It is the river Hāṭaki-Nadi of Rasátala of the Bhāgavata (V, ch. 24). It rises in the Fan-tau mountains and falls into Kara-kul lake.

Śākala—The capital of Madradesa (Mahābhārata, Sabha, ch. 32). It has been identified by Cunningham with Sanglawala-Tibb on the Apagā river west of the Ravi in the district of Jhang in the Panjab. But this identification has been proved to be erroneous, it has been identified with Chuniot or Shakkot in the Jhang district. But Dr. Fleet has identified
Śākala with Sialkote in the Lahore division, Panjab (Smith's *Early History of India*, 3rd ed., p. 75; Rapson's *Ancient India*, p. 139), and this identification is confirmed by the local tradition that the town was founded by Rājā Sāl (i.e., Śalya, uncle of the Pāṇḍavas. It became the capital of the Greek king Demetrius after his expulsion from Bactria and of his successors down to Dionysius who ascended the throne after Menander. — Milinda of the Buddhists (140–110 B.C.), (see Bāhlika and Śākadvipa). The *Vāyu Purāṇa* (ch. 99) also mentions that eight Yavana kings reigned at this place for 82 years. Śākala was called Euthydemia by the Greeks (see McCrindle's *Ptolemy*, p. 121) and Sāgala by the Buddhists (Kalinga-Bodhi Jātaka in Jātaka, Cam. ed., IV, 144). It is the birth-place of Śāvitrī, the wife of Satyavāna (*Mahāyuddha*, ch. 206). Śalya, the brother of Mādri, was king of Madra at the time of the *Mahābhārata*. Mihirakula made Śākala his capital in 510 A.D. after the death of his father Toramāna who had established himself at Malwa with the white Huns, but according to some authorities Mihirakula's grandfather Lakhana Udayāditya established his capital at Śākala (see *Magadha*).

Śākambhari—1. Sambhara in Western Rajputana (*Mbh.*, Adi P., ch. 78; *Ind. Ant.*, VIII, 159; X, 161; *J.R.A.S.*, Vol. XVII, p. 20), where a well called Deśāṇi is pointed out as the identical well in which Devayāni, who afterwards became the queen of Rājā Yāyāti, was thrown by the princess Śarmisthā. Śākambhari was the capital of the country (Ep. Ind., Vol. II, p. 422). See *Sapādālaśka*. 2. The celebrated temple of Śākambhari is situated in Kumaun on the road from Hardwar to Kedarnāth. The temple of Śākambhari Devī is situated on Mount Sur-Kot on the north-western part of the Sevaliks (*Calcutta Review*, Vol. LVIII (1874), pp. 201 f.; *Devī-Brāhava*, VII, ch. 28).

Śakaspura—Same as Saakāsya (Hardy's *M.B.*, p. 310).

Śakasthāna—Sistan, where the Sakas first settled themselves, though they afterwards spread to other parts of Central Asia (Mathura Lion Pillar Inscription; Cunningham's *Bhilsa Tophes*, p. 128). It was called Drangiana before it bore the name of Śakasthāna, afterwards it was called Sijistan and its modern name is Sistan (Rapson's *Anc. Ind.*, p. 137).

Śaketa—Ayodhya or Oudh (*Hemakoshā*). Its capital was Sujanakoti or Sanchankot, the Shachi of Fa Hian, thirty-four miles north-west of Unao in Oudh (Dr. Rhys Davids' *Buddhist India*, p. 39) on the river Sai in the Unao district. It appears from the *Mahāvagga* (VII, 1, 1, in the *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XVII) that the town of Śaketa was six leagues from Śravasti. McCrindle identifies it with Ayodhyā, the Sageda of Ptolemy.

Śakra-kumārikā—Near Rupakā-śṛitha, about sixteen miles to the north of Nahan in the district of Sirmur in the Panjab. The name of Śakra-kumārikā was used by way of contradistinction to Kanyakumārikā (*Mahābhārata*, Vana, ch. 82, v. 81).

Śalagrāma—A place situated near the source of the Gāndak, where Bharata and Rishi Pulaha performed asceticism (*Padma P.*, Pātala kh., ch. 78; *Bhāgavata*, Sk. V, ch. 7). It was the birth-place of Mārkaṇḍa (*Brihāt-Nārādiya P.*, ch. 5). Jada-Bharata's hermitage was situated on the Kākavani river on the north of Redigrāma, and that of Pulaha in the latter village (*Archāvatara-sthāta-vaiśhava-darpam*). For description of Śalagrāma and the holy stones called Śalagrāma (see Oppert's *On the Original Inhabitants of Bharata-varsha or India*, pp. 337-359; Wilford's *Ancient Geography of India in Asia*, Res., XIV, p. 414; *Brahma-vaiśvarta P.*, ii, ch. 13). See *Muktinātha*.

Śalāgrāmi—The river Gāndak, especially that portion of it which is within half a mile of Muktinātha, the bed of which abounds with sacred stones called Śalāgrāma: see *Muktinātha* (*Bardha P.*, ch. 144). It is also called Kāli.
UMAJI NAIK.

(An Episode in the History of Western India.)
By S. M. EDWARDS, C.S.I., C.V.O.
(Continued from page 106.)

At length his patience was rewarded. The Bombay Government, though much disinclined to have any negotiations with the Ramosi Naiks, decided at length, in May 1828, to grant a pardon to Umajj and his followers for all their past offences, excepting the brutal murder of the sepoys in the previous December. This crime was to be fully investigated, and those who might be proved guilty of it were to be punished. Accordingly the Officer Commanding Poona Horse was directed to arrange for an interview with Umajj and make known to him the orders respecting his pardon. The interview took place on May 21st below the hills, two miles south of Såswad. Umajj, accompanied by 150 men belonging to the Ramosi, Kunbi and allied castes, and preceded by the \( \delta \theta \delta \gamma \zeta \zeta \zeta \) horns, and other insignia of Khandoba's temple at Jejuri, descended from the hill, and having heard the substance of the Government's proclamation, re-ascended the hill and made known the terms to his followers. He was by no means satisfied with the conditions of his pardon and, like the other Ramosi Naiks, was apprehensive of some treacherous act on the part of the Government. For the time being, however, he had no excuse for failing to conduct himself in accordance with the orders; and accordingly, in the course of the next few days, he betook himself quietly to Sakurdi, in company with Bhoomi Naik and seventy of his followers. Incidentally it may be mentioned that in the course of the negotiations with the authorities at Poona, the Ramosi Naiks had made allegations against one Dhondo Pant, the principal member of the clerical staff of the Collector of Poona, declaring that he had incited them to persevere in their marauding excursions and had shared with them the contributions which they levied from the villages and the general public. Though there were many who believed the Brahman to be innocent, he was brought to trial on these charges before the Sessions Judge of Poona, was found guilty and was sentenced to death. The sentence was subsequently commuted to imprisonment for life, and Dhondo Pant died in prison in 1831. Considering that barely eleven years had passed since the theocratic government of the Peshwa had held sway over the hills and valleys of the Deccan, and that with his overthrow the sect of the Konkanastha Brahmans, to which the Peshwa himself belonged, had lost their dominant position, it is not by any means unlikely that a representative of this sect should have lent secret encouragement and support to a movement that was overtly hostile to the Peshwa's political successors. The resentment felt by that sect at the loss of their supremacy has been one, if not the principal, factor in the political movements which have from time to time arisen since that date in Western India.

The second phase of Umajj's career thus opens with his formal restoration to the favour of the Bombay Government, which, in pursuance of the system of police administration then in vogue, employed him to assist in keeping the peace in the Poona district and guarding the lives and property of the inhabitants. In accordance with his duty, Umajj shortly afterwards dispatched his brother and other Ramosis to arrest certain persons who had perpetrated robberies in the Mawals; and his successful action on this occasion induced the Government to bestow upon him 120 \( \beta \iota \gamma \pi \alpha \varsigma \) of land and a regular salary as part of the police establishment. Some of the other Naiks shared his good fortune, namely Bhoomi who received Rs. 25 a month, five other Ramosi Naiks at Rs. 12 each per month, and 72 men at Rs. 5 each per month. Umajj himself was to draw Rs. 30 monthly, and the party was given
the services of a Karkun on Rs. 10. Government assumed perhaps too readily that Umáji had turned over a new leaf and would now settle down as one of their agents for the prevention and detection of crime. But he was too deeply imbued with the spirit of adventurous marauding, and had never relinquished the hope of securing an independent position. Therefore, while completely satisfied as to the good faith of the Bombay Government towards himself, he determined, under a cloak of pretended zeal in their interests, to resort secretly to his former unlawful practices. Quis custodiet ipsos custodes?

In April 1829, therefore, we find him arresting certain Kaikádis who had looted a house at Shikrapur and confining them in his own village, instead of handing them over to the magistrate at Poona. During their confinement he extorted Rs. 400 from them, and then persuaded them to remain in his employ, with promises of further opportunities for loot. In June he actually sent these men to loot the houses of two Brahmins at a village south of Sakurdi, and when ordered by the authorities to seize the culprits, he forced the Brahman plaintiffs by threats to give him a written receipt for all their losses, exonerating both himself and the villagers of Sakurdi from blame. In the following month a Gosávi was robbed of Rs. 3,000 near Lonad by a body of fifteen Hetkaris and twenty Ramosis, acting under his orders: in July and August his Kaikádis were out again, plundering houses at Moreshwar and Belur. In all these cases the major share of the loot was handed to Umáji. The Bombay Government, however, still believed him to be acting honestly, for towards the end of August he was summoned to Poona by the Collector, Captain Robertson, and informed that his own pay, and the pay of his party, had been increased. His illicit gains continued unchecked. In October he received Rs. 2,000 out of the amount stolen from a banker of Kalyan; in November he sent a body of Hetkaris and Ramosis to a spot near Chauk on the Panwel road, where they looted the property of a wealthy Poona shroff. The gang eventually handed Rs. 6,000 to Umáji at Sakurdi. Another banker was robbed in January 1830, near the Salpi ghât: several highway robberies took place near Jejuri and Phaltan in April: in May the house of the Kulkarni of Ekatpur was attacked on the very day that his daughter’s marriage was taking place; and as reports of Umáji’s personal complicity were rife, he decided to pacify the Collector by sending a couple of men, whom he picked up, to stand their trial at Poona for the robbery. Two other dacoities took place in May at Nageon and Wadgaon, in the latter of which a Brahman householder was killed; in June Umáji’s Kaikádis robbed the house of the Kulkarni of Pargaon, and in August they plundered two houses near Baramati: at the end of the latter month Umáji employed some of his Purandhar Ramosis to break into the house of the Deshpânde of Alandi near Kikvi; September witnessed several dacoities in Phaltan.

At this juncture Umáji’s career of crime suffered a temporary check. Complaints had been made against him to the authorities at Poona by various people, among them being a Ramosi, whom Umáji in revenge maltreated in an outrageous manner. This behaviour was responsible for a Government order removing Umáji from his post in the Purandhar District police and obliging him to reside permanently in Poona. He was allowed to retain his pay, however, and the Patels of five villages in Purandhar stood surety for his not absconding from the Deccan capital. Accordingly, in November 1830, Umáji came to Poona with his personal belongings and received an advance of Rs. 200 towards the cost of building himself a permanent residence in the city. Government and the countryside breathed more freely, in the hope that he would now settle down as a peaceful urban householder. But they forgot “the call of the wild.” Five weeks later, having ascertained that Sir John Malcolm had left Bombay on retirement from the office of Governor, Umáji
fled from Poona and lay concealed with some of his followers until the middle of January, 1831. The Collector of Poona, Mr. Giberne, called at once on the Ramosi Naiks in Government employ and on the Patels who had stood surety for Umâji's behaviour, to arrest the absconder and bring him back to Poona. The Naiks, however, reported that they could not trace his whereabouts, although the movement of his Ramosis and sikhandas from Sakwadi to the hills, which occurred at this date, made it plain that Umâji was in the neighbourhood and was preparing to defy Government. Two or three highway robberies before the end of January 1831, pointed to the same conclusion.

The Bombay Government at last decided that active steps must be taken to arrest Umâji and break up his gang of outlaws. A detachment of the 17th Regiment under Captain Luyken, and a detachment of Grenadiers from Satara were ordered to proceed against the gang; the Ahmadnagar police corps was also called up to co-operate with the troops. Meanwhile Umâji summoned all his followers to Khandoba's temple at Jejuri and made them swear a solemn oath of allegiance to him. His force consisted of 90 of the men, still in the pay of the Government, of whom 30 were Hetkaris; 350 men of various castes, including several desperate and proscribed criminals from Satara, Bhor and other places; 200 Kolis, whom he employed to act with him in the Junnar and Nasik districts, and 200 Manges, who were posted in Sholapur District and on the Nizam's frontier. He had also received an offer of Pindâris from a Patel in one of the Nizam's villages, but this offer was ultimately not accepted. Umâji's first intention was to march into the Pant Sachiv's country and demand his alleged rights; and when Captain Luyken arrived at Jejuri on January 17th, 1831, Umâji and his men stole away, crossed the Nira, and after looting a village and taking prisoners two Brahmans, concealed themselves in the hilly country south-east of Bhor. On the following day they were attacked by the Grenadiers under Captain Boyd; and though they suffered no loss they decided in some alarm to break up their forces. In consequence Umâji and fifty men made for the Purandhar hills via Pandugarg; Bhojâji and fifty men departed in a south-easterly direction; while the rest sought the country adjoining Purandhar to collect fresh levies. Meanwhile the Government forces disposed themselves as follows—Lieutenant Foulerton with the first Grenadier detachment from Poona was posted on the south side of Purandhar hill; Lieutenant Shaw with the 9th Regiment from Sholapur was at the Mahadev temple south-east of Phaltan; Lieutenant Forbes of the 15th Regiment and Lieutenant Christopher of the 11th Regiment held the passes between the Deccan and the Konkan; and Lieutenant Lloyd with a detachment of the 11th marched into the hills west of Singarh. Towards the end of January 1831, the Bombay Government issued a proclamation to the effect that a reward of Rs. 5,000 and 200 bigahs of land in ianam would be granted for the apprehension of each of the four chief Ramosi Naiks, Umâji, Kistnâji, Bhojâji, and Yesu Nikli.

During the early part of February 1831, the Ramosis kept moving about the country, watching their opponents, circulating false information of their own movements and plans, and seizing supplies from the villages. After narrowly escaping capture by six men of the Ahmadnagar Police corps on February 2nd, Umâji and his men fled to the hills south-west of Salpi, and thence moved slowly towards Purandhar. On the way they were attacked near Walla by a Jemadar of the 17th Regiment; and a sharp skirmish ensued, which so disheartened the gang that many of them relinquished the struggle and absconed. Among these was Ram Rao, a Koli Naik, who departed with all his men, and was eventually arrested with all his following in March by Captain Boyd and his grenadiers. On the 12th February the troops operating against Umâji were augmented by the arrival of the 8th Regiment from
Ahmadnagar under Captain Livingstone. Umâjî now moved towards the Bhima, and on February 16th at the village of Babulaar issued, with the help of his colleagues and a Brahman scribe, a lengthy “proclamation,” addressed to the inhabitants of Hindustan, urging them to destroy all Europeans and European troops, promising in return all manner of rewards, and calling down curses on those Hindus and Muhammadans who failed to act in the spirit of this vain-glorious announcement. Umâjî’s courage was rather dashed by authentic news, received immediately afterwards, that Yesu Nâkâ had been captured at Baramati, and his own brother, Amrita, near Parenda, both of whom were hanged subsequently at Jejuri. This melancholy information set the gang moving further afield. They dived into the hills south-east of Phaltan, thence moved to Bhimashankar in Junnar and eventually reached the Mahadev hills about the end of the month. Their peregrinations had told heavily on them; food was very scarce: the fear of capture was constantly before them. The Hetkaris, in particular, desired to break away and take their chance, and it required all Umâjî’s persuasive power to retain them in his employ. Towards the end of March certain villagers discovered the gang in the hills between Pîngod and Sakurdi and warned the detachments at Dhond and Pangnaon, who made an unsuccessful attempt to overpower it. After taking a very brutal revenge on the villagers who had betrayed them, Umâjî retired with his adherents to the ravines south of the Salpi ghâlt. During June many of his followers were captured by the troops and police, and many more during July and August. Others, who were not seized and hanged, decided to break away from Umâjî, whose following was in this manner rapidly diminishing. So hard pressed, indeed, was the gang during these months that on one occasion they were forced to murder a sick comrade, a Ramosî, whom they found it difficult to carry along in their rapid flight through the jungle.

Umâjî himself seemed to bear a charmed life and contrived to escape in October into the Konkan with a few followers. There he rested until November 27th, 1831, when he suddenly reappeared in Aulas village, 5 miles from Mulshi, and thence dispatched a crude and dictatorial letter to the Collector, stating that he could never be captured and calling for a truce. The only reply was an attack by the police, who forced him to flee to the south side of Singarh Fort. There, on December 14th, occurred the transaction which indirectly led to his capture and punishment. His Hetkaris, now thoroughly worn out and despairing of safety, broke into practical mutiny and demanded their pay. Money had to be obtained somehow to meet their demands. Consequently Umâjî, together with one Bapu Salsekâr and six Ramosîs, decided to visit a village near Bhor, where lived a man who owed him a few hundred rupees. Thither they set out on the night of the 14th December. Meanwhile their movements had become known to two Ramosîs, Nânâ and Kâlu, who had previously been captured by the troops, but had been set at liberty on condition of assisting actively in the seizure of Umâjî. These two contrived, by the exercise of great duplicity, to make Umâjî and two other prisoners in the village above-mentioned, and having bound them tightly with ropes, called the nearest detachment of police. Umâjî, who was worn and emaciated with the hardships of the preceding months, was taken with his comrades to Saswad on December 16th, and thence to Poona, where he was eventually tried and convicted. He was hanged with his two followers on February 3rd, 1832. The remainder of his gang, numbering only eight persons, was shortly afterwards broken up, Bhojâjî being killed in a fight with the troops, and Pâdu, a man of most violent character, being seized and sentenced to transportation. So ended the Ramosî revolt of 1826-32.

Umâjî Naïk was in many ways a remarkable man. Captain Mackintosh describes him as slightly built, “about 5 ft. 4 in. in height, with large, dark, searching and expressive eyes, a large nose deeply set under the brow: his features, on the whole, were mild and rather
pleasing; he had a fine throat, and his skin was of an unburnished copper colour." He was of the stuff of which popular leaders are made, for his personality and his conduct favourably impressed the men of his own tribe as well as the lower classes in general; and while he could inspire both respect and terror, his liberality to all needy and indigent people aroused general admiration. Though a professional robber, he found no pleasure in accumulating money, and was often blamed by his wife for his prodigality; though enjoying ample opportunities for sexual license, his marital conduct was unimpeachable, and his strict objection to all forms of licentious conduct was on one occasion the cause of a bitter quarrel with his brother. As a youth he indulged freely in drinking, but gave up all excess after an accident sustained while in a state of intoxication, and in later years he fulfilled a vow of rigid abstinence. His open-handedness and his power of ingratiating himself with all sorts and conditions of his countrymen enabled him, after his early pardon and appointment to the police, to usurp the magisterial duties of the country round Jejuri and the Indapur pargana. He inquired into complaints of all kinds, from those of theft to domestic quarrels, his “court” being visited daily by Marathi Kunbis, Mhars, Mangs, Ramosis and other low-caste persons, some of whom came voluntarily or were summoned from long distances. His system of justice was primitive. Complainants always paid him or his immediate followers a small bribe, to secure a speedy and favourable decision, and the defendants at the close of the hearing were made to pay a fine of one to a hundred rupees, according to their means, which amounts were exacted in kind, usually in the form of grain. A decree was then drawn up; but as a precaution, a written statement was always obtained from the defendant, who declared that he was satisfied with the decision and that he would make no appeal to the Government authorities. Umaji always reminded the defendants that, if they failed to observe these written undertakings, severe punishment would be meted out to them by his followers. In the event of a party showing any disinclination to abide by Umaji’s decision, he was seized and kept in confinement in the Ramosi camp until he promised acquiescence.

His influence upon the lower-class public is further indicated by the ease with which he secured witnesses in his favour, whenever he had to defend himself against charges of complicity in dacoity and robbery, and by the extreme disinclination of the villagers of the Deccan to bear witness against him. Over the inhabitants of his own Purandhar district he enjoyed such complete control that, during the whole time that he was being hunted by the British authorities, they kept him fully and truthfully informed of the movements of troops and police. This was one reason why the operations against him were so protracted. Moreover, apart from the lower orders whom Umaji had conciliated by liberal treatment, the country was full of disband soldiers and other discontented persons, who had lost their livelihood on the downfall of the Peshwa and were therefore ready to help anyone, like Umaji and the other Ramosi Naiks, who was in active opposition to the British authorities. Even in the matter of levying contributions from the villages under British control or in the territory of Indian rulers, like the Raja of Satara, Umaji could count, though for a different reason, on the goodwill of the village officials. The Patel and the Kulkarni soon discovered that they could comfortably falsify the village accounts, by entering larger sums than they actually paid to the Ramosi freebooter, and the latter assisted their fraud and ensured a continuance of the contribution by giving receipts for larger sums than he actually received. As regards his immediate followers, he proved himself possessed of the art of securing their devoted attachment to himself and his cause. They willingly tolerated great hardships during the last two or three years of Umaji’s career, and would possibly have
succumbed to their difficulties, had they belonged to a less hardy tribe or race. Umaji's example acted doubtless as an inspiration to them; for he knew by instinct when and how to check their impetuosity or cheer their flagging spirits, and through all the perils and misfortunes which confronted them, he himself "displayed great patience, a steady perseverance and unshaken fortitude."

Although his expulsion from Purandhar Fort by the orders of Baji Rao was the primary cause of Umaji's resort to a life of outlawry, and although he appears to have believed in the justice of his pretensions to certain ancient rights in Purandhar and other places, it is very doubtful whether his claims had any solid foundation. Early in 1830 he obtained an interview with the Raja of Satara and stated his claims against the Pant Sachiv, and the Raja gave definite instructions to the Pant Sachiv to inquire into his case. A little later Umaji interviewed the Collector of Poona at Purandhar and produced twenty-four old documents, purporting to establish his right to the ownership of Purandhar Fort. These papers comprised grants, orders and letters to the Kolis, Mhars and Ramosis of Purandhar from former native governments; but the grants were in most cases addressed to the Kolis, who probably represent in the Deccan an even more archaic social stratum than the Ramosis. Similarly the mokasa dues of an important village in the Pant Sachiv's territory (the Bhor State), to which Umaji laid claim, were granted originally to a Koli, and not to a Ramosi. It is probable therefore that, while the Ramosis may have had a prescriptive right to certain hakks and perquisites in Purandhar, Umaji's claims could not have been sustained at law, though he himself, being almost illiterate, may have cherished the fullest belief in their authenticity. There was probably in his mind a definite connexion between these claims and his private aspirations to the position and title of a local chief. Had he been able to secure recognition of his ownership of Purandhar Fort, for example, he would have had greater justification for assuming the title of Raja, which, as mentioned in an earlier paragraph, he arrogated to himself in 1827. The inhabitants of the Poona district and other tracts of the Deccan were firmly persuaded—and they were probably correct—that from the outset of his career Umaji aspired to emulate the great Sivaji, and, so far as was possible, based his plans and actions upon the model presented by the founder of the Maratha State. The devotion which he inspired in his own men, the influence which he acquired over the popular imagination, his liberality to all sorts and conditions of men, his reverence for his tribal deity, his abstemious habits in later years, his objection to licentious conduct on the part of his militant followers, and his personal fortitude—these traits are reminiscent of the character of the Maratha ruler. But there the possibility of comparison ends. Sivaji was an individual of much more distinguished calibre than the Ramosi Naik and possessed a far more dominant personality. Had the former been in the position and circumstances of the Ramosi Naik in 1826, he would instinctively have realized that he was opposed to a far more powerful political entity than the decadent and corrupt Mughal Empire, and, if he had decided that the game was worth the candle, would have laid his plans for revolt with far more subtlety and circumspection. In brief, Umaji Naik lacked vision and could not let well alone. He paid the full penalty for these shortcomings on the scaffold, and the only satisfaction he can have had was that it had cost the British Government nearly six year's effort to terminate his career of outlawry.
Pahlavi Inscription around a Persian cross at Kaṭamaṭram, Travancore. Indian Antiquary
A PAHLAVI INSCRIPTION ROUND A PERSIAN CROSS AT KATAMARRAM,
TRAVANCORE.

BY T. K. JOSEPH, B.A., L.T.

In vol. LII of this Journal, pp. 355-356, I mentioned a Pahlavi Inscription round the cross in Katamarram Church in Travancore, and stated that the renderings by scholars varied greatly. I gave three versions of the readings of previous inscriptions.

1. "In punishment (?) by the cross (was) the suffering to this (one): (He) who is the true Christ and God above, and Guide for ever pure."—Dr. Burnell.

2. "Whoever believes in the Messiah, and in God above, and also in the Holy Ghost, is in the grace of Him, who bore the pain of the Cross."—Dr. Haug.

3. "What freed the true Messiah, the forgiving, the upraising, from hardship? The crucifixion from the tree and the anguish of this."—Dr. West.

I also pointed out that the dates suggested for them varied from the seventh to the ninth century A.D.

The plate attached is from an estampage recently taken and the whole question can, therefore, now once again be gone into by scholars.*

The inscription does not appear to be, as before thought, a replica of any of the other Pahlavi Inscriptions at Kotchayam and Mailapore.

A NOTE ON THE PRATHAMASAKHA BRAHMANS.

By PROF. JARL CHARPENTIER; UPSALA.

Mr. H. E. A. Cotton has, ante, vol. LII (1922), p. 158 ff., a very interesting notice concerning the "Prathamasakha Brahmans" or "Midday Paraiyans." The tradition referred to by Mr. Cotton seems to be attached to a certain sub-caste of Yajurvedin Brahmans in Mannargudi, Tanjore District, in Southern India. Without being in the least able to solve the riddles connected with this tradition, I may be allowed to point to its existence also in another part of India.

While going through, for cataloguing purposes in the India Office Library, part of the Mackenzie Collection, I came upon the following notice in the Manuscript Translations, Reports, etc., vol. XIII, p. 24ff.:

"Kartatee Brahmans. These Brahmans are natives of the Sammuvtvadday Cooccan, which is one of the twelve Dashums 4 of Cooccan. Their tribes are Valmeeka Gotrum [वालमेकागोत्र] and Vamen Gotrum [वामेनगोत्र]. They follow the Pratama Shaka Vadum [प्रतामशाक्यवद] whose history is as follows:—

Formerly, when the Rooshaswar [रूसहस्व] first begun to deliver the Vadum to the Pratama Shaka people, they became very insolent, which offended the Rooshee [रूसी], who declared, as they had become so proud, they must return the Vadum and whatever they learned from him; on which they went before him, believing they were thus disburthened of whatever they learned, for which the Roosheeswar instantly laid this curse upon them: 'that they should be Chandal or Parias for three and three quarter hours, whence their caste and Vadum is Pratama Shaka and no Brahmans go into their houses for 3½ hours after noon daily. They worship the Saktee [साक्ति] or Goddess."

* Dr. Modi of Bombay has given the following rendering to the Superintendent of Archaeology, Travancore:—"Le Ziba, vai mii Ninav val denman || Napii Mar Shapur || Lo (mu) ahrob Massiah avakshii at khair bokat—I, a beautiful bird from Nineveh (have come) to this (country). Written Mar Shapur. I, whom holy Messiah, the forgiver, freed from thorn (affliction)."—T.K.J.

2 This apparently stands for Mar. कहाल @ cf. Molesworth, Māraṭhī-English Dictionary, etc.
3 This is apparently a misreading for Satvat-wati. 4 वेश.
"Previous to the festival of the Navaratra (or nine days) they used to seek out for any learned Brahmin, who may have come to these countries, and entertain him in their houses in a respectable manner, feed him with the best food, present him with betel, mace, cloves, nutmeg and the rarest spices, and making presents of jewels, etc., and encouraging him to reside in their house for some time, under hopes of returning to his own country with presents and money. They also enticed them by supplying them with handsome women, thus encouraging them with riches and hope of riches to stay in their dwellings. On the feast of the Navaratra (when they perform the Pooja to their household Goddess) they cause these Brahmins to wash their heads with oil, and after a sumptuous entertainment in the evening (when they worship the Goddess) they carried the guest into the chapel or room where the Goddess is placed, and desired him to prostrate himself before her; and while the Brahmin was prostrated, suddenly put him to death by the sword. In this manner they killed Brahmins in their houses as an offering to their Goddess. The Caradee Brahmins at Poona were in the habit of killing the country Brahmins on the feast of Navaratra, in hopes of obtaining the eight kinds of riches for twelve years by propitiating the Goddess; but Shrémunt Nanna Saíl having notice of this practice seized upon the whole of Caradee Brahmins that were at Poona and destroyed them together with their houses. Since that period the Caradee Brahmins have been chequed in the practice of murdering Brahmins on the feast of Navaratra; but still it is said that when they worship the Goddess on the days of the Navaratra, they are wont to invite the country Brahmins to entertainments and mix poison in their food, which destroys them within a month; and that this practice still proceeds."

The first part of this relation is not very clear. By the name of "the chief Rishi" is apparently to be understood Yājñavalkya, and the well-known tradition—recorded in the Vīṣṇu-Purāṇa and elsewhere—is, of course, that when the great sage vomited the Veda (i.e., the Śukla Yajurveda), the pupils of Vaisampāyana metamorphosed themselves into partridges [विष्नुपुराण] and picked up the sacred text, which was presented to them in this somewhat unsavoury form. Thence arose the Taittiriya version of the Yajus, being a derivative of the text proclaimed by Yājñavalkya, which was the प्रथमसाक्त, the "first" or "foremost" version of the sacrificial Veda.

Here, however, it is the very disciples to whom Yājñavalkya himself recited the Mantras, who are growing so proud that they come under the injunction to return the Veda, and having done this in a very insulting way, they are cursed by the great saint and, as a result of the curse, become "Midday-Paraiyans." The period of time during which their state of uncleanness lasts is given by Thurston Castes and Tribes of Southern India, VI, p. 223, as an hour and a half, while our account fixes it at three and three-quarters.

Moreover, this tradition is here connected with the Karhâda or Karādi Brahmans, who are said to be found in the Konkan and also in South Kanara, whether they have at some uncertain date migrated from the North. Parasrāma, the real creator of the Konkan, is said to have fashioned the first Karādi Brahmans out of camel bones, just as in other traditions he is represented as having turned fishermen into Brahmans. As for the story

---

5 Cf. Molesworth, s.v., नवरात्रा.
6 I do not quite realize what this means. Eight is the usual number of मन, while the निष्ठि are nine. [There is the expression the eight अष्टमांश. These eight are government, children, relations, gold, gems, paddy (or grain generally), vehicles and servants or slaves. This is given in Tamil books; but I am not able to trace Sanskrit authority at present—S.K.]
7 This apparently refers to Nānā Farnawis (d. 1900).
8 With this legend refers the Pali Jātaka concerning the learned partridge that recited the Veda seems to be somewhat intimately connected.
9 This is the Hindu unit of 1/60 of a day, 32 of which equals 14 hours—S.K.
10 Thurston, l.c., vol. I, p. 393.
of their atrocious dealings with other Brahmans, whom they are said to have sacrificed to their Goddess during the नर्तन festival, no source available to me at the present moment gives that tradition. As our document does, however, mention the suppression of these cruelties by Naná Farnawi—an occurrence that apparently actually happened during the life-time of the writer—there must probably be some sort of fact underlying this narrative.

Another problem is how we are to connect the tradition concerning "Middy Paraiyans", recorded by Thurston and Mr. Cotton from the Tanjore District, with that mentioned by the writer in the Mackenzie Collection from Poona and the Konkan? The denomination "Midday Paraiyans" is so unique, and the traditions so special and characteristic, that there must needs be some sort of connection; though a solution of the riddle, of course, scarcely presents itself to a scholar in Europe living very far away from the places to which these traditions are attached.

If, as seems most probable, these "Midday Paraiyans" originally belonged to the Konkan, the tradition may possibly have been carried to the South in two ways. That several families of Brahmins fled towards the South from South Konkan and the Goa districts under the pressure of religious persecution by the Portuguese during the middle and later half of the sixteenth century seems to be a fact, but it seems very doubtful whether any of them ever proceeded as far as Tanjore. On the other hand one might feel inclined to suggest that Konkan Brahmins may have established themselves in Tanjore during the establishment of Marathā rule in that country in the seventeenth century. But this is, of course, mere guess-work on my part, and I should be very thankful if any reader of this little article would take the trouble either to refute or to corroborate this hypothesis. I have ventured to publish this short notice only as a contribution to the question raised by Mr. Cotton and thanks to the kind encouragement of Sir Richard Temple. The solution of the riddle connected with the "Midday Paraiyans" must be left to far more competent observers than myself.

CROSS-COUSIN RELATION BETWEEN BUDDHA AND DEVADATTA.

By KALIPADA MITRA, M.A., BL.

The attribution of rivalry between Buddha and Devadatta to the cross-cousin system shown in an article entitled 'Buddha and Devadatta' (ante., vol. LIII, p. 267), written by Mr. A. M. Hocart is indeed very attractive. I do not feel competent at the moment to say anything for or against the theory, but desire to offer a few observations in regard to the article.

Mr. Hocart writes (ante., vol. LIII, App. A, p. 271): "I should like to draw the reader's attention to Vinaya, vol. II, p. 188, where Devadatta approaches Buddha most respectfully and offers to relieve his age of the burden of administering the Order. The Buddha replies with abuse, calling him 'corpse, lick-spittle' (Charassa, Khelākapassa). This seems scarcely in keeping with the character of the Buddha, but it is with that of a cross-cousin."

But in Cullavagga (V. 8. 2), we read that when the Buddha heard that Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja had shown his magic power by flying through the air thrice round Rājagaha with the sandal-bowl, which was set high on a pole by a Rājagaha setthi (atha kho dānasā Piṇḍolabhāradvājo vehāsam abhuggantvā tām pattam gahetvā tikkhattenā Rājagahaṁ anupariyuddhi), he reprimanded the therī for having displayed his idāhi (magic power) for so trifling an object as a sandal bowl. There he uses the word chavassa, and a simile not at all dignified and becoming (Katham hi nāma tvam Bhāradvāja chavassa dārupattassā kāraṇā gih nam utarimāsamadhahamām iddhipāṭhāriyam dasessasi, sammāthāpi Bhāradvāja mātugāmo)

1 The actual words used in the Cullavagga, however, are chavassa kheḷākapiṇḍa.
2 Italics mine.
chavassa māsakurūpasa kāraṇa koptanā dasseti evam eva kho tayā Bhāradvāja chavassa dārūpattasa kāraṇa gihinā uttarimanussa dhammanāt iddhīpajñhadiyān dassitaṃ. The explanation, therefore, that Buddha's use of unbecoming language towards Devadatta was scarcely in keeping with his character, but with that of a cross-cousin, becomes, to my mind, considerably weakened, for that was not the only occasion on which he used language unworthy of his character. In fact the word chava seems to have been used frequently, e.g., in Majjhima Nikāya (Ugapassuttam, M.N., I, 371 ff.): chavo manadāṇa . . . . kinghi sosati ekā charo priso, ekā chava Nālandā.

Then again we get a passage, "Devadatta is hurt and one day when Buddha is walking up and down on Grdhakūṭa hill throws a stone at him (op. cit., p. 193)."

Mr. Hocart says that "it is remarkable that in Fiji this kind of legend is often told to account for the cross-cousinship;" and he tells a legend of the island of Nāyau and of Vanaavatūu bearing likeness to the Grdhakūṭa legend. In South Africa the uterine nephew for stealing the offering "gets pelted by the others" (ante, vol. LIII, p. 268), and "the pelting of the uterine nephew is part of a religious ceremonial" (ante, vol. LII, p. 271). It appears that all this was "a playful antagonism" (ante, vol. LII, p. 269), and not intended to bring about death. Devadatta however hurled down a rock, intending to kill the Buddha (atha kho Devadatto Gijjhakāyān pabbataṃ abhirūhitaṃ mahānāṃ otiṇṇa pāvijjha imāya sāmāṇya Gotamanā jīvita vuppessāhī). He is said to have hurled the immense stone "by the help of a machine."4 "Huen Tsang saw the stone which was fourteen or fifteen feet high."5 Of course it may be that "the playful antagonism" (such as is preserved in pelting as "a religious ceremonial"), expressive of the liberty of the cross-cousin system, originally existed, but was subsequently mis-represented as a deadly feud, when the memory of the custom was lost, the idea of fighting having been somehow or other regarded as essential, as Mr. Hocart explains.

I shall notice only another passage in the article: "If the hostility of Devadatta is merely the record of ordinary hatred, it is difficult to understand why Devadatta possesses the power of flying through the air and of performing miracles (ante, vol. LIII, p. 269)."6

Whatever power Devadatta possessed of "flying through the air and performing miracles" he seems to have lost it, and that for ever, after his miraculous appearance before Ajāśat; for we learn that Devadatta "at this time lost the power of dhyāna."7 I do not find anywhere in the subsequent part of the Manual that Devadatta ever recovered his magic power.

The possession of the power of flying through the air by Devadatta does not present any difficulty to me. This power was entirely due to the Buddha, and vanished from him even at the very thought of revolt against the Great Teacher. Let me pursue this view a little further. It is related in Cullavagga (VII. 1. 4) that when he was ordained by the Buddha (pabbajita) along with Bhaddiya, Anuruddha, Bhagu and Kimbila—the Śākyas, Devadatta attained only pabhujanikān iddhi (the lower grade of Magic Power). He exhibited his power by assuming the form of a child (or a Brahmin?), wearing a girdle of snakes and suddenly appearing in Ajāśat'sattu's lap (atha kho Devadatto sakavānān paṭisaṃkhāraṃ kumārakavānān abhinimmitā na ahamokalikāya Ajāśatassu Kumārasa vacchāya vātutāho). But as soon as the evil thought of administrating the Order possessed him, his Magic Power diminished

---

3 O.V., VII. 3. 9.
5 Quoted from the article, p. 271.
6 Mr. Hocart refers to Hardy's Manual of Buddhism, p. 326. This page corresponds to p. 315 of the edition (1860) I am consulting. Apparently he refers to the passage: "By the power of dhyāna he became a rishi, so that he could pass through the air and assume any form." All my references are to be found in the edition of the Manual published in 1860.
7 Hardy's Manual, p. 316.
(sahā cittuppādā 'va Devadatto tassā iddhiyā pariḥāya). His magic power, small as it was, became smaller. Even before this event he does not seem to be much in request; and feels the anguish of it. "When the Teacher and the monks went into residence at Kosambi, great numbers of people flocked thither and said, ‘Where is the Teacher? Where is Sāriputta? Moggallāna? Kassapa? Bhaddiya? Anuruddha? Ānanda? Bhagu? Kimīlī? ’ But nobody said, ‘where is Devadatta? ’ Thereupon Devadatta said to himself, ‘I retired from the world with these monks; I, like them, belong to the warrior caste; but unlike them I am the object of nobody’s solicitude.’" And then with the help of Ajātasattu he tried to kill Buddha. When all his attempts failed, he went to the Buddha, and with a view to cause a schism in the Order (Sanghabhedanā) made (C.V., VII, 3. 14) a request of five things, which the Buddha flatly refused. He persuaded 500 monks to follow him to Gayāśīsa. Then “Sāriputta and Moggallāna convinced them of the error of their ways by preaching and performing miracles before them, and returned with them through the air.” The Magic Power, therefore, of Devadatta was very meagre by comparison with that of Sāriputta and Moggallāna. It has already been related that this he attained after his ordination by the Buddha, and was therefore in a way owing to him, and even that it was only potthajjaniyā. Other disciples of the Buddha such as Āyasāmā Sāgata (M.V., V, 1. 5-8) and Āyasāmā Pillindavaccha (M.V., VI, 15. 8.9) showed Uuttarimunu sahadhamma iddhipatiḥāryam. On the occasion of the exhibition of the Great Miracle by the Buddha, even his lay disciples, such as Cīrhapati Lūhasuddato, Kālo Rājabhṛtā, Rambhaka Arāmika, Biddhilaṃṭā Upāsikā, and Bhikṣuṇi Upaltavārṇī, offered to exhibit their riddhi (apparently Sarvaçravaksadādhāraya). Charni, Sulunāpiḍu and others offered to show astounding miracles, before which Devadatta’s miracles pale.

Even the tīṭhiyas or heretics, much hated by the Buddhists, seem to have exercised iddhi. In the Cullavagga (V. 8.1) and the Divyavadāna (p. 143, et seq.) the heretic leaders Purāṇo Kassapa, Makkhali Gosāla, and others claimed to be arahats endowed with Magical Power (aham arahā c’eva iddhiṃ ca; vayaṃ sma riddhimanto. . . . yady ekam granṭo Gautamo’ nutare manushyadharme riddhipatiḥāryam vidarṣayishyati vayaṃ dvē). Though nowhere in the Buddhist books are the latter made to show their iddhi, abundant references to this are found elsewhere. In the Bhagavatī Sūtra, a Jaina book, it is related that Makkhali Gosāla, destroyed by his Magic Power two disciples of Mahāvira (Nīgāṇṭha Nātaputta), and tried to kill Mahāvira himself, but was for his pains killed by the Magic Power of the latter. The heretics undoubtedly were “utterly wicked”; still they seem to have exercised Magic Power. I therefore do not see anything peculiar in the attribution of magical power to Devadatta.

References to the cross-cousin system are to be found in the Brāhmaṇa and Sūtra literature. Westernerck in his History of Human Marriage (p. 304) says, “yet in the older literature marriage with the daughter of the mother’s brother and sons of the father’s sister is permitted” and quotes passages in support of this in the footnote. Weber: ‘Die Kastenverhältnisse in dem Brāhmaṇa und Sūtra’ in Indische Studien, vol. X, pp. 75 et seq. Pradyumna married the daughter of Rukmi, his mother Rukmini’s brother. Arjuna married his mother’s
brother's daughter, Subhadrā (Kṛṣṇa's sister). We need not examine here whether Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna were Aryan or Non-Aryan, to determine whether the custom was Aryan or Non-Aryan. Anyhow it shows that the custom prevailed in Northern India. Arjuna married her in the Rākṣasas form by abduction her, which involved him in a fight with the Yādavas, his cross-cousin relations. This may point to the rivalry adverted to by Mr. Hocart, but then it militates against the great friendship which existed between Kṛṣṇa and the Pāṇḍavas. King Avināraka in Bāha's drama Avināraka marries Kurāngi, the daughter of his mother's brother, Kuntibhoja. Mādhavācāryya in his commentary on Pārāsarna Sansākirta says that though marriage with a mother's brother's daughter is against the practice of wise men in Northern India (Udvicayāśa gṛhitam) yet being a good practice in the Dekhan, this system is not indecorous (avinitā) in Northern India. The Črūtis support it (mātulasūtāvidhāhasayānuśāsana Čṛutiṣādayah), and he quotes Ṭhr Veda (7. 4. 3. 22. 6—tyāpya jahurmatāsyo yasā, etc.), as being the mantravārya used in that marriage. References to this marriage are also contained in Kumarila Bhattā's Tantravārtika (pp. 127—129, Benares edition) and Viramitrodaya-Sanśkrā-ta-prakāya (pp. 139—141, 172, 208)14. But as I have not sufficiently investigated this line of evidence, I am unable to say if it strengthens Mr. Hocart's theory of cross-cousin rivalry. Mysterious are the ways in which the seeds and pollen of a myth or custom are carried and propagated and Mr. Hocart's theory demands serious investigation.

CULTURAL, LINGUISTIC AND LITERARY HISTORICAL GLEANINGS
FROM THE KAUTILIYA.
BY HERMANN JACOBI.

(From the Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, XLIV, 1911—Sitzung der phil.-hist. Classe vom 2 November, pages 954—973).

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN, BY NARAYAN BAPUJI UTGIKAR, M.A.

(954) Till recently, the oldest work of Sanskrit literature, that could be dated with reasonable probability, was Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya, belonging approximately to the second part of the second century B.C. Through the discovery and publication of the Kautiliya, the Book of Polity by Kautiliya, the chronologically certified basis for cultural and literary-historical investigations is further pushed back to the juncture of the fourth and the third century B.C. The date of the composition of this work becomes well-nigh certain through the personality of its author, Kautilya, also known as Viṣṇugupta and Cāṇakya. This person is indeed, as he himself says at the end of his work, in a verse breathing proud self-consciousness, the same as the famous minister of Candragupta, who overthrew the dynasty of the Nandas. Now, as Candragupta, the Sāṇḍhāgaṇotc of the Greek writers, ascended the throne between 320—315 B.C., the composition of the Kautiliya must be placed about 300 B.C., or a few years earlier.

However, it is not only the well-established antiquity of the Kautiliya that makes it a historical source of the first order; to this is to be also added a second important consideration, namely, that its author long occupied the first place in the management and direction of a great state, in the foundation and organisation of which he had the most important part. If such a man endowed with versatile learning writes,1 after having mastered the works

1 For the information contained in this and the preceding line, I am indebted to Pundit Haribhara Sastri.

1 Compare the opening words: पुष्पिण्य नानेपाल्ल नाने पाल्ले । वास्तवायदास्तान ॥ पृष्ठार्थांशः प्रस्थापितानि वास्तवायदास्तानि संबुक्ताविनंविनेवचालुक्तानि ॥
of many predecessors, a typical arthaśāstra, then he gives us, not any learned compilation but a picture of national affairs agreeing with the actual state of things, intimately known to him from personal experience. Indeed, it is hard to believe that, in his exposition, for instance, of the (955) political organisation, of the control of economic life (in the Adhyakṣapraścāra), and of the administration of justice (in the Dharmanātha), and elsewhere, he had not in view the object of transmitting to the princes and their advisers the principles of Government tested by him. It is for this reason that the Kauṭilya is a much more trustworthy source for our knowledge of the political and social conditions of Ancient India than Manu and similar works, where we are often in doubt as to how far the statements and rules contained in them are the theoretical injunctions of their Brahmanic authors, and how far they had had originally a practical significance. This dubious character of so many Brahmanic works, combined with the uncertainty of their date, has given rise, in their case, to a justified mistrust, and in certain quarters, even to their depreciation as against other sources, independent of them. Prof. T. W. Rhys Davids has in his highly valuable work, Buddhist India, London, 1903, Preface, p. iii. f., enunciated the difference between the two historical conceptions, the one based on the Brahmanic, and the other on non-Brahmanic works, in a manner scarcely agreeing with the circumstances, as though the former alone claimed to be in possession of the truth. "Whenever they (i.e., such sentiments) exist, the inevitable tendency is to dispute the evidence, and turn a deaf ear to the conclusions. And there is perhaps, after all, but one course open, and that is to declare war, always with the deepest respect for those who hold them, against such views. The views are wrong. They are not compatible with historical methods, and the next generation will see them, and the writings that are, unconsciously, perhaps, animated by them, forgotten." In this conflict (supposing it exists) we would call Kauṭilya as the most important witness, because he wrote half a century before the period in which Buddhism attained to predominant political influence. From what he has stated, the conclusion inevitably follows, that the kingdom which he directed, and others before his time, were modelled on those Brahmanic elements, which Manu, the Mahābhārata, and generally the later Brahmanical works, postulate, although with some excesses of priestly partisanship. For this purpose we have principally to take into consideration the third Adhyāya of the first Adhikarana, of which I give below as close a translation as possible. After Kauṭilya has enumerated the Vedas, including the Itihāsāvada and the six Vedāṅgas, he continues:—

"This well-known knowledge of theology is necessary (for the Arthaśāstra), inasmuch as it lays down the duties of the castes3 and the Āśrama. (956) The duty of a Brāhmaṇa is to learn,4 to teach, to perform a sacrifice, to make others perform a sacrifice, to give away gifts and to receive them. The duty of a Kṣatriya is to learn,4 to perform a sacrifice, give away gifts, to live by arms, and to protect men; that of a Vaiśya is to learn,4 to perform a sacrifice, give away gifts, to engage in agriculture and cattle-breeding, and trade; that of a Śūdra is to serve the Ārya, to engage in agriculture5 and cattle-breeding and trade, to follow the profession of an artificer, and that of a bard (Kuśīlā). The duty of a householder (second Āśrama) is to earn his livelihood by his proper duties, to marry a girl of equal position, but belonging to a different Gotra, to have intercourse with her at the proper time, to give gifts to gods, manes, guests and servants, and

3 Compare the concluding verse: अवश्यं-पत्रस्य-पुरुषः।
3 Compare Manu, I, 88—91: also Mahābhārata, XII, 60 ff.; 61.
4 That is, to study the Veda.
5 Vārdīṭa, which consists in agriculture and cattle-breeding, and trade: I. 4, p. 8. Manu, I, 91, enjoins on him only the duty of serving diligently the remaining castes.
to enjoy the remainder. The duty of a Vedic student (first Āśrama) consists in studying the Veda, serving the fire, taking baths at the proper time, and (staying) to the end of his life, with his teacher, or in his absence, with his son, or with a fellow-student. For a Vānaprastha (third Āśrama) it is necessary to observe continence, to sleep on earth, to grow hair and wear deer-skin, to keep fire, to bathe, to worship gods, manes, and guests, and to live on forest produce. For a Parivṛṭāja (fourth Āśrama) the following are necessary: control of senses, not to undertake any work, not to possess anything, to avoid all attachment, begging at different places, to live in a forest, external and internal purity, to abstain from injury to any being whatsoever, truthfulness, freedom from envy or anger, non-wickedness and forgiveness.

"The observance of one's own duties leads to heaven and final beatitude; by their non-performance, the world would be ruined by universal confusion (Sanikara).

"Therefore a king should not allow men to leave their proper duties; since one who observes his proper work is happy in this and the next world.

"Verily, the society that remains within the limits of Aryan behaviour, and is established on the basis of castes and Āśramas, and is guided by the three-fold Veda, prospers; it never decays."

We should observe that in the whole of this chapter, Kautilya does not mention any contending views; we may therefore suppose that what he says was also true for his predecessors and was an uncontested basic principle. Now as regards the caste system, the theory of mixed castes has also validity for Kautilya; he gives the origin of the Anulomas and Pratilomas, and further admixtures (957) between them, in all, of seventeen mixed castes. Still is his enumeration not exhaustive, since he concludes it with the words ity ca 'nye ca 'nāraśaḥ. In this respect also, the Kautilya takes the same point of view as the Brahmanic law-books, though indeed the theory of the mixed castes is given in the Kautilya only in its broad outlines, and is widely separated from the complicated system of Manu. From this it follows with certainty that in the fourth century B.C. and earlier, the Indian state was based on the Brahmanic foundation, as the European state of the Middle Ages was on the Christian. The social arrangement was regarded as continued from the Veda, (and) the superiority of the Brāhmans and their privileged position was a firmly established fact. A practical statesman must accept the historically developed conditions as a given fact; the Kautilya does not lay down any interference with it, nor does it seek to bring the Vedic theory to greater prominence. To change arbitrarily the existing conditions, which rightly or wrongly, but in any case as a matter of fact, were regarded as based on the Veda, was as far away from (the thoughts of) Indian statesmen as to upset the structure of the society was from (the thoughts of) European princes of the Middle Ages. And then, too, if many events in Brahmanical India might agree very little with the Brahmanic theory—which generally has been partly conceded by the Indians themselves, and has been placed under Āpakdharmā—still that does not therefore cease to be a principal factor in the historical development; it was just like the ecclesiastical doctrine in our Middle Ages, which very often in practice was very unchristian. For our knowledge of the State in Ancient India, the Kautilya remains our most reliable source; in utilising the Buddhist and the Jain sources, we must always make allowance for their sectarian point of view, limited as it is by the social position of their authors. The non-literary ancient works, such as sculpture, coins and so forth, have value in the first instance for their own time only.

6 Naturally, so long as he does not pass into the householder's stage.
Here is the point from which we could attain to an objective valuation of the theory of Prof. Rhys Davids regarding the falsification of history by the Brāhmans. The non-literary works begin with Aśoka. It was incumbent on this great Emperor to rule according to principles, for which the Brāhmans were not the authority; he was a Buddhist, and finally also entered the (Buddhistic) order. The result was that with his death, his kingdom, comprehending approximately the whole of India, broke into pieces. However, in his reign of thirty-seven years, it is possible that the old basic conceptions of the state might have been shaken in some unknown manner; there occurred the dreaded Saṁkara (958) against which the politicians had always warned, and which ever turns up as a spectre in the later literature; this (i.e., the Saṁkara) then prevailed for a long period in those parts of the country, the mastery of which had been seized by non-Aryan princes. When, therefore, the reaction set in, the Brāhmans had to regain much lost ground; the Kautilya and other Arthaśāstras where such had been preserved, showed them what the Brahmanic state once was, to restore which they laboured. That in this enthusiasm they went too far, is what is to be expected from the nature of the thing: hence the intolerance and the presumption, the extravagance of the Brahmanic arrogance, which displays itself very often in the later law-books and similar works. We cannot therefore regard the conditions as they prevailed under Aśoka, and also partially continued for a long time thereafter, as normal. Aśoka’s period was only one episode, which indeed left behind far-reaching consequences. However, the Brahmanic view-point of life fought against the non-Brahmanic spirit, and at last secured all but complete victory, mainly under the aegis of Kumārila and Saṁkara. The presumed falsification of history by the Brāhmans, so far as their ideal of the State is concerned, depends on their knowledge of the ancient rules of State-craft, which preserved the acquaintance with the Kautilya and probably also other older Arthaśāstras; the falsifying, if it can be designated as such, consists in only this, that they (i.e., the Brāhmans) have expounded the contents of the old Artha- and Dharma-śāstras in such works as Manu, Yājñavalkya and others, in accordance with their point of view and the characteristics of their times.

Now, though from the Kautilya we only get to know primarily the conditions of the Brahmanic state in the fourth century B.C., we can also draw, on the basis of his statements, conclusions about the conditions prevailing in the preceding period. This is so, because this work is indeed based, as its author tells us in his opening words quoted above, on the work of his predecessors, whom he mentions when he does not agree with their views or rules, in order to refute them in the point at issue, and to improve upon them. If he differs from all of his predecessors or perhaps from a majority of them, he mentions their view with the words ity ācāryāḥ, and his own, with the words iti Kautilyāḥ; very often, however, he sets himself in opposition to the views of individual writers, mentioned by name. In this way we come to know the names of a number of schools and individual writers on the Arthaśāstra (959)—or perhaps only on single topics of the same. The schools are the following: The Mānavāḥ, Bārhaspatyāḥ, Āṇuṣasāḥ, Āmbhiyāḥ, Pārśārāḥ; the (individual) authors are:—Parāśara, Pārāśara, Bhrādavāja, Pīśāma, Kauṇapadanta, Vātavyādhī, Bāhuḍanāṇīputra, Viśālāka, Kātyāyana, Kāṇāka Bhrādavāja, Dīrgha Cārāyana, Ghoṇamukha, Kīṭālka, Pīśānaputra; the last six beginning with Kāṭyāyana are only mentioned once (V. 5, p. 251–

7 In III, 7, there follows after this, ity āparaḥ; in VIII, 1, after having mentioned the view of the Ācāryas, there are mentioned those of a number of authors, which are each of them refuted individually by Kautilya. The views of the Ācāryas are discussed more than fifty times.

8 According to Vātavyāyana (Kīmaṇḍa, 1, 1, p. 4) the original Dharmaśāstra was composed by Manu Svāyambhava, and the original Arthaśāstra, by Brhaspati.
253 of the edition of 1919) along with Piśuna, who is however mentioned many times, and that too with regard to a subject scarcely belonging essentially to the matter of the Arthaśāstra, viz., striking and therefore significant changes in things. However, even after excluding the last named six authors there still remain over twelve authorities, who, before Kautilya, have treated of the Niti- and the Artha-śāstra. (960) He himself is evidently the last independent author of a Nitiśāstra; his successors, like Kāmandaki, have only expounded the already finished and firmly-fixed subject-matter of that science in a new form, suited to the times, in doing which they left out what had become antiquated—for instance, the Adhyakṣapratāpa, or had been treated of systematically elsewhere, like for instance, the Dharmasaṃhitā in the Dharmashastra. The development of the Kāmadakā in the Dharmashastra presents an interesting parallel to this development of the Artha- and Niti-śāstra. If we exclude Nandin,

9 A Ārāyaṇa is mentioned by Vatsayāna (Kāmasūtra, I, 1, p. 6) as the author of the Śādāhrtyaṃ adhiśāstraṇa, and Ghoṭakamukha as that of the Kayyikaprayuktaṃ. If the names of the persons mentioned above are a little more closely scrutinised, it would strike us as to how many of them are nicknames; Vatiṣaya: dhi = one who suffers from gout; Ghoṭakamukha = one who has the face of a horse; Kaunapadanta = one who has the teeth of a goblin (Kuṇapa = corpse, Kaunapa, therefore = goblin); Piśuna = a spy; Kūjikāla = the filament, i.e., as thin or yellow as a filament; Bāhudantiputra = one whose mother's teeth were as long as an arm. In the following three names, there is added on to the names a physical characteristic, which indeed might not be intended to be exactly complimentary = Dirgha Cārāyaṇa = the tall C.; Kusumaka = Kāmadaka = the long-eyed one. I might also mention Gopākakṛtputra from the Kāmasūtra, which means the son of a cow, (goṣṭi, according to Paṇaji on I, 1, 6, is an Aparabhraniṣa for goṣṭi). In this name, as in Bāhudantiputra, it is the mother that is insulted, according to the Indian fashion. This mode of bestowing names throws a peculiar light on the literary etiquette of that time, the traces of which are to be moreover discovered already in the Upaniṣads. These names however appear at the same time as individual names. It is therefore difficult to believe that Gopākakṛtputra, mentioned by Vatsayāna as the author of the pāvadārikam, is a different person from the grammarians of the same name, mentioned by Paṇaji (on I, 4, 51), all the more so as Ganaḍīya is also an authority in the Kāmadakā (on the Bhāvyadikṣaṇa), and a writer of Kārīka of the same name is mentioned by Paṇaji (see Kielhorn, JA., 1886, pp. 218 ff.). If this supposition is correct, we secure a chronological clue with regard to these grammarians, since those authorities in the Kāmadakā are later than Dattaka, who wrote the Vaśiṣṭka at the desire of the courtesans of Paṭaliputra. At the earliest therefore, he lived in the latter half of the fifth century B.C., since Paṭaliputra was first made the capital towards the middle of that century. Finally the fact that grammarians happen to be authorities in the Kāmadakā too, is not to be much wondered at, inasmuch as a thousand years later, many philosophers have made for themselves a name as writers on poetics as well. Regarding Kaunapadanta, it has also to be mentioned that according to Trīkṣaṇaṣeṣa (II, 8, 12, v. 387) it is a by-name of Bhīṣma. A Bhīṣma is mentioned as the author of an Arthaśāstra (Bhāravija, Viśalaka, Bhīṣma, and Pāṇijī) and as a predecessor of Viṣṇugupta in ślokas which are quoted in the ancient Tīkā (Utpādhyayamārāṇkapāda) on Kāmandaki, p. 137, Bibl. Ind. It is worthy of note that the author of this Tīkā speaks of Vatsayāna, the author of the Kāmadakā, as "asamad guru," p. 136. (973) To what is said here, I have still something more to add. The form of the name Bāhudantiputra given in the Kaushīya (I, 8, 14) is also to be found (only with a short i) in the Dākamandrīvac. VIII, but as Bāhundantiputa, in Kāmandaki, X, 17, while the commentator has (p. 242) Valgudantiputa. In Mahābhārata XII, 69, Bhīṣma narrates that Brahman had composed a śakrta on the trivayya and similar topics in 100,000 aṣṭhyāyas. Siva (Viśalaka) abridged this śakrta in 10,000 aṣṭhyāyas, and it was called Viśalakya; then Indra further abridged it in 5,000 aṣṭhyāyas, it being called Bāhundantakā; then Bhṛagvati, in 3,000 aṣṭhyāyas, called Bāhundatāpyan; lastly Cāya in 1,000 aṣṭhyāyas. This is a fantastically extravagant parallel to the Kāmadakā, where the number of the aṣṭhyāyas is given in the following manner: Nandin, Siva's attendant, 1,000 adh.; Svetaketu Audālā, 500, Bāhṛagvti Pāṇicala, 150, Vatsayāna, 36 aṣṭhyāyas. Whether the sequence of the works given in the Mahābhārata can claim any historical worth, is very doubtful. In the Mahābhārata, Viśalaka is identified with Siva, and Bāhundantiputra (whose name is to be postulated from the title of his work, Bāhundantakā) with Indra. Of this, however, there is no trace in the Kaushīya; there Viśalaka is often mentioned together with such undoubtedly "human" authors, as Vātavyūkhī, Piśuna and others (p. 13, 21, 32, 232, 327 f.). Probably some legend, for unknown reasons, has stamped these authors as gods, and later generations have at times been mindful of this, primarily, the Lexicographers (Compare P.W., s.v., Bāhundantiput and Viśalaka). Kāmandaki mentions (VIII, 21) Indra as an authority in the Nitiśāstra; whether he means thereby this Bāhundantisuta is uncertain.
Mahadeva’s attendant, and Svetaketu, Uddalaka’s son, as being the first two, probably mythical writers of the Kamaśāstra, we (thereafter) find Bābhavya Pāṇcāla as the author of a very extensive Kamaśāstra,10 then seven writers on individual topics thereof, and last of all, Vatsyāyana, who brought this “science” to a close, while later authors are simply the revisers of the transmitted material.

The numerous predecessors mentioned by Kauṭilya enable us to conclude that there existed a lively interest in the Nitiśāstra in the fourth and the fifth centuries before Christ, and probably earlier still. The necessary presumption of this interest in political theories—an interest attested by documents—is that it was a period of brisk political development, which gave rise to a theoretical and systematic treatment of the problems and questions that arose. In this connection, the fact that Kauṭilya treats in II. 1 (Janapadaniya) of the sending out of colonists and the organisation of colonies,11 deserves special consideration, and in this connection, divisions of the country consisting of eight to two hundred villages are mentioned, which are again divided into districts of ten villages. The laying-out of colonies was therefore an actual problem in the fourth and fifth centuries B.C., with which the teachers of the Arthaśāstra were bound to concern themselves. Herein I believe I can find a confirmation of the conclusion to which considerations of a different kind have led me regarding the “expansion of the Indian culture.”12 At the time of Kauṭilya, the Brahmanising of the Deccan must probably have long been accomplished; presumably the East and the South-East, that is further India, was at that time the object of colonising efforts. (961) It is therefore probable that the major portion of Further India was once brought under Indian rule, and subjugated to Indian civilization, the traces of which have been however obliterated by the immigrations of the Burmese and the Siamese. The Indian kingdoms of Campa and Cambodia, the existence of which we can, on the strength of inscriptions and monumental works, trace back to the first century of our (Christian) era, must indeed be regarded as standing remnants, which appear isolated through the disappearance of the connecting link.

As an addition to this, it may be mentioned that among extra-Indian countries, I have found mention of China only. That is, in II. 11, (p. 81) are mentioned the silk fabrics of China which are produced in the country of China.13 This makes it certain that China bore the name Cina in 300 B.C., which therefore finally disposes of the derivation of the word China from the dynasty of Tsin (247 B.C.). On the other hand, this notice is also of interest, inasmuch as it proves the export of Chinese silk to India in the fourth century before Christ.

With the question regarding the worth of Brahmanic sources for our knowledge of the state of things in Ancient India, there stands another question in fundamental relationship, viz., how far the use of classical Sanskrit prevailed in the early centuries before the Christian era. As is well-known, the oldest inscriptions of Aśoka, and those of many centuries following, are written only in Prakrit. From this it has been concluded that Sanskrit originated much later in the Brahmanic schools, and remained for a long time only

10 Vatsyāyana relies on him often in the course of his work, and also expressly says in one of the concluding verses:—

बाराहींसंथपुरियोऽयुवविसद्ध ।
वारसायययधनकोशः कामसूत्र यथाविशिष्ट॥

On the other hand, an opinion of the Auddhalakas is once contrasted with that of the Bābhavyas (VI. 6, p. 358 f.). Presumably, Vatsyāyana has found this notice in the Bābhavya (work). According to the commentary (p. 7) the earlier works were indeed lost—utamnam eva—that however of Bābhavya was available in fragments.

11 (मूलसूत्रम्) अमुलसूत्र या जनरस (परस्परसायन) स्वरूपनिकिन्यकंवेश या निवेद्य । I put into brackets that portion which does not seem to bear on colonisation proper.

12 Internationale Wochenschrift, V, pp. 388 ff. 13 कॉशीय चिनमंडळ चिनमंडळः
as a learned language; it only gradually attained to a more extensive use, till from the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. onward, it became the literary language of the whole of India.¹⁴

Though this theory is, in my opinion, untenable because of the fact that the language of the ancient epic was Sanskrit (962), still it would be of interest to put together what we can gather from the Kāṇḍaśāstra regarding the use and spread of classical Sanskrit. First of all, the fact that the Ārthasastra itself is written in Sanskrit is certain enough: thousands of things, ideas, conditions, etc., of common, political and economic life find their expression in that work in Sanskrit, not in Prakrit. The subjects treated there, with quite a few exceptions, lie completely outside the sphere of priestly schools; if however these latter still treated of such things, they would cease to be "priestly" schools, and would become what we must designate the scientific and literary circles of India. This conclusion holds good not only for the time of Kautilya, but also for the preceding period, during which came into existence those works of his predecessors, which he has quoted and utilised.

Paradoxical as the statement may sound, the Kāṇḍaśāstra stands in internal relationship with the Ārthasastra, since each of the three objects of the Trivarga—Dharma, Artha, and Kāma—was capable of being treated scientifically or systematically, and as soon as two of these objects were partially dealt with, the treatment of the third followed with a certain necessity. The close relationship between the Ārthasastra and the Kāṇḍaśāstra is disclosed externally by the fact that, among works which have come down to us, both have followed the same arrangement, method of treatment, and style of diction, and are therefore to be regarded as belonging to a distinct category, distinguished from other works. To mention only a few instances: both works contain in their beginning the identical words: "tasya pāram prakāraṇādhiāraṇyamamuddeśah": the table of contents consisting in the enumeration of the chapters; and the last section in both is called the secret lore, Aupanīṣadikam. Two more verbal resemblances, besides those above pointed out, are to be found: Kauṭ. I. 6, p. 11; Kānas. I. 2, p. 24; व स वापण्ययो नाम नाम धारण: कामाभ्यासकामक्षानिषदेऽस्नम सांगुलिः सिंहनाधवः and Kauṭ. IX. 7, p. 359; Kānas. VI. 6, p. 353: अयो यम ग्राम इन्द्रयविवेच्यः |अस्यायोः:-

"doœsa however stands for Śoka in the Kāṇḍaśāstra."

In this case, the borrowing party is undoubtedly Vātsyāyana;¹⁵ he might well be later than Kautilya by some centuries, for his mention of Grahalagnahala in III, 1, p. 192, appears to display an acquaintance with Greek Astrology of which (963) there is not to be found any trace in the Kāṇḍaśāstra.¹⁶ Though however our Kāṇḍaśāstra is later

¹⁴ M. E. Senart formulates his view thus:—As for the classical Sanskrit, based in a Brahmanic environment materially on the Vedic language, and caused, as a matter of fact by the first application of writing to popular dialects, it must be placed between the third century B.C., and the first century A.D. Its public or official use began to spread only at the end of the first century or the beginning of the second century A.D. No work of the classical literature can be anterior to this epoch. J.A., VIII, p. 464. Compare ibid., pp. 334, 335. Prof. Rhys Davids propounds similar views, principally in the eighth and ninth chapters of his work, op. cit.; on p. 153, he enunciates the linguistic development of India in thirteen stages, of which the classical Sanskrit is the eleventh. "For long, the literary language only of the priestly schools, it was first used in inscriptions and coins from the second century A.D. onwards; and from the fourth and fifth centuries onwards, became the lingua franca for all India."


¹⁶ In Kāṇḍaśāstra, I. 2, p. 13, he relies upon the Aṣṭāṅgopādhyāya, by which very probably is meant the second adhikāra of the Kāṇḍaśāstra.
than Kautiśya, still the Sāstra as such is certainly very much older than he. Mention has above been made of the development of the Kāmasūtra before Vātsyāyana, and in the second note on p. 969 (p. 132, note, of this translation), reference has already been made to the point that Carāyana, the writer on Sādhāryam Adhikarayam (Kāmasūtra, I. 1, p. 6) i.e., the way in which a lover should conduct himself, and Ghoṭakamukha, the author of the Kanyāpyayukta (ibid.) i.e., the way in which one should have to wife a maiden, are probably identical with the authors, Dirgha Carāyana and Ghoṭakamukha, cited by Kautiśya; accidental similarity of names is indeed improbable, since the same accident must be supposed to have happened in two cases. If therefore the existence of two parts or lectures of the Kāmasūtra (Adhikaraṇyas I and 3) is likely for the time of Kautiśya, it is certain for the sixth lecture (the Vaiśīka)⁹, because on the occasion of treating of the instruction of the courtesans, Kautiśya mentions (II. 27, p. 125) वैष्णवकलासानां गर्भमयी स्त्री स्तुत्यां वाद्यविनोभावं राजमाण्डितासातीं कुमारां | That, however, the predecessors of Vātsyāyana wrote in Sanskrit cannot indeed remain a matter of doubt; otherwise Vātsyāyana would certainly have preferred the claim of being the first to teach his science in Sanskrit.²⁰ None would however assert that the Kāmasūtra was cultivated only within the limits of the priestly schools. This appears to me to be excluded in the case of the Dharmāsūtra too. That such a one (i.e., a Dharmāsūtra) existed at the time of Kautiśya is certain, because he mentions it in a passage to be referred to once more. The contents of it, in so far as things spiritual did not belong to it, we come to know in details from the third Adhikaraṇya of the Kautiśya, viz., the Dharmāsūtra (pp. 147–200), which we (965) must regard as a piece of legislation for the kingdom of the Mauryas. Therein occurs the consideration of the most diverse facts of the practical life, the knowledge and understanding of which would be found least of all in the priestly schools. If, in spite of this, the Dharmāsūtra was composed in Sanskrit—and of this there cannot be any doubt—then Sanskrit was no more an exclusively school dialect, but a literary language understood by all classes. Dharmā, Artha and Kāma, whose systematic treatment has been laid down in the Sanskrit works, referred to all men, and not to the learned only, much less to the priestly schools alone.

And more than this: Sanskrit was also the official language which the prince used in his letters and decrees. The proof of this statement is to be found in the Śāraṇādhikāra, II. 28, pp. 70–75. This chapter treats of the letters and orders proceeding directly from the king, which his private secretary, the Lekhaka, has to prepare, i.e., to compose and copy fair, according to what the king may have said. A lekhaka should possess the qualifications of a king’s minister amṛtyasampadopakah; what these consist in, is mentioned in I. 9, p. 15, para. I.²¹ He should be, among other things, Kṛtaśilpaḥ and Caṅkumān, i.e., he should know the arts and should possess Sastrasakṛtyaṃ; in other words, he should thoroughly understand the Sūstras. The knowledge of different local languages is not ordained, as would necessarily have been the case, had diplomatic correspondence been carried on in Prakrit. Now, in a great political action of one king against his neighbours and rivals, there was involved the consideration, besides these, of the four princes (kingdoms) situated in front of him,

¹⁸ That is, in that part of V. 5, which treats of the marks of royal disfavour. That part is introduced with the words, bhūyaś ca vahydamah, and could therefore be a completion, originating from Kautiśya himself of what his predecessors had taught.
¹⁹ According to Kāmasūtra, I. 1, p. 7, among the seven parts of the Kāmasūtra, the Vaiśīka was the first to be over independently treated, and that was done by Dattaka.
²⁰ Reference is made, in a different connection, to the difference between Sanskrit and Desabhāsa, where it is said of a nāgarakta (I. 4, p. 60):—नागारकत संस्कृतस्य नातत्त्वं देशभाषा! । कथां गौड़यों कार्यके बहमतो नरेभ ||
²¹ Compare, VI. 1, p. 255 f. (= 257 f. of the 1919 edn.).
and the four, in rear of him, as also of the neighbouring princes on both sides and of the neutrals (VI. 2, p. 258=260 of the edition of 1919). In the time of Kautilya therefore, the political area bound by sympathy was the whole province of Hindustan and more, where were spoken even at that time at least three or four different Prakrits. (965) It is, however, evident that in diplomatic transactions we employ that language which combines the possibility of great precision and susceptibility of fine distinction. A language acquires these peculiarities only through long literary use, and they were present in the classical Sanskrit, with regard to which it has now been proved that it was in common literary use at the time of Kautilya. A direct indication that at least certain letters were written in Sanskrit, is to be gathered from the fact that the solemn concluding formula for these letters is in *Sanskrit*. The rule is: lekhapanarśaśāhavāṇḍrihā iti saśād vāciṣṭām asya iti ca.³³ "The letter should conclude with the word iti or with the words iti vāciṣṭām asya," the latter being used when the actual words of the king make up the contents of the letter. We can, however, also see from the instructions which Kautilya gives in the abovenamed section regarding matters linguistic and stylistic, that he had in mind a secretary whose main function was to compose letters in Sanskrit. However, I shall not dispute the view that other writings proceeding from the same Secretary, (and directed) to inferior persons might have been written in Prakrit, in accordance with the rule laid down in such cases (p. 71) jālim kulam śāhavāṇḍrāṇi . . . śāmāsya kārya lekhām vāciṣṭāḥ purvāṇayam. However, in the theoretical injunctions which Kautilya regards it necessary to give in this section, he appears to hold it an essential qualification for a lekhaka to possess a correct knowledge of the literary and learned language, i.e., the classical Sanskrit, inasmuch as he then says about himself, that he wrote his rules about the Śāstra for the benefit of the kings after having thoroughly investigated all the Śāstras and having borne in mind the practice in the matter.³⁴ (To be continued).

**MISCELLANEA.**

**A POETICAL FRAGMENT IN PRAISE OF THE PEN.**

Qalam goyad ki man śāhēe jahāānam,
Qalam kash rā ba daulat me rasānam;
Agrā bad bkhē bāshad man che dānam,
Vale, ebār bā daulat rasānam.

*Translation:*

The Pen says, "I am king of the universe;
To him who holds me I bring wealth;
If he be unfortunate, yet through me
He attains once to the shore of riches."

[This verse was found among miscellaneous papers left by the late Dr. W. Crooke. Its authorship is unknown.]

---

³³ I regard it as being more correct to proceed on this idea of the *Kautilya* than to rely (in my argument) on the extent of the kingdom of Candragupta. Even if, at the time when the *Kautilya* was composed, the power of this king might have really extended from Bengal to the Panjab and still further, then even in that case, the doctrine mentioned by *Kautilya* regarding the Viśgāta (king) and his *mahādāla*, would not be meaningless and without any practical interest; since in the lands subservient to him, there were hereditary princes, who, following the Indian custom, might have continued to exercise authority. A great state did not arise by a conquest proper; such were confined to annexations of smaller provinces (compare XIII. 14, 15). The dependent princes in the empire of the Mauryas must have likewise fought among themselves, like the Satrapas in the Persian Empire, despite the suzerainty of the Emperor; and in such wars, the rules of the *Nitiśāstra* came into operation.

³⁴ Page 72. The edition reads *lekhaka* and *kābdu*.

³⁵ Page 75.

This Report, which shows much careful investigation into the life and conditions of the people, is by the late Deputy Superintendent of the Islands, who, it is understood, was specially asked by the Government to postpone taking his pension that he might conduct the Census and write the Report. The work falls mainly into three sections, dealing respectively with the Andamanese, the Nicobarese, and the Penal Settlement of Port Blair.

The Census could not possibly be taken synchronously throughout the islands, and indeed nothing better than approximate guesses could be made as to the numbers of the wild tribes, i.e., the Jarawas of South Andaman and North Sentinel Island, the Onges of Little Andaman and Rutland Island, and the Shompans of the interior of Great Nicobar.

It would seem probable that within a very few decades the Andamanese race will have vanished, at least from off the face of Great Andaman. Even since the taking of the last Census one of the tribes has vanished, and five other tribes unitedly now number only 25 souls, while the population of the remaining four friendly tribes has diminished over 47 per cent during the last decade. The wild tribes, too, the Onges and Jarawas are probably also declining in numbers. This primitive Negrito people, who in the remote islands are still in the stone age, and who do not know how to generate fire, but must carry it carefully with them in their frequent migrations, do not take kindly to civilization, and the tribes which have been brought into close contact with civilization are fast vanishing. But the tribes that began by being hostile, remain so still. The Jarawas not only shoot at sight any stranger (Andamanese or foreigner) whom they find in the jungle, but also make raids on men peacefully at work in the Penal Settlement. In one raid in 1920 no less than five convicts were killed whilst engaged in cooking their food.

The Andaman Islands possess most valuable forests and excellent harbours. The soil and climate is well suited for growing cocoa-nuts, rubber, and coffee; whilst the experiments with Sisal hemp, Manila hemp, and sugar-cane have been very satisfactory. Should all the convicts be withdrawn eventually from Port Blair, it is to be hoped that the islands will not really become derelict, but rather that cultivation may be widely extended by free labour.

The Census Report of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands of 1901 was so full that the later Reports are by comparison meagre; but our knowledge of the life and conditions of the people, or at least of the Nicobarese, has been steadily growing, and we are here introduced to a considerable amount of fresh information. It would seem, however, that the account in it of “Folk-lore stories obtained from Mr. E. Hart” is erroneous, as they are not new and are not his. With one exception they have been already published by Mr. C. W. Whisthead in this Journal. See ante, vol. L, pp. 234, etc.

Despite the necessary administrative report of the work of the Census, and the Tables which ordinarily can interest only statisticians, there is in the Census Reports generally, and in this work of Mr. Lewis in particular, so much that is of interest to all who take the study of human nature as their province, that it is much to be regretted that the Indian Census Reports are not more generally read and studied by the reading and thinking public.

B. C. TEMPLE


In the story of international and interreligious relationships there can hardly be a more striking instance of collaboration than this. A Hungarian, an Irishman, and an Englishman and two Kashmiris; a Jew, two Christians, a Musalman and a Hindu—all have worked harmoniously in the production of this memorable volume. The Hindu, a fine old Kashmiri Pandit, is also no longer with us, and Sir Aurel Stein pays a touching tribute to his memory. Hatim is a professional Kashmiri story teller, as nearly as possible a human gramophone, able to repeat a story after the lapse of many years without altering or omitting a syllable. He told the stories, Sir Aurel Stein and the Pandit wrote them down, and the latter furnished a word for word Sanskrit translation. All the MSS. were sent to Sir George Grierson who undertook the preparation for the press. The kernel of the book is contained in about 50 pp. of large print, recording some of Hatim’s tales. Opposite each page is an English translation by Sir George Grierson. In the next 165 pages is a transcription of the same tales as written down by Pandit Govind Kauli with an interlinear translation. Sir George Grierson has added a grammatical vocabulary (149 pages) in which each word is explained. Finally there are two indexes. Dr. Crooke contributes an introduction on the folklore of the tales, and Sir George Grierson one on the language.

Sir Aurel Stein laments the limitations of his ear and phonetic training. Indeed he tells us that he might not have attempted the task at all, if he had not been assured of the Pandit’s competent assistance. One does not know whether to admire more
the author's modesty in recognising the disabilities under which he labours, not peculiar to him, but common to other Europeans who have gone to the country after their organs of speech and hearing have become fixed, or the courage with which, in spite of these difficulties, he undertook the work and brought it to a successful conclusion. He is heartily to be congratulated on both. The limitations to which he alludes are seen in his treatment of retroflex consonants and of aspiration; instances will be found of retroflex sounds recorded as dental (sometimes as rolled), and a much smaller number of the reverse process, together with a number of cases of mistaken insertion or omission of aspirates. But these are comparatively small matters, for correction can be made by reference to Govind Kaül's transliteration, except in the case of retroflex r, which though common among Muhammadan Kashmiris is never heard from a Pandit. On the other hand we have an unusually accurate record of the vowels to which evidently much thought has been given.

It is truly an idyllic picture which this eminent scholar and explorer draws for us, his little camp in the mountains, the genial pandit, the grey-headed story teller, the everlasting hills and valleys all round—who that knows Kashmir cannot imagine the scene? And the book is worthy of the setting. It is a treasurehouse of information on the language. Sir George Grierson's thorough work on Kashmiri grammar is already well known, he has once again brought his powers to bear on the elucidation of grammatical minutiae, and the missionary or other student who consults this work will frequently have ease to express gratitude to him.

As one reads through the Kashmiri of these tales one is carried back to many journeys amid the hills of a beautiful country, among a people who speak a beautiful language—and they are after all a lovable people. The words bring back to memory many faces seen for an hour or a day or a month and never seen again. But for those who live in the country and daily feast on its beauty this book is a lasting treasure, or to change the metaphor, a key which will help them to open at least one of the doors to the heart of those among whom they work. The speech is not exactly that of every day life, for professional story tellers use words and expressions which are obsolete or belong to neighbouring dialects, yet it must not be understood that it is alien to present day villagers: it is quite modern and is very close to what they now speak.

To conclude. We have here to do with a notable work, finely conceived and carried out with a thoroughness and care which reflect great credit on those who have contributed to its success. The printing, paper and binding are worthy of its contents.

T. GRAHAME BAILEY.
and he endeavours to show in the second part of his paper that Konkani is an older language than Marathi and was formed independently of the latter. He gives various examples indicating that while the original basis of both Marathi and Konkani is Sanskrit, the transformation of Konkani has progressed on different though parallel lines, the difference being particularly noticeable in some of the grammatical forms, in the nominative plural of certain feminine nouns, and in the matter of genders, in which Konkani shows a far closer affinity with Sanskrit than with Marathi. Many of the words used by the old Marathi poet Jnanadeva are much nearer modern Konkani than modern Marathi, and speaking generally Dr. Chavan’s examples are meant to indicate that Konkani grew independently out of a Sanskrit origin and is not, therefore, a mere dialect of Marathi as has hitherto been assumed. On the other hand there is no question as to which is the more vigorous language of the two, and Marathi has the additional advantage of possessing a fine literature of its own and two well-recognized scripts. Konkani has no literature, except of the modern type, and no recognized script of its own. Despite this, Konkani has shown considerable vitality and is still the mother-tongue of an appreciable population in South-Western India. But we entirely agree with Dr. Chavan that its ultimate survival is problematical. If the idealists’ dream of an Indian nation ever comes true—which I am inclined to doubt—ancient survivals like the Konkani language are almost certain to disappear. Dr. Chavan has produced a suggestive paper which bears evidence of study of this somewhat technical subject.

S. M. EDWARDS.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

DEVAKS IN THE DECCAN AND KONKAN.

In Vol. III of Tribes and Castes of Bombay a list of devaks, commonly found among the tribes and castes of the Marathi speaking parts of the Presidency, is given in the article dealing with Marathas. Since this list was compiled, additions and corrections have been made. Publication of the revised list may stimulate further enquiries; I therefore subjoin the list in its latest form for the information of readers of the Indian Antiquary.

LIST OF COMMON DEVAKS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Botanical or other equivalent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Adad (Udid)</td>
<td>Phaseolus mango.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Ahir</td>
<td>A fish.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Amba</td>
<td>Mango.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Anjana</td>
<td>Hardwickia binata.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Arati</td>
<td>Mimosa hamata.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Avala</td>
<td>Phyllanthus emblica.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Bel</td>
<td>Egle marmelos.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Bharadvaj</td>
<td>Conocor Crow pheasant (Centropus rufippennis), Polecat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Bor (Borati)</td>
<td>Blue jay (Coracias indica).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Chas (Tas)</td>
<td>Spinning Wheel whirler.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>Chinch</td>
<td>Tamarind.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>Davana</td>
<td>Artemisia phalteria.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>Devnal</td>
<td>Phragmites communis.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>Dhamak</td>
<td>See Babul.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>Dive (tin-she-sath)</td>
<td>360 lights.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.</td>
<td>Durva</td>
<td>Pig.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.</td>
<td>Durva</td>
<td>See Haryali.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28.</td>
<td>Garuda</td>
<td>The eagle.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29.</td>
<td>Garudvel (gulvel)</td>
<td>Tinospora cordifolia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30.</td>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>The oilmill.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31.</td>
<td>Ghoda</td>
<td>Horse.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32.</td>
<td>Ghondan</td>
<td>Cordia rothii.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33.</td>
<td>Halad</td>
<td>Turmerie.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34.</td>
<td>Harina</td>
<td>Mouse deer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35.</td>
<td>Holly</td>
<td>Ringed turtle dove.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37.</td>
<td>Hastidant</td>
<td>Ivory.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38.</td>
<td>Hati</td>
<td>Elephant.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39.</td>
<td>Hivar</td>
<td>Acacia leucophloea.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40.</td>
<td>Indii</td>
<td>Gymnosporia emarginata.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41.</td>
<td>Jambhul</td>
<td>Eugenia jambolana.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42.</td>
<td>Johari</td>
<td>Sorghum vulgare.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43.</td>
<td>Kabata</td>
<td>Pigeon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44.</td>
<td>Kamal</td>
<td>Lotus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45.</td>
<td>Kanyanchi Mal</td>
<td>A garland of onions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46.</td>
<td>Karanj</td>
<td>Pongania glabra.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47.</td>
<td>Kasav</td>
<td>Tortoise.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48.</td>
<td>Kasod</td>
<td>Cassia sumatrana.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49.</td>
<td>Ketak (Kegad)</td>
<td>Screw pine (Pandanus odoratisinus).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50.</td>
<td>Khair (Khadira)</td>
<td>Acacia catechu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51.</td>
<td>Khilado</td>
<td>See Shami.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52.</td>
<td>Knife</td>
<td>Turmeric bulb.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53.</td>
<td>Kocha</td>
<td>Pumpkin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54.</td>
<td>Konbada</td>
<td>Cock.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55.</td>
<td>Koya</td>
<td>Caecomantis passerinus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56.</td>
<td>Kudal</td>
<td>A hoe.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57.</td>
<td>Kumbar Kukde</td>
<td>See Bharadvaj.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58.</td>
<td>Kurbad</td>
<td>Andropogon intermedium.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59.</td>
<td>Magar</td>
<td>An axe.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60.</td>
<td>Mandaracho phul</td>
<td>Flowers of the Rui (g.v.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61.</td>
<td>Maryadvel</td>
<td>See Amba.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62.</td>
<td>Mhas</td>
<td>Ipomoea biloba.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63.</td>
<td>Mor (Morache pis)</td>
<td>Buffalo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64.</td>
<td>Musul</td>
<td>Peacock.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65.</td>
<td>Nag</td>
<td>Rice pounder.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66.</td>
<td>Nagchampa</td>
<td>Cobra.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67.</td>
<td>Nagvel</td>
<td>Mesua ferrea.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68.</td>
<td>Nandruk</td>
<td>Piper betel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69.</td>
<td>Nare</td>
<td>Cococnut.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70.</td>
<td>Narvel</td>
<td>Premna integrifolia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71.</td>
<td>Nim</td>
<td>Melia azedarach.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72.</td>
<td>Nirgundi</td>
<td>Vitex negundo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73.</td>
<td>Pach (Pachna)</td>
<td>Pogostemon patchuli.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74.</td>
<td>Padwal</td>
<td>Tricosanthes anguina.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75.</td>
<td>Pahar</td>
<td>Iron bar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76.</td>
<td>Pair</td>
<td>Ficus rumphii.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77.</td>
<td>Pala</td>
<td>Ehretia rosae.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78.</td>
<td>Palas</td>
<td>Butea frondosa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79.</td>
<td>Panch Palvi</td>
<td>Leaves of five trees.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80.</td>
<td>Pangara</td>
<td>Erythrina indica.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81.</td>
<td>Pankanis</td>
<td>Reed mace (Typha angustata).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82.</td>
<td>Paratinicha panth</td>
<td>Pied wagtail’s wing (Motacilla madarapatanum).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83.</td>
<td>Phal</td>
<td>Potter’s pitter.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84.</td>
<td>Phanas</td>
<td>Jack tree (Artocarpus integrifolia).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85.</td>
<td>Phankani</td>
<td>Blowpipe.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86.</td>
<td>Pipal</td>
<td>Ficus religiosa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87.</td>
<td>Pipi</td>
<td>Ficus esculenta.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88.</td>
<td>Pithiche Bavle</td>
<td>A doll made of flour.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89.</td>
<td>Purack (Perruk?)</td>
<td>Euphorbia tortilis.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90.</td>
<td>Rajahansa</td>
<td>Goose or swan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91.</td>
<td>Ruchkin</td>
<td>(1) Rui (Calotropis gigantea).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92.</td>
<td>Rudraksha mal</td>
<td>Elococarpus ganitrus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93.</td>
<td>Rui (Mandar)</td>
<td>Calotropis gigantea.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94.</td>
<td>Rupen</td>
<td>Silver.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95.</td>
<td>Sag</td>
<td>Teak (Tectona grandis).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96.</td>
<td>Salunkhe</td>
<td>A bird (cormorant?) gracula religiosa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97.</td>
<td>Sandas</td>
<td>Pincers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98.</td>
<td>Saundad</td>
<td>See Shami.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99.</td>
<td>Sayar</td>
<td>Bombax malabaricum.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100.</td>
<td>Shami</td>
<td>Prosopis epligera.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101.</td>
<td>Shankh</td>
<td>Conch shell.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>102.</td>
<td>Shell</td>
<td>Goat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>103.</td>
<td>Shinde</td>
<td>Palm (Phoenix sylvestris).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>104.</td>
<td>Shishechi gol</td>
<td>A leaden ball.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>105.</td>
<td>Sone</td>
<td>Gold.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>106.</td>
<td>Sonkavale</td>
<td>See Bharadvaj.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>107.</td>
<td>Survad</td>
<td>Rosha grass (Andropogon echenanthus).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>108.</td>
<td>Surya phul</td>
<td>Sunflower.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>109.</td>
<td>Tad</td>
<td>Pal (Borassus flabelifer).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110.</td>
<td>Tambar</td>
<td>See Chinch.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111.</td>
<td>Tamul</td>
<td>Copper.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>112.</td>
<td>Taravad</td>
<td>See Nagvel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>113.</td>
<td>Tarvar</td>
<td>Cuscuta auriculata.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>114.</td>
<td>Tarvarichi dhar</td>
<td>Sword blade.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>115.</td>
<td>Thapatan</td>
<td>See Phal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>116.</td>
<td>Tusi</td>
<td>Sweet Basil (Ocimum sanctum).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>117.</td>
<td>Uddid</td>
<td>See Adad.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>118.</td>
<td>Umbar</td>
<td>Ficus glomerata.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>119.</td>
<td>Unta Kantari</td>
<td>Camel thorn (Echinops echnatus).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120.</td>
<td>Vad</td>
<td>Ficus indica.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>121.</td>
<td>Vagh</td>
<td>See Wagh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>122.</td>
<td>Vaghul</td>
<td>White-ant’s nest.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>123.</td>
<td>Vasavnel</td>
<td>Cocculus villosus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>124.</td>
<td>Vel</td>
<td>Bamboo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>125.</td>
<td>Vet</td>
<td>Ratan cane (Calamus rotang).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>126.</td>
<td>Wagh</td>
<td>Tiger.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Enquiry may fruitfully be directed to the following points arising from this list.

No. 3. Ahir—This is alleged to be a totem among the Bhils, and to be the name of a certain kind of fish. I have not been able to discover what fish is so called.

No. 12. Balde—This is a bird totem, also found among the Bhils. I cannot identify the bird so named.

No. 21. Coral—This is found as a totem among the Sangameshwari Vanis. I am not certain whether the reference is to real Coconut or to the Indian Coral tree (Pangara—Erythrina indica).

No. 90. Purak—This is the name of a totem among the Parits. It may be a slip for Perkut (Euphorbia tortilis). I have been unable to find any other equivalent for it.

No. 92. Ruchkin—This is a totem among Bhois and Mahars. I cannot find a tree of this name in works of reference. Possibly it is connected with the Rui or Mandar, i.e., calotropis gigantea, a common devak.

No. 97. Salunkhe—This is a very important devak name, and is found among Marathas, Kumbis, Bhils, Chitrakaths, Malis and Vanjars. According to Molesworth, it is the gracula religiosa, apparently one of the cormorants; but in view of the importance of this devak it is desirable to secure more precise details.

R. E. ENTHOVEN.
Arakanese and Portuguese.

310. In 1661 the Arakanese pirates seized the treasures of Shah Shuja, son of Shah Jahan and Governor of Bengal, who having rebelled against his father and taken refuge with the King of Arakan, had been forced by the latter to flee from his kingdom and had been killed in his flight, whether by the King's troops or the pirates is uncertain (Stewart, p. 281). According to Hamilton (II. 5), certain Portuguese banditti, who were among his followers, formed a kind of settlement at the mouth of Rogues' River, 12 miles above Saugar, and committed piracies on the trade of the Hugli.

311. Gauthier Schouten (II, 63—7) tells us that when he was at Pipli with the Dutch fleet in January 1663, twelve well-armed Arakanese vessels put in there. They were full of slaves whom they had taken, on their way through the passage of the Sunderbunds, in the towns and villages of which they had made a great booty of gold, silver and precious stones. These and the slaves they offered for sale to the Dutch, saying that the latter might visit them freely at Thieves' Island [Rogues' River] if they wished to make purchases. "The Arakanese," says Schouten, "are so cruel that they keep their prisoners tied hand and foot in their galleys, and even put a rope round their necks so that they cannot turn round or move. They keep them thus, half choked, lying on their backs under the rowers' benches, in a condition which is quite unbearable, and they suffer an inexpressible martyrdom." The Arakanese took only the young and strong, as the old people and children were unsaleable. They sold their prisoners to Moors, Christians and Hindus "to a cruel slavery, which however is preferable to lying in their galleys amidst their own ordure." Their galleys were long and narrow, built chiefly for swiftness, had no sails but as many as 38 or 40 oars. They were generally commanded by Portuguese captains who had handsome cabins. They paid tribute to the King of Arakan (see para. 180 above) in return for his protection, and from this he drew a large revenue. The Governor of Pipli was terrified of them, and as none of his people dared go near their ships, he was forced to send a Portuguese priest as his ambassador. He had good reason to be frightened, for though this visit of the pirates had been long expected, there was nothing to oppose them but a mud fort with ridiculously thin walls and a miserable armament. To avert an attack he was compelled to allow them to trade freely for their slaves and booty, they, in return for this privilege, giving him one tenth of the money they received. Schouten (II, 141—3) saw these pirates again at Jellasore in January 1664, but in this year Bengal at last received a Governor sensible and capable of his duty. Shaista Khan immediately set about preparations to deal with the pirates. He persuaded the Dutch Governor of Batavia to co-operate with him and, informing the pirates that the Dutch were about to attack them, offered his protection if they would submit without fighting. Some, under a certain Captain Moor joined him (Mukherji, Campos, pp. 164—166). Dilawar Khan (Dilal Raja. See Imperial Gazetteer; or Dilal Khan, Campos, p. 157) of Sandwip was defeated and made prisoner, Sandwip taken in December 1665, and the Arakanese fleet destroyed (Calcutta Review, LI, 71—73). Having got the Portuguese into his power, Shaista Khan, says Bernier, treated them "not as he should but as they deserved" (Pinkerton, VIII, 126). Many of the pirates were carried inland and settled in the interior of the Dacca District, where small Christian communities of their descendants are still to be found.

N.B.—Manucci's account of these matters (II. 117—8) is very inaccurate.

---

62 It was also said that Shah Shuja escaped from Arakan and took refuge in the Island of Sulu, where his tomb was to be seen over a hundred years later (Orme, Hist. Frag., p. 49).

63 I suppose that this is not a name but the Portuguese equivalent for Captain-Major.
312. Of Dilawar Khan, the Editor of the Statistical Account of Noakhali, says (p. 240) —
"The last pirate of note was one Dilal, Raja of Sandwip, who kept a small army in his pay. It is related of him that he used to pay great attention to the intermarriage of his subjects, with a view to producing a high physical type. He considered that the Hindu unbroken descent within the same individual caste was as deleterious to the race as intermarrying in the same family; and it is said to be from the measures he adopted that the castes of Sandwip have become confused and mixed." He was eventually captured by the Nawab of Bengal (Shaista Khan) and ended his days in an iron cage at Murshidabad.

313. Though the power of these pirates was now broken, they did not cease to be very troublesome. An entry in the Diary of Streynsham Master (I. 322) shows that in 1676 there was a fort at Great Thana in the Hugli River for defence against the river pirates, Maghs or Arakaners. No one dared live below this fort for fear of being carried off and sold as slaves at Pipili. Nor did these wretches limit their outrages to the rivers. Fryer (Hak. Soc., II. 152—3) writes: — "No part of these seas are without these vermin [i.e., pirates], the Bay of Bengal being infested [in 1676] as much as the coast of Coromandel by outlawed Portugals and a mixture of that race, the most accursedly base of all mankind, who are known for their bastard brood, lurking in the mouths of the Ganges by the name of Racanners [i.e., Arakaners]."

314. A letter from Dacca, dated 24th December 1678, says that the Maghs had taken 14 boats near Chittagong, and another letter from Hugli, dated 11 May 1679, says that the English Council objected to lend the Company's sloops "on all occasions to fight against the Arakaners till they are conquered, which according to all likelihood will never be." On the other hand, the Company, in a letter to Bengal, dated 28th September 1687, expressed the opinion that the threat of letting loose these pirates upon the Moors in all parts of the Ganges was a protection for the English against the Mughal Government (Bowrey, Hak. Soc., S. 2., XII. p. 212, n. 2).

315. In the year 1737 it is said that a very large number of the inhabitants of the Sandarbans (Sunderbunds) deserted their homes out of fear of the Magh raids. In the time of Aliverdi Khan (1740-56) the Naib Subah of Southern Bengal, Sadakat Muhammad Khan, planned an expedition against Arakan in reprisal for the piratical attacks of Magh or Arakan fleets. One of these, consisting of 50 or 60 boats, apparently en route for Luckipore, he had surprised and destroyed. The expedition was however recalled before it crossed the frontier. (As. Ann. Reg., 1799, Misc. Tracts, p. 165).

316. On the 27th September 1760 the District was ceded by Mir Kasim to the British and was surveyed. James Rennell's Map of 1772 shows a large tract marked as desolated by the Maghs. Mr. Beveridge and many other authorities doubt the statement that the Sandarbans were ever largely peopled (Campos, p. 25).

317. Even British control did not immediately put an end to this nuisance, for in June 1777 Major R. E. Roberts wrote from Chittagong that, in the preceding February, Maghs or Arakaners had carried off 1800 men, women and children from the south of Bengal as slaves to Arakan. The best of these, viz., the artisans and artificers, were appropriated by the Raja, the rest were sold in the market at prices varying from 20 to 70 rupees. It was reported that about three-fourths of the inhabitants of Arakan were either natives or descendants of natives of Bengal, who had been carried away and who constantly prayed for the arrival of the English to free them from their slavery (Asiatic Annual Register, 1799; Misc. Tracts, p. 160). A little later, Mr. Francis Law, Chief at Chittagong, reported on the 23rd November 1777, that having sent some persons to make enquiries as to the forces of the Raja of Arakan, they
had been arrested at "Akkeesf" (?) Akyab on the borders of the Chittagong District and had narrowly escaped being put to death for not having brought any presents with them. These men reported that the Raja kept up a standing force of only 300 men, of whom a few had matchlocks. The revenue of the country was only about Rs. 80,000. There were four weak killas (forts) containing 700 or 800 guns which had been taken when Chittagong was under the Mughal Government, but were of little use. There were also many ships' guns, anchors and grappling tackles taken out of ships which they had captured (Cotton, Chittagong, p. 220).

318. Other traces of the Portuguese seamen, who were once the terror of Bengal, may be found in the lists of the crews of the East India Company's ships, for it was not uncommon for these to fill up deficiencies in their crews by natives of Eastern ports. A very uncomplimentary reference is found in the Log of the Stringer Galley, Isaac Pike Commander, under date 29th September 1711:—"This alteration proceeds from the severity of the weather . . . the Sea is not altogether so short as before but very high, violent and dangerous, breaking often on the ship, must need be a great strain to her and we ship much water. Our China sailors and some of the Portuguese are ready to give up the ghost and proffer to take no wages for their voyage so they be excused coming on deck, but so bad example to the rest must not be allowed, tho' they do noe good when they be here." So far they retained the name of Portuguese, but soon they were to be lumped with Asiatic seamen under the common title of Lascars. Thus, in the Log of the Britannia (John Somner, Commander) to Fort Saint David, Bombay, Surat, Bengal and Madras, 1748-52, there is entered after the list of seamen another list of Lascars, all of whom, except two, have Portuguese names. The other two names are English (Ind. Off., Marine Records).

319. Portuguese sailors in Calcutta seem to have acquired a reputation for lawlessness, if we are to believe such statements as the following:—"The cool, deliberate and frequent assassinations of our countrymen by that accursed, despicable, revengeful race, the Portuguese sailors, calls aloud for their extermination from this country" (India Gazetteer or Calcutta Public Advertiser, 17th January 1785).

Chinese.

320. Koxinga had long cherished the hope of driving his old masters the Dutch from Formosa, and the hatred he always felt towards them had been further inflamed by their readiness to assist his Tartar enemies against him. They on the other hand were now in a poor state to resist an attack, for, owing to a quarrel between Governor Cojet and Van der Lahn, the Commander of a small fleet sent to support him in July 1660, Van der Lahn had withdrawn his ships (Chin. and Jap. Repos., 3rd April 1864, p. 224). At last, in May 1661, with a fleet of 600 junk s Koxinga attacked the island, committing the greatest cruelties, not only upon the Dutch, both men and women, who fell into his hands, but also upon the Chinese peasantry. The small Dutch fleet that was present was overpowered and all attempts to introduce reinforcements proved availing. At last, after a vigorous defence, seeing that there was no hope of succour and fearing to expose the women and children who were with him to the horrible tortures which Koxinga inflicted upon any prisoners whom he captured, the Governor, Frederick Cojet, on the 1st February 1662, surrendered the Fort of Zeelandia upon terms of capitulation (which were honourably observed by Koxinga), and the Dutch retired from Formosa. 64 Cojet, in spite of his gallant defence, was disgraced and imprisoned until the year 1674 (Dubois, 213). The Dutch accounts of this disaster mention various prodigies which foretold it. A Chinese account (H. E. Hobson, R.A.S. North China Journ., 1876).

---

64 Cojet's capitulation apparently did not secure the release of the prisoners already in the hands of Koxinga, for in 1663 Koxinga's son offered Bort to deliver up about 100 Dutchmen and women and grant freedom of trade in Formosa to the Dutch in return for alliance against the Tartars. (Valentyn, quoted in Chin. Repos. XX, 544).
N.S., XI, p. 37), instead of theerman seen by the Dutch, tells us of a whale which appeared before the fort bearing on its back a human figure with dishevelled locks and dressed in red garments. This account says that Koxinga's attack was much facilitated by some plans brought to him by Cojet's Linguist or Interpreter, Hopin (Burney, III, 244, calls the traitor Pinoqua) who had run away after embezzling some thousands from the Treasury. Koxinga fixed his residence at Zeelandia, which he renamed Gan-ning ching or the City of Peace, and flushed with success, threatened the Filipinos and demanded tribute from the Spaniards. The latter agreed to withdraw from Zamboanga in Mindanao although it was their only defence against the pirates of that island and of Sulu (de Marga, 360; Careri in Churchill, IV, 380; Duhalde, I, 91-2; Zuuiga, I, 302). Fortunately for the Europeans, Koxinga died in 1663 (2nd July 1662. Chin. and Jap. Repos., I, 428; Imbault-Huart, p. 75), it is said of vexation on hearing of the conclusion of an alliance between the Dutch and the Tartars, the discovery by the Spanish of a conspiracy of his partisans in the Philippines (for complicity in which several thousand Chinese had been put to death), and finally the seduction of one of his wives by his own son (Careri, Churchill, IV, 390).\[65\] He was succeeded by his son Ching-Ching or Ching-king-may (Macgowan, p. 527; Duhalde, I, 92) or as Dubois (p. 214) calls him, Simpsia or Sepoa. Though the Dutch lost Formosa, a fleet of thirteen ships from Batavia cruised this year against the Chinese pirates on the coast of China and Formosa (Schouten, I, 441).

Dutch.

322. In 1660 the Dutch took Macassar in the Celebes, and in 1661 Cochin and Cannanore in India from the Portuguese (Schouten, II, 53). In 1662 their Admiral Keizerzoon attempted to follow the example of Weddell at Canton and force a trade, but was repulsed by the Chinese with Portuguese assistance (Anc. and Mod. Hist. of China, p. 72).

322. In 1663 the Spaniards abandoned the Moluccas (Dubois, p. 164).

English.

323. On the 9th July 1662 the Vierge de Bon Port, one of the four vessels which formed the first expedition of the French East India Company, on its return voyage to France, was taken by English corsairs off Guernsey. The Captain, Truehot de la Chesnaie, is variously stated to have died in captivity in the Isle of Wight and to have returned to France in 1667 (Jules Sottas, p. 19).

324. The first permanent English Factory at Surat was founded in 1612. From a very early date the Factors issued passes. For these they charged a regular fee of ten rupees (Letter from Surat to Calicut, 24th May 1660; Foster, English Factories, 1655-60, p. 342). But when Bombay was ceded to England, the question arose as to the relations between the Company's Agents in India and the King's officers at Bombay. The Governor of Bombay, Sir Humphrey Cooke, encroachng upon the rights, including the power to grant passes, previously enjoyed by the Company, the latter obtained an order from Charles II that his officers should not interfere with the Company's servants (Court to Surat, 7th March 1665). In 1668 the Crown made over Bombay to the Company, and in 1667, Mr. Henry Cary, then Governor of Bombay, which now became the seat of the Presidency, forbade the Factors at Surat to issue passes. Apparently these passes were merely certificates of honesty and did not entitle the ships carrying them to anything more than immunity from attack by English vessels. For in a letter of the 15th October 1696, Sir John Gayer mentions that Delhi allowed to English, Dutch and French ships for convoy (i.e., protection) from Surat to Mocha and Jeddah, Rs. 10,000 for small and Rs. 15,000 for great ships, together with the right to carry what

---

65 Brinkley (X, 179) says that in 1662 the Spanish ordered an indiscriminate massacre of the Chinese living in the Philippines on suspicion of connection with Koxinga, who was then threatening an attack on the islands. Koxinga was buried at Amingkang, a large village a mile south of Amoy, where his tomb is shown to visitors (Mayers, Treaty Ports, p. 256).
freight they could get. These terms were not remunerative. The Dutch computed that they had lost Rs. 10,000,000 and the French refused to furnish convoys. On the 4th November 1719 the Court of Directors wrote to Bombay, pointing out that Angria was charging a pass duty of one rupee a khandi [560 lbs.] whilst the British charged the Suraters one rupee a ton [2240 lbs.] and suggesting that the suppression of Angria would be good business (Bomb. Gaz., XXVI, I, 24-28, 259).

Malays.

325. In December 1663 Schouten was at the islands of Seier and was told that the inhabitants used to raid the coast of Queda (in the Malay Peninsula) for booty and for slaves, some of whom they ate (Schouten, II, 141).

Barbary Rovers.

326. I have already mentioned that homeward-bound Indiamen were exposed to attack from the Barbary pirates. The Sieur Dubois says (p. 8) that on the 18th April 1669 he saw two of them between Capes Finisterre and St. Vincent, the usual haunt of Turkish corsairs. They approached under Dutch colours, but hauled off as soon as they saw the French flag "which they feared more than any other."

327. On the 24th December 1675 the Court of Directors ordered the Captains of the Eagle, Falcon and Johanna to keep a course thirty leagues west of the Madeiras in order to avoid Turkish and other pirates who lay in wait about those islands and in 1674 had nearly surprised one of the Company's ships (Streynsham Master, I., 217). On the 17th February 1681—2 they instructed Captain Wildy of the Welfare to keep company with the Dorill and other Company's ships until out of danger from Algerine pirates (Hedges, III, x).

Arabians.

328. In 1670 a fleet of Mascat Arabs RAIDed and plundered Diu, but were finally driven out with great slaughter by the Portuguese (Hamilton, I, 137-9).

329. About this time an Arabian trader, who had killed a Portuguese gentleman at Mozambique, made his escape in a boat, which chance conducted to the island of Johanna. There, by his ability and the assistance of a few of his countrymen, he made himself Prince of the island (Raynal, I, 332). Apparently the Arabs now established themselves as a ruling race in Johanna. (See para. 755 below).

Malabarese and Sangianians.

330. Of the Malabar pirates in 1670, the Sieur Dubois writes (p. 31):—"There are some of the Malabars along this coast who, with numbers of dhows will attack the vessels they see, of whatever nation they may be; and when they can take a vessel there's no quarter for those who are therein; otherwise for the most part they cut the nerves of their hams and then keep them as slaves to water their beasts; they cut the sinews of their legs in order that they cannot run away and save themselves. The vessels of Europe do not fear these Malabar pirates because they are fine vessels well armed. They have several times attacked our French vessels, who have given them such a warm reception that they have not dared to attack others." Monsieur Dellon (p. 115) speaks more specially of the Muhammadans of the Malabar coast, where he found himself in 1670, denouncing them for their cruelty towards their slaves. According to him, they respected no passes, by whomsoever they might be given, no religion, no nation, nor did they spare their own friends or neighbours if they met them at sea. In taking out a new vessel, their first object was to initiate it with the blood of the first Christian they took prisoner. They would ransom others, but not Christians. Unlike other Malabar

66 M. Dellon, in describing the miseries of the prison at Damaun, where he was detained in 1673, says that some years earlier certain Malabar pirates were incarcerated there and the horrible famine which they suffered induced forty, out of about fifty, to strangle themselves with their turbans. (Inquisition at Goa, p. 28).
pirates, they wore beards, turbans and vests. In their *paros* (galley shaped vessels carrying from five to six hundred men) they infested the Indian coast as far as the Red Sea, but rarely attacked European vessels, of which if they took any, it was generally by surprise. In June 1670, he tells us (p. 132) of Cotta or Cognali (i.e. Padepatam or Kunhale; see para. 168 above), which gave its name to "the most famous pirate in these seas" and of one Couleas Marcal of Bargara, "a rich Mahometan merchant and famous pirate in these parts," whom he visited on business. Dello was himself, when travelling by boat, taken and pretty roughly treated by the followers of Cognali, but was set free after a few days, the French having made a treaty with the Zamorin who was Cognali's overlord. On page 169 Monsieur Dello says that the Malabar corsairs had recently taken a Hoy belonging to the French Company (and worth £2000), which they had sold to the King of Achara, a little north of Goa.

331. Among certain proposals made to the Company by the President and Council of Surat, relating to the Island of Bombay (Forrest, *Bomb. Records*, I, 32) is one, viz., No. 5, dated Surat, 5 Feb. 1671: "That for the greater security of the port against Malabars, Sanganas and Arab pirates certain sea-laws be established for encouragement of privateers to go out in search of said pirates, to whom the Company may lend a frigate or other vessels, which they would build, on certain conditions, viz., the said vessel or frigate to have so many shares of what prizes shall be taken and the rest to be divided among the adventurers according to their respective proportion. It will be seen that 24 years later (see para. 446 below), it was on this very principle that Captain Kidd was sent out to catch pirates. The "Sanganas" just mentioned were, of course, the Sanganians. So notorious were these at this time, that in Ogilvy's *Atlas* (1670) Cutch is described (p. 293) as Sanga (*Bom. Gaz.*, XIII, ii, 713 n.). Fryer (II, 152) writing in 1676, says:—"We braced our sails close, in expectation of the southern gales, which met us about the 19th degree of North Latitude. Here in this large field of water the Senganian pirates wear their malice on the unarmed merchants, who, not long able to resist their unbounded lust, become tame slaves to their lawless rage and fall from the highest hopes to the humblest degree of servitude. These are alike cruel and equally savage as the Malabars, but not so bold as to adventure longer in those seas than the winter's blasts have dismissed them, retiring with their ill-got booty to the coasts of Sind, where they begin to rove nearer their dens of thievry, not daring to adventure combat with the Malabars, or stir from thence till the season makes the Malabars retire."

Chinese.

332. In 1670 the English obtained permission to establish a Factory at Amoy. This proving to be a loss, owing to the extortions of the local authorities, the ruinous system of barter adopted, and the interference with trade by the Chinese pirates, after nineteen years it was abandoned. (*Anc. and Mod. Hist. of China*, p. 73).

333. After Koxinga had taken Formosa, the Dutch attacked and disabled a large junk of his with 300 men on board. It however escaped into Nagasaki but with only nine men alive. Koxinga complained to the Japanese, who made the Dutch then in port pay compensation. On the other hand, when in 1672 the Dutch ship *Kuylenberg* was stranded on the coast of Formosa, the crew murdered and the cargo plundered, the complaints of the Dutch at Nagasaki were completely ignored (Kaempfer, II, 67—68).

334. In 1673 Ching-king-may, son of Koxinga, defeated the King of Fokien and in 1674, took the Pescadores. In 1678 he again invaded China and died in 1681 (*Chin. and Jap. Repos.*, I, 428), being succeeded by his son Ching-ke-fan or Ching-k'ü-shwang (Dubois, I, 92). Macgowan (p. 532) says by his brother Ko-shwang.

335. In 1682 the Tartars having reduced Fokien, the Manchu Governor Yau offered a free pardon to the Chinese who had followed Koxinga to Formosa, and when many of them had deserted Ching-ke-fan, Yau's fleet took the Pescadores and forced Ching-ke-fan (in July
1683) to surrender Formosa and to retire into honourable captivity at Pekin with the title of Prince (Duhalde, I, 92). In the Factory Records (China and Japan, vol. 2) it is stated that Simpoan, King of Tywan, was defeated by the Tartar Admiral Sego, (or Shih Sang, see Le Ung Bing, p. 372), and so compelled to give up Formosa. A letter from Messrs. Mose and Dubois to the Madras Council dated 30th December 1686 (Letters to Fort St. George) says that Formosa was conquered by the then Governor of Amoy called "Jonkon Toloyaw." Maegowan (p. 533) says that the Chinese commanders were Shi-liang and Yau K'i-shang and that they were assisted by the Dutch.

336. Four or five Dutchmen, with their families, "prisoners for many years to Coxing" were released by the Tartars, when they took Formosa, and sent in the English ship Delight to Siam (Samuel Baron to Madras, date Siam, 15th Nov. 1684).

337. Before they took Formosa, the Chinese heard that there were gold mines in the eastern part, so, on its reduction, they sent an expedition for their discovery. The commander failing to find the mines, but seeing some ingots in the huts of the peasants, invited the latter to a feast, made them drunk, and cut their throats. In reprisal, the natives raided the Chinese portion of Formosa and did much damage (Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses, XVIII, 426).

In 1687 Captains Williams and Howel, Englishmen in the service of the King of Siam, were ordered to expel a number of Chinese who, driven from their country by the Tartars, had taken refuge in Cambodia and maintained themselves by piracy. The two captains carried their prisoners to Macao and handed them over to the Tartar authorities (Collection of Voyages, by Capt. William Dampier, printed by James and John Knapton, 1729, Vol. II, pp. 105—106).

Dutch.

338. In 1672 the East India Company sent out the Experiment (Captain Limbrey) and the Return (Captain Delheu) to open a trade at Taiwan in Formosa and in Japan. The Experiment was captured by the Dutch on the 9th December. The Return arrived at Nagasaki on the 29th June 1673, but was refused permission to trade on the grounds (elegantly suggested by the Dutch) that the King of England had married a Portuguese Princess (see para. 268 above), and that the cross on St. George's ensign argued a similarity of religion with the Portuguese (Bruce II, 347-8). As war had been declared before the capture of the Experiment, this was not technically piracy, but as it ignored the usual allowance of time for warning, it was a piece of sharp practice, very much like piracy.

Arabians.


340. On the 16th January 1677-8, Henry Gary wrote to the Company that a ship under English colours (Captain William May) and belonging to Callian, in Sivaji's territory, had been seized by Arabs in the Road of Cong. These Arabs had four ships cruising off Babelmandeb to intercept the Portuguese ships bound for Mecca (Hedges, II, 327).

Malays.

341. In 1675 a small English vessel (Captain Samuel Ware) was taken off Quetta by some pirates known as Saleeteras. Ware and two of his men were killed. These Saleeteras were, apparently, natives of the coast islands of Malacca (see para. 405 below), and were accustomed to cruise off Junkceylon and Pulo Sambila (Bowrey, pp. 237, 262).

342. In April 1677 the Agent, Mr. Samuel White, and a number of other Englishmen were murdered at Bantam by Javanese pirates (Bruce, II, 404).

Malabarese.

343. In 1674 Dr. John Fryer was present at the rescue of a Dutch ship from Malabar pirates between Vingurla and Goa. Later on, in 1676, his ship was attacked near Goa by a
large Malabar pirate, from which they had rescued a grab. The pirate carried about 60 fighting men besides the rowers "who threw stink pots and plied chambers and small shot, flung stones and darted long lances and were with difficulty driven off." The pirate captain and three or four chief men were killed in the fight (II, 16, 29).

344. Fryer (I. 144) tells us that a rocky island near Mangalore was known as Sacrifice Island because of the butchery on it of some Englishmen by pirates, whose chief lived at Dhanapatah in the Malabar District. Hamilton (I, 305) says that the rock took its name from the massacre of a number of Portuguese by the people of Kotikka when the Portuguese first came to India. Forbes (I, 203) ascribes the name to the massacre of an English crew early in the 17th century. John Pike in his Journal (f. 179 b) says that Sacrifice Rock was an island off Calicut, and Cornwall (Observations, p. 26) places it three leagues off shore from Calicut. (See para. 78 above).

345. In 1676 a large Malabar vessel, after a hot engagement off Diu with a Portuguese took refuge in Bombay harbour. The Portuguese Captain-General of Bassin threatened to attack Bombay if she was not given up, but meekly accepted the Deputy Governor's refusal (Bom. Gaz., XXVI, 61, 64).

346. Between 1675 and 1707 Khem Sawunt, namesake and descendant of the founder of the Savantvadi dynasty (see para. 250 above), established his independence of the Mughal Government (Bomb. Sel., N.S., X, 1).

347. In 1677 Ali Raja, a chief of Kota, having taken an Englishman in a Daman vessel, put him to a cruel death when Mr. Bourchier refused to ransom him. In June an expedition was sent to punish him. Another Englishman, Isaac Watts, was, murdered by the Kota pirates because he refused to turn Muhammadan (Bom. Gaz., XXVI, i, 65, 76, 80; Anderson, p. 178). Ali Raja was a title meaning, in Tamil, Lord of the Sea, and taken from the fact that though only a subject of Colastry the Chief so named was Lord of the Laccadive Islands. The Dynasty came into existence about the tenth century when Muhammadanism was introduced into Malabar and according to one account a Colastry Prince was converted to that religion, or according to another account, a Colastri Princess married one of the Muhammadan immigrants. At any rate the line of descent was through the sister according to the Malabar Hindu custom, and each succession needed ratification from Colastry. The family name of these Princes appears to have been Namale or Nammarke. Canter Visscher gives it in Turkish or Moorish as Mahomet Ali Caamo (Logan's Malabar, I, 193, 238, 362n. Van Rheede's Memorandum on the State of Malabar in India office, Home Miscellaneous, 456 B, p. 271. Adrian Moens' Memorandum, p. 147). Van Rheede, says (p. 141) that Cotta was one of the places of refuge, which were to be found in every Malabar Rajaship or Kingdom, to which no criminal, however great his crime, could be pursued.

348. In 1679, in reprisal for the English allowing the Mughal fleets to shelter near Bombay, Sivaji occupied the island of Kenery (Khandari) whilst the Sidi occupied that of Henery (Underi), thus presenting a constant menace to that port. In October the English unsuccessfully attempted with a small contingent to drive Sivaji's force out of Khandari. Sivaji's men easily put to flight the native boats included in the English squadron, but were repulsed with great slaughter when they attempted to take the Revenge commanded by Captain Minchin (Anderson, p. 174).

349. During the course of this year the Bombay Government armed three shibars, or native trading boats, with 40 men of the garrison as a protection against pirates (Orme, Hist. Frag., p. 79).

67 I presume this was Ali Raja of Cannanore, the Raja of Kadattanad (between the Mabé and Kotta Rivers, originally part of Kolattir. Innes, Malab. Gaz., pp. 431, 433).
CULTURAL, LINGUISTIC AND LITERARY HISTORICAL GLEANINGS FROM THE KAUTILYA.

By HERMANN JACOB.

(From the Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie Der Wissenschaften, XLIV, 1911—Sitzung der phil.-hist. Classe vom 2 November, pages 954—973.)

Translated from the German, by NARAYAN BAPUJI UTGIKAR, M.A.

(Continued from page 136.)

Regarding the sāstras, it is particularly of importance for our question, to know what Kautilya says about things grammatical. He begins with explaining the letters: akārāsaya vṛṇās triṣṇiḥ. The number of the Sanskrit letters varies according to the different authorities between sixty and sixty-five. In the commentary to the Taṅktiṭha Prāṣṭākhyā (Bibi. Ind., p. 4) the following statement of the Śikṣākāra is given: triṣṇiḥ catuḥṣaṭir vā vṛṇāḥ Śūnbhumate matāḥ, and the number sixty-three is also given in Harivāmaśa, 16161. Had the lekhaka written Prakrit, then a reference to the forty-six letters in the Prakrit language (cf. Bühler, Indisc. Palæographie, p. 2) would have been in place, and not that to the sixty-three letters of the Sanskrit language. After the explanation of the vṛṇās follow those of the pada, vākya, and of the four (966) kinds of words: Nāma, Ākhyāta, Upāsarga and Nipāta. His definition of Upāsarga runs: Kriyāviseṣātā prādaya upāsargāḥ, an undoubted imitation of Pāṇini I. 4. 58, 59: prādayaḥ upāsargāḥ kriyāyogāḥ; and he similarly bases his definition: avayāś cādaya nipaṭāḥ on Pāṇini, I. 4. 56, 57, (prāg tāvārā) nipaṭāḥ cādayaḥ sattve, combined with I. 1. 37: svarādi nipaṭam avayam. We see therefore that already in the fourth century B.C., Pāṇini was recognised as a grammatical authority. This chronological clue is of great significance in the uncertainty which has long been prevailing about the date of the great grammarian. Hopkins could indeed say with justification (The Great Epic of India, p. 391):—”No evidence has yet been brought forward to show that Pāṇini lived before the third century B.C.” Here we have the “evidence” required, if it were still to appear necessary, after what we know regarding the literature intervening between Pāṇini and Patañjali.

Incidentally, it may be mentioned that Kautilya limits the meaning of Apāsādha to the wrong use of the gender, number, tense and case (līyaviṣahecakārakāyān anyathāpravyogopāsādhaḥ, p. 75), and that he does not use the word in the sense of Apabhraṃśa as Patañjali does on Pāṇini I. 1. 1, vārtīka 6.27 The explanation वाकरसःषाधिककपानसार्थस्थिर पुनःविभावितं इस्थाययकम्: II. 9, seems to refer to a kind of syntactical rule, as it was later urged by the Māhināśakas and Nāyāyikas, which if I understand it correctly, means: “Arrangement is the mentioning of a theme of which the subject and the verb stand in mutual sequence.” The meaning of Prādhāna as a grammatical subject is to be found in Hemahāraṅgaṇa’s Nyāyaśāṅkura, II. 29.28

26 Cf. J. Wackernagel, Altindische Grammatik, I, p. lxx. Kielhorn’s opinion was “that Pāṇini stands much nearer to the Vedas than to the so-called classical literature, and that he belongs to a period when Sanskrit was something more than a language of the learned.”—Göttingen Nachrichten, 1885 p. 186.


27 Kauṭiliya himself often uses the Absolutive in rōd in the case of verbs joined with prepositions, against Pāṇini, VII. 1. 37: निवासविवेक (231), दुधवत्व (243), भावविवेक (253), प्राप्तिविवेक (325), अन्वयविवेक (387), अपकाशविवेक (405), all in the causal mood. He also forms पारिपसु (295, 323).

28 [ Sharanabehari translates this passage (p. 81 of his English translation) as :—”The act of mentioning facts in the order of their importance is arrangement.”—N.B.U.

29 Commentary, p. 78: सब विषय सब साहानासिकत्वस्वरूपानि (2) प्रायोगिकत्वाचार्य (2) वर्त कि उत्तमान्तरित इत्यदि......एवं हि उपर्युक्तविवेकस्वर मिलवतित्वाह्य अपूर्वि किस्मतां सनातनानासिकत्वाचार्यामणि गुरुप्रतापः प्रभावतार्थाः। Hemahāraṅgaṇa wrote in 1454 A.D. The work is published in Benares, Virasaṅkrit, 2437 = 1911 A.D.
The Arthakrama is one of the six requisites of a writing (lekhasampad): arthakramah (disposition), sanvbandhah (subsequent connection of the same), paripurnatd (correct and conscious completion), madhyam (unartificial, happy ideas and expression), audaryam (choicelanguage), and sanplavam (easy intelligibility). With these merits, we must enumerate the faults to be avoided (lekhadagah, p. 75), viz., akundik (clumsiness, see below), vyaghatah (opposite of sanvbandha), punaruktam (repetition), apasabdhah (grammatical mistake, see above), and sanplavah. The ideas which find expression here, are further developed at great length in the Alankarastra: madhyam and audarya under identical names, spaasata as praasada (cf. Bhama, II. 3), vyaghatah = apakramam (ibid., IV. 20), punaruktam (ibid., IV. 12), apasabdhah = sabdahina (ibid., IV. 22). The definition of paripurnatd: abhyadhavasa-panna-samitakata parivartanavivarta-parivarta-vivarta bhuma-prakrti purvocarastha, excludes by its first part, the vakyadevas vramanika-samiti-prakrti (Kavyapakrti, VII. 59), and by its second part, (hetu), opens up a question which Bhama treats at great length in his fifth Paricchedha, but which Danin (III. 127) would rather leave undiscussed, as being irrelevant to the Alankara. From the parallels quoted above, it follows that there existed a stylistic method at the time of Kauitiya, which has later probably merged in the corresponding portions of the Alankarastra, and which, in so far, can be regarded as precursor of the latter. Be this as it may, the stylistic requirements as they are specified in the Sasanadhikara can, in any case, be laid down, only with reference to a language, which by long literary use, has been brought up to no small perfection; and this was indeed the classical Sanskrit; it would be absurd to expect a stylistic fineness of that sort in a popular dialect, as it is to be had in the inscriptions of Asoka.

The conclusion at which we have arrived on the strength of the foregoing considerations, viz., that the classical Sanskrit was the official, if not perhaps the only language in the king's office, seems to stand at variance with the fact mentioned above, (968) that the classical Sanskrit is first used in inscriptions from the second century A.D. onward. In order to remove this conflict, we cannot urge that there might have been two entirely different categories of royal decrees, since Kauitiya mentions among the eight kinds of Sasanas also the parihara, documents of royal favour. I however think that the difficulty can be carried nearer to

30 The meaning is not quite clear. The definition is:—

31 What sense there can be in laying down audarya (= agrmyakbbydbhikhah) as a requisite of popular dialect? According to Vamana, (II. 1. 7) grmyam = lokânâkarprayuktam; under this would fall in all likelihood all words of the popular dialect.

They are:

The definition of a parihara runs thus:—

| पारिहारीपरक्षिकापदि || पारिहारीपरक्षिकापदि ||
| प्रक्षिप्तस्वभावक्षिकापदि || प्रक्षिप्तस्वभावक्षिकापदि ||
| सत्यस्तमादि || सत्यस्तमादि ||

(Page 78.)
solution in the following way:—The first of the lekhadogas is akānti, clumsiness of the document; it means having a black leaf (kālapatrakam), and bad, uneven, and faded letters (acāru-viśama-vīrtātā-cērataravam). Therefore what is intended here is only letters or documents which are written on leaves in ink; there is no mention either here or anywhere else in the KauśīṬya of inscriptions on stone or copper-plates. These appear to have been introduced or at least to have attained to common use, first under Asoka. The employment of the popular dialect on such documents, to be available to the commonalty, followed as a matter of course, and at least did not stand in conflict with ancient custom. It is possible to suppose that this use survived long, till the official language here also pervaded the King’s private scribes and suppressed the Prakrit.

In what precedes, many literary-historical questions have already been referred to; we shall now try to exhibit in a connected manner, what can be gleaned from the KauśīṬya, regarding the condition and extent of the Sanskrit Literature in the fourth century before Christ. The enumeration of what constitutes the trayt, i.e., the theology, proves that the Vedic literature had come to a close; the four Vedas, and the six Vedāṅgas. The Itihāsaveda was regarded as the fifth Veda, as it is already so called in the Chāndogya Up., VII. 1. 4; 2. 1; 7. 1; itihāsaputraṁ paṁcama vedānāṁ vedā (while in Bṛhadār. Up., II. 4. 10; IV. 1. 2; 5. 11, Itihāsa and (969) Purāṇa are sometimes mentioned as two words, and sometimes, as a compound). One cannot now unreservedly regard Itihāsa and Itihāsaveda as identical, as I had formerly done through inadvertence, since what KauśīṬya understands by Itihāsa, is mentioned by him in 1. 5, p. 10; purāṇam itiśiśum akhyāyika’dhēhrayam dharmādāstraṃ arthādāstraṃ ce’itihāsaḥ. The inclusion of the Arthādāstra, which does not belong to the Trayt, but forms a vidyā by itself, proves, that not all that is Itihāsa, is also therefore Itihāsaveda. We can have a clear idea of the Itihāsaveda, if we bring before our mind the Mahābhārata, since we find in it, the expressions vedāḥ... akhyāyārganam, III. 2247; V. 1661; and vedāḥ... Mahābhāratapācāramahā, I. 2418; XII. 13027; these expressions evidently stand on the same line as the expression itihāsapatraṁ paṁcama vedānām vedā of the Chand. Up. If we however regard, that all the constituent parts of the Itihāsa, including the Dharma and Artha-ādāstras are included in the Mahābhārata, then we see no possibility of sharply differentiating the Itihāsa and the Itihāsaveda. Itihāsa seems to denote all that which rests on oral tradition, excepting the Revelation proper, and which is not the subject of logical demonstration. If such things bore a religious character, then they may be assigned to the Itihāsaveda. Now, as regards the individual component parts of the Itihāsa, the difference between purāṇa and itiṣṭa might have consisted in this, that the first was legendary, while the latter was more or less historical. A minister was to avail himself of these in bringing to the right path a

---

33 Patrokam, a leaf, represents the paper. In II. 17, p. 100, it is said: तालिका | Tāla is Ceypa umbraculifera, tāla, according to PW. is Borassus flabelliformis; however, Hoernle has pointed out in his article: “An epigraphical Note on Palm-leaf, Paper and Birch-bark,” JASB., LXIX, pp. 93 E., that the wine-palm Borassus fl. has been introduced in India only late from Africa; as a matter of fact, no kind of palm is mentioned in the chapter of the KauśīṬya treating of spirituous drinks (II. 35, p. 120f.). This kind of palm is to be understood by tāla is uncertain, since we do not know any palm except those mentioned, whose leaves were used as paper. A Bhūrjapatra naturally signifies the bark of the birch, which even now is called bhūdā-pair.

34 Itihāsapatra, the Papyruses. | Vātān-bhūtān byāśāgāna | वातान-भूतानां वायसां न वेदृश्यते | गीता च वनों वायसां वायसां न वेदृश्यते | वातान-भूतानां वायसां वायसां न वेदृश्यते | इं त्रि, त्रि, p. 7.

prince who had gone astray: itivrttapurāṇābhyaṁ bodhayet arhaśāstravid, V. 6, p. 255. The examples mentioned in I. 6, p. 11 (of which more below), which are intended to illustrate the downfall of kings through one of the six passions, kāma, krodha, lobha, māna, mada and karma, appear to belong to the purāṇa-type; those on the other hand, mentioned in I. 20, p. 41, for showing the evil ways practised by women, bear a more historical character and may well therefore be iti-vrttās. An ākhyātikā should have been a narrative in prose, and should correspond to the later ākhyātikā and kathā. Finally the udāharaṇas were probably moral lessons and narratives such as those that are often introduced in the Mahābhārata with the verse: atṛpyuddhāranti 'nam itihāsam purātanam.

We could regard the Mahābhārata as a redaction of the Itihāsaveda, as a saṃhitā thereof. That however such a saṃhitā existed at the time of Kauṭilya, is very doubtful, or at least cannot be proved. In any case the Mahābhārata did not still exist in its present or any approximately similar form, as J. Hertel seems to consider in WZKM., XXIV, p. 420. Indeed, the mention of the names Duryodhana, Yudhiṣṭhira and Rāvaṇa, proves that the story of the (970) Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa was known; probably epic poems too, of their contents, already existed. This does not however imply that the stories and legends of the purāṇa type existed in (the form of) a collection which should have been merged in the Mahābhārata. Two reasons go against such a theory. In the first place, only some of the legendary stories mentioned by Kauṭilya, are to be found in a corresponding manner, in the Mahābhārata, viz., those of Aila I. 75, Duryodhana, Dāmbodhava, Harihaya Arjuna (= Kārttivirya), Vatāpi and Agastya, and Ambariṣa Nābhāga; other stories however are wanting in the Mahābhārata, viz., those of Dāṇḍakya,36 Tālajāṁgha and Ajabindu Sāuvā. In the second place, one story as indicated by Kauṭilya is different from that as standing in the Mahābhārata. Thus Kauṭilya 1.6, p. 11: Kopāj Janamejayo bhrāhmāṇe vikrīntah; the Mahābhārata, however has: abuddhipūram agacchad bhrāhmāḥgam, XII. 150. Further, Kauṭilya has IV. 8, p. 218: Yathā hi Māndayāḥ Karmakṣāśabhāyāḥ acaro mārā mārā iti brūkṣṇāḥ; the Mahābhārata however says (I. 107.9): na kimecid vacanam rājān abhrīt sādhiṣādhu vṛ. More important is the fact to which Lüders has drawn my attention, that according to Kauṭilya, the Vṛṣṇis maltreated Dvaipāyana (ayāsīdayaḥ), this being in agreement with the original form of the story,37 while in the Mahābhārata, XVI, 1, they only jeered at Viśvāmitra, Kṛṇa and Nārada. In the last verse of the chapter from the Kauṭilya, referred to above, it is said:

श्रवण्यांभृत्यां जायमयो जितं तिनिः राज्यम्
अर्बंश्रोत्तरं नामनं कृष्णं च विरं जितं निः

The Mahābhārata (as also the first book of the Rāmāyaṇa) know nothing to the effect that Jāmadagnya was ever a king. Finally, there is this following fact. In the Kauṭilya, VIII. 3, p. 327, there is mentioned the view of Pīsuna that hunting is a greater vice than gambling, since in gambling one can win, as instanced by Jayatsena and Duryodhana. "No," says Kauṭilya, "the instances of Nala and Yudhiṣṭhira show that in gambling one of the two parties has to lose."38 i.e., if one gains in gambling, his opponent naturally loses. Kauṭilya contrasts what Yudhiṣṭhira lost, with what Duryodhana gained, and therefore also what Nala lost with what Jayatsena gained. In the Mahābhārata, however, the brother of Nala who deprives him at gambling of his kingdom, is called Puṣkara, while according to Pīsuna and Kauṭilya he is named Jayatsena. This name does not occur in similar relation in the Mahābhārata; it is however by itself not improbable that the brother of Nala might originally...

36 The story of Dāṇḍakya is mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa, VII. 79-81, where however the king is called Dapla, and in the Jāmbukas, where his name occurs at Dāṇḍakī.—ZDMG., LVIII, p. 691.
37 See Lüders, Die Jātakas und die Epic, ZDMG., LVIII, p. 691.
38 नायोपत्तिक्षांपरायणाः स्थान नमुनविहिर्यन् भवावात्.
have been so called, because his father was called Virasena, and his two children were called Indrasena and Indrasena, i.e., they had names connected with (the word) sena. If, therefore, of (971) the legends contained in the Kautiliya, six occur in a corresponding form in the Mahabharata, five in a divergent form, and three are wanting there, we must therefrom conclude, that the stock of legends had passed through a change during the period intervening between the time of Kautilya and its redaction in the Mahabharata; the older form of the story preserved by Kautilya regarding the destruction of the Vrishnis, proves in particular that there did not still exist a redaction of the Mahabharata ascribed to Vyasa Krsna Dwaitiya, or that it had not still attained to any canonical recognition in the Brahmanic circles.

However from another point of view, it can be proved from the Kautilya that the art of epic poetry itself had reached a high degree of perfection in the fourth century B.C. The metre of the Kautilya generally agrees exactly enough with that of the Râmâyana.39 In the three hundred ślokas in the Kautilya, there are to be found the following numbers of Vipulás: I, 36; II, 27; III, 53; IV, 3. In the second Vipulá, the final syllable is always long, in the first, only one short, p. 217; in the third, twelve times, in the fourth, twice. The caesura in the third Vipulá falls six times on a sansādihi vowel, once, on the fourth. For comparison, I may mention the same phenomena in the Râmâyana (the first hundred pages of Schlegel, part II) and those in Nala, the numbers in the brackets giving the vanishing cases of the short final syllable. Râmâyana, I, 50 (1); II, 50 (0); III, 40 (12); IV, 2 (1); Nala, I, 136 (8); II, 59 (2); III, 60 (21); IV, 17 (3); V, 1 ( ). The receding of the fourth Vipulá, and the marked continuance of the long vowel at the end of the second and fourth Vipulá in the Kautilya, place that work in closer relation to the metrical practice of the Râmâyana than to that of the Mahabharata. In this direction too, point the seven Triśṭubh ślokas to be found in the Kautilya: they are correct Indravairā and Upendravairā ślokas; and none of them of a free construction. Probably the Adiśāyam, the Râmâyana was already existing, under the influence of which, the decisive employment of the śloka metre in poetry seems to have been brought about. It can however be supposed that there also existed then other Kavyas. Though indeed we do not come across anything regarding Kavyas and literary dramas in the Kautilya, still (972) the dramas and the Buddhacarita of Asvaghoša make it plausible that these classes of literature had behind them a long development before the second century B.C., and that therefore they may reach back to the fourth century.

Finally I may bring together what we can gather from the Kautilya regarding the contemporaneous literature. Besides the Vedic literature and what belonged to it, the Trivarga was treated of in systematic works: Dharmasāstra (mentioned I, 5, p. 10; III, 1, p. 150), Arthasāstra and Rāmasāstra (see above, p. 963 f. = p. 134 f. of this translation). Of the philosophical systems there were existing, Śaṅkhya, Yoga and Lokayata, though we know

39 There is a pāda of seven syllables on p. 413, which is probably an error of the MS. or of the edition. Two nine-syllable pādas occur on pp. 418 and 420 in magic formulas. These I naturally leave out of consideration. Verse 4 on p. 249 ( = 251) is presented in its second pāda in a garbled form.

40 There is of course no question here of professional bards, story tellers, minstrels, who are mentioned often enough; compare Hertel, i.e., p. 422, but only of authors (to mention whom, Kautilya had no occasion). As regards the Sutas and Māγadhas, I might mention that there were two classes of them to be distinguished from each other: (1) the usual, who according to the theory are pratiṣṭhāna classes (namely, Vaiśeṣika and Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya and (1), and (2) those called Paurāṇikas, arising from the inter-marriages of the first two castes. (III, 7, p. 165).
not how far these systems had received a literary treatment. The Grammar *Vyākaraṇa* as the *Vedaṅga* was represented by Pāṇini’s work. Besides this, there was Method or Rhetoric which treated of questions of syntax and style. The *Jyotisa* is mentioned as a *Vedaṅga*; the statements in II. 20 appear to have been taken therefrom. The oft-mentioned Māhuṛtika (pp. 38, 245) proves the pre-existence of primitive astrology; the *Śīlas* and the *nakṣatras* (p. 349) play an important part in it; and the planets were already known, of which Venus and Jupiter are expressly mentioned (p. 116). Other branches of Divination are to be deduced from the names of their representatives, Kārtāntika and Naimittika, who along with the Māhuṛtika were employed at the court on a fixed salary (V. 3. p. 245 = 247 of the 1919 Edition). Among other śāstras, there is also expressly mentioned the *Dhātuśāstra* (II, 12, p. 81). This particular thing, in itself appearing petty enough, is however of general importance inasmuch as it shows, how much all conceivable subjects found at that time exposition in the form of śāstras; all things worth knowing could be the subject of a śāstra. We have seen that Kauṭilya himself put into use all (pertinent) śāstras concerning his rules about the writs (Śāsana) of the king, and that, he insists on the King’s adviser (amāya) having a thorough knowledge of the Śāstras. He says (I. 9, p. 15): *Samānavidīye bhṛtyam śāstracakṣusmatām (amāyānāṃ pāṇkalā)*, i.e., the king should satisfy himself, with the help of specialists, whether the royal advisers know the arts, and possess the mastery of the śāstras. For those who are here implied by the word *samānavidya* (the same expression recurs at p. 246, l. 10 = p. 248, l. 11) and are called *vidyāvantah* on p. 246, l. 7 (= 248, l. 7), the epithets pāṇḍita and śāstrin were usual in later times. (973) As is well-known, the classical period falls under the purview of the śāstra, and the Pāṇḍita is characteristic of that period. From the Kauṭilya, we see that at its time, the śāstra had already attained a position dominating the intellectual life of India. Thus we arrive at the conviction that the fourth century B.C. should belong to the classical period, maturing to full development. The Vedic period was however at that time long concluded, and belonged to an antiquity lying very far behind.

THE ECONOMIC IDEAS FROM THE KAMA-SUTRA.


Vatsyayana’s *Kāma-Sūtra* has generally been viewed with aversion as being a book which deals with erotics only—a *Vade-mecum* for a gay lothario; but here and there we do get sufficient indications in the work giving prominence to economic topics and ideas, so that we may review many of the actions described from the economic point. It may be said, indeed, that, even in this book which deals principally with Kāma, there are questions treating of wealth and that sufficient importance is attached to the necessity for wealth, proving that the principles underlying production, distribution and consumption of wealth received due attention from the *Āchāryas* in ancient India, who are generally considered to have oriented all their studies towards philosophy exclusively.

The very beginning of the *Kāma-Sūtra* supports our contention. The author commences his book by saluting the three vargyas—dharma, artha, and kāma. Though the last was the main theme of his discourse, he does not forget that there are three main purposes in

---

41 I have referred to the fact (these *Sitzungsberichte*, 1911, p. 741) that the later writers claimed for the *āvīkṣikī* that it was an *ātmāvidyā*. Kauṭilya does not theoretically put forward this claim, but practically; in so far as the education of the princes is concerned, he too is of the same view as his successors; since, according to I. 5, p. 10, the prince, after his *Upanayana*, should learn the *trajñī* and *āvīkṣikī* from the *Śīḷa*s. The *Śīḷa* must have been careful to see that the prince learnt no heterodox philosophy.
one's life; dharma, artha and kāma are really inter-dependent to bring about success in life—all these three have to be studied, after the manner of the great teachers who have propounded the principles of these three principal objects which a man should strive to attain in life. Evidently with this object in view, Vatsayana recommends that a man's lifetime is to be divided into three periods and each period is to be devoted to the pursuit of one of the Trivargas in such a manner as they may conduce to their harmonious combination with one another, so that the pursuit of any one of them is not detrimental to the interests of the other two. Although the Āchārya suggested that of the three vargas—dharma is preferable to any other coming next i.e., dharma to artha, or kāma, or to both, and artha to kāma, he has opined that this order of preference is not to be strictly adhered to. He mentions, in support of this suggestion, the case of a king, to whom artha is more important than the other two, inasmuch as the very existence of the state—its social order and the administration of the country, depend solely on wealth. And he, therefore, recommended that suitable means of earning wealth have to be studied, not only by depending on the Śāstras, but one should also learn from the Superintendents of Departments and from merchants and others well-versed in the art of commerce and trade and from persons experienced in agriculture and other vocations of life.

Vatsayana, tries to treat of kāma, but he does not forget that artha is more important. He discusses the arguments which are put forward against pursuing artha. People are of opinion, he states, that “even if one exerts himself with all his strength, one sometimes does not succeed in getting wealth. On the other hand, one sometimes gets wealth with no effort whatever, even by mere chance. All this is due to Fate.” Vatsayana strongly opposes such dependence on Fate or Time. He says, “It is not so. All the gaining of all objects in this world chiefly depends on human enterprise; a knowledge of the various means of securing these objects is as much the cause as Time. Even in the case of things that are predestined to happen, they can be realised only through manly efforts. No good comes to such as are inactive.”

Indeed he goes further. He practically forbids recourse to kāma, for it is detrimental to the progress of the other two objects, viz., dharma and artha, which should not be neglected; and he goes on to suggest that a man may learn Kāma-Sūtra and the arts, but he should do it in such a manner that the time spent on them may not conflict with that devoted to the study of dharma and artha Śāstras and the other branch of learning related thereto, a knowledge of which he is bound to gain primarily. As we have already observed, he advises that the following verse may be studied with advantage:—“Man pursuing the Trivargas will secure an abundance of unmixed happiness in this as well as in the other world; one should not attach undue importance to only one of the vargas, but there should be the harmonious development of all of them.”

Vatsayana's definition of wealth is also very interesting. "Education, land, gold, domestic animals (cows, etc.) grain, domestic vessels and utensils; friends, and so forth, are artha, as also the means of securing and increasing the above." He has evidently improved upon the explanation of the term, and as we have said elsewhere it is indeed interesting to note what wealth (artha) included then, and what a close resemblance there is in his definition to what we mean by wealth now, being anything which has an exchange value.

1 1. 1. 3-4. 2 2. 1. 15-17. 3 1. 2. 18-21. 4 1. 2. 10. 5 1. 2. 38-39. 6 1. 2. 40-42. 7 1. 3. 1. 8 1. 2. 41. 9 1. 2. 1. 10 Lectures on the Economic Condition of Ancient India, Calcutta University, p. 87.
That the author was particularly keen about the means to acquire wealth is manifest throughout his book. Let us, for example, consider what he recommends regarding the selection of a bride. One of the main considerations was that the bride was to be one born in a rich family. That wealth was practically the sumnum bonum in life is evident when we find him giving definite instructions to the ideal wife who was to be, what we may term, an "economist." "If the husband spent too much or made an improper expenditure, she was to advise him." The wife was to consider the annual income, and incur expenditure accordingly; and, during her husband's absence, she was not only to be attentive to the proper expenditure over items of daily and occasional occurrence, but she was also to increase the wealth of the family by purchases and sales economically carried on, by employing honest and obedient servants and by reducing expenditure through her own intelligent efforts.

Definite instructions are given in the Kāma-Sūtra how expenditure could be reduced by the wife, by the timely securing of utensils for domestic use—as earthenware and metallic vessels, baskets, wooden and leather articles at proper places; and by the timely deposit of salt, oil and scents. This care for economy is carried to the minutest details, e.g., "from the curd that remains after their daily consumption, she should extract its essence; as also oil from oil-seeds, sugar and jaggery from sugarcane; spinning of the thread from cotton and weaving cloth with them, the securing of 'Sīkya' of ropes or strings or barks, looking after pounding and grinding of paddy, etc." In all these she was to be expert. Further, "knowledge of the wages of servants and their disbursements, the care of cultivation and welfare of cattle; knowledge of constructing conveyances, looking after sheep, etc., the reckoning of daily income and expenditure and making up a total of them"—all these constituted the duties of an ideal wife and show that the author was not at all unmindful of the economies of life.

Vatsyayana has also laid down instructions as to the ways of earning money.

These are—

(1) Receiving gifts in the case of Brāhmans.
(2) Conquest in the case of Kṣatriyas.
(3) Buying and selling in the case of Vaiśyas.
(4) Wages for work done in the case of Śūdras.

A list of professional men has also been given, viz. washerman, barber, flowerman, dealers in scents, vendor of wine, mendicant, cowherd, supplier of betel-leaves, goldsmith, story-teller, priest and buffoon. Just as king Ajātashatru gave to Buddha a list of persons ministering to the needs of the king, evidently we have here also a list of men whom the gay lothario needed, and as such this list does not contain the names of all professional men who constituted the society of the time. But even then, the list, incomplete as it is, gives us a glimpse of the society of that age.

The side-light which these quotations give us, are indeed incomplete, but they prove at least that ancient Indians and their Āchāryas specially, did not devote themselves exclusively to the study of philosophy only, neglecting all mundane things. The economic ideas of the ancient Indian teachers may be crude and mixed up with the treatment of other subjects—their delineation may be unscientific, but they furnish us with clear germs of much serious economic thought which can be disintegrated and analysed as more or less pure economic ideas.
FURTHER NOTE ON RITUAL MURDER AS A MEANS OF PROCURING CHILDREN.

By KALIPADA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

I read with much interest the article written by Sir R. C. Temple entitled "Ritual Murder as a Means of Procuring Children," ante, vol. LII, p. 113. Such belief does not seem to be confined to Northern India only, but prevails in Bengal also. I was at once reminded of two instances, one of which is reported in Calcutta Weekly Notes, vol. XXV, pp. 676-677; King Emperor vs. Bharat Bapari and another, and the other was related to me by a friend as having been heard before the Sessions Judge of Hooghly about ten years ago.

1. The facts of the case are:—Bharat Bapari and his wife had had a certain number of children, all of whom died in their infancy. They were thus led to believe that there was an evil influence brooding over them and their children and in order to exorcise this evil influence, they offered their new born son (about one month old) to the crocodiles in a tank known as Khan Jahan Ali Tank, otherwise known as Thakurdighi, in the Sub-Division of Bagerhat. The child was placed near the water's edge, and the crocodiles were called. Two crocodiles appeared, and one immediately seized the child in its mouth and disappeared into the water. They never appeared again, and doubtless the child was devoured. The explanation of their action by the accused during their trial before the Sessions Judge of Khulna, was that they had been led to believe that if they made the offering of this child to the crocodile or crocodiles in the Khan Jahan Ali Tank "with a pure heart" and "fortified by faith", the crocodile, though it would doubtless take the child away, would return it unharmed, and that thereafter the child would lead a charmed life and attain to a good old age.

Though the accused were charged under section 302, I.P.C. (murder), the Jury accepted the statement of the accused that they were possessed by this superstitious belief and acquitted them both. But the Sessions Judge, disagreeing, referred the case to the High Court. Their Lordships held that, although the accused had no intention of causing death, what they did they did with knowledge that their act would result in the death of the child, and therefore convicted the accused under section 304, I.P.C. (culpable homicide not amounting to murder) and sentenced them to two years' rigorous imprisonment.

2. I have forgotten the details of the second case but the main facts are as follows:—A certain couple had no children born to them for a long time. They offered pājā to many deities and performed religious rites for procuring children, but in vain. Then the husband was told by a Sannyāsi that his wife would bear children to him if he could perform a tantric rite known as saha-sādhanā (i.e., practising meditation sitting on a corpse), on a particular new moon day (amāvasyā) at the śmaśāna (crematorium), on the bank of a neighbouring river. Both were to be pure in body and mind and should fast on the day appointed. They were to be clad in red apparel and worship the goddess Kāli with red flowers. The husband should cut off the head of his wife and sit on her body, repeating certain incantations which would make her fertile, and issue would never fail her. He was assured that a charm which the sannyāsi imparted to him would, when repeated, bring her back to life and no apprehensions need be entertained. The unfortunate husband induced his wife to come to the crematorium where, he said, he was going to perform certain rites for procuring children, without disclosing to her their exact nature. The hapless wife, absorbed in meditation at the śmaśāna, was beheaded; and the husband, sitting on her corpse, followed the formula taught to him. Meanwhile the dawn arose, and the man repeated the life-bringing charm frantically, but of course without any effect. He became mad at the thought of what he had done; and his frantic efforts to resuscitate his wife were observed by peasants who had come at early dawn to plough the land on the bend of the river. He was subsequently tried by the Sessions Judge of Hooghly, but with what result, I do not now remember.
THE RELIGIOUS SITUATION OF THE ANDAMANESE.

By P. W. SCHMIDT, S.V.D.1

Argument.


II.—The chief differences in Religion and Myths between the North and South Andamanese.

III.—The establishment of the ethnological age of the Northern and Southern groups.


V.—The moral character of Puluga, the Supreme Being of the Southern Andamanese.

VI.—The demarcation of the seasons on the Andaman Islands and the signification of the Monsoons in myths and religion.

VII.—The moral character of the commands of Puluga, the Supreme Being of the South Andamanese.

VIII.—Richness and complexity of the religious situation of the Andamanese.

I.


Following the description made by E. H. Man of the inhabitants of the Andaman Islands, hitherto looked on as classic, and which he first published in vols. XI and XII (1882 and 1883) of the Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, and then as a separate work On the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands (London, 1883), it was customary to credit the Andamanese with the knowledge and worship of one really Supreme Being called Puluga, more especially as two other good authorities on these tribes, M. V. Portman and Sir Richard Temple, were not known to have substantially contradicted these statements.2 It was therefore a little exciting when A. R. Brown, who had in the years 1908-1909 undertaken a research expedition in the Andamans, after praising it true, in the periodical Folk Lore (XX, 1909, pp. 268-271) Man's other discoveries, took up a position against his representation of the religion and especially against the characterization of Puluga as a Supreme Being. He prefaced his opposition with the following remark:

"Mr. Man's researches were in many ways excellent. I have tested as far as possible every sentence in his book,3 and can speak with ungrudging praise of it. But there are certain matters on which I am compelled to dissent from Mr. Man's opinions, and one of the most important of these is his interpretation of certain religious beliefs of the Andamanese."

Of the controversy between Brown and myself, with which at that time this position was mixed up, I have spoken in another place.4

Since then Brown's complete work on the Andamanese has appeared,4 in which Brown stands by his opinion and strives still further to elaborate it. It is therefore necessary to go again into Brown's representation. The great interest of the point sufficiently justifies its being done here in a detailed manner. It is not enough only to make sure of valuable old discoveries; we might gain important new knowledge and learn much in all directions.

1 Translated from the German in Anthropos (vol. XVI-XVII, 1921-22, pp. 978-1005) Die religiösen Verhältnisse der Andamanens-Pygmäen.
2 See my detailed accounts thereon in "Stellung de Pygmäenvolker in der Entwicklungs geschichte der Menschheit," Stuttgart 1910, p. 103 ff.
3 See Anthropos, XVI-XVII, 1921-22, pp. 1079 ff.
In this case we have two investigators whose observations have led to quite opposed views, and we cannot help first glancing at the qualifications that each sets forth for the realization of their propositions. Let us then examine firstly the question of the time of their stay among the Andamanese, and we shall learn the following.

The whole of Brown's expedition lasted from the end of 1906 till the beginning of 1908. Of that time 3 months were spent in the Little Andaman Island, and owing to insufficient knowledge of the language, Brown left it. He thus spent only a year in Great Andaman. On the other hand, E. H. Man's stay there lasted 11 years, which he spent in constant intercourse with the inhabitants. During that time he spent 4 years as Director of the Andamanese Home. Just for this reason E. H. Man gained a considerable advantage. This was increased by the fact that he particularly concentrated his researches on the Southern Branch of the tribes, more especially the Aka-Bea, whilst Brown worked as well at the Middle and Northern tribes, but could obtain less information about the Southern tribes, especially that of the Aka-Bea with whom Man had been working. Moreover, Man during this long time, gained a detailed knowledge of the language and could associate directly with the inhabitants, an indispensable condition to real searching investigations of the natives. Brown, on the other hand, was most of the time only able to communicate with the inhabitants through an intermediate language—Hindustani, which he was not master of himself, and which only the young Andamanese spoke, and those only as he himself said "more or less perfectly." Only in the last weeks did he meet an inhabitant who spoke English and with whose help he could get better information.

To all that it must be added that, whilst in Man's time the individual tribes lived entirely separated one from the other, so that really exact research of an individual tribe was still possible, the tribes, according to Brown's own statement had, on the contrary [at the time of his visit], in many cases intermingled, and consequently their speech and customs had naturally lost considerably in purity, distinctness and certainty. So that in every way Man was, so to speak, in an incomparably better position than Brown. Therefore, for this reason, from the first, Man's information deserves, at least, the same confidence as Brown's. Sir Richard C. Temple, who is acknowledged also by Brown as one of the best judges of the Andamanese, expresses himself on Brown's book in the following terms:

"The first part of the book is harmed because the author lays too much weight on his own observations and too little on those of his predecessors, especially on those of such a very scrupulous describer as Mr. E. H. Man, who had extraordinary opportunities for observation, which lasted for many years." (Man, 1922, p. 121.)

So if Brown declares that Man, through his Christian convictions, let himself be betrayed into colouring his observations with Christianity, then one must oppose to it that such a thing never occurred; for Man brings forward in all sincerity also a number of rare and even grotesque particulars about Puluga, the Supreme Being, that are truly not to be found in any profession of faith of any of the Christian denominations. Moreover, one could retort that Brown could be equally reproached with the fact that his own unprejudiced mind was obscured by the opinions of the school of evolutionists for the time being dominant.

According to the statements of E. H. Man, the Andamanese pygmies, who certainly belong to the oldest people of South Asia, now worship a real Supreme Being, named Puluga, who created the world and men, omniscient moral judge of their doings, but who is also good and helpful and to whom the good people will go after death. Against that Brown declared he had discovered that not one, but two, high gods exist, Biliku (Puluga) and Teria (Daria). Neither are supposed to represent anything other than the two chief prevailing winds there,

---

6 Over 30 years—Ed.
6 Compare Brown's own statements referring to them, pp. 170, 176.
the former the North-east Monsoon, the latter the South-west Monsoon. Puluga-Biliku who represents the chief person is, however, supposed to be feminine and only later in particular tribes became masculine. She is not supposed to possess any sort of moral qualities and was originally considered as inimical to humanity; for from her came the devastating storms, whilst the rain came from Teria.

If Brown's assertions as to these facts are true, then the character of a Supreme Being could no longer be ascribed to Biliku-Puluga. But with regard to Brown one must differentiate between the facts that he adduces and the interpretation that he gives them.

Now the truth is that Brown, besides being interested in the tribes of the South, the Akar-Bale, and especially the Aka-Bea, which Man investigated, was also interested in the Middle and Northern tribes, and he prides himself on showing how [in the Andamans] on a comparatively small space, among such an insignificant number of human beings, who are among the most primitive peoples, widely differing views of religion exist in individual tribes. The highly instructive fact of this characteristic difference ought, however, to have been demonstrated as clearly as possible and in no way obscured or effaced, as often occurs in the interpretations which Brown gives; since he does not sufficiently regard the great difference of religion between the Southern and Northern tribes. The result of all this is that his representation of the religion of the Northern tribes may be perfectly just, while it is not so as regards the Middle tribes; and that of the Southern tribes in points of capital importance must be considered as not in accordance with the facts. Since his first interpretation in *Folk Lore*, this characteristic has become more pronounced, for whilst formerly he was still led by the fresh impression of the facts he had observed, he has since become more influenced by theories that he has formed, which in the end unfavourably affect his statement of facts, as we shall see further on.

I will now give a few of these obscurities of which Brown has been guilty. He describes Bilik as essentially inimical to man (p. 369 f.) and soon afterwards he writes:

"Yet there is no doubt that at times, and more particularly in the Southern tribes, the natives do regard Puluga as the benefactor and even the creator of the human race" (p. 370).

But it is inexact to say "more particularly in the Southern tribes." If we uphold the sources of the myths especially, then Puluga is a benefactor and creator of men *only* among the Southern tribes. The same remark holds good of Brown's utterance: the idea is that Puluga-Biliku gave man fire, and by its help the source of life "has been developed more in the South than in the North" (p. 372). According to the myths, it was *only* among the Southern tribes that Puluga gave man fire willingly; among the Northern tribes Biliku guarded it jealously, and it had first to be filched from her by cunning and force.

We will now set to work to show in a short classification the most important differences between the Southern and Northern tribes.

**II.**

*The Chief Differences in Religion between the Northern and Southern Andamanese.*

1) *Let us first observe the sex of Puluga-Biliku and of her partner Daria-Tarai and their connection on either side with the two monsoons (pp. 147 ff.).*

**NORTHERN TRIBES.**

North-east monsoon (**Biliku boto**)

South-west monsoon (**Tarai boto**)

| Aka-Chari | Biliku is feminine and wife of Tarai; her son is Perjido. This is the customary hypothesis; elsewhere Perjido is considered as the husband of Biliku, or Biliku is unmarried, her son is Perjido and so on. |
| Aka-Kora | |
| Aka-Bo | |
| Aka-Jeru | |
MIDDLE TRIBES.

North-east monsoon (Bilik to).
South-west monsoon (Teriya).

Aka-Kede | In the Northern area: Biliku feminine, Tarai masculine; in the South: Biliku masculine.
Aka-Kol | Generally Bilik is masculine and Teriya as well; more seldom, Bilik is feminine, Tarai is her husband; or there is a masculine and a feminine Bilik, who are husband and wife; or Bilik is masculine with a wife In-Charia. In A-Puchikwar, there is a Bilik for each of the winds except the South-west, for which last is Teriya.
Aka-Juwai | 
A-Puchikwar | 

SOUTHERN TRIBES.

North-east monsoon (Puluga to [a]).
South-west monsoon (Daria).

Akar-Bele | Puluga is masculine and Daria is his Brother:
Aka-Bea | "and this was apparently also the common belief of the Aka-Bea" (p. 151.)

From this table it follows that: (1) Biliku is always feminine in the Northern tribes and Puluga is always masculine in the Southern tribes. In the Middle tribes Biliku is sometimes masculine, sometimes feminine, so this is really a typical transitional region. (2) Only in the north are both the Monsoons more strongly personified, as only there are they recognised as a Biliku-wind and a Tarai-wind, whilst in the Middle and the South only the North-east monsoon bears the personifying description, the South-west monsoon being called simply Teriya (Daria). (3) Everywhere Biliku-Puluga is only connected with the North-east monsoon and Tarai-Daria only with the South-west. Only among the A-Puchikwar are there many Biliku, to which all the winds except the South-west, are assigned.

On this last point Brown builds his whole interpretation of the Puluga Belief. He suggests that not only the North-east monsoon, but also the stormy changeable time, which preceded and followed this monsoon, originally belonged to Puluga's dominion. But his hypothesis is weakened by the other opinion which he had already put forward, namely, that the acceptance of several Biliku among the A-Puchikwar was only a fairly recent innovation (pp. 167 and 374). To this it must be added that the A-Puchikwar belongs to that transitional group, which in its fluctuations certainly shows no primitiveness. Brown's promise to show that an "approximation to this view is also to be found in the rest of the tribes" (p. 356) is not fulfilled in any way.

But the situation can be cleared up still more thoroughly. In his earlier publication in Folk Lore (p. 260), Brown brought forward the following myths of the Akar-Bale:

"Puluga (Big Puluga) has two brothers called Jila Puluga and Kuacho Puluga (East Puluga and West Puluga). The one sends all the Easterly winds and the other sends all the Westerly winds."

These myths are no longer to be found in Brown's new publication. But they are compared with a version given there of the Bilik myths of Aka-Kol and A-Puchikwar:

"There is a male Bilik and a female Bilik, who are husband and wife. Their children are

7 From this point I will quote the earlier publication in Folk Lore (1909) as I., and the newer publications in the work The Andaman Islanders as II.
Koicor-ton Bilik, Koico Bilik, Jila Bilik, Metepur Bilik, Tarthe Bilik, and Teriya" (p. 151). One can see that the two brothers of Akar-Bale are identical with the two children of Akas-Kol and A-Puchikwar. So these myths of both groups have in common the important circumstance that a (big) Puluga-Bilik stands above the North-east as well as above the South-west winds, and is not identified with either one of them, and so this higher Puluga also stands opposed to no other being.

This position of things is also shown in yet another of the Akar-Bale myths, which Brown gives in II, p. 151:

"Once upon a time Puluga and Daria were great friends, but they quarrelled. Puluga said that he was the bigger (more important), Daria said that he was. So now they are always quarrelling. Puluga sends the wind for one period, then Daria sends his wind."

There was then a time when there was no opposition between the (North) East and South-west. But the thought that now Daria laid claim to be the greater is without doubt singular in the whole of the Andamanese literature and for that reason cannot be primitive. This much Brown himself acknowledges when he says: "I venture to think, however, that the southern myth is not quite so satisfactory, as the northern one" (p. 367). If only we had the same state of affairs among the Akar-Bale of the Southern tribes as among the Aka-Kol and A-Puchikwar of the middle tribes, viz., that a great Bilik-Puluga existed, who was not bound up with the opposition of the two monsoons because he stood above them, then what Brown wrote himself in I, p. 267 would perhaps be valid for these two groups; certainly at any rate for the Aka-Bea tribe:

"There seem to be no legends whatever about Tarai, and in the South he is generally ignored, all storms being attributed to Puluga whether they come from the North-east or the South-west."

The case, where Daria no longer exists, anyhow not as a mythical person, we already came across in the above version of the Aka-Bea myth, where we found a pair of brothers, East and West Puluga, who were equal to, but not under, the great Puluga. A version of the Aka-Kol and A-Puchikwar legend also exists, where Bilik is masculine and his wife is called In-Charia, but where there is no mention of Teria (I, p. 260; II, p. 151). It, however, comes out most distinctly among the most Southern of the Southern tribes, the Aka-Bea. For in the report which E. H. Man gives of them, there is no mention of such a personality, and Brown infers their existence only indirectly and without any sort of proof, in these words: "and this (that Puluga and Daria are masculine) was apparently also the common belief of the Aka-Bea" (II, p. 151), a decision at which he had not arrived in his first publication.

If, however, in addition, we consider that, in general, all the South and Middle tribes only the North-east monsoon bears the personifying name of Puluga-wind, and that the South-west monsoon does not, it is easy to understand that originally, in this case also, only one personal being existed to whom all storms were attributed, but after whom the North-east wind was especially named; not because it brings the most storms, but just on the contrary because at the time of the North monsoons, and only at that time, do the finest and brightest days set in.

Formerly Brown himself acknowledged this. It is true that even then he had begun to form the theory that Biliku and Tarai were no other than personifications of the two monsoons: Biliku of the North-east, Tarai of the South-west. And he had already written the sentence:

---

8 Why it comes up here we shall see further on: comp. II, p. 195; Man, 1910, p. 36, note.
9 I do not find this passage in II.
10 See further on about this.
"There is complete unanimity through all the groups, on this point, that bad weather is the result of Biliku's anger" (I, p. 261). But he acknowledged quite honestly at that time that "What is particularly puzzling is that the South-west monsoon is the rainy monsoon, and during the North-east monsoon the weather is generally fine" (I, p. 267). Since then, however, relying on the Biliku of the A-Puchikwar tribe, he has formed the idea of an extension of the North-east monsoon season, so that it is increased at the beginning and end by a stormy period, and on this extension he has in his new book built up an extremely artificial and complicated theory. That the reliance on the A-Puchikwar is frail we have already seen above. That the theory also has gaps and flaws and that it has to have recourse to a considerable derangement of facts, we shall see below.

For the present we will only emphasise the important fact, that among the Southern tribes, not two higher but only one Supreme Being exists; who is said to be masculine; who stands above the opposition of the two Monsoons; after whom the Monsoon of the fine bright weather is called; but who also brings storms, thunder and cyclones.

(2) *Let us now examine as to how the creation, especially of man, is explained in the individual tribes* (II, p. 192 ff.).

**Northern Tribes.**

**AKA-BO**—The first man Jutpu (=Alone) was born as a small child in the knee of a big bamboo. He grew up and made himself a wife out of a nest of white ants; she was called Kot. Out of clay he made other ancestors, to whom he and his wife taught accomplishments.

**AKA-JERU**—1. *First version*: same as the Aka-Bo.

2. *Second version*: Poichotubut, the first man, was born in a buttress of a Sterculia tree. He had no wife, but cohabited with an ants' nest (Kot) and had many children from this union, who became the ancestors of the Andamanese.

3. *Third version*: Tarai was the first man and his wife was Kot. Their children were Tau (sky), Boto (wind), Piribi (storm), Air (foam on the sea).

4. *Fourth version*: Maia-chara was the first being. He created the earth and peopled it. He also created the Sun and Moon. His wife was Nimi. Their children were Cho (knife), Loto Luk.

**Middle Tribes.**

**AKA-KEDE**—Biliku made the world and the first human beings.

**AKA-KOL**—The first human being was Ta-Peti (Monitor-lizard). His wife was the civet cat, and their children were the Tomo-la (ancestors).

**A-PUCHIKWAR**—1. Ta Petie was the first ancestor. He obtained a wife from a black piece of wood that he brought home. They had a son, Poi. Later Ta Petie was drowned and turned into Karaduku (shark).

2. At first there were only men. Ta Petie cut off the man Kolotot's genitals. She became his wife and their children were the Tomo-la.

3. The first man was Tomo-la. He made the world and peopled it with the ancestors. He made the moon (Puki), who became his wife. Both invented all the arts and accomplishments. After his death he went to live in the sky, where all the souls of men go as well. There it is always day and beautiful weather. How Tomo originated is unknown: first there was Tomo, then Biliku.
4. Tomo was the first man and his wife was Mita (dove). He made bows, arrows and canoes; she made nets and baskets and discovered red paint and white clay. How both originated is unknown.
5. Tomo was made by Bilik. His wife was Mita and the children Tomola.
6. Koi was the first man and son of Tomo. His wife was Mita.
7. Ta Petie was the first man. His wife was Mita.
8. Ta Mita was the progenitor of the Andamanese.

SOUTHERN TRIBES.

AKAR-BALE—1. Puluga made the first pair of human beings, Nyali and Irap. He gave them fire and taught them all the accomplishments.
2. The first man was Da Duku (monitor-lizard) and the first woman was In Bain (civet-cat).

AKA-BEA.—1. Puluga made the first man, Tomo. His wife, Chana Elewadi (crab), was created by Puluga, who taught Tomo how to propagate his race.
2. Chana Elewadi swam in from the sea.
3. Chana Elewadi landed pregnant at Kydd Island and became the demi-goddess of cultivation. Later Tomo was drowned and changed into Karadaku and his children into Duku.

Here again we find much the same grouping as before:
(i) In the Northern group no sign of any idea of creation; in one version Tarai is the first human being.
(ii) In the Middle group the idea of creation only comes up occasionally and indistinctly.
(iii) In the Southern group it is clearly expressed everywhere.

But wherever there is a mention of creation, it is traced back to Bilik-Puluga, never to anyone else. Only once in the third version of the A-Puchikwar story does Tomo transcend Bilik; but this is quite an exceptional occurrence, and even here the creation of man is not traced back to Tomo. Altogether the A-Puchikwar legend shows here also great indistinctness.

Ta Petie appears, in the Middle as well as in the Southern group, as the name of the first human being; so does the name Tomo. Also the name of the first woman, Civet-cat, appears in both groups; whilst Mita (dove) is confined to the Middle group. On the whole the Middle group is more intimately connected with the Southern than with the Northern group. We can conclude that in the Middle tribe the idea of creation is indecisive, but in the Southern group it is completely established.

Finally we can conclude also that the idea of creation is most clearly and strongly enunciated where, as among the true Southern tribes, not two Supreme Beings but one Supreme Being exists, i.e., Puluga, who stands above all natural phenomena, to whom the celestial phenomena are attributed.

(3) Let us now consider whence Fire came to the particular tribes and in what relationship humanity stood with Bilik-Puluga (II, p. 201 ff.).

NORTHERN TRIBES.

AKA-CHARI—Bilik produced fire by the striking together of a red stone and a pearl shell. She lighted wood with it. Whilst she slept Mite (bronze-winged dove) stole the fire and gave it to the people.
AKA-JERU—1. Whilst Biliku slept Lirchitno (Kingfisher) stole the fire from her. She threw the pearl shell at him and cut off his head, whereupon fire came out of his neck. From that time mankind had fire.

2. In other versions, other beings discovered fire, but it only reaches mankind through force and cunning.

3. Biliku lived in enmity with mankind, ate up their food and killed them in a variety of ways.

AKA-KEDE—1. Lirtit (Kingfisher) steals the fire from the sleeping Biliku. She throws a pearl shell after him and cuts off his tail and wings. Mite (dove) throws a firebrand into the sky and there it becomes the sun.

2. Biliku (masculine) looks at the people to see if they have eaten his food, which consisted of certain plants, and kills them when they have. The people then get together and kill him and his wife, and drive Mite, his child, towards the North-east.

AKA-JOWOI—The imperial pigeon stole a firebrand from the sleeping Bilik and gave it to mankind.

AKA-KOL—Luratut (Kingfisher) steals the fire from the sleeping Bilik.

A-PUCHIKWAR—Luratut steals the fire from sleeping Bilik. She took up a "lighted brand" and threw it at Luratut. She was enraged and went away to live in the sky.

SOUTHERN TRIBES.

AKAR-BALE.—1. Puluga (according to another version: the Skink) gave the fire to the first human beings Da Duku and In Baia.

2. The fish Dim-Dora stole the fire from Puluga’s platform (another version: from the land of departed spirits). He threw it at the people who were burnt; they rushed away and became fishes of a red colour.

3. In the old times Puluga lived in Jila (East) and the Andamanese in Pulugu-l’oibaraiaj. Puluga was always angry with the people and used to destroy their huts and property. So the people sent him out of the world saying: "We do not want you here any longer." He went to the North-east.

AKA-BEA—1. Luratut stole the fire from the sleeping Puluga, but let it fall and burnt Puluga with it. He took the firebrand and burnt Luratut with it. The ancestors received the fire.

2. Puluga gave the fire to the first human being Tomo, after he had created him and taught him how to use it. He himself obtained fire by bidding the sun to come and set fire to a stacked up pile of wood.

3. Puluga let the first human beings themselves prepare a pyre and then struck it, on which the fire was kindled. The spirit Lachi Puna Abolola, who accompanied Puluga, then instructed Tomo how to cook food.

4. The fourth version is substantially like the first, only its taking place is postponed till after the great deluge which extinguished all fires.

The following general conclusions are established:

1. The myth showing that the fire was stolen from Bilik-Puluga, mostly by the Kingfisher, is to be found in all the tribes.

2. In the two Southern tribes, especially in Aka-Bea, an essentially different form is found as well; i.e., that Puluga gave mankind the fire willingly and kindly, and taught them how to use it.
3. In the Northern tribes and in the most Northerly of the Middle tribes, Bilik throws a pearl shell at the robber, and in the remainder of the Middle tribes and in both the Southern tribes he throws a firebrand.

4. In the Northern tribes Bilik is essentially inimical to man. In the Middle tribes and the Akar-Bale tribe in one version, he is at first perhaps friendly, but afterwards an end was made of Puluga's rule, and he himself was either chased away or killed. Among the Akar-Bale in another version, and also among the Aka-Bea, the people had no reason at all to depose the kindly generous Puluga and had sufficient veneration to keep them from doing so.

Here then it is shown that once in the Middle tribes a religious (and cultured) revolution must have taken place, when the people got weary of the severity and autocratic rule of the old Supreme Being and did away with it. What motives contributed towards this we shall see further on. The movement emanated probably from the middle tribes, whose belief is the myth of the fire theft. Its home is said both by the Aka Kol and the A-Puchikwar, and also in one version of the Aka Bea, to be Tol-loko-tima, while mankind in those days lived in Wota-emí to the south-west on the other bank of a Sea-route. Both places however lie in the A-Puchikwar region (II, p. 200; compare also the myth of Aka Bale, II, p. 201).

If we have to fix a more definite time, we notice that among the Aka-Bea, according to E. H. Man, the fire theft only took place after the great deluge. In those times the people were also enraged with Puluga on account of the destruction of all their fellow creatures, and made up their minds to kill him. Puluga frightened them away. He was as hard as wood, their arrows could not pierce him. He explained to them that the reason of the fate of those who had perished was that the race of that time disobeyed his commands which the primitive people had always observed. If they now became as ungodly, the same punishment would infallibly overwhelm them. This was the last time that Puluga was visible to mankind, but his warning was regarded and his commands were kept from that time.

All these myths I believe should be interpreted as follows: After a great flood, in which many Andamanese perished and much was destroyed, the belief in Puluga began to wane, starting among the A-Puchikwar, carrying with it the whole of the Middle tribes, and penetrating even to the Southern tribes as far as the Aka Bea itself. But here the revolt was brought to a stop. The cataclysm was recognized as the punishment of Puluga, and in consequence the old obedience and the earlier reverence towards Puluga, which here also had been shaken, were re-established, perhaps in even greater strength.

4. There are also a number of myths about this great deluge in which a tribal diversity is evident.

NORTHERN TRIBES.

AKA-JERU—1. The first man Mimi Chara made a noise one evening when the cicada was singing. Thereupon a great storm arose, which killed many people and turned others into fishes and birds. Mimi Chara and his wife Mimi Kota climbed up a hill to a cave, and hid the fire under a cooking pot till the storm had passed.

2. The people made a noise at night whilst the cicada was singing. She went to her mother Biliku, who threw her pearl shell and sent a heavy rain storm, and destroyed the whole world. Maia Taolu saved the fire on this occasion.
Middle Tribes.

AKA-KEDE—A bird who had had no honey given it, made a noise at night whilst the cicada were singing, and disturbed their song. A great storm arose; it rained heavily, and the sea rose over the land. The people took refuge in the top of a Dipterocarpus tree (the highest tree in the Andaman Islands). Mima Mite (dove) saved the fire under a cooking pot.

AKA-KOL—The ancestors were playing one evening and making a noise while the cicada was singing. Then Bilik got angry and sent a great cyclone. All the people were turned into animals.

A-PUCHIKWAR-AKA-BALE—Da Kolwot (tree-lizard) got furious whilst dancing and drove the people violently away, so that they were turned into all sorts of animals. Berep (a small crab) in the end held him tightly by the arm.

Southern Tribes.

AKAR-BEDE—Da Kwokol becomes furious whilst dancing and drives the people into the sea and bushes, so that they turned into animals there. Da Berag bit hard into his arm, so that he died. At that his mother was furious and cut down the plant tokul, at which Puluga became so angry that he sent a great storm which killed the mother and all the people in that place.

AKAR-BALE—AKA-BEA—Kolwot gets furious at a dance and drives the people in all directions, so that they turned into animals. Berebi comes and bites deep into his arm; he dies. At that his mother becomes so furious that in her pain she asks the people to do things that would enrage Puluga: “Burn the wax, grind the seed of the Entada; destroy the Caryota; dig up the various yams; destroy everything.” At that Puluga became extremely angry and sent the flood which killed all living things with the exception of two men and two women.

AKAR-BALE—In a great storm and mighty deluge Da Duku (monitor-lizard), the first man, tried to save the fire by climbing a tree, but he could not climb with it. Then In Baia (the civet-cat) took the fire up a hill and saved it.

AKA-BEA—After the death of Kolwot, who was the first to spear and catch turtles, the people grew more disobedient, and as Puluga ceased to visit them, they became more remiss in the observance of his commands. Then Puluga’s wrath burst forth, and without warning he suddenly sent a great flood that covered the whole land and destroyed all living. Only two men and two women, who happened to be in a boat, saved themselves and landed in Wota-emi. When the flood subsided, Puluga recreated everything.

The characteristic differences between the Andamanese myths of the deluge can be summarized as follows:

1. Everywhere the violation of Bilik-Puluga’s commands is the cause of the great flood.

2. In the North, taking in the Aka-Kede as well, it is the disturbing of the Cicada song.

3. In the South, beginning with the A-Puchikwar, it is an incident connected with Kolwot, at whose death his mother destroyed the plants protected by Puluga, and incited others to do so as well.
4. In the Aka-Bea legends it was the universal ungodliness of the people that produced the catastrophe.

5. The saving of the fire through the woman and her cooking pot is characteristic of the Northern and Middle tribes, whilst in the South there is no mention of the cooking pot.

In one of the Middle and two of the Southern tribes there is a myth which tells how the killing of the Cicada and a species of caterpillar brought about the first darkness of night. In the A-Pechikwar and Aka-Bale tribes it is the first man who discovered the yams and the resin, and found a Cicada which he crushed in his hand, and at whose cry night came;—through the song of the ant the day came back, and since then day and night come alternately. Whilst here the people could evidently help themselves again, and there is no mention at all of Bilk-Puluga, yet Puluga decidedly reappears in the Aka-Bea myth. Here it is two women who get so enraged by the summer heat that one of them kills a caterpillar and the other destroys the utara plant. This displeased Puluga and as a punishment he sent the night. Thereupon the Chief Kolwot invented dances and songs in order to make Puluga believe that the people did not mind. So Puluga created the alternate periods of day and night and later on created the moon to make the night yet lighter.

Taking together all the facts established into these four important points by our researches, it will be clear beyond doubt that in the Southern tribes, especially among the Akan-Bale and the Aka-Bea, there is quite a specifically different religion from that of the Northern tribes. In the South there are not two beings, but only one great being, who stands above all other beings and there is no reason to doubt that it is always masculine. This Supreme Being is not ill disposed towards humanity, but is essentially benevolent, so that the wind of the bright beautiful season is called after him. Puluga is the creator of all things and also of humanity, on whom he has bestowed benefits and to whom he has taught all that is necessary for them. He also gave them fire of his own free will and taught them how to use it. But Puluga was enraged by acts which caused a devastation and waste of things created by him, and then, besides storms, he sent as punishments thunder and cyclones. Once he destroyed the whole world in this way.

In contradistinction to this, the Northern tribes have a religion in which there are two figures personifying the two monsoons. Of these the feminine North-east monsoon is the higher, as here generally the feminine comes to the fore. Here Bilk is no creator and is inimical to humanity, and the fire has to be stolen from her. She shows no moral features.

In the Middle tribes there is a wavering between the two views, but also a clear remembrance of Puluga's former preponderance, until a sharp falling off from him arose, evoked perhaps by even more progressive influences from the North.

(To be continued.)
CONTRIBUTIONS TO PUNJABI LEXICOGRAPHY.

SERIES IV.

By H. A. ROSE, I.C.S. (Retired).

(Continued from page 112.)

Pabain: a kind of chukri, 'rhubarb'; Ch., 222.

Pachhán: to-night; as in 'Juma-rāt kudān' = 'Pachhān.'

Pachsera: a weight of 5 sers used for buying, but of 4 sers when used for selling; SS., Bashahr, 60.

Pāda: the 2nd rite of the 1st chār at a wedding. It resembles the pahlā bishtār or 1st chār, but in this repetition of it blades of grass, saffron, sarvān shadhe and flowers are cast into the water, and while the priest recites mantras the father of the bride sprinkles water on the feet of the pair: Ch., 143.

Pāduka: a foot-print pillar, consisting of a pile of stones, covered by a flat slab on which is carved a trident with a foot-print on each side, in front of a temple or by the road-side: Ch., 49.

Pag-bhāl = Dharm-bhāl; a brother made by Pagwa: Gloss., I, p. 905.

Pagran: 'to hold,' see Nali. Dandā pagran, a game in which each player holds a club (dandā) between his feet and endeavours to wrest the other's dandā from him with his hands: B.,

Pagwa: exchange of turbans, effecting a tie like kinship: Gloss., I, p. 905.

Pahrāl: a machān or platform erected for watching crops: Ch., 225.

Pagīl: a sort of gown: SS., Bashahr, 41.

Pāhrī: a guardian of the records in a State office, also of revenue in cash or kind; a temple attendant: Ch., 264 and 131.

Pahārān: a gown for everyday use: Ch., 205.

Pāl: in Tank:—4 topās = 1 pāī.

2 pāīs = 1 monā.

20 pāīs = 1 chatti in Kulāchi).

2 monās = 1 andā.

2 andās = 1 chatti, or ox-load of 2 sacks; also used as a land-measure: D. I. K.

in Hazāra:—1 pāī = 16 chohās or otīs. Measures of capacity only in use among the Dhunds of the Danannah ilāqa.

1 adh-pāī = 8 chohās or otīs.

See also under Topa.

Pāiyā jins: a system by which the cultivator was compelled to sell his grain to the State at reduced prices; SS., Kuthār: Cf., Pāiyā.


Paju: a piece of muslin tied round the bridegrooms' cap: SS., Bashahr, 17.

Pallak: greens; also a tree: Simla, S. R. xii-ii.


Pālak: a boy brought up but not adopted; comp. SS. = bālak.

Palakk: a wild fig, Ficus Rumphii: Ch., 239.

Pālāsrā: an official, below the mastr, now abolished; Ch., 264; Cf., Palsarah in III.

Pala: a tax on oil-presses: Suketet, 42.

Pallo: the border of a shawl; = pavan, 'to spread out the end of one's shawl,' to invoke a blessing, to break off a feud: Gloss., I, p. 906.
The observance in which the bride's skirt is kept fastened to the bridegroom's at the wedding: B., 111.

Palī : to sharpen: Ch., 138.
Pān : a climbing plant: Sirmūr, 76.
Pand : see under Topa.
Pandran : a kind of tree: SS., Balsan, 4.
Panglot : a fee levied from a stranger taking a bride out of the State: Suket, 42.
Panihār : a stone fountain, built of slabs of stone; smaller than the Nahun: Ch., 198.
(Correct Panihār in III).
Paniyāru : the day of the kiria karm: Ch., 155.
Panjobal : moist land: Sirmūr, App. I.
Panjserf : a weight, = 5 sers: Ferozepur.
Pāp : soul; v. Nowa.
Pāpra : lit. 'sin'; also an imp: Sirmūr, 53.
Pāpill : stony soil with a layer of earth over it: Sirmūr, App. I.
Parāinā : the 5th form of marriage, = Gādar: a purohit is employed, but Ganesh is not worshipped, the bride doing reverence to the bridegroom's door and hearth, and obeisance to his parents: SS., Kumhārsain and Bashahr, 13.
Parala : sunny open land, opposed to Shila: SS., Jubbal, 10.
Parai : a circular wooden vessel of capacity; also called Asa: Hazāra.
Parāthi : not defined; used in B., (180) as an offering at a shrine.
Parbat : land on a hill-top: SS., Jubbal, 16.
Parchāva : evil influence: Ch., 196.
Paropli : one-fourth of a Topa: Ferozepur.
Paruna : Dāj, in Peshāwar: Comp., 63.
Parva : a cess, of one batti of grain for aces rupee of revenue: SS., Kunhiār, 10.
Pashāj : a demon or genie: B., 197.
Parshkora : an observance at wedding: the bridegroom is measured with the nauī which is placed on his sister-in-law's tray and regarded as his rakh or protector: B., 110.
Parshwāj : a gown, with a short bodice and numerous folds, almost touching the ground: Ch., 205.
Patha : the area which can be sown with 2 sers khām: SS., Bilāspur, 21.
Pathil mundri : a set of bangles and a ring: B., 104.
Pađī : a long narrow field : Sirmūr, App. I.
Paṭīs : (fr. Patis), a kind of herb, (fr. gentian); cf. Tīla : Ch., 222.
Paṭrīn : square pieces of silver worn round the neck, = Dawātin : B., 105 : for Paṭīr
v. P. D., p. 888.
Paṭrūr : a kind of bread made of flour with salt and spices, and spread on bhājī or
kachālā leaves. It is eaten on the Paṭrūr ki sankrānt or 1st. Bhādon in honour of fore-
fathers : Ch., 156 and 215.
Paṭtīr : a bowl : Sirmūr, 50.
Paṭṭālī : 'squatting on the ground cross-legged' : Attock Gr., p. 113.
Paṭtūr : an office-bearer who had pattū, 'woollen blankets,' made for the Rājā : Ch.,
265.
Paū : a cess imposed in lieu of the old custom of buying the cultivator's grain at reduced
rates : SS., Bīlāspur, 23.
Peehri, paehri : a basket, narrowing towards the top, used for storing ; like a Partāra :
Simla, S. R. xlvii.
Peedi : a very poor soil with a thin layer of earth over the stones, generally found on
the banks of streams : Sirmūr, App. I.
Peeka : used by a woman for her own father's house or village : Syn. Pihar.
Peshwā : murshid or pīr among Qādirī faqīrs, in Ludhiana.
Pēr : a dish of Piĥī, māsh or pulse finely ground : Gloss., I, p. 797.
Petā rathu : 'a glutton.' Ch., 124.
Petar : Juniperus communis : Ch., 240.
Phag : a cess, levied for the expenses of the Holī : SS., Bashahr, 74.
Phagura : a wild fig, Ficus palmata : Ch., 240.
Phagli : (1) a fair held in Phagān, (2) a place of origin of a deota ; Kulu : Gloss., I,
pp. 326 and 433.
Phak : bran, husks : Ch., 139.
Phakhī : 'assent'; = dīū, 'has given assent'; used of a bride's parents' consent to her
betrothal : Ch 157.
Phallī : a plot left fallow in the autumn in Brahman ; = Paindh : Ch., 224.
Phalī : (fr. or) dhaman : Grewia asiatica : Sirmūr, App. IV, iii.
Phand : stew : Bashahr, 41.
Phangat : a cow or bullock iron-grey in colour with black spots on the whole body, and
unlucky, like the Megat : Jullundur, S. R., 55.
Phant-bahalīr : a benevolence levied to meet the cost of marrying the Rājā's children
Sirmūr.
Phant : a special levy to defray the cost of a festival : SS., Bashahr, 28, an occasional
levy for State purposes, 72.
Phap : a kind of yeast imported from Ladāk, used in making lagri : Mandi, 32.
Phāphrā : Fagopyrum sativus : Sirmūr, 66.
Phar : the middle storey : SS., Bashahr, 43.
Pharālu : an earring : Ch., 208.
Pharīr : a thong, which attaches the yoke to the plough ; = Bolcha : Simla, S. R. xlv.
Pharoitā : a small basket, holding about 8 tares ; = Chatra : Simla, S. R. xlv, xlii.
Pharria: *Grewia oppositifolia*; Sirmur, App. IV, iii.

Phatting: porridge, in Kanawar; =Laphi; SS., Bashahr, 41.

Phera: a custom of levying revenue, apparently a levy of grain and cash over and above the land revenue for the wazir's benefit, on his triennial visit; in Lahul: Ch., 274.

Phernā ghirnā: *muklūdā* (?); Sirmur, 29.

Phetl: fem., a past part., =reversed, as in *phetl qalam-wālā*, one who writes from right to left, i.e., the Persian script: Mandi, 26.

Phingola: cripple: Ch., 139.


Phirannā: the ceremonial visit paid by a bride and her husband to her parents within a month of the wedding: Ch., 158.

Phul: the first distillation of barley spirit: SS., Bashahr, 77.

Phulan: phullan, *Fagopyrum euripiticatum*: Ch., 8 and 222.

Phulech: a fair held at various places in Bhādon; it is in honour of the souls of deceased ancestors, but is closely associated with flowers (*phul*): SS., Bashahr, 39 and 44.

Phullan: a crop grown on the higher uplands: Ch., 202.

Phullu: an ornament for the toes: Ch., 20.

Phumb: wool: Ch., 133.

Phungni: also called Tikar-jag, Paret-pūjan and Jogni, a feast offered to the jogni to cause rain: Kulu: Gloss., I, p. 436.

Plāk: alder, *Alnus nepalensis* and *nitida*: Ch., 1236.


Pichal: apparently =Sol, q.v.

Pichak: a brooch, worn by women in Kanawar: SS., Bashahr, 42.

Phar: =Peka, q.v.


Pindirī: a flour cake, eaten at the Basua festival: Ch., 151.

Pindī: an idol having no special shape: SS., Keonthal, xi.

Pīnh: a swing: Ch., 196. — jhūta.

Pingyat: hawthorn (Pangi), *Crataegus oxyacantha*: Ch., 233.

Pinjoli: =Mehar, the headman of a *garh*: Mandi, 59.

Pinni: a rite performed 10 days after death: Mandi, 34.

Pinti: a cess in kind, of *ghi*: SS., Bashahr, 70.

Pi r bāhin: a sister in religion, by affecting the same *pir*: Gloss., 8, p. 907.

Pi rā: a public drummer: SS., Nālāgarh, 18.


Pi rinda: a silk cord for tying a woman's hair; a charm for long life: Gloss., I, p. 911.

Pi r ku: an open basket, =Chatri, q.v.


Pi thrī: *mās* finely ground: Gloss., I, p. 797.

Poh: a conical stack: Sirmur, 68.

Poh-phutil: =Bhabhāk, q.v.

Poksha: =Khadu, a grazing-tax taken in sheep or goats: SS. Bashahr, 754.

Porestang: =Sansk. *pratisthā*, 'dedication,' performed when a new roof is put on a temple in Kanawar: SS., Bashahr, 37.

*(To be continued.)*
FOLK-TALES FROM NORTHERN INDIA.

[The following folk-tales and fables were collected by the late Dr. William Crooke, C.I.E., and were probably intended to be published in book-form. After his death, they were forwarded to Mr. S. M. Edwardes, on the chance that he might be able to make use of them. As the tales are numerous and possess a value for students of folk-lore, it has been decided to publish a selection of them in this Journal. In nearly every case Dr. Crooke had entered above each story the names of the persons who told it and recorded it. These names have accordingly been reproduced, as well as a few notes by Dr. Crooke appended to some of the stories.—Ed.]

1. The slave discovered.

(Told by Ldla Sankar Lal of Sahdranpur and recorded by Pandit Ram Gharib Chaube.)

A nobleman once had a slave who absconded with a large sum of money. Some time later his master found him by chance in a distant city. When he took him before the Kazi, the slave said:—I am not this man’s slave, but he is my slave.” The master was confounded at his insolence. So the Kazi sent his servant outside. Then he made the master and man put their heads through a slit in the wall, and he called to his servant:—“Cut off the slave’s head with your sword.” The slave blenched at the order and drew in his head, while his master remained unmoved. Thus the Kazi decided which of them was the slave.

2. The man and the loaves.

(Told by Ldla Dev Prasad of Aligarh and recorded by Pandit Ram Gharib Chaube.)

A certain man used to buy six loaves daily at the baker’s shop. To a friend who enquired how he consumed all this bread, he replied:—“One loaf I keep; one I throw away; two I give in discharge of a debt; and two I lend.” The friend asked him to explain, and he answered:—“The loaf which I keep, I eat myself; the loaf I throw away I give to my wife; the two for the discharge of debt I give to my parents; and the two which I lend I give to my children.”

3. The cuckoo and the owl.

(Told by Ganasa Lal, Schoolmaster, Digh, Fatehpur District.)

A cuckoo and an owl once dwelt in the same tree. One day the cuckoo flew to the court of Indra and sang so sweetly that he and all his fairies were delighted and gave him many presents. “Who are the other sweet singers in the land of men?” asked Indra Raja, and the cuckoo replied:—“The peacock, the bumble bee, the maina and the nightingale, the parrot and myself are the six great singers.”

When the cuckoo returned and showed his presents to the owl, the latter was envious and flew himself to Indra’s court, and alighting on a tree began to hoot. Indra, hearing him, thought some Rakshasa had come to trouble him. So he called him and said:—“Who are the great singers in the land of men?” The owl replied:—“The owl, the ass, the dog, the jackal, the crow and the cat—these are the best singers in the world.” So Indra drove him forth with blows, saying, “You with your hooting would alone destroy the land of fairies. The earth must be made of iron to stand you and your five friends.”

4. The two Fakirs.

(Told by Misra Gomti Prasad of Bansi, Basti District.)

One day a Hindu fakir came to the court of Akbar and presented some holy ashes (rakh). Then came a Moslem fakir who presented some sweet basil (sabz, sabja). The Muhammadan courtiers remarked “How much better is the gift of the Moslem man. He
brought a green plant, but the Hindu ill-omened ashes." A Hindu answered them:—
"Rākhi is a lucky gift, for it signifies 'Keep all things safe'; but sabja means 'let everything go (sab jā)."

5. The defeated Pandit.

(Told by Dulāse Lal Brahman and recorded by Jagat Bahādur Lal of Basirpur, Harāoi District.)

Two Pandits once had a dispute about capping one another's verses, and one of them, having defeated the other, took all his goods. The defeated Pandit then fetched his brother, who managed to defeat the other. Then in view of the whole village he pulled a hair out of the moustache of his defeated rival, and when they asked why he did this, he said:—
"The hair of the moustache of this Pandit is excellent for keeping demons out of the house." Hearing this, everyone in the village wanted a hair; and therefore, they fell upon the unfortunate Pandit and pulled out every hair of his beard and moustache.

6. Life as an inn.

(Told by Lal Sankar Lal of Sahāranpur and recorded by Pandit Rām Gharib Chaube.)

The King of Balkh and Bukhara was sitting at the gateway of his palace, when an old Fakir appeared and insisted upon forcing his way in. When the attendants prevented him, he said:—"Why should I not enter an inn, if I please?" "This is not an inn," said the king. Then the Fakir asked him to whom the palace belonged before he was born, and he replied, "To my grandfather and to my father." "And to whom will it belong after you depart from the world?" "To my son and grandson," quoth the king. "Then," said the Fakir, "a house which has so many owners is naught but an inn."

7. The honest man and the rogue.

(Told by Gauri Sankar and recorded by Gopāl Sahai of Mordadbad.)

A good man and a rogue were friends, and the former recked not of the roguery of his friend, who was planning how he could injure him. The honest man was about to marry his son, and asked his friend to join the procession to fetch the bride. But the latter made an excuse, intending to rob the house while every one was absent. Only the wife of his friend was at home, and in the night she heard someone breaking through the wall. She rose, and when the thief came in, legs foremost, through the hole, she cut off his legs with a sword.

The thief crawled to his house and gave out that he had had to cut off his legs, because a snake had bitten him. When the husband returned from the wedding, his wife saw him mourning the misfortune which had overtaken his friend. So she took out the legs, which she had kept in a jar, told him the whole story and said:—
"Kapati mit na hoy, bala sāncho shatra bhala:
Yamen kuchku na goya, sab lakate njīj karm phala."
i.e., "May you never have a treacherous friend—An open enemy is better than he—Certain it is that everyone reaps the reward of his actions."

8. The two brothers.

(Told by M. Abdul Wāhid Khān, Sadr Qānumgo, Sahāranpur.)

There were once two girls who said they would not marry anyone with money, but that their husbands should agree to submit to a daily shoe-beating from them. No one would consent to this, till two youths, who were very poor and could not get anyone else to marry them, agreed to the conditions.
So they were married and started for home with their brides. They halted at an inn, and during the night the elder brother heard an ass bray. So he arose, drew his sword and cut off its head. Soon afterwards he heard a cat mew under his bed: so he arose and killed it too. When his wife saw this, she realised that he had a hot temper, and made no attempt to beat him with shoes.

Meanwhile the younger brother used to be thrashed daily by his wife, and at last, finding his brother so much better off, he asked his advice. When his brother told him how he had managed, he ran home and forthwith killed the cat with his sword.

His wife laughed and said:

"Garbha kushtan ros avval"

i.e., "If you go to kill the cat, it is better to do it the first day." After that she never troubled him.

[This story appears in Fallon’s Dictionary of Hindustani Proverbs.—Ed.]


(Told by Ramdhan Misra, schoolmaster, Gonda.)

A Brahman, walking through a jungle one day, saw four bags of money. "These are four witches," he said and went his way. Soon after he met four sepoys who asked him if the road was safe. "There are four witches ahead," said he: "you had better be cautious." When the sepoys saw the bags of money, they exclaimed, "What a fool that Pandit was. He calls these money-bags witches." Two of them stayed with the treasure, and the other two went to the bazar to buy food. The two latter planned to put poison in the sweets, so that their companions should die and all the treasure be theirs. The other two made a similar plan, and when their comrades arrived with the sweets, they attacked them with their swords and slew them. Then they ate the sweets and died also.

After a while the Brahman returned to see how the sepoys had sped with the treasure, and found all four lying dead beside it. He took pity on them, and, cutting his little finger, poured some nectar into their mouths, and they came to life. They cast themselves at his feet and said, "Verily, these are witches indeed." So they gave up the world and became disciples of the Brahman.

10. The death of Sheikh Chilli.

(Told by Mukund Lal, clerk, of Mirzapur.)

Once upon a time Sheikh Chilli asked a Pandit when he was likely to die. The Pandit replied, "You will die when a red thread comes out of your back." One day it happened that Sheikh Chilli entered the shop of a Pathera or silk thread maker, and a thread stuck to his back. Seeing it, he thought to himself, "I am now certainly dead." So he went to a grave-yard and dug himself a grave; then sat beside it and put a black pot on his head. A traveller who passed by asked Sheikh Chilli the way to the city. Replied the Sheikh, "I would gladly have told you, but don't you see that I really cannot, because I am dead." The traveller went his way, laughing at his folly.

["In the Turkish jest book which purports to relate the witless sayings of the Khoja Nasr-ed-din, he is persuaded to be dead and allows himself to be stretched on a bier and borne to the cemetery. On the way the bearers, coming to a miry place, said, "we will rest here," and began to converse; whereupon the Khoja, raising his head remarked, "If I were alive, I would get out of this place as soon as possible,"—"an incident which is also found in a Hindu story-book." Clouston, Popular Tales and Fictions, II. 33.—W. Crooke.]
11. The Rani and the snake.

(Told by Gajdhar Misra of Bhua Kalan and recorded by Chheda Lal, Khapraha school, Jaunpur.)

There was once a Râja who had two wives; the elder he used to neglect, and loved the younger. One day the neglected Râni was sitting weeping in the courtyard, when a snake appeared before her. She took a jar and shut up the snake in it. She put the jar away and thought nothing of it, till one day she was looking for something in the house, and by chance she put her hand into the jar, and the snake bit her, so that she became insensible. When they went to the Râja and told him, he was much distressed and sent a message to say that he was coming at once to see her. Hearing this she recovered and said, "One never knows what may help one in trouble. The snake that I imprisoned has been the means of reconciling me to my husband."

12. The woman and her child.

(Told by Pandit Ram Nath of Saharanpur.)

A woman with her child was once passing through a village notorious for the wickedness of its inhabitants. She was afraid, and putting the child on her shoulder walked along with her eyes downcast. A man saw her and quietly followed her. She did not hear him walking behind her, and as she went along he kept giving sweets to the child. After a time he shouted out, "Help, brethren! This woman is carrying off my child." She protested that the child was her own. So the elders of the village collected and said, "Make the man and woman sit down, and give the child to a third person; towards whichever of the two claimants the child stretches out its hands, to that one the child properly belongs." When the child saw the man who had given it sweets, it stretched out its hands to him, and all the people said, "Surely the child belongs to him." Soon after he gave the child back to the woman and said, "I merely wished to show you that the people here are both fools and knaves. It went to me because I gave it sweets—sweets are dearer to a child than its mother." Hence they say, Khii mit; mii nakhin mit (Food is sweeter than a mother).

13. How the dancing-girl was outwitted.

(Told by Pandit Chandranathkara, Zilla School, Cawnpore.)

There was once a dancing-girl, who lived in a Brahman village; and one morning when she looked outside her door, she saw all the Brahmanas engaged in offering oblations to their dead ancestors. When she enquired what they were doing, they said:—"This is Pitripôksha or the fortnight sacred to the sainted dead, and we pour water in their honour." Thinking it would be a good thing if she did the same for her own ancestors, she sent for one of the Brahmanas and asked him to officiate as her priest. He refused to act for so improper a person, and she could find no Brahman in the whole village who would perform the rites for her.

At last a Bhûn or buffoon thought he would take a rise out of her. So he dressed himself up as a learned Pandit, put on a big turban and a sacred thread, and with a bundle of books under his arm walked past her door. He fell into conversation with her and said, "I am a very learned Brahman just come from Benares—I am looking about for a wealthy client." So she induced him to stay in her house, and fed him well and gave him a handsome present. And daily he made her perform the oblations to her ancestors, while he mumbled some gibberish which she thought were the appropriate texts. At last when the ceremony was over and he had got as much as he could out of her, he departed, addressing her as he went in the following verse:—
"Kuár bádi pandravín bhai, khúb uráí kháur;
Ashik de ghar ját hain, tum Vesya, ham Bhánr."
i.e., "Up to the fifteenth of the month Kuár I enjoyed myself and was fed on sugar—now I leave you with my blessing. You are a dancing-wench and I a buffoon."


(Told by Kázi Shamsu’dín of Bábugarh, Meerut District.)

Iron and gold once disputed which of them was the greater, and as they could not settle the matter themselves, they asked Rája Bhoj to arbitrate. Said Iron:—"What qualities dost thou possess, that thou dost not fall down and worship me?" Said Gold:—"Why should I fall down and worship thee, seeing that I am much superior to thee. I am measured by the rati and thou by the ser. I am the ruler and thou the slave." Said Iron:—"The reverse is the case. My shoes are on thy head. Of me the anyvil and hammer are made, and between them thou art hammered and fashioned. When thou art made into coins, the moulds are formed of me. When thou art shut up, it is under my lock and key. How canst thou call me one of menial caste?" Said Gold:—"How canst thou pretend to rival me, since it is of me jewels are made?" Said Iron:—"True, but these are the ornaments of women. Of me are made armour and the weapons of war. It is I and not thou, who conquer the world." Said Gold:—"Thou art a rogue, while I am a gentleman. Everyone curses thee, while all love me." Said Iron:—"At the first shower of rain in Asarh all thy votaries have to mortgage thee to buy cattle and seed-grain. I help my votaries to earn their bread by honest labour, and all respect me. If anyone take me with him, he has no cause for fear. He may be sure of returning home in safety, while he who carries thee is in constant fear of the thief and the robber."

When the arguments were ended, Rája Bhoj said:—"Iron has proved his case."

Said Gold:—"This is only what might be expected from a Rája, but no Rájput shall ever possess me."

And this is the reason why Rájputs are usually thriftless and impoverished.

15. The tale of the cuckoo.

(Told by Akbar Sháh Mánjhi of Mirzapur District, and recorded by Hamíd Husain.)

A certain Rája had a beautiful garden, in which lived a koil or cuckoo, which used to sing morning and evening, and keep silence all day while she sought food. This annoyed the Rája, and he sent for some fowlers and ordered them to catch the cuckoo. When they went in search of her, she was absent, and they caught a kuchkuchiya bird (the red-headed Trogon) and brought it to the Rája, who shut it up in a cage. The bird had only one note, "Kae / Kae!,” which it kept repeating. Thereupon the Rája struck it at with a stick, whereupon the bird said:

Kuh kuh bole koiliya nanda
Bin aparadh paryon main phanda

i.e., "The cuckoo sings sweetly; but I have been snared for no fault."

On this the Rája released the bird and punished the fowlers for their mistake.

16. The Kori’s dilemma.

(Told by Rámnáth Tivári of Sarkandi, Fatehpur District.)

There was once a Kori weaver who was a great fool. One day his wife began to abuse him and said, "You are such a lazy fellow: You never do anything offhand." So he went away, saying "Offhand" to every one he met. He came across a fowler catching birds in a net,
When he saw him the Kori shouted out "Offhand" and all the birds flew away. Then the fowler fell upon him and said, "When you meet anyone, you should say—'May two fall into one'—that is to say, may two birds fall into the snare at once."

He went on and saw two men carrying a corpse, and when he saw them, he spoke as the fowler told him; but they beat him and said, "You should always say 'If a thing has happened, who can cure it; but may it never occur again.'"

He came to a place where the Rāja had just had a son, and when he said what had been told him, they beat him and said, "You should always say, 'May such a thing never occur again.'"

He came to a village where an Ahir was milking his cow, which recently had not given any milk; but that day she was a little better and was giving a little. When he said, "May such a thing never occur again," the Ahir gave him a beating.

So he said to himself, "Whatever I say brings me into trouble, so I had better go home"; and go home he did and stayed there.

[This noodle story is told all the world over—See Clouston, Book of Noodles, 128.—W. Crooke. The Koris of the U.P. are supposed to be an offshoot of the Kols. In customs they approximate to the Chamars and others of like social grade.—Ed.]

17. The Rāja and the sharers.

(Told by Rāmdāl Kayasth of Mirzapur and recorded by Pandit Rām-Gharib Chaube.)

A Rāja was once on a journey and came to a tank, where a Dhobi was washing clothes. The Rāja shot a paddy-bird on the tank, and the Dhobi shouted out:—"What do you mean by killing my mother? You must come to the king and I will get redress."

So they went on, and on the way they met a one-eyed man. He said to the Rāja, "My father once pledged my eye with you for a rupee. Here is the money, give me back my eye, or come to the king and I will get redress."

They went further and met a barber. "Shave me," said the Rāja, "and I will satisfy you for your trouble." When he had done shaving him, the barber said, "Nothing but your kingdom will satisfy me. If you will not give it, come to the king, and I will get redress."

When they came to the king, the Rāja sent a letter to the queen, asking her to help him out of his trouble. She wrote back, "When the Dhobi says you killed his mother, just say, 'And what about my father the fish, that your mother was eating when I killed her?" When the one-eyed man asks for his eye, say, 'I have a heap of eyes and I cannot match yours, unless you take out your remaining eye and let me measure it.' And when the barber asks you for your kingdom, say, 'You can have it when my son is married.'" Now the Rāja had no son. In this way he escaped the wiles of the three sharers.

18. The potter and his friends.

(Told by Rāmdayāl, schoolmaster, Gonda.)

A certain potter had three brothers. One of them was a very powerful man, and his brothers were on the look out to kill him. The wife of one of the brothers was one day cooking, and her husband told her to put poison in the dish for his brother. When the latter came in to eat, the woman repented and began to weep. When asked the reason, she told him to throw some of the food to a dog. When the dog immediately died, he knew that his brothers had made a plot against him. So he thought he had best go abroad to earn his living.
When he had gone some distance, he saw a carpenter who was digging earth, and as he dug it, he threw it over a hill close by.

The potter said——“You are a very powerful man.”

He answered——“I hear that there is a potter who is even stronger than I am.”

So they started off together. When they had gone some distance, they saw a cowherd taking one of his buffaloes on his back to a tank to bathe her. Him also they made join their company. When they went a little further, they came upon a goldsmith who, when his anvil got out of shape, hammered it straight with his hand. He also joined them. Then they came to a well and they told the carpenter to go and draw some water. When he put in his lota, the fairies who were in the well caught hold of it. So he jumped in; and when he did not come out, they sent in the cowherd; and after him went in the goldsmith also. So the potter was left alone outside. Then up came a Rákshasa, who was lord of the well, and challenged the potter to fight him. The potter after a fierce fight killed him, and then he too went down into the well. There they found the palace of the fairies, who were of heavenly beauty; and they had a store of all manner of wealth. Here the heroes and the fairies lived ever after.


(Told by Pandit Chandrasélhara, Zilla school, Cawnpore.)

There was once an Ahir, who was the servant of a Thákur, and one day his master's Guru came to see him. This was in the month of Baisakh, when the weather was very hot. So the Thákur gave the Guru a seat, bathed and fanned him, and gave him sherbet to drink. Just at that time the Thákur was in trouble because his wife was barren, and he had a dispute with his relations; but soon after the Guru arrived, his wife conceived and the quarrel was settled.

When the Ahir saw what had happened, he thought it would be much to his advantage to get initiated himself. So he went about looking for a Guru.

One day his younger brother came running to him in terror and said——

“I was just passing the river, when I saw a terrible animal chewing an enormous bone in its mouth and making an awful noise. Perchance he may injure our flocks, and we had better slay him.” Now it was the month of Magh and very cold weather; and this was a poor Sanyási who was sitting by the river, making his Sandhya oblation and blowing his conch-shell. The Ahirs stole up behind him and struck him a blow with a club. But when they saw that it was a Sanyási, they were grieved, and making their excuses to him, carried him to their house. They wished to treat him with the utmost respect, and the Ahir, remembering how his master had treated his Guru, seated him on a chair, poured a lot of water over him, though it was freezing, and made him drink a lot of sherbet.

In consequence the unfortunate Guru died, and the Ahir was never able to find another.

20. The Ahir and his Guru.

(Told by Hanumán Prasad, teacher, Rai Bareli.)

There was once an Ahir who thought that he was neglecting his religion; so he got himself initiated by a Guru. Soon after, the Guru came to see him, and the Ahir gave him all the milk and butter there was in the house. The Guru thought the Ahir a very liberal man; so he used to come every ten days or so; and whatever he found in the house the Ahir would give him. The Ahir's wife did not like this and said to herself, “Since this Babaji has taken to coming to the house, I might as well have no buffalo at all; for my husband gives
him all the milk and butter." Soon after the Guru appeared and asked the woman where her husband was. She said—"Poor man, he has lost his wits and he cannot bear the sight of a beggar about the place. Just now a poor man came to the door, and my husband has gone hunting him through the village with the chaff-chopper." When he heard this, the Babaji was sore afraid and he ran away. Just then the Ahir came back from his field and asked his wife if the Babaji had been to see him. "Yes," she said, "he was here just now and wanted our rice-pounder. But I did not dare to give it to him as you were not at home." The Ahir seized the rice-pounder and ran after the Guru. "Babaji," he shouted, "stop! here is the rice-pounder." But the more he called to the Babaji to stop, the faster he ran; and that was the last the Ahir and his wife ever saw of him.

21. How the Ahirin was outwitted

(Told by Ganga Sahai, schoolmaster, Hathras, Ailgarh District.)

There was once an Ahir, who had a very deceitful wife. When she was cooking, she used to make all the good flour into cakes and eat them herself, while those she made for her husband were only of chaff and refuse. Her husband, being an easy-going man, stood this for some time: but one day, as he found himself growing weaker, he said:—"How is it that when I give you plenty of good food, my cakes are made only of chaff and rubbish." She replied in verse:

Gangpar teri bahin basen,
Jake jamhen kank wren,
Pisen getun kukus khayan
Is se balam latte jaen.

i.e., "Your sister lives beyond the Ganges. When she yawns, all the good flour is blown away. I grind wheat and eat rubbish. Hence my husband is pineing away."

When her husband heard this, he thought he would go and give his sister a beating. His wife tried to dissuade him; but he went. When he came to his sister's house, she received him hospitably and gave him a good dinner. Said she—"Alas! brother. I see that you are very weak. Why is this so?" "How can I be strong," he answered, "when every time you yawn, you blow away all the good flour and my poor wife is left with only the husks to cook?" She asked—"How did you find that this was so?" He said "My wife told me."

His sister knew that this was some roguery on the part of his wife. So she went to a carpenter, who was a neighbour of hers and a great wizard, and she got from him four magic pegs, which she gave to the husband and said, "When you reach home, plant one of these at each corner of your house."

The Ahir did as she told him, and planted one of the pegs at each corner of his house. Next day, when the woman was cooking, and as usual taking all the good flour for her own cakes, one peg said—"What are you doing?" The second said—"This is what she does every day." The third said—"Has she no fear of Narayan?" The fourth replied—"If she feared him, she would not act in this way."

When the Ahirin heard these words, she did not know who was talking, and thought that some of her neighbours had seen her. So she cooked the bread in an honest way that day, and when her husband came home, she set it before him. Said he—"I am pleased to see that my sister did not yawn to-day."

After this the pegs used to speak whenever she tried to do any roguery, and though she searched everywhere, she could never find out who was watching her, and she became so stricken with fear that she was forced to amend her ways and give her husband his fair share of the food.
THE RELIGIOUS SITUATION OF THE ANDAMANese,

By P. W. SCHMIDT, S.V.D.*

(Continued from page 160.)

III.

The Establishment of the Ethnological Age of the Northern and Southern Groups.

Thus, here in the larger Andaman islands, we have two clearly differing forms of religion, as well as a third, which hovers between the two. Now the question arises as to which of these forms is the oldest.

Although Brown often denies that he can solve questions of historical priority, he nevertheless felt strongly that, in the above question, the decision lay in the judgment as to the correctness or incorrectness of his whole conception, and he sought even in his first publication (op. cit., p. 266) for a proof that it is the Northern tribes, who exhibit ethnologically the oldest forms.

For this reason he next alleged that Biliuku-Olua was feminine in the two furthest ends of the islands: in the furthest North among the Northern tribes of Great Andaman and in the furthest South among the tribes of Little Andaman, whilst the Middle tribes show transition forms towards the conception of Biliuku as masculine, which appear openly in the Puluga of the Southern tribes of Great Andaman. This is in no way a proof. I have already answered him that the Southern tribes of Great Andaman might just as well be the oldest form, of which a later further development could as easily have taken place towards the North as towards the South. Now I am able to put it better by saying that these two furthest regions lay nearest to the zone of influence of the culture of mother-rights, which may possibly have emanated from the hinterlands of India and from the Nicobar Islands. Furthermore, Brown gives no information of a being among the tribes of Little Andaman corresponding to the Tarai of the Northern tribes of Great Andaman.

Another argument was suggested to Brown by an Andamanese. "If Biliuku (originally) was a man, then he would have seized his bow and arrow and not flung fire-brands and pearl-shells. Those are women's things." To that I replied that one must here set oneself against the good Andamanese:—the pearl-shell which is the women's kitchen knife is, it is true, a "woman's thing," but the flinging of fire-brands can just as well be a man's affair as a woman's. And so, as a symbol of the lightning which Biliuku flings, only the pearl-shell of the Northern tribes with their feminine Biliuku is mentioned: while among the Southern tribes with their masculine Puluga, only the fire-brand appears as such. There can be no doubt as to which of the two is the older and more widely spread symbol, the pearl-shell or the fire-brand.

In his new publication Brown does not again mention this argument; he must therefore have seen its worthlessness. He goes even further in his agreement with me when he writes:—"The simplest of the different beliefs, the one following immediately from the natural phenomena would be, therefore, that which makes the lightning a fire-brand. This is on the whole, the one that is most usually expressed, at any rate in the South Andaman." (I. p. 368). If the fire-brand compared to the mother-of-pearl-shell is the simpler and more natural symbol of lightning, then it is without doubt the older. But this older symbol is not to be found among the Northern tribes, at any rate not among their myths of the bringing of the fire. So that here is already a proof of their lesser ethnological age.

* Translated from the German in Anthropos (Vols. XVI—XVII, 1921—22, pp. 978—1005) Die religiösen Verhältnisse der Andamanen-Pygmäen.
Of such arguments there are still other instances:

1. The sole primitive weapon of chase (and war) of the Andamanese, the bow and arrow, appears in three forms:
   
   (i) Non-reflex among the Little Andamanese and the closely related Jarawa.

   (ii) Half-reflex in the Great Andaman. Of the latter there are again two forms, a Southern and a Northern Andamanese, of which the last named is shorter, lighter and finer and also has a curve produced by the preparations of the bow-staff over the fire; whereas the former acquires a curve only from the growth of the living tree.

   (iii) Brown decidedly stands up for the idea that the Northern Andamanese bow is only to be explained as a variant of the South Andamanese (II, p. 432). Therefore in comparison with this latter he presents a later form. He further acknowledges, that it is not so certain, but very probable, that the South Andamanese bow is a variant of the Little Andamanese bow. In reality, between the two there is no derivation shown of any kind, as they are two essentially different sorts of bows, between which there is no derivation. The South Andamanese bow needs no derivation; it grows there, so to speak, naturally, for the half reflex bowstaff is produced from a naturally curved branch of a tree, through the continued fostering of this curve in the living growth. On the contrary, by its string, a bit of twisted¹² bark, which differs from the bow-string of every other Asiatic race of Pygmies, the bow of the Little Andamanese recalls the Rotang bow-string of the free mother-right culture, with which its outward appearance entirely corresponds.

2. Also in basket-making Brown himself acknowledges that: "The North Andaman basket seems to have been derived from one similar to that of the South Andaman by the introduction of two changes: (i) the use of different materials; (ii) the change of shape" (II, p. 469).

3. In the making of pots the Northern Andamanese produce forms which are thinner than those of the South Andamanese. This indicates that the technique of the former is the better. If one must accept without any doubt that the pot-making can be traced back to the influence of the free-mother-right culture in which it first occurs,¹³ here as there, the spiralwulst (spiral roll) technique is used without a potter's lathe,—then this influence is even more strongly marked in North Andaman in that, just as in the free mother-right regions, only the women make pots, while in South Andaman they are made by men and women, and the best by men (II, p. 473).

4. It is the same with the women's clothing. In the Little Andaman the women, to cover their nakedness, wear only a number of fibre bunches hanging down from a belt; these clearly remind one of the skirt-apron of the women in the free-mother-right culture. In the South Andaman, on the contrary, the women only wear a few leaves of Mimulus littoralis, which hang down from the belt in front. The women of North Andaman (who in late years have adopted the fashion of these of South Andaman) used to wear leaves of another plant in the same way, over which, however, they wore the fibre bush from the same plant, like the women of the Little Andaman (II, p. 479). The case is not, as Brown would infer, that in the bushes of fibre we have

¹² In a bow in the State Natural Hist. Museum in Vienna this twist is lacking, so that the resemblance to the Rotang string becomes even greater.

to do with an element of the oldest universal culture of the Andamanese, but that the women of Northern Andaman wore a double dress; (i) the leaves like those of the South Andamanese women (which is the oldest form not only of the Andamanese but of the Asiatic Negrito generally), and (ii) over them the fibre bunch influenced by the free-mother-right culture, which later penetrated here as well as to the Little Andaman.

5. The materialistic culture of South Andaman is thus shown in several important cases to be the older. Moreover it follows that the younger forms in the Little Andaman point to an influence of mother-right culture, as belonging to which neighbouring Austronesian (and Austro-Asiatic) regions are to be regarded. As to such influences, which were also exerted over the whole territory of the Andamanese, the following can be traced with all certainty:

(i) The outrigger canoe, with the typical south Polynesian attachment.
(ii) The shape of the oar.
(iii) The adze with knee-formed handle: all three forms of which appertain to the younger Polynesian culture, but are here bound up with the mother-right.14

6. Furthermore, I would point out, that in the myth of the Northern Andamanese Aka-Bo tribe, as to the origin of the first human beings, according to Brown's own account (II, p. 192) the giant bamboo in the joint of which the first man lay as if bedded in an egg, does not grow in the Andaman Islands, but comes occasionally as driftwood from the coast of Burma. Here can be seen plainly enough expressed in mythological language that the origin of these (new) North Andamanese kind of people came from outside the Andamanans.

7. Further, it is in the myths of the deluge of the Northern tribes that the woman saves the fire in the cooking pot, which article is entirely made by women there.

8. Finally, we also notice that Brown states that in North Andaman there is a ceremonial celebration of the first menstruation of a girl as typical of mother-right customs.16 He asserts: "I believe that the ceremony of the Southern tribes is very similar" (II, p. 92); but it is a fact to be recorded that E. H. Man gives no information of such a ceremony among his Southern Andamanese tribes.

IV.

The Austronesian Influences in (Northern) Andamanese Mythology.

Supported by all these facts, I find I can now uphold with sufficient certainty a doctrine which formerly,18 I only put forward as more or less probable: i.e., the theory that the particular forms of mythology of the North (and Little) Andaman are to be explained by the influence of mother-right Austronesian mythology. I proceeded from the facts, which Brown first made known, but still leaves totally unexplained, namely, that in the North Andaman where Bili is feminine, she is identified with the spider, whilst in the Little Andaman where Oluga is likewise feminine, she is connected with the monitor-lizard (Varanus salvator). I pointed out the close connection into which the spider, lizard and the spinning-weaving women in the

Austronesian mythology are brought with the moon. On the other hand, the first man To-Petie (Da Duku) is called Moniter-lizard in the myths of the Middle Andamanese and of the Akar-Bale, whilst in those places Tomo, the first man, creates Puki, the moon, and makes her his wife. In one myth of the Northern Andamanese of the Aka-Jeru, Tarai (= Deria, Daria in the Middle and South Andaman, II, pp. 193 ff.) was the first man. To this we must add the fact that the new moon in the Andamanese language is called the “Little (dérē-ka, dørē-ka, tîrē-ka and so on) Moon,” and then the close connection of the male partners of Bili, and Taria-Daria to the moon, is, I suppose, sufficiently substantiated. Then it also becomes clear why Daria-Teria, who does not appear at all in the Aka-Bea legends, stands in even stronger relationship to the South-west Monsoon:—the new moon always rises in the South-south-west.

Another important fact arises also out of the last. In the Austronesian mythology the waxing moon is always male and the waning moon male as well as female. In the latter case it represents, where mother-right prevails, the older female moon-primitive mother, or where the father-right continued to prevail or has lately come into force, the wife of the dark moon, and the two together formed the first human pair. The latter case we now have before us in Middle Andaman. In the North Andaman we have the connection of the male representative of the waxing moon, Teriya, with the male representative of the waning moon, Bili. Here the female element stands in the foreground. The reason of that is probably that in the North (one of the regions invaded by the mother-right immigration) the female element retained a greater importance. Still another cause came into play. If Taria-Daria, the waxing moon, is related to the South-west monsoon because the new moon rises in the South-west, then the representative of the waxing moon, Bili, is related to the North-east monsoon, because the waning moon always rises further to the North-east. Now here the female representative of the waning moon met the Supreme Being, Puluga-Bili, who already on other grounds stood as a heavenly Being in relation to the North-east monsoon, because there the rainbow was supposed to be the bridge which joined earth to heaven and also because the North-east monsoon always brings prevailingly bright weather and plenty of food. The good however is generally ascribed to Puluga.

It happened too, that, whilst in general a fusion of the Supreme Being takes place only with the representative of the waxing or clear moon, here in North Andaman, on the contrary, on account of the greater sociological and economical weight of the position of the female representative of the waning or dark moon, a connection of the Supreme Being with the latter takes place, and so the highest Being became feminine.

If the Supreme Being, who remained as such longer in South Andaman, did not himself become feminine there, quite another quality can be proved to belong to him as a later influence, through the moon-mythology. He is, it is true, not feminine, but became feminized and had children. The one name which Puluga’s wife bears, Chana Aulola, Mrs. Eel, bears decidedly the character of moon-mythology. If furthermore the daughters of both are often black, they resemble their mother the dark moon. If the son is the eldest of all the children and is fair, then he calls to mind Ögar Dérēka, the moon-child, the little crescent of the new moon. And if it is said that he is alone with his father in order to make the commands known to his sisters, then is called up to our minds the connection between the Supreme Being and the waxing moon. But this connection becomes perfectly clear among the A-Puchikwar, when

17 Schmidt, Grundlinien einer Vergleichung der Religionen und Mythologien des austronesischen Volker, pp. 122, 326, etc.
18 Mr. E. H. Man, JAI., p. 420, calls this time röp-wub, “Time of Plenty.”
19 Compare Schmidt, Pygmäenvölker, p. 208.
Puluga is described as white (or red) skinned, "like a European," the worldwide comparison to the moon, and wears a beard, although the Andamanese wear no beards or only very small ones.

Thus, through the disclosure of the mythological influences of the moon, a deterioration of the ancient primitive Supreme Being can be traced, so that the last shadows fall away from the Supreme Being, and he turns out to be one of those old gods of heaven who are clearly connected with lightning and thunder, storm and rain, and who are so characteristic of the whole primitive period of mankind.

V.

The Moral Character of Puluga, the Supreme Being of the Andamanese.

An important aspect of Puluga's nature still remains to be established. E. H. Man has maintained positively the moral character of Puluga: "He is regarded as omniscient while it is day, knowing even the thought of their hearts. He is angered by the commission of certain sins, while to those in pain or distress he is pitiful, and sometimes deigns to afford relief. He is Judge from whom each soul receives its sentence after death."[20] "That they are not entirely devoid of moral consciousness may, I think, in some measure, be demonstrated by the fact of their possessing a word yuuk-da signifying sin or wrong doing, which is used in connection with falsehood, theft, grave assault, murder, adultery and burning wax."[21]

To that Brown has taken strong exception. In spite of very careful and repeated researches, he could nowhere establish, he says, the facts that the things mentioned had called forth Puluga's anger. This was only brought about by the transgression of certain purely ritual commands to which we will return later on.

To that I formerly replied to Brown,[22] saying that also in this case he did not take into consideration the difference between northern and southern tribes, and further, that he assigned to the latter that which only applied to the former. Even more emphatically I must repeat this now that this difference has been brought more strongly and widely to light. In the northern tribes, where Biliiku is iminal to mankind, it has certainly no moral significance; in the Middle tribes, where the belief in Biliiku's beneficence has weakened, its recognition as a moral authoritative Being has doubtless suffered or has totally disappeared; for the Southern Andamanese with whom, according to Brown, Puluga's beneficent influence is acknowledged, according to Man's decided assurance, Puluga's moral significance cannot be doubted, not at any rate in his time. That here also they are already beginning to totter is not astonishing, considering that the individual tribes now have free intercourse, and according to Brown's witnesses the young men have already become sceptical in these matters, and Brown had no intercourse with the older men on account of his inadequate knowledge of the language (II, p. 170).

So he was unable sufficiently to establish the more intimate character of Puluga's ethical obligations. Thus for instance the inhabitants could throughout answer his question correctly by saying that Puluga was not so much enrag ed by theft, murder, adultery and so on as by the transgression of those ritualistic commands at which Puluga's wrath at once broke out—grosso modo—in the form of a cyclonic storm or even a deluge; but for all that, Puluga's displeasure can have occurred in a different way. That anyhow those so-called ritualistic transgressions are also actually real ethical commands, we will at once admit.

[21] Ibid., p. 112.
[22] Schmidt, Pygmäenvolker, p. 213.
VI.

The Demarcation of the Seasons in the Andaman Islands and the Interpretation of the Monsoons in Myth and Religion.

With that we get to a part of Brown’s arguments which presents to us a particularly instructive example of the power of theories over the presentation of facts. Although the disclosure of the complicated disarrangements and entanglements under discussion is not altogether pleasant, and moreover, takes up time and space, yet I feel I cannot, considering the importance of the matter before us, absolve myself from following up these matters to their very end.

Partly in order to explain the steady superiority of Biliku-Puluga over Taria-Daria, partly to prove the purely ritualistic and social character of certain laws, Brown has evolved in his present work (II) an extensive and complicated theory of the climatic and vegetative-zoological conditions of the particular seasons in the Andamanese Islands, which is astonishing. We can clearly follow how it came about gradually, step by step, if we compare it with his first publication in the year 1909 in *Folklore* (I). For at that time he certainly did not know some of the chief points of this theory, and others he only brought forward with great reserve. That Brown has built up a strong theory since then, which he now brings forward with great assurance and firmness, would not be a grave matter, if since then he had received new material facts from the Andaman Islands. As, however, this is not the case, the matter becomes so much the more critical, as Brown himself acknowledges that he did not make sufficiently certain of some of the underlying facts of his theory, since at that time he did not recognize their importance for his present theory, which he first formed after his return to Europe.  

Brown felt rightly that it was his duty to explain why elsewhere Biliku-Puluga took precedence over Taria-Daria. We, from our point of view, are easily able to give this explanation. In the South Puluga is the Supreme Being, and there Daria is of no particular importance, and is perhaps not even met with once; in the North Biliku is the fusion of this Supreme Being with the female ancestor, who holds a higher social position there. Brown was not able to give an explanation of his Monsoon theory and honestly acknowledged that fact at the time he wrote: “I have many times wondered why, of these two beings, Biliku and Taria, the first should come to occupy so large a place in Andamanese mythology compared with the other” (I, p. 267). Considering that generally storms and rain and bad weather show the consequences of Biliku’s anger, he continues: “What is particularly puzzling is that the South-west Monsoon is the rainy Monsoon, and during the North-east Monsoon the weather is generally fine.” Of both facts Brown acknowledges: “I have not been able to find an explanation and can only record the fact.”

To that theory which Brown formed later, the interpretation of the duration of both Monsoon seasons, which he still held at that time, stood in strong opposition. Each of these winds (North-east Monsoon and South-west Monsoon) blows for nearly half the year. But Brown completely broke away from this interpretation in his new work. There he writes:

“It comes about in this way, that the year is divided into two portions, one of which is specially connected with Biliku (Puluga), while the other is specially connected with Taria (Daria). The two seasons are not of equal length. The Taria season lasts only while the South-west Monsoon is blowing, which, in average years, is between 4

29 Brown, I, p. 266. The italics are mine—W. SCHMIDT
and 5 months. The other 7 months are divided into 3 portions, 1. the stormy season of October and November, 2. the cold season of December to February, and 3. the hot season of March and April."

It is true, he acknowledges in another passage, that taken more exactly, the year is divided into two parts with a steady direction of the wind North-east and South-west, and into two other periods following or preceding these with changing direction of wind, which cannot be attributed either to the North-east or South-west (II, p. 355.). But he gains support from the fact that at least in one tribe, the A-Puchikwar, only the South-west wind is connected with Tarai, but all the other winds with Biliik and his sons; and he adds that an approach to this is also shown in other tribes. In this way he arrives at the conclusion that the two changing seasons should be attributed to the North-east Monsoon.

In this manner, it is for two reasons that he obtains a foundation for the preponderance of Biliik-Puluga over Taria-Daria: (1) Because the first season which occurs in the year is considerably longer; (2) because nearly all the storms occur in this extended time, more especially the heavy cyclones. The objection to be raised against this interpretation of Brown's is that its only support is the A-Puchikwar tribe, because the suggestion that in the other tribes there is something of the same sort is without proof. The A-Puchikwar tribe alone, however, is not only too small, but also a too uncertain foundation, because it represents in every sense a typically transition tribe (see above).

In open contradiction is the Akar-Bale myth, according to which Puluga and Daris, who now fight against one another by means of the storms which they both send, were once good friends (II, p. 151). Here, not only must Puluga have his own storm-period, but Daris must have one as well, which is no longer the case in Brown's new theory.

Brown's interpretation completely goes to pieces regarding the actual state of the seasons in the Andaman Islands which Brown did not delineate truly in every respect (II, pp. 351 ff.). He now apportions only 5 months, or to be more accurate, 4½ months to the South-west Monsoon or Rainy Season (2nd half of May to end of September), whereby, if all other winds are attributed to the North-east Monsoon, this latter would naturally receive a considerable preponderance. But before that time Brown himself spoke of "the end of the rainy season in October." With that Portman also agrees in his History of our Relations with the Andamanese (Calcutta, 1899, Vol. I, p. 14). He writes; "The South-west Monsoon and rainy season, lasting from about the 20th of April to the 20th of October. Breaks of calm fine weather occur during this season, and usually at the close of it a long break, often of three weeks in duration occurs, when the sea is glassy calm." As Portman spent years on the Andaman Islands, he certainly had good opportunities of learning the average terms of division of the seasons.

According to him, as according to Brown's early statement, the South-west Monsoon would alone have comprised 6 months, so that already from this point preponderance of the North-east Monsoon, even with the addition of all other winds, becomes out of the question. These other winds are only in a clearer and more permanent way of importance for the time after the South-west Monsoon, for the transition time before is very short and only "in some years" do severe storms arise, as Brown acknowledges (I, p. 268; II, p. 357). This is insufficient for the making of a permanent season out of this short period which, moreover, the natives know nothing of. As regards the variable winds which occur at the close of the South-west Monsoon no internal evidence can be discovered why they should be arbitrarily reckoned

Brown, III, p. 149 f. The italics are mine—W. SCHMIDT.
to the North-east Monsoon. According to Brown, they vary from West-north-west to East-south-east, but also include occasional South-west winds as well, but are probably principally South-east.

If there is no evidence regarding the winds, there is another fact which connects this transition period rather with the rainy season—the fact that even beyond these periods a good deal of rain is usual. This is not shown clearly enough in Brown's description of the seasons. Portman, on the other hand, writes (op. cit., loc. cit.): "After the 20th of October variable winds and heavy gales (often cyclones) usher in the North-east Monsoon, which may commence by the 10th of November. Sometimes the months of November and December are dry with high winds, but more generally a good deal of rain accompanies the North-east wind in these months, and heavy South-east gales have been experienced in the first week of December and even later. After the 1st of January the rain almost ceases, the force of the Monsoon declines, and until the middle of April there are light winds, fine weather and a fairly clear sea." E. H. Man as well (p. 420), wanting to present the natives' views of the seasons, prefers to include the critical transition period with the preceding rainy season, for he treats the whole period from the 2nd half of May to the 1st half of November together, under the name of Gumul and divides it into two parts; 15th of May to end of August Spring and 1st half of Rainy season (le-la-tong-de rekar), and beginning of September till 15th of November the 2nd half of the rainy season (gù mul wàb).

If according to Portman's interpretation the North-east Monsoon begins only on the 10th of November and ends on the 20th of April, soon after which the South-west Monsoon sets in, which lasts till October 20th, it follows that the 6 months of the latter correspond to only about 5 months of the former. Further, we would note the remarkable fact that only during the North-east Monsoon is there a lengthy bright period free of storms and rain; which according to Portman lasts nearly 4 months. Here we completely understand why Brown at first could write:—"What is particularly puzzling is that the South-west Monsoon is the rainy monsoon, and during the North-east Monsoon the weather is generally fine." In fact nothing can be explained solely by the meteorological conditions of the Monsoons: neither that Puluga-Bilik stands in the foreground everywhere, nor that all storms in the south are ascribed to him. The explanation lies only in the fact that Puluga-Bilik originally was a true Supreme Being and in the South is still more or less one."

VII.

The Moral Character of the Command of Puluga, the Supreme Being of the South Andamanese.

In pointing out that Brown's efforts to fasten the transition period at the end of the South-west Monsoon on to the North-east Monsoon are not tenable, we have also removed the foundations of his meteorological social explanation of the commands which Puluga-Bilik had set up. We must now set to work on the contents of these commands, because they are differently stated by Brown and Man. Brown takes the trouble to discredit Man's interpretations, but this is really inadmissible, judging by Man's qualifications as compared to Brown's.

* Brown's arguments as to Monsoons are due to inaccurate observation. Each lasts five months, with April and October as the uncertain months, often of very calm weather. Rain falls all the year round. See Temple, *Census of India*, 1901, Vol. III. The Andaman and Nicobar Islands: Meteorology, pp. 37-39, for remarks on statistics—R. C. Temple,
which we discussed at the start. Furthermore, we shall see that the observations of both investigators can be right and probably are, and that therefore there is no reason to doubt the reliability of either of them.

E. H. Man tells us his opinion of Puluga's commands in the following manner:

"There is an idea current that if during the first half of the rainy season they eat the Cargota sobolifera, or pluck or eat the seeds of Entada purootha, or gather yams or other edible roots, another deluge would be the consequence; for Puluga is supposed to require these for his own consumption at that period of the year: the restriction, however, does not extend to the fallen seeds of the Entada purootha, which may be collected and eaten at any time with impunity. Another of the offences visited by Puluga with storms is the burning of bees-wax, the smell of which is said to be peculiarly obnoxious to him."

Brown makes corrections: (1) that not only "burning" but also "melting of bees-wax" calls forth Puluga's anger; (2) that in the first half of the rainy season the specified plants are not ripe and in consequence would not be enjoyable, for which reason the prohibition in this form would be nonsensical; (3) that the eating of these plants is much more likely to call forth Puluga's wrath; anyhow it would be dangerous during the critical stormy months of October and November (Kimirigumul). To all these differences yet another is added, i.e., that whilst Man states that Puluga's commands are now faithfully kept, Brown assures us that the inhabitants do not trouble themselves about them, but at most try to hide the fact if they transgress them.

Here again with regard to these divergences the important facts to be emphasized are: (1) that Brown made his statements especially on the Northern tribes, Man on the Southern; (2) that Brown tells us of a time when the old and peculiar tribal customs had been modified by much intermingling, whilst Man was able to make his observations at a time when the tribes were quite separate. In such circumstances, what Man established almost 50 years ago need not always be identical with what Brown established 15 years ago.

That Biliku's commands are not kept in the Northern tribes, where she is not a Supreme Being, nor a creator, nor a benefactor of mankind, but is ill disposed towards them, is comprehensible, even to be expected. This holds good for the Middle tribes, insomuch as they also have become opposed to Biliku. In all these tribes, and through the obscuration brought about by intermingling of the real tribal tradition, we can also understand if Biliku's commands are presented in such a form and to such an extent, that they appear irrational, hard and cruel, the hatred for Biliku who gives these commands must grow in consequence. For it is really irrational to make punishable the general enjoyment of just those plants which are of the greatest importance for the nourishment of the Andamanese, and also the burning and melting of wax which the natives need for so many purposes. But there is nothing of all this in the commands themselves which E. H. Man asserts Puluga laid down for the South Andamanese.

Let us first take the command about the wax. The only matter that concerns us here is the burning, and that this was the primitive form is made clear from two myths of the Aka Bale. One of them Brown gives in his first publication (I. 263) not in his second (IV. 201): here Puluga warns mankind on his departure from the world against doing certain things because they would excite his anger: "not to dig up yams, or cut barala (Cargota sobolifera), or chalik (Entada scandens) during the rains, and not to burn bees-wax."

---

The other E. H. Man (op. cit., p. 168) instances:

"A woman who in her rage and despair over the death of her son purposely committed at the beginning of the rainy season in her frenzy all the forbidden acts and besought the other people, in these words, to do likewise:

My grown up handsome son,
Burn the wax
Grind the seed of the chākan (Entada pursoetha)
Destroy the od-rata (Caryota sobolifera)
Dig up the gôma (edible roots)
Dig up the chāṭi (edible roots)

Thereupon Puluga became exceedingly wroth and sent the great deluge."

In the last words "destroy everything," both sense and meaning of the other acts is accounted for as well as the burning of wax. It is the senseless waste and destruction of the gift of the god which here is punished. This is a command that is in no way hard or absurd, but is in the highest degree both sensible and truly moral.

It is just the same with the rest of Puluga's laws in the form in which Man explains them for his South Andamanese. With them the prohibition to eat these plants does not last for ever, but only for the first half of the rainy season, which Man designates as lasting from May 15th to the end of August, or "during the rains" generally, as the first myth says, which would extend it to the end of October. It is true that in the beginning of the rainy season the plants are not yet ripe and only become so during that period, but as Brown says:—"Small quantities are to be had at this time" (II, p. 358).

So firstly this was the close time for these plants and for these the commands not to pluck and disturb them whilst growing held good, and not to pull up greedily the products which were still unripe; and secondly to allow the earliest of these plants when ripe to remain for Puluga the Supreme Being stood for a sort of offering of first fruits. Again, in these two commands there was nothing ludicrous or unreasonable, because precisely during the rainy season another kind of food, flesh food, is very abundant, and as a special kind of tit-bit, two kinds of larva can be eaten during the ripening of the plants. But as among these tribes Puluga is acknowledged by all as creator and at the same time as the greatest benefactor, the command of the offering of the first fruits appears in the highest degree suitable. The forms of the commands, which, as Brown tells us of his tribes and in his time, can, when compared with the forms given by Man of the Southern tribes, only be looked on as incoherent and ill-intentioned—probably both—exaggerations and misrepresentations of the latter. They correspond exactly to the disparaging and defamatory biased myths which are formed and spread even among the most primitive peoples in the struggle of world philosophies one with another, especially by the conquering party against the defeated; for such occur even among the most primitive tribes. Thus the current which comes from the North works very cunningly and actively with these biased exaggerations against the Puluga belief, the religion of a real Supreme Being who only gives reasonable, good and really moral commands and through them can only become more worthy of worship; whilst indeed the misrepresented and exaggerated forms of commands as they are reported among the Northern tribes can only make Biliku so much the more hated, so that it is understandable if some of the tottering Middle tribes chase him from the world or kill him, that is to say, depose him.

29 It must be taken into account that Brown did not trouble himself about these matters during his stay with the Andamanese, because he had not then seen the importance of them (I, p. 268 f.; II, p. 358 f.), but under the influence of his theory he strove in his second publication to place the time of ripening later than he had at first.

30 See Schmidt, Pygmäenwühler, p. 195.

31 See the examples from Austronesia: Schmidt, Religionen und Mythologien der austronesischen Völker, p. 123, from South Australia, Schmidt, Ursprung der Gottesidee, pp. 344, 366, 376.
It is sad that Brown was prevented, through his own discontinuance of work, from seeing and more clearly inquiring into these extremely important and interesting facts. But at least he gives us two interesting observations, which show completely the bifurcation and indecision so characteristic in such circumstances:

"Some of my informants said, though these actions may bring rain and storms, yet they would rather submit to the bad weather than go without some of their most prized vegetable foods (these were the resolute revolutionaries); others again say that there is always a chance that Biliuki may not notice that the plants have been disturbed, particularly if no fragments are left lying about the camp, and if, when taking the roots, the creepers are not disturbed (these were the timid hypocrites)."

These observations would gain in value if we were told among which tribes they had been made. The correctness of these statements may also be negatived by the proof of the feebleness of the explanation of these commands given by Brown. In his earlier publication he himself had no real trust in them.

"The theory I put forward is perhaps somewhat hazardous, and I do not wish to attribute too much importance to it . . . . The suggestion I would make is little more than a guess" (I, pp. 267-268).

There is hardly any sign of this reservation in the wider development of the theory of the joining up of the transition season with the North-east Monsoon, dealt with above. Since, however, as we have seen, the further development of the theory lacks reliable foundations, the explanations founded on it share the same fate.

That is shown at once in the first command, the prohibition of burning and melting of the wax which Brown explains thus (II, p. 357 f.). He states that the Andamanese burn and melt wax in connection with the gathering of honey. But this is, he says, almost entirely limited to the Biliuki time of the year, the hot season from February to May. At the end of this time, however, the winds become variable and then there are violent storms which continue into the rainy season. The belief that the burning and melting of the wax are forbidden has arisen through the fact that every year the storms follow this burning and melting of wax. If all the statements which Brown makes here were correct, even then his explanation would not be tenable. That can be seen quite clearly in his own words:

"As the season (of North-east Monsoon and of the search for honey) draws to a close, the wind becomes variable, uncertain, and in some years violent storms occur ushering in the rains of the South-west Monsoon. Year after year the wax melting season comes to a close in stormy weather" (II, p. 357).

How can one allow two such sentences to follow each other directly: "in some years" and "year after year." Something of the same sort occurred also in the early publication, where "often" can be found in the first sentence and "always" in the second (I, p. 268). What only occurs "often" and "in some years" cannot give rise to such a positive view as is stated here.

The explanation which Brown gives of the commands concerning the "not eating" of the plants above mentioned, also does not hold good. He thinks that all these plants ripen towards the end of the rainy season in October; the Yams, the *Entada scandens*, the *Caryota sobolifera*, the *Cycas*. But this is, he says, also the time when the heaviest storms set in, especially the cyclones. And now "Year after year, as these foods begin to ripen and to

---

33 E. H. Man (op. cit., p. 357) states that "small combs of honey are obtainable till about September."
34 My *italics*—W. Schmidt.
be eaten, the islands are visited with stormy weather, sometimes of exceptional violence." From this constant succession (of storms) the belief is supposed by Brown to have arisen that the eating of these plants during this season draws down Puluga's wrath, which breaks out in the heaviest storms of the transition period (II, p. 358 ff.).

The regularity and clearness of the phenomena cannot be contested here. But there is another difficulty which Brown also saw, without indeed in any way solving it (II, p. 359): the fact that whilst Puluga's anger and the storm regularly followed the repeated wickedness of the wax-burning, here, on the contrary, if one follows Brown's arrangement of time, the crime and the punishment by storms occurred simultaneously. A case has even been known of the storms preceding the crimes; at any rate it could so happen, according to Brown, who places the critical transition period, and with it the beginning of the storms, at the beginning of October, whilst the fruits in question only ripen in the course of October and November; the same with yams (II, p. 358) with Caryota sobolifera (I, 269) and Entada scandens (II, p. 358).

Here, however, we may well break off the criticism of Brown's theories on the origin of Puluga's commands in the Andamanese religion, as Brown himself acknowledges on the one hand, that he had not personally observed the deciding facts of botany and meteorology on which his theories might have been supported, as the importance and complexity of the matter in hand demanded, and on the other hand that formerly he had himself not attributed any particular importance to these theories.

VIII.


But to his work on the whole we attach great importance. He forms the indispensable complement of E. H. Man's representation. For it is first through Brown that we learn that beside the religion of the Southern Andamanese discovered by Man, which already in this restricted region had a true Supreme Being, there are also a great variety of other religious forms among these little tribes in these primitive conditions. We also are given, anyway, a partial insight into the external events and the inner movements and spiritual struggles by which that great difference could have come about. We are surprised at the importance and depth of these struggles which could already be enacted right on the very threshold of human life.

Brown also gives us the deeper psychological reason which has made this great variety possible; it is the extreme individuality which holds sway among these Pygmies, by virtue of which every Andamanese makes his own songs and melodies and at least every "seer" takes pride in always telling the myths in a new and original way. In this manner there can be no static forms either in the songs or in the myths.

Thus the worship of the Supreme Being and prayer have also no fixed form, which I have already shown to be as much a characteristic of other Pygmies as of the Andamanese.36 There is no trace to be seen here of what the North American ethnologists call "Ceremonialism" or "Realism." So far no kind or rigidity has developed. Religion as well as the whole spiritual life is, so to speak, still fluid, in a constant state of individual transformation.

It is hardly necessary to emphasize how extraordinarily interesting a renewed, accurate and judicious observation of this state would be, and how greatly it is to be wished that researches in this direction were still possible and might shortly be carried out.36

35 Schmidt, Pygmæenlæker, pp. 197, ff., 223, 243.
36 See Anthropos, Vols. XVI—XVII (1921—1922), pp. 1079—1088, in the account of Brown's work.
VASUBANDHU OR SUBANDHU.*
(A Glimpse into the Literary History of the Mauryan Age.)
By A. RANGASWAMI SARASWATI, B.A.
(Continued from page 12.)

All this confusion was due to the fact that scholars thought that there was only one Subandhu, and that his only work was the romance Vásavali, whose date could be fixed from other data. But we have some more information about Subandhu, to which previous scholars had not access. The commentary of Bharata's Nātyaśāstra by Abhinava-gupta-pāda, which has been discovered by the Madras Library, has a passage wherein Subandhu and his work are mentioned.

This occurs in the commentary on the following passage from the Nātyaśāstra (xxii Adhyāya):

(4) नात्यारपितं तूप्तारपितं तूप्तारपितं.

वर्णमहोत्तमं वर्णमहोत्तमं वर्णमहोत्तमं.

(5) नात्यारम्भमयो नात्यारम्भमयो नात्यारम्भमयो.

वर्णयो वर्णयो वर्णयो.

The commentary on the passage runs thus:—

(5) नात्यारम्भमयो नात्यारम्भमयो नात्यारम्भमयो.

वर्णयो वर्णयो वर्णयो.

This paper was first prepared in the year 1921 and read before the Second Oriental Conference in January 1922.

* The passage is given as found in the palmleaf MSS, which seems to have some mistakes. It is not attempted here to correct them.
The passage deals with nātyadyātita, a term which occurs in the Nātyādstra; but has not hitherto been properly understood. With the help of the commentary, which is unfortunately broken in a few places, and in other places misunderstood on account of the corrupt text, nātyadyātita seems to refer to a device by which the actors in a play are represented, or are supposed to be represented, as conversing with the actors in another play, the scene and time of action of which might be far removed from them. The device seems to have been used in a very masterly way in the work Vāsavatā-Nātyādhārā of the great poet (महाकवि) Subandhu. The work is said to have had many garbhās in it, meaning many incidents are represented in it, as in a dream, which belong to a time and scene different from that of the action proper. Thus as soon as the stage manager utters something, Bindusāra is introduced and speaks. This speech of Bindusāra is represented as having been heard by Udayana, the hero in the drama proper. Thinking that what Udayana had reference to himself, Udayana is represented as exclaiming ‘कृतमयं सुमनुबन्धतानां,’ and as reciting the following verse:

एकमन् शिक्षापित्य नायकैति
भक्तोद्वहुसुन्दरसंस्यायसि
योग्यारूपणं मात्रया राजसुरिः
हा हरिविन्दतानामर्गमात्रः

Again Bindusāra seems to have been represented as hearing this verse. After this a herald वर्णरी seems to be introduced into the drama with the Prakrit passage:

अ अगुर्यारुपणस्तवात्मानामेकः

The chhāyā or Sanskrit rendering of this is uncertain. The herald, Praятारी, with this sentence seems to introduce the hero Udayana to the audience. With the appearance of Udayana on the stage the Pravēśaka closes and the drama proper begins.

From the verse uttered by Udayana, which is again unfortunately corrupt, we are able to guess that, in the drama Udayanachārtika or Vāsavatā-Nātyādhārā, Kaṭakapingaṭa, Yauagandharāyaṇa and Harsharakṣita were the names of some of the characters. Of these Harsharakṣita might have been the name of the herald (pra yatārī) who ushers in Udayana, and Kaṭakapingaṭa might have been the vīdatāsaka or the jester, the inevitable companion of the hero in Sanskrit dramas. After this Abhinavaguptapāda gives another example of a nātyadyātita from Bālarāṁāyana.

The passage contains information which we have not got anywhere else in the whole range of Sanskrit literature. We do not have any other explanation of this nātyadyātita, nor have we another example of a nātyādhaṭa. Leaving aside conjectures about what we cannot know with the limited resources now at our disposal, let us examine how this passage affects our main theme, the date of the poet Subandhu. He becomes a contemporary of the Mauryan emperors, Chandragupta and Bindusāra. He was the author of a work called

---

8 This is said to be in the garbhāśka of that drama. I have not been able to locate the passage in the published drama Bālarāṁāyana of Rājaśēkhara.
Vāsavadattā-Nātyadhārd. His patrons, Chandragupta and Bindusāra, also appear to have been present during the representation of the drama. This throws a flood of light into a region of the history of Sanskrit literature, which has remained quite dark up to the present. The epoch of which it formed part, seems to have been not a dull one, and the scholar is led to infer that there ought to have existed quite a large number of dramas in Sanskrit. Most unfortunately we do not possess any other example.

The study of Indian literature and epigraphy so far has not revealed any achievements of this Bindusāra. But the records of the Greek ambassadors who visited the courts of ancient Indian kings, and the ancient Indian works translated and preserved in the Tibetan language, have some information about him. They represent him as a great conqueror, and historians think that the Maurya Empire may have been extended to South India during his time. In the Greek references his name is given as Amitrochates, which is a corruption of Amritachāta, a title that appears to have been assumed by Bindusāra. The word means ‘the destroyer of enemies’, and seems to refer to his widespread conquests. The Sanskrit extracts and the whole of the previous discussion show Bindusāra in a new light as a great patron of letters. The extract from Vāmana seems to refer to Subandhu as a minister of Bindusāra and suggests that he was a very clever minister (kṛiñadā). He ought to have been a fitting successor to Chāṇakya, i.e., Kautilya, the famous minister of Bindusāra’s father Chandragupta, and the real founder of the Maurya Empire. Kautilya was the author of the great ancient work on Polity, the Arthasastra. Like him, his successor Subandhu, the minister of Bindusāra, was the author of the dramatic work Vāsavadattā Nātyadhārd. He must also have become famous as a minister, as is evidenced by the epithet kṛiñadā, referring to him, and Vāmana’s note on the same. Abhinavagupta, the famous Sanskrit Rhetorician and authority on poetics calls him a great poet (mahākavi). Dandin’s reference to him in the beginning of his Avantisundarikathā throws further light on his life. He is said to have come out (निम्पात) from the bondage (वनन्त) of Bindusāra, having bound his (Bindusāra’s) heart by the story of Vatsaraja. It is a pity that the new information about Subandhu is too scanty compared to the importance of the subject. Rākshasa, the minister of Bindusāra’s father Chandragupta, is said to have been first imprisoned by Chandragupta and Chāṇakya and then released to take up the office of a minister. Can it be that Subandhu also, like Rākshasa, was suffering imprisonment, for having taken part in some political revolution, when he was released by the sovereign after writing the Vāsavadattānātyadhārd?

Again, the famous poet Bāṇa, the author of Kātakāmbitari, who lived in the court of the Emperor of Kanauj, Śṛi Harsha, refers to a number of previous authors in the beginning of his Harshacharita. Among these there is a reference to a work called Vāsavatattā. This is in the eleventh verse and follows the reference to the Mahābhārata and precedes the references to the poets Bhaṭṭāra-Harihandra, Śatavahana, Pravarasena, Bhāsa, Kālidāsa and the author of the Brhatkathā (Guṇadhya). The verse runs thus:—

"कवित्तमुक्ति मा न वासवदत्त्।
श्रवणेय पाणियुपतार्थ गद्यमें तत्तुपर्वम्॥ ११॥"

The gist of the verse is “The pride of poets vanished before Vāsavatattā, as the pride of the Pāṇḍavas when the weapon (शालिक) given by Indra came to the possession of Karna.” Scholars thought that this verse referred to the romance Vāsavadattā and its author. But the position of the verse in the series, coming as it does immediately after the verse referring toVyāsa and before the verses referring to Śatavahana, Pravarasena, Bhāsa, Kālidāsa and Guṇadhya, preclude such a conclusion. Again Vāsavadattā has not, as a work, such merit as to deserve so high a praise. Scholars will remember that it was the study of the Vāsavadattā of this later Subandhu, with “his taste for the pleasures of sensual life,
and the zest with which he describes the mere physical side of love, which shows him up
to us and seems to prove that he has not passed the stage of a refined voluptuary." Subandhu
has used expressions which must adversely affect the reputation of any writer for taste and
refinement. It should be remembered that it was this work of Subandhu that brought down
the ire of the editor, F.E. Hall, which has expressed itself in the following strong attack against
Sanskrit culture itself:—"In short, it is nothing beyond the voucher of the severest verity
to rank him (Subandhu) with his fellow Asiatics, be it in their highest taste, as no better,
at the very best, than a spurious savage." Dr. Peterson has amply replied to this attack
in his works, and there is no need for us to reply to the attack so late in the day. It is only
mentioned here to show that the reference of Bāga could never have been to the existing
Vāsavadattā.

Of the several attempts to extract history from the verse quoted in Vāmana's Alakānātra, one makes an effort, from the introductory verses of the Vāsavadattā, to prove
the occurrence of a political revolution in the Gupta Empire, after the death of Chandragupta
II, Vikramadītiya. In the light of the previous discussion and the new passages that have
been quoted therein, it is plain that there is no reference in the verses to any events of the
Gupta period. On the strength of the supposed references in the verses and the similarity
between the expressions Chandraprakāśa, Himakarūḍā, and Śārīrak in the beginning of
Vāsavadattā, the whole theory of Subandhu's taking part in the revolution and his being
detrimentally affected by it was built up. This theory has now to be given up and the
verses taken to contain no reference to the enemies of Chandraprakāśa, who were tyrannising
the whole country and particularly Subandhu's party. They are merely verses
containing the kusāvinidā (censure of bad poets). Now if the hemistich of Vāmana has
no reference to the Buddhist scholar Vasubandhu, his date ought to be determined on other
grounds. The discrepancy between the two accounts of Paramārtha and Huen Tsang
about the place where Vikramadītiya, the patron of Vasubandhu ruled, Ajodhya or Śravasti,
might not be serious, as both the places belonged to the empire. But the question as to the
Vikramadītiya who patronised Vasubandhu, and his son Bāḷadītiya, who summoned
Vasubandhu to his court after he became emperor, are not so easily solved. If M. Peri is
right in holding that Vasubandhu lived and died in the fourth century, the conclusion seems
plausible that Chandragupta I may have had the title of Vikramadītiya, which is not im-
possible, since the theory that Chandragupta II was the first sovereign to assume that
title is at least not proved. But we do not know if Samudragupta had the title Bāḷadītiya
or Pāḍātiya, and until we get independent proof that he had either of the titles, the question
regarding the date of Vasubandhu and the identity of his patron are bound to remain
unsettled.

The age of Subandhu must have been an age of very great literary and artistic activity.
There must have been written at this period many works in the kāvya and nāṭaka styles
as well as in the śūtra style. But for the existence of many dramas, a work like the
nāṭasūtras referred to by Patanjali, dealing with dramaturgy could not have been written.
The dramas of the period must have differed much from those of the later ages, as is evidenced
by the Nāṣadārī and Nāṣapātra of Subandhu. The age in which Subandhu lived was the
age in which the ancient Greeks were just coming in contact with India. The Indian drama
of the time seems to have already been in a much developed stage, for which there is no parallel
even in the literary history of India at any later period. In the light of this, theories of India's
borrowing her drama from Greece may have to be given up, and search has to be
conducted in India itself for specimens of dramas, composed earlier than the age of
Alexander's invasion. The hope of new and epoch-making discoveries in this field appears
to be capable of realisation, and the discoveries will surely open to scholars a new epoch in
the history of Sanskrit literature.
BOOK-NOTICES.

THE DRAVIDIAN ELEMENT IN INDIAN CULTURE, by Gilbert Slater, M.A., Ernest Benn, 1924.

This work by the late Professor of Economics in the Madras University is intended to prove that 'Indian culture, with its special characteristic of systematic and subtle philosophical thought, must have come from people capable of originating and developing it. That capacity would naturally be exhibited also in the evolution of language, and the purest Dravidian language does exhibit it in the highest degree—in a higher degree than any other Indian language.'

Much that the author tells us of the languages and customs of Southern India, of which he doubtless gained some personal knowledge, is true and interesting, but the work, like the 'Origin of Magic and Religion' and the 'Children of the Sun,' is written under the influence of the 'Diffusionist' theory, which now bids fair to replace the Sun-myth of Max Muller and the corn-spirit of Sir J. Frazer as the universal solution of every question of origin. Diffusionists, if one may coin this term for such writers, in searching the whole world as material for illustrating their theories, sometimes fail to acquire a sufficiently close knowledge of any one particular area; and in various portions of the present work there is striking evidence of this fundamental defect. Mr. Slater makes the statement (p. 90) that Indians consider caste to be economic in basis, and (p. 51) that Europeans consider the origins of caste political rather than economic. This is not an accurate summary of the best opinions on caste origins, which are admittedly racial, political, religious and occupational. Again (p. 57) he commits himself to the very improbable statement that the sacred thread worn by the Brahman indicates an original association of the caste with cotton-spinning! Is it to be inferred that Kalhattiyas and Vaishyas, who also wore the thread as twice-born, were similarly cotton-spinners in origin? We are told (p. 79) that the art of making toddy reached India from Mesopotamia; but is there any reason for doubting the capacity of residents on the coast in India for arriving at such a simple process without assistance from overseas? Is it easy to prove, similarly, that Dravidian boats were modelled on Egyptian patterns (p. 81)? And why must the cult of the cobra have been introduced by strangers (p. 90)? Mr. Slater (p. 90) commits himself to the theory that 'with the acceptance of cobra worship came also the acceptance of the general principle that what is feared should also be worshiped.' All investigation into primitive belief in India shows that this is the exact reverse of the truth. In reality, fear leads to worship and propitiation. Hence spirits, godlings, disease, all manifestations of power, and incidentally the cobra are common objects of worship. Very similarly (p. 157), Mr. Slater again mistakes cause for effect in dealing with the habits of untouchables. It is surely not the fact that because low castes are untouchable, they eat meat, drink liquor and are dirty in habits; clearly they are untouchable because they are guilty of these practices. Mr. Slater very rightly adopts a sceptical attitude towards the theory recently developed by some writers that gold owed its prestige originally to its being used to make imitation shells; but his own theory of the origin of the fondness for gold (p. 163) is almost equally unconvincing.

The book, though presenting much that challenges criticism should be read by those who are interested in Dravidian culture, and contains much of interest for the student of early Indian history, even though the latter may be inclined to smile at the description of the first Brahmans as engaged in teaching Indian craftsmen to spin and weave.

R. E. ENTHOVEN.


Here we have a brief but comprehensive account of all that is known of the most celebrated commentator of the Theravada school of Buddhism. The book may in some respects be regarded as a reply to the theory, lately propounded by M. Louis Finot, that Buddhaghoja is not a historical personage, and that he did not compose the many important commentaries and other works which bear his name. Despite the scantiness of the materials which support the story of the great commentator's life, it must, in my opinion, be admitted that Mr. Law has successfully disproved M. Finot's views and has produced a credible account of Buddhaghoja's life and literary labours. Commencing his treatise with the biographical details obtainable from the Mahayanas and other sources, the author proceeds to an examination of the legends which have grown up around his name, discusses the origin and development of the Buddhist commentaries, and then, after a critical examination of Buddhaghoja's works and interesting illustrations of their encyclopedic character,—they embrace information upon such various subjects as History and Anatomy, Dancing and Ornithology, Astronomy and Jugglery,—he concludes his work with an explanation of Buddhaghoja's philosophy and his interpretation of Buddhism.

There can be no doubt about the great erudition, zeal, and self-denying labours of the man whom Bishop Coplesdone once styled "the second founder of Buddhism in Ceylon;" and students of Pali literature and others interested in the history of the religion founded by the Buddhas will be grateful to Mr. Law for this well-written and well-printed summary of all that is worth knowing, or that can be
known after the lapse of fifteen hundred years, about the sage interpreter of Buddhist literature.

S. M. EDWARDS.


A considerable literature has already grown up around the famous Arthashastra of Kautilya, since its first discovery and publication a few years ago, and shows every sign of expanding. Among the latest and not the least important of the works which seek to illuminate and draw historical conclusions from that important literary legacy of the Mauryan age is this French work by Professor Kālidās Nāg, recently published in Paris. Thirty years ago, as the author remarks, no one would have believed that the East could throw any useful light upon the history of diplomacy, which appears as a recognized term for the first time in the international law of the nineteenth century. But the discovery of the cuneiform tablets at Tel-el-Amarna, and of the priceless remains at Boghazkoi, together with the researches of Professor Garstang and H. Wincker, have rendered necessary a fundamental revision of our ideas on this subject. The treatise attributed to the emperor Chandragupta's Brahman minister carries us even further from the beliefs of thirty or forty years ago: for in it we find the problems of peace and war, of neutrality and the balance of power, in brief all the fundamental questions with which modern international law deals, discussed with remarkable wealth of detail. The author does not confine himself to a simple explanation of general principles and to definitions of the laws, but puts forward concrete cases in which such principles and laws are applied.

Kautilya himself informs us at the commencement of his great treatise on the Arthashastra or Science of Profit that he composed it by uniting and collating the summaries of nearly all the treatises composed by the masters of this science in epochs preceding his own; and acting on this evidence, Professor Kālidās Nāg has sought in his new work to place Kautilya's Arthashastra in its proper historical perspective, to trace the broad lines of India's political evolution up to the approximate date of Kautilya, and lastly, after examining Kautilya's own contribution to the development of the science, to illustrate the continuity of ancient tradition from documents of later date. Professor Nāg finds it impossible to accept the view, originally held by Mr. Shama Śāstri and supported by Professor Jacob, that the Arthashastra was written entirely by Chandragupta's minister about 325 B.C. In the first place, the character of the diplomacy illustrated in the text is foreign to that of a great centralized empire, such as Chandragupta ruled, and appertains rather to an epoch of feudalism, in which each ruler is in constant conflict for hegemony with his equals, and which shows no trace of the centralizing imperialism of the Mauryan Emperor.

The science of Artha is very ancient: some of its parts, like the science of law, are pre-Buddhistic. The ancient text, discovered by Professor Shama Śāstri, is certainly not a homogeneous work, belonging in its entirety to a single epoch: and even if we accept the view that a great portion of the treatise was the work of Kautilya himself, it is equally probable that it has been recast on several succeeding occasions. Professor Nāg gives instances in support of his theory that the Arthashastra is not the product of a single powerful brain, but rather an encyclopaedia of Hindu political science, to which more than one expert has contributed. Finally he discusses the reason why the Arthashastra is the only document now existing on the subject, and why it remained utterly unknown, until Professor Shama Śāstri suddenly discovered it in a private library. The solution must be sought, according to Professor Nāg, in the attitude adopted by the Hindu mind towards a science which bore very closely upon the moral life of man. Viewing the matter from another standpoint, one may say that, although the empire inherited by Ashoka was based upon the Hindu science of Artha and Rājaniti, yet that great ruler absolutely transformed Hindu political science, by introducing Dharma, the law of piety, as the keynote of all human activity. The Arthashastra thus lost its original authority, and as the moral element inherent in Dharma gained ground, it was permitted to sink into obscurity. "History," says Professor Nāg, "will decide whether India lost or gained by making this choice (i.e., of Dharma), but the fact remains that she discarded the path pointed out by Kautilya-Chananaka and chose instead that of Dharmāsoka." Professor Nāg's work deserves close study, and it is to be hoped that for the benefit of those who do not know French an authoritative English translation of the work will be published.

S. M. EDWARDS.


This modest but none the less useful historical pamphlet owes its appearance in some measure to the action of the Punjab Government, which recently brought to light the original records of the Sikh government between 1812 and 1849. These had lain unnoticed for years in the archives of the Secretariat. The records are valuable; for they comprise official papers dealing with the departmental administration of the Sikhs and throw a flood of light upon the system of government prior to the advent of British rule in the Punjab. The author of the article prefaces his account of the
organization of the Sikh army with a brief outline of
the work of the early Gurus, describing how the
army of Ranjit Singh really originated in the 300
horse and 60 artillerymen in the service of Hargobind
(1607—1644), who was the first of the Gurus to enter
upon a military career. Under Gobind Singh, his
grandson, the men were organized into troops and
bands, supplemented by the engagement of profes-
sional soldiers, who were plentiful in those days;
while under Banda Bahadur (1708—1716) the troops
were definitely divided into three classes, viz., (1)
the true Sikhs who fought for the sake of their faith,
(2) the mercenaries, who were secretly maintained
by each of the Sikh chiefs as did not wish to place
themselves in overt opposition to the Mughal Empe-
ror, and (3) the irregulars, who were attracted to
fight by the prospect of loot and plunder. By the
date of Banda Bahadur's death, the simple Sikh
peasant of Hargobind's army had become "a regu-
lar, well-equipped soldier of the Khalsa, adept in
the use of arms and trained in the methods of
guerrilla warfare."

In 1748 was founded under Jassa Singh Kalal the
Dal Khalsa or standing national army, comprising
the entire body of fighting Sikhs. The dal was
democratic in constitution: for "every Sikh who had
acquired some proficiency in the use of arms could
generate himself enrolled in the national army and
fight under the banner of some chief, and he could, if he
so wished, transfer his services from one chief to
another." Composed as it was of the forces of vari-
ous chiefs, stationed in their respective territories,
the dal mustered in force every year at the Dasahara
festival, and on special occasions also was summoned
by the Akalis or warrior priests in charge of the
great temple at Amritsar. The permanence of the
dal, however, depended on the spirit of co-operation;
and no sooner had the threatened danger to the
Sikh religion disappeared with the collapse of the
Abdali monarchy, than dissipative tendencies be-
came evident, and each chief commenced to strength-
en his own resources and establish his own standing
army. Side by side with this feudal movement, anoth-
er important change manifested itself. The
fighting men gradually developed into a separate
class; the militant Khalsa became a body of profes-
sional soldiers. At the close of the eighteenth
century this Khalsa army was composed almost wholly
of cavalry; a certain proportion of artillery was
maintained, but was not efficient; while the infantry,
which was not rated highly, was employed on garrison
and other minor duties. Mr. S. R. Kohli briefly
describes the weapons and mode of fighting employed
by this army, their dress and uniform, their
drill and discipline. The latter feature was to seek,
its place being supplied by courage and fanatical
enthusiasm.

Under Ranjit Singh the character of the Sikh
army underwent a radical alteration. The two
branches of the army, the infantry and artillery,
which were despised and even ignored in the eight-
century, now "came to be regarded as the
mainstay of the military strength of the State."
This result was due to the change of public opinion
regarding the tactical efficiency of the various arms.
The old guerilla warfare and irregular attacks by
cavalry, which had proved so successful under men
like Sivaji in the Deccan, were observed to be
really of less value than steady fire from gun and
muskets and the general acceptance of this view
led inevitably to the disappearance of the feudal
levies of the chiefs and their replacement by a stand-
ing national army, paid regularly by the State.
The growth of the East India Company as a military
and political power, and its employment of trained
artillery and large bodies of disciplined infantry,
were really the predisposing causes of the general
abandonment of the old tactics. Marathas like Sindia and Holkar and Sikh leaders like Ranjit
Singh realized quickly that a new era in warfare had
dawned, and that no Indian State, with its antique
weapons and methods of warfare, could hope to
confront successfully a European power. Mr. Sita
Ram Kohli gives an interesting sketch of the growth
of the Khalsa army under Ranjit Singh, and in the
second part of his monograph discusses the history,
organization, strength and efficiency of the Sikh
artillery. The result of the policy of the ruler of the
Panjabs is apparent from certain observations of
Sir G. Gough on the Sikh war. "Never did a
native army," he wrote, "have so relatively slight an advantage in numbers, fight a battle with
the British in which the issue was so doubtful as that of Ferozeshah; and if the victory was decisive, opinion
remains divided as to what the result might have been, if the Sikh troops had found commanders with
sufficient capacity to give their qualities full oppor-
tunity."

We shall look forward to the publication of fur-
ther instalments of Mr. Kohli's researches into the
records of the Sikh government. The present
monograph offers a guarantee that they will be
a valuable addition to the history of the period.

S. M. EDWARDES.

THE SAKHYADARPAÑA OF VISYANATHA (Parichchha-
das I—X), with notes on Parichchhadas, I, II, X,
and HISTORY OF ALANKARA LITERATURE, by
The present edition of this book, which was first
published in 1910, contains two important features,
which were absent from the first edition, namely (a)
an exhaustive history of Alâkâra literature, and (b)
the whole of the text of the Sâkhyadârpañâ, in the
settlement of which Mr. Kane has collated three
manuscripts. Alâkâra literature is a subject which
Mr. Kane has made peculiarly his own, as past
issues of this Journal will show, and in this work he
has treated it exhaustively. In the first part he includes an account of all the important works on the Alāṅkāra-śāstra, in particular those of early writers, with a brief analysis of their contents, date and allied matters; while in the second part he reviews the subjects that have been treated under the Alāṅkāra-śāstra, discusses the origin of the various theories of poetics and literary criticism, and traces the history of literary theories in India. Mr. Kane acknowledges his indebtedness to the works of Bühl, Petkis, Jacob, Puthak and many others; but his book contains a considerable volume of original work, and, so far as I am aware, is the first English publication dealing in a comprehensive manner with this rather recondite subject. The book is furnished with good indices and ought to be of much value to University students and others interested in Alāṅkāra literature. Mr. Kane is to be congratulated on a production which bears every indication of prolonged and careful study.

S. M. Edwards.


The Museum of Fine Arts in Boston is said to possess the most important collections of Indian art to be found in America, and it is specially well stocked with examples of Rajput and Mughal painting, Nepalese painting, illustrated Jain manuscripts, Nepalese and Sinhalese bronzes, Indian sculpture, textiles and jewellery. The present catalogue, which is enriched with eighty-five excellent photographs of Indian bronzes and sculptures, is divided into two parts, of which the first consists of a general introduction from the pen of Mr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, Keeper of Indian Art in the Museum, and the second illustrates and describes in detail the collection of sculptures.

In his Introduction the author gives a short survey of Indian religious and philosophical speculation from the earliest ages, describes the salient features of Buddhism, Jainism and neo-Brahmanic Hinduism, and concludes with a few remarks on the origin of the Indian drama and Indian music. The Introduction concludes with a short chronology, commencing 2500 B.C. and ending with the assumption of sovereignty by the English Crown in 1858. Though there is little to criticise in the major portion of the Introduction, some of the dates given in the chronological table seem to me open to question. He records 530 B.C. as the date of Bimbisāra of the Sāluṅka dynasty, for example, whereas recent researches appear to justify the acceptance of 582 B.C. as a more likely date. In the same way, he dates Ajātaśatrū in 514 B.C., while the fact that this king had at least one interview with Gautama Buddha and that the death of the latter, about 543 B.C., occurred during the early years of Ajātaśatrū's reign, obliges one to assume that this King came to the throne about forty years earlier than the date specified by the author. The dates given for the term of Buddha's life, viz., 563–483 B.C. are far from being universally accepted; and though no dogmatic conclusion is possible, the weight of evidence seems to favour 543 B.C. as the date of his death.

The same criticism applies to the author's dates for the Mauryan period. He is possibly correct in assuming that Chandragupta's reign did not commence before 322 B.C., though it may well have been one or two years earlier; but he appears to be wrong in giving 274–237 B.C., as the date of Asoka's reign. The more probable dates are 272 and 232 B.C. The date of the rise of the Andhras to power is another point upon which controversy might be sustained; but the whole origin of the Andhras is at present involved in so much obscurity that one cannot blame the author for fixing their first appearance in 220 B.C. His date for Kanishka strikes me as much more dubious. The discoveries at Taxila and other recent clues make it clear that Kadphises I and II preceded Kanishka, and that the latter could not have succeeded Kadphises II much before A.D. 120. His dates for Kanishka, viz. A.D. 78–120, can in fact be allotted with greater confidence to Kadphises II. Finally, I observe that Mr. Coomaraswamy places the Pallava dynasty of Southern India between the sixth and tenth centuries A.D. He has probably not had the advantage of reading Professor S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's paper on "The Origin and Early History of the Pallavas of Kanchi," which shows that the Pallavas were in active existence at a date considerably anterior to the sixth century, and can be traced back to the middle of the third century A.D., and perhaps to an even earlier date.

It is perhaps hardly fair to draw attention to these historical enigmas in the case of a work devoted to an explanation of artistic relics. In the latter direction Mr. Coomaraswamy has performed his task well, and the work is admirably printed and produced.

S. M. Edwards.


"Good wine needs no bush," runs an old proverb; and in the sphere of Iranian literature any work by Dr. J. J. Modi carries its own recommendation. Here we have, collected in one volume, a series of papers which the author originally prepared for inclusion in various memorial volumes between the years 1900 and 1914. Among them is a paper on the Tibetan mode of disposal of the dead, another on the use of Rosaries among Zoroastrians, a third on the Huns in Avesta and Pahlavi, and so forth. The collection will be welcomed by Orientalists, who will find questions of historical interest discussed with full notes and references in every chapter.

S. M. Edwards.
A HISTORY OF IMPORTANT ANCIENT TOWNS AND CITIES IN
GUJARAT AND KATHIAWAD.
(From the earliest times down to the Moslem Conquest.)
By ANANT SADASIV ALTEKAR, M.A., LL.B.
INTRODUCTION.

In the following pages we propose to deal with the history of important ancient towns and cities in Gujarat and Kathiawad from the earliest time down to the Muhammadan period. As the territories now denoted by the term Gujarat did not in ancient times bear that name, nay, as the ancient counterpart of the modern name was in the olden days successively applied to different territories, none of which are included in modern Gujarat or Kathiawad, we think it essential to explain at the outset what were the ancient names of our provinces, what was the territory denoted by each of them and how and why the old names came to be superseded by the modern ones. The first chapter of our thesis is therefore devoted to this purpose.

In this thesis we have not discussed the history of all the ancient towns and cities in Gujarat and Kathiawad; but only of such of them as were important. It is therefore necessary that the reader should be acquainted with the principles that have governed our selection. The second chapter therefore discusses the general criteria of importance which have guided us in our selection of towns and cities, whose history has been traced in the following pages. At the end of this chapter we have briefly stated why the towns so selected have been arranged alphabetically in our history.

In the third chapter we have traced the history of towns and cities selected on the foregoing principles. In some cases our accounts may appear fragmentary, but if such is the case, the fault is, let it be humbly stated, not of the writer but of the materials. In the case of the majority of towns referred to in the copperplates, the inscriptions hardly supply any information worth the name; the literary 'Prabandhas' also do not help us much; for they usually confine their attention only to the capitals of the heroes they glorify; the same also is the case with legends preserved by the native bards. Our apparently fragmentary accounts are really exhaustive, and contain everything that was possible for us to gather from inscriptive, literary and legendary sources available to us. We are conscious that many gaps have to be filled, but it is doubtful whether in the present state of our knowledge, it is possible to do so at present. At any rate we hope that our present effort will be of some use to the future historian who, owing to ampler materials that may then become available, will be able to do fuller justice to the subject.

The early history in India is usually regarded as concluding with the end of the Hindu period; so we have traced the history of our towns and cities down to the commencement of the Muhammadan period.

Having dealt with the history of about sixty towns and cities in the third chapter, we have devoted the concluding fourth chapter to a discussion of the general features of the cities and city-life in Ancient Gujarat.

A map of Gujarat and Kathiawad, showing all our ancient towns and cities and giving also their modern names, has been appended to our thesis for the ready reference of the reader.

In addition to the usual abbreviations, the following have been used in our thesis:

A.G.I., for Ancient Geography of India by Cunningham.
Ant. K., for Antiquities of Kutch and Kathiawad.
Ant. N.G. for Antiquities of Northern Gujarat.
Beal, for Buddhistic Records of the Western World translated by Beal.
G.D.A.I., for Geographical Dictionary of Ancient India.
G.E., for Gupta Era.
Pbc., for Prabandhachintamani.
Mbh., for Mahabharata.
CHAPTER I.

Gujarat and Kathiawad: Ancient and Modern Names and Boundaries.

The name Gujarat is at present applied to the country filling the north-west corner of Western India, and its boundaries may be given as Arabian Sea to the west, Gulf of Kutch to the north-west, Little Rann and Mewad districts to the north, Mount Abu to the north-east, Malwa to the east, Khandesh to the south-east, and Thana district or northern Konkan to the south. The region so bounded did not bear, however, in ancient times its present name; nay, it did not even form one geographic or political unit.

This territory, in early days, comprised three distinct provinces differently named. The peninsula was named Saurashtra; and the continental portion, roughly speaking, consisted of Anarta and Lāṭa, Anarta forming the northern and Lāṭa the central and southern part of the present continental Gujarat.

The exact boundaries of these provinces were, however, uncertain. Lāṭa does not seem to have included the whole portion of what would now be called southern Gujarat; for, part of it was undoubtedly included in Aparantā or northern Konkan. The author of the *Periplus* says 'To the Gulf of Baraka succeed that of Barugaza and the mainland of Ariake.' Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji is right when he corrects Ariake into Abarati, the Paktiv form of Aparantika. So it would appear from the *Periplus* that Bharoch gulf was then regarded as a gulf in Konkan. According to Ptolemy, the order of the western maritime provinces was as follows—Syrasthène, Larike, Gulf of Barygaza and Ariake. Ptolemy then regarded Bharoch, if not actually forming part of Aparantā, as at least distinct from and to the south of Lāṭa. In the *Mahābhārata* when the pilgrimage of Arjuna is being described, we are told:—

From this it would appear that, according to the great epic, Aparantā included practically the whole of the Western coast. In the 37th chapter of *Markandeya Purāṇa*, Aparantā figures as one of the countries to the north of the Sahya mountain:—

We may therefore conclude that the territories between the Tapti and the Narmadā, which now form part of southern Gujarat, were formerly included in Aparantā and not in Lāṭa. As regards the upper boundary of Lāṭa, it also was indefinite; it was not the Mahi, for the Cambay plates of Rāshaṭrakūṭa Govinda IV include the Khetaka division in Lāṭa. Compare—

As Manḍala was the name of a territorial sub-division, much greater than the modern collectorate, we have to conclude that the whole of Kaira district and a large part of even Ahmadabad district were included during the ninth century, in ancient Lāṭa. Lāṭa then consisted of the central and a large part of southern Gujarat.

As regards Anarta, its boundaries were equally vague, if not vaguer still. On the southern side the region hardly extended up to Ahmadabad. On the west it was bounded by the Rann of Kachh, on the north by the Abu range, on the east by Malwa. But where exactly Anarta ended and Malwā commenced, it is very difficult to state. Modern Wāḍhnagar was at the heart of the country, hence its name Anartapura which it once possessed.

The boundaries of Saurashtra were however clear. At present Sorath denotes only the southern part of Kathiawad; but in ancient times Saurashtra was the name of the whole peninsula. Ptolemy includes the continental coast up to Bharoch in Saurashtra; but this probably was not the case. Statements of foreign observers cannot be so exactly accurate.
When and why these names were given is the next question we have to consider. Of these, Saurāśṭra seems to be the earliest one; Syrastēnē of Ptolemy, Surastros of Strabo, and Surastrēnē of the Periplus are all corruptions of it. If we turn to the Purāṇas, it appears in the Mahābharata,7 the Rāmāyaṇa,8 the Mārkandēya,9 Kūrma,10 Vishṇu,11 and other Purāṇas. Baudhāyana12 refers to it, as do Kauṭilya13 and Pāṇini. We may, therefore, well conclude that the name was current as early as the sixth century B.C.

The particular name was selected because of the natural riches of the province. From very old times, the country was famous for its natural wealth; how it impressed a stranger may well be inferred from the following lines in the Periplus. "The interior parts of Barugaza and Surastrēnē produce abundantly corn and rice, the oil of sesamum, butter, muslins and the coarser fabrics, manufactured by the Indians. It has also numerous herds of cattle."14 The name did not go out of vogue in the fourth century as Cunningham says; it was in popular use right up to the eighteenth century when the Marathas changed it to Kathiawad, a name based upon the name of the tribe which offered them the greatest resistance.

As regards the other two names, Anarta and Lāta, they do not seem to have been much in popular use. Lāta is indeed mentioned in the Mandasor Inscription16 and in the Kāma Sūtra;16 it occurs also in Ptolemy and the Periplus. The Gulf of Cambay was called the sea of Lār down to early Muhammadan times and the language spoken on its shores, Masudi Lāri.17

Nevertheless Lāta does not seem to have been in popular vogue in ancient times, probably because it was not of Hindu origin. No scholar has as yet been able to derive it satisfactorily; Dr. Bhagwânlal's suggestion that it might be derived from Raṭṭas, an abbreviated form of Rāṣṭrakūṭas, is unacceptable, because the connection of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas with Gujarat commenced in the sixth century at the earliest; whereas the name was already in vogue in the first century. To me, the name appears to be of non-Indian origin given by foreigners; hence the difficulties about its derivation, hence its absence in early inscriptions and the Purāṇas. The name is conspicuous by its absence among the names of the southern and western countries conquered by Nakula and Sahadeva;18 nor does it occur in the countries in Bhāratavarsha enumerated in the Bhūmi Purāṇa.19 When we note that these are exhaustive lists; not free from later interpolations, the absence becomes especially significant. Similarly, neither the Vishṇu Purāṇa, part II, chap. III, nor Mārkandēya Purāṇa, chap. 57, neither the Matsya Purāṇa, chap. 114, nor the Kūrma Purāṇa, I, chap. 47, mention Lāta when they proceed to mention the southern or western countries in Bhāratavarsha. Even in the description of the conquests of Gotamiputra Sīrī Sātakani 20 and Rudradāman,21 the name is tabooed, although each of them undoubtedly ruled over Lāta. If the name were of Hindu origin and were in popular vogue, we cannot explain this silence. If, on the other hand, we admit it to be of foreign origin, we can understand the reluctance of the Purāṇas to use it; we can also understand why the early inscriptions do not use it. Being of foreign origin, it was known at first only to foreigners, and was not in popular vogue; hence Ptolemy and the

---

7 E.g., सुराश्त्रसैनिक पुर्ववाणिक | Vana, p. 88.
8 E.g., सुराश्त्रसैनिक | Kiskundā, p. 43.
9 E.g., कांस्याणिक पुराणांक | chap. 57.
10 E.g., पार्वतिका | Pārva Bhūga, chap. 35.
11 Bk. II, chap. 3.
12 अवैध अनुमानः पुराणाः | I p. 29.
13 कांस्याणिक पुराणांक कांस्याणिक पुराणांक | VII, p. 16.
14 Ind. Ant., vol. VIII, p. 141.
15 वासुन्तिष्ठपालिनः वासुन्तिष्ठपालिनः | II, 3.
16 Shāhā P., chaps. 32 and 33.
17 Bāhūm P., chap. 9.
18 अनुमानकुमारसूत्रनाम पुराणांक | Anuṣṭhāna, p. 142.
19 अनुमानकुमारसूत्रनाम पुराणांक | Anuṣṭhāna, p. 142.
20 अनुमानकुमारसूत्रनाम पुराणांक | Anuṣṭhāna, p. 142.
21 अनुमानकुमारसूत्रनाम पुराणांक | Anuṣṭhāna, p. 142.
Periplus use it, but not the contemporary inscriptions of Gotamiputra and Rudradāman. It became popular later on; hence its appearance in Kāmasūtra and later inscriptions.

The fact is that probably no necessity was then felt of naming the territories comprised in Lāṭa by one distinct name. We have already seen how Aparānta extended right up to, if not actually beyond Bharoch; the territory from Bharoch up to the Mahī and onwards bore a name different from Lāṭa. Thus when the Matyā Purāṇa had an occasion to refer to it, it says नरकुष्ठा समावहिं, and the same expression is repeated in the Mārkandeyā Purāṇa. Even Varāhamihira talks not of Lāṭa but of शिरसिनिवर्षित:।।

The absence of this appellation in the majority of Purāṇas and early inscriptions may be explained by the fact that the territory in question was probably included partly in Aparānta, partly in Malwa and partly in Ānarta, and so, there was no occasion to name it separately as a distinct unit.

It will be clear from the above treatment that the territory later on known as Lāṭa did not possess any distinct name in ancient times; that it was occasionally referred to as नरकुष्ठा: समावहिं; that the name Lāṭa came in vogue later; that the Purāṇas had apparently a deep prejudice against it; and that it was therefore probably first given by foreigners. But when, why and by whom it was given, we are unable to say definitely. We would, however, tentatively suggest that it is probably a foreign corruption from Alāṭa, an intermediate Prākrit corruption from Ānarta; the change of न to ल is well known in Prākrits (compare Marathi लिच from Skt. लिच for instance); the accent on the second syllable led to the dropping of the first and the simplification of the third led to the lengthening of the second, and by Fortunatov’s law, ल became र. Greek mariners had to deal mostly with Bharoch and the territories round it; they probably found the names नरकुष्ठा समावहिं or शिरसिनिवर्षित too cumbersome for popular use; hence they selected the Prākrit name of the territories to the north of this region for denoting it. Hence it is that the two names अन्तर and लाट do not occur together anywhere in early literature or inscriptions. Hence it is that Ptolemy and the Periplus mention Lāṭaka immediately after the mention of Surastrene, but before the mention of the Gulf of Barugaza, thereby showing that Lāṭa lay to the north of the gulf of Bharoch and Cambay and to the west of Saurāshtra. And this, roughly speaking, was the position of Ānarta, before Lāṭa encroached to some extent upon its boundaries. Hence, after the mention of Aparānta, we have in the Purāṇas the mention of either Saurāshtra or Ānarta when शिरसिनिवर्षित are not mentioned. Lāṭa, being a derivation from Ānarta, its mention would have been superfluous when Ānarta was mentioned. Later on लाट came into popular use and the two names began to be simultaneously used.

Now we turn to Ānarta. It is of purely Hindu origin and is connected with Ānarta, the son of Yayāti, who was said to be ruling in this region in olden times. The name occurs in the Bhūmi and Tirthayātra parvan of the Mahābhārata, in the Rāmāyaṇa, in the Junagadh Inscription of Rudradāman, in Varāhamihira, etc. In the majority of the Purāṇas, however, it is not mentioned, a fact which can be explained on the ground of its not then probably forming an independent kingdom. It was hemmed in on one side by the Saurāshtriya (who were a race of warriors as noted by Chāṇakya) and on the other by the Mālyas, who were a source of perennial trouble even to the Kṣatrapas and Guptas. Ānarta was usually an appendage either of Saurāshtra (as was the case in the Mauryan and Kṣatrapa 24 times) or of Mālā (as was the case in the days of Hiuen Tsang). Hence naturally its name does not frequently occur in the Purāṇas.

In ancient times Saurāshtra, Ānarta and Lāṭa were not regarded as forming one distinct unit. There were in the first place no geographic circumstances to bind them together;
nor did they, for any appreciable time, form one political province. As we have seen already, Anarta and Saurashtra were for a time governed together by the Mauryas and Kshatrapas; but even during this short period southern Gujarat does not seem to have belonged to that political division; were it so, the Junagad Rudrādāman inscription would have stated it.

Usually, however, these provinces not only did not form one political division, but were themselves divided, throughout the first millennium of the Christian era, among several petty states, a fact which prevented their being designated by one common name. Let us now see how and when the modern name Gujarat came to be applied to these territories.

The name Gujarat was unknown in early times; because the Gurjara tribe itself, from which it is derived, reached India at a late date. As the name of the tribe does not occur in the Mahābhārata, the Rāmāyaṇa and the Purāṇas, nor among the tribes mentioned by the Periplus, we cannot accept Dr. Bhagwānlāl Indraji's statement that the tribe came into India with Kanishka.18 If again, as the learned doctor maintains,26 the Gurjaras had been really assigned fiefs in Rājputāna and Central India by the Early Gupta in recognition of their military assistance, the name of the tribe would have been mentioned in the Samudragupta inscription along with those of the Yaudheyas, Madrakas, Malayas, Abhiras, Aryjunāyanīyas, etc., who are mentioned as settled on the outskirts of the Gupta Empire.27

The Gurjaras then probably came into India during the fifth century and settled in the Panjab and around Mathurā. A Gurjara kingdom existed in the Panjab near the modern town of Gujarat, as late as 890 A.D. (when certain territories belonging to it were annexed to Kāśmira by its king Śankara-deva); the country round the town of Gujarat in the Panjab is still locally known as Gurjara Desha. The earliest reference to the Gurjaras is in Harṣa-charita of Bāgabhaṭṭa where we are told that Prabhakaravardhana of Magadha had conquered the Hūṇa, Sindhu and Gurjara kings. The Gurjaras however soon migrated southward and established themselves in south-west Rajputana; for Hiuen Tsang says that the kingdom of Kiu-che-lo or the Gurjaras was four hundred miles in circuit and had its capital at Pi-lo-mo-lo which is now admitted to be Bhimāl in Sirohi State.29 Another Gurjara tribe penetrated still further south and went right up to Bharoch and established a kingdom at Nāndipuri, whose rulers in their early inscriptions call themselves Gurjaras. Cf. ओ त्यस्ति नान्दीपूरितः.... सुर्यभूमिविशल्यांकर्त्सणी.30 But soon a desire to connect themselves with the famous Paurāṇic dynasties induced them to change the true name of their ‘vamsa’; and the later kings began to style themselves नान्दिपुरस्वर्गलक्ष्यवृत्त.31

Dr. Bhagwānlāl Indraji thinks that the Valabhis also were probably Gurjaras and goes on to observe that the fact that the three Gurjara chiefs divided among themselves the entire sway of the province will explain how the province of Gujarat came to take its present name from the Gurjara tribe.22 With due deference to the learned doctor, we beg to differ from this view. In the first place, the entire sway of the province was not divided among those chiefs. The Valabhis had no sway over the western and northern part of the peninsula even during the days of their highest power; the Bhimāl kingdom was practically located outside the limits of modern Gujarat, as Anandpura and the territory around it was held by the Mālā king33; the Nāndipuri Gurjara kingdom was a petty one covering a few square miles; at any rate it did not extend over the whole of southern Gujarat.

26 Ibid. p. 3.

Samudragupta’s Allahabad Inscription, line 22.

30 Dadda grants, Ind. Ant., XIII, 82.
31 Jayabhāṭṭa grant, Ind. Ant., XII, 77.
35 Beal II, p. 270.
Supposing, however, that the sway of these kingdoms extended over the whole of modern Gujarat, still we have to admit that this fact was not sufficient for the region to assume its modern title; for, the rulers of these kingdoms were never for a long time known as Gurjaras. We have seen how within two generations, the Nandipuri Gurjaras ceased to call themselves Gurjaras; the same was the case with the Bhimnāl rulers, who during the time of Hsun Tsiang were known as Kṣhatriyas. The Valabhi rulers never called themselves Gurjaras; it is doubtful whether they were Gurjaras at all.

Under such circumstances we can hardly agree with Dr. Bhagwānālā Indraji in maintaining that the division of the entire province among themselves by these three kingdoms was the chief reason for the province being called Gujarat. Besides, were it so, were the supremacy of Bhattaraka and his descendants really the cause of the province being called Gujarat, the name would have come into vogue during the seventh and eighth centuries. As a matter of fact, it did not come into vogue even in the fourteenth.

For, during the five centuries, following the fall of the Valabhi and Nandipuri dynasties, the names Lāṭa and Saurāśṭra continued to be in vogue. There was the Bhimnāl kingdom known as the Gurjar kingdom; but its territories were to the north of Aśhila pāṭana and so practically outside the limits of modern Gujarat. That even northern Gujarat was not included in it, and that its rulers the Chāvotakas were regarded as distinct from the Gurjaras will be clear from the Pulikesin grant of A.D. 738 which, while enumerating the kingdoms affected by the Arab forays, mentions the Gurjara kingdom as distinct from the Chāvotaka kingdom.

It is therefore clear that the Gurjara kings, whom the Chālukyas and Gurjar Rāṣṭrakūṭas boast of having defeated, were not those of the Chāvotaka house; they were clearly rulers of Rajputana. This is also clear from the accounts of Muhammadan writers. Thus merchant Sulaiman says:—

"Harz [=Gurjar dominion] was bounded on the north by Taḏik or Tākim [which is the name of Taḏik]. It possessed silver mines and could muster a larger force of cavalry than any other kingdom in India." All these details apply to Rajputana which is to the south-west of the Panjab, which possesses the only silver mines in India and which has been long famous for the large body of its cavalry. The name of the tribe was already given to the country, for Edrisi quoting from Abu Khordabech states that Juz was both the hereditary title of the king as well as the name of the country. To Ferishta in the tenth century Gujarat still meant the south-western corner of Rajputana, and it is obvious that the territory mentioned in the commentary Jāvaṅgāna on Kāma Sūtra, V, I, 30, denotes the territory round Kotah in Rajputana, in connection with which it is mentioned.

Inscriptions evidence shows that the foreigners were not misinformed when they thus spoke of Rajputana as the country of the Gurjaras. Thus in the Daulatpurā plate, King Bhōjadeva is mentioned as granting a village called Sivārāma, situated in the Deṇḍavāṇaka vishaya, which, it is stated, formed part of the Gurjaratārā 'bhūmi' (cf. गुर्जराशासीन, इण्डियाल इंस्ट्र्यूक्शन, Ind. Ant., VIII, 242, (seventh century)). Since it is clear (as pointed out by Dr. Kielhorn) that Deṇḍavāṇaka is the town of Didwāna in Jodhpur State and Sīvārāma, the village of Seva, 7 miles east-north-east of Didwāna, it follows that the territory round Jodhpur in Rajputana was known in the eighth century A.D., as the land of the Gurjaras. The same conclusion is confirmed by the quotation from an unpublished Kālaṇjara inscription belonging to the eighth century, given by Dr. Kielhorn, which shows that Mahgalānaka or

35 सैन्यकम शाखे सीराद गर्दा गुर्जराशासीन, इण्डियाल इंस्ट्र्यूक्शन, Ind. Ant., VIII, 242, (seventh century).
36 (i) मुख्याभासदकर बाद लालानवर्मः | इण्डियाल इंस्ट्र्यूक्शन, Ind. Ant., VIII, 242, (seventh century).
(ii) गुर्जराशासीनस्वजनं जवाहरलालसिम्बंधयादि बादनपुर धार्मिक विषयस्थल जन्म वि-सीराद बाद विद्वानं | Radhanpur plates of Govinda III, c. 800.
(iii) गुर्जराशासीनस्वजनं केन्द्रं वृत्तमं जवाहरलाल | Grant of Dhriva III, 827 A.D., Ind. Ant., XII, 179.
(iv) गुर्जराशासीनस्वजनं केन्द्रं वृत्तमं जवाहरलाल | Nougari plates, 915 a.d.
37 AGI, p. 321.
modern Maglona, which is about 28 miles north-north-east of Didwāna was regarded as located in the Gurjaratā Mandala—[cf. भीमसेन सांस्कृतिक विवेचन—वांचना; Ep. Ind., Vol. V, p. 210]. It is therefore clear that in the eighth century, what is now called Rajputana was known as the country of the Gurjaras. That the same continued to be the case for two centuries more becomes clear from the statements of the Muhammadan authorities quoted above.

Right up to the tenth century then, Gurjaramandāla or Gurjarabhūmi hardly denoted territories comprised in modern Gujarat. Let us now see when Gujarat came to be named after the Gurjaras.

There is ample evidence to show that the territories to the north of the Mahi came to be termed Gurjaramandāla soon after the tenth century. The Dohad inscription of A.D. 1140 speaks of Siddharāja Jayasimha as the ruler of Gurjaramandāla [cf. भीमसेनसांस्कार—वांचना, Vol. X, p. 159]. In the Somanātha 'praśasti,' dated g.e. 850 (i.e. 1168-9 A.D.), Kumārapāla is called King of Gurjaramandāla, a name which Hemachandra also assigns to the country over which his patron ruled. The Girnar inscription, dated 1222 A.D., enables us to conclude that the name Gurjaramandāla denoted territories wherein were situated the towns of Anahilapura or Pātana, Stambhatirtha or Cambay, Darbhavati or Dabhouri and Dは. During the thirteenth century then, the whole of northern Gujarat was known as the country of the Gurjaras. The reasons that led to the application of this name to this region are not difficult to ascertain. In the first place, part of modern Gujarat round Anahilapata was under the feudatory sovereignty of the Hurz or Gurjara kingdom; so the name must have been gradually extended to it as well. Secondly, the Solankis who rose to power at this time, are admitted on all hands to be of Gurjara origin. The author of Hammra Mahākavya says that the King of Ajmer, Vigrasāraja, killed Mularāja and thus weakened the Gurjara Kingdom. This shows that there was already a tendency, which the author simply imitates, of regarding the Solanki dominion as conterminous with Gurjara 'Mandala.' Then there was, probably owing to the pressure of the Muhammadan invasions, a great influx of the Gurjaras in this part of the country during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Already before the middle of the twelfth century, the Gurjara element was in such a preponderance that the people of the province came to be called Gurjaras. Thus Hemachandra who flourished in the middle of the twelfth century called the army of his Solanki patron Kumārapāla as consisting of Gurjaras. Compare:

अरे विशिष्ट सर्वाधिकारिणो महाकाव्याः प्रकाश्वम् राहा।
पुनः पुष्कर गुरूरोहिः जीवितील्लो तेवदे॥ Kumārapālacharita, VI, 65.

When thus once the people came to be regarded as Gurjaras, it was but the next step to call their country 'Gurjara Mandala' or Gurjara Raṭṭa or Gujarat.

This name, however, did not come to be extended to southern Gujarat or Lāṭa and Kathiawad until the beginning of the fourteenth century. Thus both to Hemachandra of the twelfth and Someśvara of the thirteenth century, Lāṭa was a country distinct from Gurjara Mandala; for they talk of their heroes siding with or defeating the king of Lāṭa, as the case may be. As regards Saurāśtra, no proof at all is required of its being unknown as part of Gurjara Mandala; even to this day it is only associated with Gujarat by outsiders; the inhabitants still call themselves Soraths.

It was by the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century that the name of Gurjara 'Mandala' or Gujarat came to be extended to these provinces. It was not due to any great influx of the Gurjaras in those provinces that took place at that time,

38 JBRAS, XXI, pp. 423-9.
39 C. भय सांस्कृतिक विवेचनाः महानायकम् निविवेचनाः | Kirīkaumudī, V.
for, as late as the sixteenth century, the Gurjara element in southern Gujarat was insignificant. Abul Fazl, while enumerating the tribes in the Surat 'sirka' or 'subha', makes no mention of the Gurjara.

The extension of the name was due not to ethnical but to political causes; and Muhammadans are mainly responsible for it. In their career of conquest and annexation, the Muhammadans under Alaf Khan first conquered Anahilapattana or Nahrwala and there established their provincial headquarters. They found that the Solanki dominion was known as Gurjara Mandala and its subjects as Gurjaras. They therefore naturally continued the old name and began to call the province 'Gujarat.' Soon however they extended their conquests and annexed Kathiawad and southern Gujarat which they governed from Nahrwala. The Delhi emperors grouped all these provinces together for the purpose of administration, and as the capital of the Imperial Viceroy continued to be for more than a century at Nahrwala in Gujarat, the term Gujarat came to be extended to all those territories which were governed from Nahrwala situated in the heart of real Gujarat. Hence we find some Muhammadan writers including parts even of Khandesh and Malwa in Gujarat; the reason being that they were governed by the Gujarat Viceroy.

Even to the present day the name of Gujarat is not known to the people of the peninsula, who continue to call their country by its old name Sophath. And within living memory the people of Surat, both Hindus and Musalmans, when visiting Patana (Anahilapattana) and Ahmedabad, used to speak of going to Gujarat; while the Ahmadabad section of the Nagara Brahmanas used to speak of their brethren at Surat as 'Konkani.'

The original territory in south-west Rajputana which was known as Gurjara territory to Huen Tsang and to Muhammadan writers, strange though it may appear, soon ceased to be called Gujarat. There were several reasons therefor. In the first place, the Gurjaras who had colonised there were driven southward by the Rajputs, who were pressed out of their ancestral possessions in Delhi and the Panjab by the Muhammadan invaders. That region now became predominantly the land of the Rajputs, and hence it came to be regarded as part of Rajputana. In spite of this fact, perhaps, the region would have been known as Gujarat, had it been administered from Nahrwala or Anahilapattana. But Muhammadans were unable to permanently annex that territory to the Gurjara province; the local Rajput clans continued to keep more or less independent fiefs. Hence even the political reasons, which as we have seen, were responsible for Kathiawad and Lāta being called Gujarat, were absent. So the territory lost its old name and came to be called after the new tribe that came to occupy and rule over it.

Such then is the interesting history of how modern Gujarat came to be known after the Gurjaras. The precise derivation of the term Gujarat is however still doubtful. It is, indeed, tempting to derive Gujarat from Gurjara-rashtra through Gurjara rāṭha; but philologically it appears rather doubtful whether the term Gujarat can thus be derived from Gurjara-rāṭha.

Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar suggests that the name should be derived from Gurjara-rāṭha, a name by which the older habitations of the Gurjaras were, as we have seen already, known during the seventh and the eighth centuries. Dr. Bhandarkar's suggestion seems to us to be a happy one; for the corruption of Gurjara-rāṭha into Gujarat is perfectly regular and natural. Gurjara-rāṭha-bhūmi of course means the land which protected the Gurjaras.

In the following pages, we shall be dealing with the history of ancient towns and cities in modern Gujarat and Kathiawad and not with the history of towns and cities in the ancient Gurjara Mandala or Gurjara-rāṭha-bhūmi. For, if the latter were the case, we should have had to discuss the history of towns and cities in Rajputana and the southern Panjab.

KOTTAYAM PLATE OF VIRA-RAGHAVA CHAKRAVARTI.

By K. N. DANIEL.

This plate is now kept in the Old Seminary at Kottayam in the possession of the Most Rev. Mar Dionysius, Metropolitan. The inscription has been translated and commented upon by Dr. Gundert (Madras Journal of Literature and Science, Vol. XIII, part 1, pp. 115—125), Kookel Kolu Nair (Ibid, XXI, pp. 35-38) and V. Venkayya, M.A. (Epigraphia Indica, Volume IV, pp. 290-7). But it is so full of interest to the antiquary that I have examined it again at full length. The identity of the donee and the date of the grant are involved in great controversy.

Vicissitudes.—I hope a few words about the strange vicissitudes which this copper plate, together with others, has gone through, will be found interesting. There was one Mar Jacob, who, during the first half of the sixteenth century, was a bishop of the St. Thomas Christians, and was rejected by them on account of his apostasy to the Roman Catholic Church. Somehow or other the copper plates belonging to these Christians came into his hands and he pawned them for a sum of money. "In the year 1544," says Manuel de Faria y Sousa of the seventeenth century, "came to Cochin Jacob, a Chaldean bishop of Cranganore, where being dangerously sick, he sent for the treasurer, Peter de Sequeira, and told him necessity had obliged him to pawn two copper plates1 with characters engraven on them, which were original grants and privileges bestowed on the Apostle St. Thomas by the sovereigns of those countries, when he preached there: that he desired him to release them, lest they should be lost if he died, for if he lived, he would take them out himself. This prelate found the only way to bose them, was trusting the Portuguese; for Sequeira paid the two hundred Royals they were pawned for, put them into the Treasury, and they were never more heard of." (Portuguese Asia, Vol. II, p. 506.) Thus they were missing for over a couple of centuries. Adrian Moens, the Dutch Governor of the Malabar Coast, Canara, etc., wrote in the year 1781 calling in question the veracity of the statement that some copper plate deeds were granted to the St. Thomas Christians by the sovereigns of the country and that the Portuguese were entrusted with them in the sixteenth century. When Colonel Macaulay, the British Resident in Travancore and Cochin, assumed charge of his office during the early part of the nineteenth century, he began to take a keen interest in the affairs of these Christians. Unlike Governor Moens, he was wise enough not to doubt the veracity of the local tradition and the statements of the sixteenth century authors about the entrusting of the Portuguese with the plates. He found that the Portuguese, when they quitted the fort of Cochin, were not allowed by the Dutch to carry away anything belonging to the Church, and the Dutch also in their turn were strictly ordered to leave "all public documents and papers," when they surrendered the fort to the English. He, therefore, thought that these copper plates must be among Government records and ordered an immediate search to be made for the missing documents. After a laborious search six copper plates were discovered in the year 1806. Thus did Colonel Macaulay of happy memory place under a heavy debt of gratitude the St. Thomas Christians and all lovers of antiquarian research.

Text.

Line.  
1. Hari Śri Mahāgaṇapate nama Śri pūḍāḷanarapati Śri Vīra Ker-
2.  Ṛa Śakravarti ṛṣīya mūcaṃcuṇa jye palanuviraṃṭṭu

1 Perhaps two sets of copper plates.
Lines 3-8. The emperor Śri Vira Rāghava, lord of the city, the broker and due customs of all that may be measured by the pāga, weighed by the balance, or measured with the tape, of all that may be counted or weighed contained within salt, sugar, musk and lamp oil within the river-mouth of Cranganore and the tower, especially between the four talis and villages belonging to them.

Lines 8-10. We have given these by an unreserved tenure to Iravi Korttan, grand merchant of Kēraḷam, and to his sons and sons' sons in proper succession.

Translation.2

Lines 1-4. Hari Śri, Adoration to the great Gaṇapati.

While the emperor Śri Vira Rāghava—of the race that has been wielding the sceptre for several hundred thousands of years in regular succession from Śri Vira Kēraḷa Chakravarti, the king of kings—was ruling prosperously:—

Lines 4-7. On Saturday, the 21st of the Solar month Miśa, asterism being Rōhini and Jupiter being in Makara, while sitting in the great palace we conferred the title of Manigrāman on Irvi Korttan of Makotaiyar Paṭṭīnaṃ, the great merchant of Kēraḷam.

Lines 7-11. We have also given to him (the right of) the feast cloth (I), house pillars, all the revenues, vaḷančhīyam, monopoly of trade in vaḷančhīyam, the right of heraldic announcement, forerunners, paṭṭiṣṭhāyam (music with five instruments), the cone, the lamp in daytime, the cloth spread, the palaquin, the royal umbrella, the Telugu (?) drum, a seat at the gate, tōraṇam and the monopoly of trade in the four quarters.

Line 11. We also gave the oilmongers and the five classes of artisans as slaves.

Lines 12-17. With a libation of water, writing on a copper plate we gave to Irvi Korttan, the lord of the city, the broker and due customs of all that may be measured by the pāga, weighed by the balance, or measured with the tape, of all that may be counted or weighed contained within salt, sugar, musk and lamp oil within the river-mouth of Cranganore and the tower, especially between the four talis and villages belonging to them.

Lines 17-19. We have given these by an unreserved tenure to Irvi Korttan, grand merchant of Kēraḷam, and to his sons and sons' sons in proper succession.

Line 19. With the knowledge of the two villages of Panniḻur and Chōkira have we given these:

---

2 Read para kōṟpajānuṟu.
3 The words that are left untranslated here will be explained in the notes given below.
Lines 19-20. With the knowledge of the Vēpātu and Oṭunātu (rulers) have we given these; with the knowledge of Erānātu and Vāḻuvanātu (rulers) have we given these.

Lines 20-21. Given for the time that sun and moon shall last.

Lines 21-22. With the knowledge of the above, written by Nampi Chatayan, grand goldsmith of Kēralam.

Notes and Comments on Some Peculiar Expressions in the Document.

Chērāmanālōkaperuṇchipēṭṭi means grand Chēṭṭi, i.e., merchant of Kēralam. The word Chēṭṭi, though it means a merchant, is often used as the name of a caste and there is now a Chēṭṭi caste among the Hindus. Every one of them, whether he is a merchant or not, is called Chēṭṭi. That is the case now with the St. Thomas Christians of the northern parts. The low caste people add Chēṭṭi to the name of every Christian, whatever be his occupation. The Grand Chēṭṭi of Kēralam, therefore, means the head of all Chēṭṭies, i.e., the Christians of Kēralam.

Manigrāmapaṭṭam or Manigrāmavaṭṭam? What is it that Iravi Korttan received, Manigrāmapaṭṭam (title of Manigrāmam) or Manigrāmavaṭṭam (the place called Manigrāmam)? Though both readings are possible, I cannot find my way to accept the latter reading. Mani means a gem, and grāmam a village, and therefore Manigrāmam is a village and a village cannot be given to an individual by the sovereign, but only some rights over it. It must be somewhere in or near Cranganore, if it were the name of a place. Now Iravi Korttan was of Makōtaiyarpaṭṭanam, a suburb of Cranganore. We find also a powerful community called Manigrāmam in Quilon during the ninth century, and assuming Manigrāmam to be a village, we should have to suppose that there was a place called Manigrāmam at Quilon as well. Further, the sons of Manigrāmam as a powerful community are mentioned in Payyaṉūr Poṭṭola, which is spoken of by Dr. Gundert as the oldest specimen of Malayāḷam composition he had ever seen. (Madras Journal of Literature and Science, Vol. XIII, part II, page 16.) This poem, being of the Northern district, evidently refers to the people of the north, not of Quilon. Let us suppose that the sons of Manigrāmam referred to in it were the inhabitants of the place called Manigrāmam, which we supposed was in existence in or near Cranganore and over which some sovereign rights were given to Iravi Korttan, a citizen of Makōtaiyar-paṭṭanam. Now such a supposition would lead us to believe that there were two places called Manigrāmam—one in or near Cranganore, another in Quilon, and that both places are entirely forgotten. We should also have to believe that, curiously enough, the people who inhabited the Manigrāmam of Quilon and the Manigrāmam at Cranganore were both powerful peoples. Further, we should believe that some sovereign rights over the Manigrāmam of Cranganore, which was inhabited by a powerful people, were given to a citizen of Makōtaiyar-paṭṭanam, instead of their being given to the chief of that village itself. Is it not too much to be asked to believe all this?

On the other hand there is nothing strange in accepting the other reading Manigrāmapaṭṭam as the title of Manigrāmam. It may be asked what is meant by the title of Manigrāmam. In the Tāṭu Iravi plates, Manigrāmam is used in the sense of Manigrāmakkāryam. Just so the title of Manigrāmam means the title of Manigrāmakkāryam, which might mean a valued civic privilege of the time.

Makōtaiyar-paṭṭanam is sometimes written Mahodēvar Paṭṭanam and Mahādēvar Paṭṭanam. Sunderamūrtti Nāyanār, the ancient Tamil Poet, Rājendrā Chola and some others speak of this paṭṭanam and call it Makotai. Makōtaiyar-paṭṭanam, as it is in the plate, is therefore the correct spelling and means the town of the great Chera King.
Vīḍāva is translated ‘feast cloth’ and ‘festive clothing’ by Dr. Gundert and Mr. Venkayya. Its significance is not known. It is certainly derived from the word vīḍa meaning festival. During the marriage festival of the St. Thomas Christians the chief guest is seated on what is called vellayum kurimpattavum, i.e., black and white cloths spread one over the other. Perhaps this is what is meant by vīḍāva.

Paṇaṇattāṅku means house-pillar. When a temporary shed is put up for a marriage feast, Brāhmans and the St. Thomas Christians only are allowed, so goes the tradition, to set up a pillar in front to support the ridge pole. All the low caste people and even the high caste Nairs have to support the ridge pole with a truss. Perhaps paṇaṇattāṅku denotes this pillar.

Kaṭuttu valaṅchiyam, valaṅchiyattil taṇichcheṭṭu. Dr. Gundert says that valaṅchiyam means ‘curved sword’ and valaṅchiyattil taṇichcheṭṭu, ‘in (or with) the sword, sovereign merchantship’. Mr. Venkayya gives the following meanings: the export trade and monopoly of trade respectively. I cannot accept these meanings, nor am I able myself to give an acceptable meaning. If valaṅchiyam means ‘trade’ valaṅchiyattil taṇichcheṭṭu is redundant. Because taṇichcheṭṭu means ‘monopoly of trade.’ In an inscription of Kuṇamsakari dated Kollam 371 (A.D. 1196), it is said that if the supply to the temple fails thrice, the arumkurravar (a body of Nairs six hundred in number), the officers and the valaṅchiyars of the eighteen districts shall institute enquiries. Professor Sundaram Pillai says that the leading meaning of valam is ‘greatness’ ‘dignity’ or ‘honour’ and therefore valaṅchiyar means ‘feudal Barons’ (Early Sovereigns of Travancore, pp. 38-40, 70). The valaṅchiyam of our copper plate might mean something akin to the above meaning suggested by Sundaram Pillai.

Murchchollu4 or murchollu means ‘heraldic announcement’. When a Bishop of the St. Thomas Christians goes in a public procession, some one in front shouts at the top of his voice “Poin! Poin! Poin! Poin!” Then the whole crowd shouts poin! This is looked upon as one of the peculiarities of these Christians. Poin (poin) means ‘go away’ or ‘move away’. This may be what is called murchchollu.

Munnaṇa means ‘forerunners.’ In the public procession of the St. Thomas Christian Bishops, just as in the State processions of the Mahārājas, a number of men will walk in front with an uveṭṭil (a covered wooden sword), a pulittōparicca (a shield covered with panther skin) and valaṅkoṭa (a pole covered with cloth ornamented with silver or gold rings or by cloth of a colour different from that of the sheath).

Paṇalviṭṭakku means ‘a lamp in daytime’. When the Bishops go in a public procession, lamps will be lighted even in day time at the gate of every house the procession passes. So also when the bride and bridegroom enter the marriage pantal, they are welcomed with a lighted lamp. This, too, is believed to be a privilege peculiar to the St. Thomas Christians.

Pāṭṭa means ‘cloth.’ There is a custom among the St. Thomas Christians that cloths are spread for their Bishops to walk on. When the lamps are lighted, as in the preceding note, they are placed on spread cloths. Since paṇalviṭṭakku (light in daytime) and pāṭṭa go together, this may indicate the cloth spread under the lighted lamp. Similarly, since vīḍāva goes with paṇaṇattāṅku, they too must have some relation such as I have suggested.

Koppakkuṭa is a peculiar umbrella now used in the procession of a St. Thomas Christian Bishop and in the state procession of a Maharaja.

4 It is murchchollu not murchchollu, as Dr. Gundert and others would have it. Both readings are possible.
Itumati totaramam means itumatiyum, totaramam as in the Cochin plates of Parkara Iravi Varmar. If we are to take itumati and totaram as one word, the t of totaram, according to the rules of Grammar, must be doubled. Moreover itumati totaram as one word does not seem to convey a satisfactory meaning. Itumati means a seat at the gate. Totaram is a well-known word meaning festoons of leaves, flowers, used as decorations for processions and other festive occasions.

Aimakkanmar means five classes of artisans, carpenter (dondri), goldsmith (laddan), blacksmith (kollam), founder (mudi), and mason (taddori). It is said that oilmongers and five classes of artisans are given to Iravi Kottan as slaves. The St. Thomas Christians have been from time immemorial considered to be the masters and protectors of the low-caste people, especially the artisans.

Tali. According to Keralaolpatty, Brahmins divided their sixty-four gramaams (villages) into four circles represented by four chief villages, and these had four talis or temples for the singing of their representatives. Metali, Kili, Nedla Tali and Chinnapura Tali.

Nir mutalap. Nir means 'water'. In the olden days every sale or free gift was attested by the pouring of water.

Venatu is Quilon. The present king of Travancore is a descendant of the king of Venatu also.

Oumatu is Onatu, Kayamkulam.

The Donee.

There are some who are of opinion that the donee of this grant was not a Christian. We will examine their grounds.

1. The name Iravi Kottan is non-Christian.

We have no reason to suppose that during the early centuries of the Christian era there was a distinction between Christian and non-Christian names. On the other hand, in one of the decrees of the Synod of Dampier, Travancore, held in the year 1599, we read: "In this bishorpic Christians do take several of the names of the saints of the Old Testament; as also several of the names of the country. As to those names which the heathens have in common with Christians, the synod will not have them to be given in baptism." (Session IV, decree XVI.) From this it is evident that the St. Thomas Christians took Indian as well as Christian names.

2. Iravi Kottan is called a Cheetti. He, therefore, must have been of the Cheetti caste. Cheetti means 'a merchant'. We find the word tamichetti, i.e., monopoly of trade in this grant. The word Cheetti is derived from cheettu, meaning trade. Though St. Thomas Christians are not now generally known by the name of Cheetti, we have reason to think that they were once known by that name. In the northern parts (Irinallakkutu and other places) low-caste people add Cheetti to the names of the St. Thomas Christians, and it is an unquestionable fact in history that trade has always been one of their chief occupations.

I shall now proceed to show that the donee was a Christian.

1. We do not know of any people other than Christians and Jews who enjoyed such privileges as are mentioned here.

2. We know none other than Mar Jacob, a Bishop of the Malabar Christians, who entrusted the Portuguese or the Dutch, their successors, with any copper plate grant. The plate in question together with the Tanu Iravi5 plates, which were unquestionably granted to the Christians, was taken, as already stated, from among the Portuguese records.

5 The epigraphists and historians call him Sthanu Ravi, a Sanskritised form of Tanu Iravi, but I do not think that we are justified in making any change in the name of a person, especially many centuries after his death. Similarly, I do not change the name of Parkara Iravi Varmar and call him Bhaskara Ravi Varmar, as others do,
3. That the donee was a makkattāyi\(^6\) not a marumakkattāyi is clear from the grant. The prominent inhabitants of Malabar are Brahmans, Nairs, Christians, Jews and Muhammadans. Irivi Korttan is unquestionably not a Brāhmaṇ, nor a Jew nor a Muhammadan. The Nair is a marumakkattāyi not makkattāyi. Irivi Korttan, therefore, must be a Christian, unless we suppose that there were in Malabar some other prominent people of whom we know nothing now. But is it not too much to suppose that a people who occupied such a high position vanished from history without leaving any trace whatever behind them?

4. Irivi Korttan is said to be the lord of the Makotaiyar Paṭṭanam.

The Christians of Malabar from Changanachery northward, in their ancient documents, make mention of Makotaiyar Paṭṭanam as their headquarters, while the southerners mention Quilon. Dr. Gundert in an article makes mention of this and quotes passages from ancient documents.\(^7\)

The Southists\(^8\) who live south of Changanachery also wrote in their documents Makotaiyar Paṭṭanam, because they were originally inhabitants of Cranganore. Makotaiyar Paṭṭanam, a suburb of Cranganore, was therefore the Christians' quarters. No other people are known, who had had any connection with Makotaiyar Paṭṭanam.

**Was the Donee a Manichean?**

There are some who think that the donee was a Manichean because of the word Manigrāmam in the grant; but it is said plainly therein that Manigrāmam was a title which was conferred on Irivi Korttan. Moreover, if the term Manigrāmam were derived from Mani, the founder of Manicheism, it cannot be a title that could be conferred by the "Emperor" of Kēρaḷa. It is therefore certain that the word Manigrāmam is not derived from the heretic Mani, but is a pure Sanskrit word composed of maṇi and grāmam.

**The Capacity in which the Grant was received.**

Again we have to consider whether Irivi Korttan received this grant as an individual or as the head of a community. We find the word Manigrāmam in the Tāṇu Irivi copper plates and in the Payanur poem.

We learn from these that the Manigrāmam (of whom more hereafter) was a powerful community, having a head of their own and having privileges similar to those mentioned in this document. The fact that the Manigrāmam was a powerful community, having great privileges such as were given to Irivi Korttan, and having a head of their own, leads us to the conclusion that Irivi Korttan received the title of Manigrāmam and all the other privileges, not in his private capacity but in that of a headman, unless we suppose that his family grew into a strong community in the ninth century, or that the privileges and the title of Manigrāmam were given subsequently to an individual, who had no connection whatever with the community of Manigrāmam. Of these two surmises, the first is evidently most improbable and the second will presently be shown to be incorrect.

Now, one may ask the following question. How can this grant be attributed to a community, while it is clearly said that the Emperor gave it to Irivi Korttan and to his sons and sons' sons in proper succession? According to the tradition of the Christian community

\(^6\) Marumakkattāyi is one whose succession goes to his sister's son, unlike the makkattāyi whose succession goes to his own son.


\(^8\) The Northists and Southists denote two sections of the ancient Christians of Malabar without any reference to the part of the country they now live in.
of Malabar, its headship from the very beginning till the nineteenth century rested with the family of Pakalomalaram. We see the Archdeacons of the Pakalomalaram family holding the reins of this community from the very earliest period, of which we have any clear history, till the beginning of the last century. The headship of the St. Thomas Christian community, therefore, was hereditary all through that period. The donee's name is given thrice in this grant. He is called Iravi Korttan on once and Iravi Korttan twice. Iravi Korttan therefore must be a mistake. Korttan is probably derived from the word Karttan, i.e., Lord. The clergyman of this community are called Karttanars now, and we see from the Synod of Diamper that during the sixteenth century they were called Kattanars and their wives Kattattiaras. (Session VII, decree X, XVIII.)

Kattañār is no doubt Karttanar. Karttanar is the honorific form of Karttan. Korttan, therefore, may be the old form of the modern Kattañār. 9

Date of the Inscription.

As to the date of this document the difference of opinion is so wide that it ranges from the third to the fourteenth century.

I shall now discuss the date of the grant from (1) the historical, (2) astronomical, (3) linguistic and (4) paleographic standpoints respectively.

1. Historical Evidence.

1. We see from the Tānu Iravi copper plates that the St. Thomas Christians during the ninth century were called Manigrāmam, and that the Manigrāmam mentioned in Tānu Iravi plates and Iravi Korttan, on whom the title of Manigrāmam was conferred by Vira Rāghava, were Christians.

"It was supposed by Dr. Burnell," says Mr. Venkayya, "that the plate of Vira Rāghava created the principality of Manigrāmam, and the Cochin plates that of Aņehuvaṇam, and that consequently the existence of these two grants is presupposed by the plates of Sthānu Ravi, which mention both Aņehuvaṇam and Manigrāmam very often. The Cochin plates did not create Aņehuvaṇam, but conferred the honours and privileges connected therewith on a Jew named Joseph Rabban. Similarly, the rights and honours associated with the other corporation, Manigrāmam, were bestowed at a later period on Ravikottaran... It is just possible that Ravikottaran was a Christian by religion." (Epigraphia Indica, Vol. IV, page 294).

The Christians of Malabar, during the ninth century, were evidently called Manigrāmam and had a head of their own. If another Christian in the fourteenth century received the title of Manigrāmam, as Mr. Venkayya says, we must suppose that there were two communities of local Christians here in the fourteenth century. There is no evidence whatever for this. On the other hand, we find the local and the foreign Christians all under one rule at the beginning of the sixteenth century, from which period we have a regular history. The tradition, too, is that the Christian Church of this coast was not divided till the middle of the seventeenth century. We, therefore, cannot but conclude that the Christian community received the title of Manigrāmam from Vira Rāghava Chakravarti sometime before the ninth century.

2. Further, in the Tānu Iravi plates of the ninth century the local Christians are called Manigrāmam. How and when they came by this name is not said in those plates; but this name certainly was given them before the ninth century. We find from the copper plate under discussion a local Christian—Iravi Korttan is undoubtedly an Indian name—receiving the title of Manigrāmam. What doubt is there then that the copper plate in question is earlier than the ninth century?

9 "The name Iravikkorttan," says Mr. Venkayya, "is evidently a vulgar form of the Tamil Iravikkogur which means the sun-king" (Epigraphia Indica, Vol. IV, p. 292). I cannot find my way to accept this view.
3. There is a passage in the plate which affords us a piece of presumptive evidence in favour of its earlier origin:—"All articles that may be measured with the para, weighed by the balance, or measured with the tape, that may be counted or weighed." W. Logan says:—"This is almost an exact reproduction of the phrase so familiar to Roman Jurists: Quae pondere, numero, mensurave constat" (Malabar, Vol. 1, page 269.) This copper plate, therefore, was in all probability written at a time when Kerala was in touch with Rome. But this intercourse with the Christian West was obstructed during the seventh century on account of the Muhammadan ascendancy in Jerusalem, Egypt, Syria and Persia.

4. It is said in a grantha of cadjan leaves kept at Kulpakatta Matham, Tiruvalla, that during the days of the Cheraman Perumal, named Vira Kerala Chakravartti, the temple at Tiruvalla was dedicated. The above Matham is the house of a very prominent Bhatatari (Malayala Brahman), where a vast number of granthas are preserved. The grantha referred to is about two or three hundred years old, and the language also is not very old. But it is likely that whenever a grantha was copied, they would bring the language up-to-date and make some additions.

Nobody will contend that this grantha is altogether spurious. If it be, however, spurious, how did the Bhatatari get the name Vira Kerala Chakravartti? No record other than the Vira Raghava copper plate has hitherto been known, where we find the name Vira Kerala Chakravartti, while this copper plate was left unrecognised among the Portuguese records from the sixteenth to nineteenth century. After it was recovered, it was kept at Kottayam, and there were very few people then who could read and understand it. So there was not the least chance of its being known to the above Bhatatari, and yet the name is given in this grantha exactly as it is in the copper plate. "Vira Kerala Chakravartti" not even Vira Kerala or Vira Kerala Perumal. We, therefore, come to the conclusion that the temple of Tiruvalla was dedicated during the days of Vira Kerala Chakravartti. The date of its dedication is given in a chronogram "Cheralamnapatkaata," i.e., 1,111,526th day after the beginning of the Kali age, which falls in the year 59 B.C. A Hindu image can be dedicated only on special auspicious days, and there are several requirements to be fulfilled for a day to be auspicious:—

1. It should be during uttardiyasam.
2. It should not be on Saturday or Tuesday.
3. It should be during the bright fortnight.
4. Of the 27 asterisms only sixteen (1st, 4th, 5th, 7th, 8th, 10th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, 17th, 21st, 22nd, 23rd, 26th, 27th) are auspicious.
5. The above-mentioned auspicious asterisms will become inauspicious by the following circumstances.

   (a) An auspicious one will become inauspicious by the presence of any of the following "sinners," Sun, Mars, Saturn and Rahu.

   (b) Each asterism has certain asterisms as companions, e.g., uttarayadhi, the asterism of the day under consideration, has five companions (2nd, 8th, 11th, 17th and 20th). If the Sun or Mars, or Jupiter, or Saturn stand in any of these asterisms, its companion uttarayadhi will become inauspicious.

(Muhurtapadavi, published by Bharata Vilasam Press, pp. 197, 198, 112.)

Under these rules it is very difficult to find an auspicious day for the dedication of an image. But this particular day fulfills all the requirements. Now an astronomer would spend no inconsiderable time and energy in order to find out an auspicious day in the distant past. The above-mentioned Bhatatari or his predecessors had nothing to gain by forging such a document. He was not publishing it to the world. Simply because I asked him about the dedication of the temple at Tiruvalla he brought out this grantha, and was not in the

---

10 I am extremely thankful to this gentleman for his kindly allowing me to copy a portion of this grantha.
least interested in making this known to others. We should also bear in mind that the Malayaḷa Brāhmans are reputed for their honesty, and cheating is, as a rule, unknown among them.

The grantham of Kulikkaṭtu Maḷhum, therefore, affords us a very strong piece of presumptive evidence to show that Vira Keralava Chakravartti lived during the middle of the first century B.C.

This grantha further says that after two years on the 19th Mēṭam a Thursday, 15th asterism, and the 12th tithi, Garuda, a minor idol, was dedicated. Here everything except the week day is wrong. It is the 19th asterism, an inauspicious one, instead of the 15th. This mistake must be due to the copyist. The figure two (of "after two years") must be a clerical error of the copyist. The week day might have been set right by somebody because it is a very easy business. This mistake is a further proof of the genuineness of the chronogram "Chēramāṇpaṭakaṭa." If it were a forgery they would have made the above date also correct. Further, this grantha, after recounting the circumstances in which the chief idol was dedicated and giving the date of its dedication in the chronogram "Chēramāṇpaṭakaṭa," says:—"It is simply appended below the horoscope of the date of the god at Tiruvalla," written by Cheruvalliy Kuliṅkaṭtu. Here follow in chronograms the longitudes of the Sun, Moon, Jupiter, Mars, Mercury, Venus, Saturn, Rahu and Ketu. The person who is said to have calculated these longitudes is not known, and must have lived some centuries back. These statements are given as an addition. This too is a proof of the genuineness of the above grantha.

Mr. Venkayya suggests that the Vira Keralava Chakravartti may be Jayasimha alias Vira Keralavaraman of the thirteenth century (Epigraphia Indica, Vol. IV, page 293).

Jayasimha alias Vira Keralavaraman was unquestionably a king of Vēnāṭu ruling at Quilon, whereas Vira Keralava Chakravartti, being one of the predecessors of Vira Rāghava, an "emperor" of Keralam, must have been also an "emperor" ruling at Cranganore. So the Vira Keralava Chakravartti, mentioned in the copper plate, has nothing to do with Jayasimha. Since Mr. Venkayya could not find the name Vira Keralava Chakravartti of Keralam in any other record, he went to the royal family of Vēnāṭu, who were vassals of the "emperor" of Keralam, to find out a similar name. The impossibility of such a contention is more than evident.

Since Vira Rāghava makes mention of Vira Keralava Chakravartti as the greatest of his predecessors, the intervening period cannot be very many centuries.

Pārkara Iravi Varnam in his copper plate does not make mention of this Vira Keralava Chakravartti. Vira Rāghava, therefore, is most probably earlier than Pārkara Iravi.

5. Among the witnesses to the grants of Vira Rāghava and Pārkara Iravi, we do not find Perumpaṭappu, i.e., the king of Cochin. It follows, therefore, that when these two āsagams were executed, Perumpaṭappu was not in existence. But in the Hebrew version of the Pārkara Iravi plates the following note is added:—"Perumpaṭappu, king of Cochin, is not recorded in this list, because he (the Perumal) settled him as his heir in his stead." (Madras Journal of Lit. and Science, Vol. XIII, part II, page 13.) This explanation is quite untenable on the face of it.

In the Vira Rāghava plate Venpoli Nāṭu (the country near the Venpānāṭu Lake), Thekkumkāṭ and Vaṭākkumkāṭ, and Netumpurāyūr Nāṭu (Pālgāṭ) are not mentioned, but they are mentioned in the Pārkara Iravi plates. When certain privileges are given to a people, all the petty kings, in whose land these people dwell, should be made witnesses, i.e., informed of it. Witnesses are mentioned in the Vira Rāghava and the Pārkara Iravi plates with the following words respectively "with the knowledge of" so and so,—so and so "knows this." Venpoli Nāṭu is unquestionably a very ancient centre of Christians.
Venpoli Natu, therefore, would have been by no means omitted in the copper plate under discussion, if the dynasty of that name were in existence at that time.

The following objection may be raised against this conclusion. The king of Oṭunātu (Kayamkulam) and the Brāhmaṇ divisions of Panniyur and Chokira are mentioned in the Vira Rāghava copper plate, but not in the Pākara Iravi plates. This, however, is not a weighty objection. Since there were no Jews in Oṭunātu, the king of Oṭunātu need not necessarily be a witness. The same may be the case with the Brāhmaṇs of Panniyur and Chokira. Perhaps there may have been no Jews in those places where these Brāhmaṇs had some sort of authority. Or perhaps Pākara Iravi did not think of giving so much prominence to the Brāhmaṇs as his predecessor, Vira Rāghava, had given.

As for the omission of Venpoli Natu in our copper plate, it cannot by any means be explained away, if that dynasty were in existence at that time. This is also a piece of presumptive evidence, which shows that Vira Rāghava was earlier than Pākara Iravi.

6. There is one more piece of presumptive evidence to show that Vira Rāghava is older than Pākara Iravi. The “emperors" of Kēraḷam were, no doubt, Kshatriyas and their language Sanskrit. From the inscriptions of Kēraḷam we know only five of them—Vira Kēraḷa Chakravartti, Rājādhirāja Paramēsvara Bhaṭṭāraka Rājasēkēhara Dēvar, Vira Rāghava Chakravartti, Pākara Iravi, and Tānu Iravi. The first three names retain their Sanskrit forms and the other two Sanskrit names are Tamilised. The Aryan colonists in the south of India would not easily allow their names to be Tamilised. We, therefore, may infer that they only allowed it many centuries after their colonisation. So the “emperors" who bore Tamilised names, Pākara Iravi and Tānu Iravi, were later than those who bore pure Sanskrit names, Vira Kēraḷa, Rājasēkēhara, and Vira Rāghava. Vira Kēraḷa is shown to be of the first century B.C. Rājasēkēhara and Vira Rāghava too are, therefore, earlier than Pākara Iravi and Tānu Iravi.

II. Astronomical Evidence.

It is said in the copper plate that it was executed on the day of Rōhiṇī (4th asterism), a Saturday, the 21st of the Solar month Mina, when Jupiter was in Makara (Capricorn). From the Astronomical positions given here, we should find out the date.

Preliminary Discussions.

Before we proceed to find out the date on an Astronomical basis, there are some preliminary enquiries to be made.

The Age of Indian Astronomy.

This is the first point. There are some who think that the Indian Astronomical systems are of late origin. But the contrary can be easily proved. Even in the Hindu Vedas, the twenty-seven asterisms, the divisions of the ecliptic are enumerated. Kauṭilya of the fourth century B.C. mentions Astronomy as one of the six angas of the Vedas. (Kauṭilya’s Arthāṭīstra, translated by R. Shamaastra, B.A., Book I, Ch. III, p. 7.) Further he makes mention of lunar month (chandrāmāsa), solar month (saṃvat) and sidereal month (nakshtaramāsa) (Ibid., Book II, Ch. XX, p. 134). “A forecast of rainfall," says Kauṭilya again, "can be made by observing the position, motion and pregnancy of Jupiter, the rise and set and motion of Venus, and the natural or unnatural aspect of the Sun." (Ibid., Book II, Ch. XXIV, p. 143.) A king, according to him, should consult an astrologer every day. (Ibid., Book I, Ch. XIX, p. 43.) There can be no astrology without a somewhat complete Astronomy. While speaking about India, Strabo, a Greek author who lived during the early part of the first century A.D., says: "They (Pramnae) ridicule the Brāhmaṇs as boasters and fools for occupying themselves with Physiology and Astronomy" (Geography of Strabo, translated by H. C. Hamilton and W. Falconer, Book XV, Ch. 1, s. 70, p. 117). From all this it is clear that the Indians began their study of Astronomy before the commencement of the Christian era. Alberuni, who
visited India in 1031, has written an elaborate treatise on the Indian Astronomical systems, giving the revolutions of the Sun, the Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus and Saturn and their apsides in a Chaturyuga and in a Kalpa according to the different siddhántas. Alberuni says that Varahamihira, the author of Panchasiddhántika, lived 526 years before his time, which is Kali 4131, A.D. 1031 (Alberuni's India, Vol. II, p. 276). The date of Varahamihira, therefore, is A.D. 505. His Panchasiddhántika, it should be observed, was a summary of the five systems of Astronomy, which were in India. Aryabhața, the author of Āryabhațyam, was according to himself born in Kali 3577, A.D. 476-477, and wrote his book in Kali 3600, A.D. 499-500, at the age of 23. This is the system adopted in Mālabar. We thus find that the Indians began to interest themselves in the study of Astronomy much before the commencement of the Christian era, and that the five siddhántas (systems of Indian Astronomy) came into existence before the sixth century.

Corrections of the systems.—Secondly, some argue that since the Indian Astronomical systems constantly underwent corrections, the real dates cannot be ascertained from Astronomical positions given in ancient inscriptions. It is true that corrections were made in these systems from time to time. But in Kēralam we have two systems, known by the names of parahita and drk. The latter is the correct system for calculating modern dates, the former is the old system which is now used only to find out mukhārtam (auspicious time). It can be shown that the parahita system holds good for all the ancient dates. I have myself verified twenty-eight ancient dated inscriptions from the tenth century forward, which contain Astronomical positions. Out of these inscriptions I have verified, only nine were found to be wrong. The mistakes, I think, must be due to wrong readings. I could not prove this, because no facsimiles were available. Some of the other inscriptions, too, appeared to be wrong at first, but when I compared the facsimile with the readings, I found that the mistakes were due to the latter. I did not find a single inscription which is not correct according to the parahita system, where a facsimile was available to verify the reading.

Then again I took 125 eclipses in the Astronomy of J. Ferguson, Vol. I, pp. 214-216, during a period of 1000 years from the first to the eleventh century, and verified them. These eclipses were observed in different parts of the world and recorded, with the dates converted into the Christian era and the time into the Greenwich meantime by modern scholars. Of the 125 eclipses, all were correct except twenty-one. I need hardly say that I disregarded the difference of two or three hours. Because all one can do is to find out the point of time when the new or full moon is completed in Kēralam, though an eclipse is not really for a point of time. According to Indian Astronomy, time is calculated from sunrise. These and some other things may cause a difference of one or two hours. The twenty-one eclipses, which were found incorrect, may be brought under four heads. Under the first head there is only one which is quite right, except for the fact that it was a solar eclipse instead of a lunar one (A.D. 1010, March 8. Greenwich meantime 5:41). Having found the day and time correct, it can be concluded that the mistake is only a misprint.

Under the second head there are eleven eclipses:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A.D.</th>
<th>June 10</th>
<th>G.M.T.</th>
<th>1:10.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A.D.</td>
<td>30, Nov</td>
<td>G.M.T.</td>
<td>19:20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.D.</td>
<td>46, July</td>
<td>G.M.T.</td>
<td>22:25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.D.</td>
<td>49, May</td>
<td>G.M.T.</td>
<td>7:16.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.D.</td>
<td>53, March 8</td>
<td>G.M.T.</td>
<td>20:42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.D.</td>
<td>55, July 12</td>
<td>G.M.T.</td>
<td>21:50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.D.</td>
<td>56, Dec</td>
<td>G.M.T.</td>
<td>0:28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.D.</td>
<td>60, Oct</td>
<td>G.M.T.</td>
<td>3:21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.D.</td>
<td>65, Dec</td>
<td>G.M.T.</td>
<td>21:50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.D.</td>
<td>70, Sept</td>
<td>G.M.T.</td>
<td>21:13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.D.</td>
<td>760, Aug</td>
<td>G.M.T.</td>
<td>5:50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These are Astronomical days. June 10 begins at noon of that day.

The dates are correct, but there are differences of some hours, the maximum being not more than eight. These also may therefore be classed among the correct ones. Of this
group, ten are of the first century A.D. The present parahita system itself may have undergone some correction since the first century. One is of the eighth century, and the difference here may be due to some mistake.

In the third group there are only three eclipses. The maximum difference them is 23 hours. The dates here, I daresay, are wrong, viz., (A.D. 27, July 22; 40, April 30; 831, May 15).

In the last group there are six eclipses (A.D. 290, May 15; 484, January 13; 763, June 8; 787, Sept. 14; 809, July 15; 989, May 28).

Seeing that the differences here are of 3 or 4 days, the dates, I am quite sure, are wrong. Thus we find that out of the 125 eclipses I have verified according to the parahita system, 105 were quite right and 11 were almost right, there being no difference in days; only nine were wrong. This can by no means be the fault of the parahita system. The dates given are somehow or other wrong. The motion of the moon can be observed easily. Nobody, therefore, will keep an Astronomical system, if it cannot fix the position of the moon correctly. Now moon, full moon, and eclipses will surely expose an incorrect system. We can, therefore, safely infer that the parahita system of Malabar, at least the system of calculating the moon’s motion, is not appreciably different from the system used there during the early centuries. As for Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, etc., there may be a little more difference, because their motions are not so easily observed as that of the moon.

The meaning of the expression ‘Chegara.’—Before entering into a discussion of the Astronomical evidence, there is one more point to be decided. The translation of irupattongru chegara, according to the late Professor Sundaram Pillai, Venkayya, and Dewan Bahadur Swamikannu Pillai, is 22nd, not 21st. This is a wrong assumption. Relying on this, the last mentioned fixed the date of Pākara Iravi Varma in the eleventh century (Trav. Arch. Series, Vol. II, p. 31). Some early Sovereigns of Travancore, published by Sundaram Pillai himself, affords abundant and conclusive proof to an Astronomer that the word Chegara does not mean expired day. (1) Take for instance, the inscription No. 3 (Ibid., p. 67). “Kollam 336, Itavam 6 (âruchenga) Saturday, Makayiram” (5th asterism). Sundaram Pillai says that it is the 7th Itavam, not the 6th. The 7th Itavam 336 of the Quilon era is 1,556,768th day of Kali. First day of Kali was a Friday and therefore 1,556,768th day of Kali was not a Saturday. The asterism was Tiruvâtira (6th) not Makayiram (5th). The 6th Itavam, 338, was therefore, was a Saturday and Makayiram as stated in the inscription.

Let any Astronomer verify the following dates:

(2) Kollam 427, 21st Etavam (irupattongru chegara) Wednesday and Pañchami (Inscription No. 13, Ibid., p. 78.)

(3) Kollam 393, 8th Mêtam (ettu chegara), Makayiram (Trav. Arch. Series, Vol. I, p. 290.)


(5) Kollam 782, Friday, 6th Mêtam (âruchenga), (Ibid., p. 180).

(6) Kollam 945, Friday, 15th Mêtam (patimâñchu chegara), (Ibid., Vol. I, pp. 301 and 302).

The reading given is 5th Etavam which is a mistake. See facsimile.

(7) Saka 1467, Friday, 30th Tûlâm (mappatu chegara) (Ibid., Vol. I, p. 104).


(10) Saka 1493, Friday, 24th Tûlâm (irupattundu chegara) (Ibid., Vol. I, p. 275).


In all the above inscriptions, as well as in many others I have verified, the word chegara is used to denote a current day. This word is never used to denote an expired day.

(To be continued.)
THE ANCESTRESS OF A GOVERNOR-GENERAL.

(A Fragment of Family History).

By S. M. Edwardes, C.S.I., C.V.O.

It is stated in Burke's Peerage that the eighth Earl of Dalhousie (1740-1787) married in 1767 Elizabeth, daughter of Andrew Glen and niece and heiress of James Glen, Governor of Carolina. She thus became the grandmother of the famous Governor-General of India (1848-56). An inquiry into the parentage of Elizabeth Glen, undertaken at the request of a descendant of the Governor-General, has disclosed some rather remarkable facts regarding her mother's career, which seem to me worth recording.

Scrutiny of the East India Company's Records preserved in the India Office shows that Elizabeth Glen's mother first appears on the scene as Mrs. Lucy Rigby, who married a Captain Thomas Garland at Calcutta on 14th July 1731. Unfortunately there is no evidence to show (a) whether Mrs. Lucy Rigby was a widow or a spinster at the date of her marriage to Captain Garland, and (b) who precisely Rigby was. In regard to the first point, the term "Mrs." was in use in the eighteenth century and earlier to denote a respectable spinster, and the person to whom the term was applicable was usually a lady of a certain age. In view of Mrs. Lucy Rigby's later history, which proves that she married her last husband as late as 1760, it seems unlikely that she would have been old enough in 1731 (the date of her marriage to Captain Garland) to deserve the courtesy appellation of "Mrs." It is reasonable to suppose that, when she married Captain Garland, she was the widow of a man named Rigby. This supposition is strengthened by the statements in Bengal Past and Present, Vol. V, p. 143 and Vol. VI, p. 400.

As to the identity of Rigby, there is no definite evidence. But the Bengal Register of Deaths, preserved in the India Office, shows that a Captain Edward Rigby died and was buried at Calcutta on 23rd July 1714. It is just possible that Lucy Rigby was the widow of this man. If so, she must have married him a very short time before his death, and must have been a very young bride. This is by no means improbable, seeing that she has been described elsewhere as a "Native of India." To the latter point I shall subsequently refer. The fact that she was the widow, and not the daughter, of Edward Rigby seems to be accepted in Bengal Past and Present, Vol. VI, p. 400.

The history of Rigby is wholly obscure. There is evidence in various works of reference that the Rigbys were a well-known Lancashire family, which at one time owned Middleton Hall in Golcargh parish. A Baron Alexander Rigby and a son of like name were officers in the Parliamentary army. The second Alexander had a brother, Edward, a sergeant-at-arms and Member of Parliament for Preston in 1678. He had a son Edward and a daughter, Lucy, of whom the former represented Preston in 1705. A bound volume of miscellanea in the British Museum mentions also a Captain Edward Rigby as being concerned in a case at the Old Bailey on 7th December 1798; but no details are given of his profession and circumstances. I have been unable to trace any connexion between this individual or the Lancashire family and the Captain who died in Calcutta in 1714. But a close and prolonged enquiry might possibly serve to establish a link.

The problem of Mrs. Lucy Rigby's early history is further complicated by the fact that in a document drawn up in 1765, which is still preserved in the archives of the Dalhousie family, she is described as a "Native of India." This document is an agreement between herself and her last husband, Peter Downes, whereby she is absolved from the duty of accompanying him to England on his retirement, and she in return gives him full permission to marry
again during her lifetime. The term "Native of India" may signify (a) a person of pure Indian parentage, or (b) a Eurasian, now styled Anglo-Indian, or (c) a person of pure European parentage, born and brought up in India. It is highly improbable that Mrs. Lucy Rigby belonged to category (a); for had she been a pure Native, it is unlikely that certainly five, and probably six, Englishmen of official status would have married her in succession according to the rites of the established church; that Mr. Harry Verelst, who succeeded Clive as Governor of Bengal in 1767, would have concerned himself as guardian with her affairs, as he certainly did; and that the fact of her marriages and death and the details of her will would have been so carefully recorded and preserved in the ecclesiastical and legal departments of the Company’s administration. The most plausible view is that she belonged to category (b). A pure-bred Englishwoman, born and brought up in England, would assuredly have shrank, no matter how broad-minded she may have been, from entering into a formal agreement to give her last husband his complete marital freedom. But a Eurasian or even a domiciled European woman, who had known no homeland but India and had imbibed less rigid ideas in oriental surroundings, might easily have given her husband carte blanche to pass out of her life, in return for the permission to end her days in the only country which she had known from her birth.

On the whole, therefore, it may be assumed that Mrs. Lucy Rigby was a domiciled European or more probably Eurasian, born and brought up in Bengal, and that she married at an early age (as is customary in India) a man named Rigby, possibly the Captain of that name, whose death and burial occurred in 1714. He may have been a merchant-captain of the superior type, well-known in those days, when a man who commanded one of the Company’s vessels was expected to possess not only a knowledge of navigation but also a very complete acquaintance with the details of trade and the Indian market.

Mrs. Lucy Rigby’s later history is much less obscure. After Rigby’s death, she married Captain Thomas Garland in Calcutta on 14th July 1731. He died and was buried in that place on 10th September 1731 (Indian Office Records). In all probability he was a merchant-captain, belonging to the same service as her next husband. Mrs. Lucy Garland remained a widow until 31st December 1733, on which date she was married in Calcutta to Captain Andrew Glen, who is described in his Will as a “Mariner,” soil, the master of a merchantman. He was the brother of James Glen, Governor of North Carolina. Of this marriage was born a daughter, Elizabeth Glen, who afterwards married the eighth Earl of Dalhousie. Captain Andrew Glen died and was buried at Calcutta on 3rd August 1745. A copy of his Will, which mentions his wife Lucy, his daughter Elizabeth, and his brother James, is preserved in the India Office (Bengal Wills, Range 164, Vol. XLIV, p. 2).

Mrs. Lucy Glen’s next marriage took place on 16th September 1747, to Captain Robert Leonard (or Lennard). From C. R. Wilson’s Old Fort William, Vol. I, p. 159, it appears that Captain Lennard arrived in Calcutta from Madras in 1742 and was given employment as an engineer by the Bengal Council on 24th April of that year. He is described as having done good service in Madras in erecting fortifications against the Marathas. On 29th November 1742 his temporary employment ended, and the Council recorded that he was discharged with a gratuity of 500 Madras rupees, “after performing his service to our satisfaction.” Apparently he remained in Calcutta, and about five years later married Andrew Glen’s widow. The India Office Records show that Lennard’s Will was proved on 19th April 1748, and therefore that he must have died about six months after his marriage to Lucy. No copy of his Will appears to exist.

The next matrimonial venture of the widow, now Mrs. Lucy Lennard, took place on 31st July 1749, when she espoused Captain David Clayton. Wilson’s Old Fort William, Vol. II, gives a good deal of information about this fourth (or probably fifth) husband of Mrs. Lucy.
Rigby. He commanded a battery when Sirajuddaula besieged Calcutta in 1756, and is described in Drake's Account (ibid., p. 67) as defending the church with 25 militia and military against a hot attack, and also as commanding the Court House battery, with Captain Holwell and three subalterns as his comrades. It is evident from Z. Holwell's story of the siege that he and Clayton were not on the best terms, for Holwell speaks of him as never having seen any foreign service and as demonstrating "his want of the most essential requisites of a soldier" (ibid., p. 79). Apparently Holwell and Wedderburn offered certain advice regarding the defence of the position to Clayton, which he did not accept. Clayton paid dearly enough for any mistakes that he may have made; for he perished in the 'Black Hole,' and his name appears on the monument erected to the victims by Lord Curzon in 1902. Mrs. Lucy Clayton's name appears in the list of women refugees on board the ships at Fulta. The house in which Captain Clayton and his wife resided in 1755, just prior to the capture of Calcutta by Sirajuddaula, is said to have occupied the site on which now stands the building of the Alliance Bank of Simla.

Clayton's untimely end left his wife a widow for the fourth (or fifth) time in 1756; but the tale of her marriages was not yet complete. The India Office Records show that she married her last husband, Mr. Peter Downes, on 2nd September 1769. A semi-official letter No. 97 of 7th February 1924, addressed to me by the Imperial Record Department, Calcutta, gives the following particulars about Downes, collected from the records of the Government of India. He was appointed a Factor in the East India Company's service on 23rd November 1759, and served from that date until 1765 as the Company's Storekeeper of the New Fortifications at Fort William. On 18th February 1765, he requested permission to resign the Company's service, and on 15th July 1765, he asked for a passage to England on board the Admiral Stevens. He apparently reached home safely and settled down there; for his name appears once again in 1789 as one of the executors of the Will of a Captain Henry Spelman, and as having in that capacity received certain payments from the Company.

It is clear that Downes, a civilian, married Captain Clayton's widow about a year after he joined the Company's service in Calcutta, and that when he retired to England six years later, he went alone. Papers preserved by the Dalhousie family show that Lucy, being a "Native of India," refused to accompany her last husband to England, and that before his departure she gave him full permission to wipe her out of his memory and marry again during her lifetime, if he wished to do so.

As a matter of fact, she did not survive his departure for much more than four months. She died in Calcutta and was buried there on 23rd November 1765 (India Office Records). Her Will was proved on 26th November 1765; and a copy of it will be found in Bengal Wills, Range 154, Vol. LII, p. 43s, preserved in the India Office. Under her Will her daughter, Elizabeth Glen, was her chief legatee and must have inherited a good deal of valuable property and jewellery, which she brought into the Dalhousie family on her marriage to the eighth Earl. Like other wealthy people in India at that date, Mrs. Lucy Downes possessed several slaves, probably Africans or coffress, as they were then styled, and some of the clauses of her Will concern the grant of their freedom to these slaves and the provision of legacies for them.

Such is the rather remarkable history of the ancestress of one on the greatest Governors-General of India. That she must have been a woman of considerable attraction and charm seems evident from the fact that she was courted, if we include the shadowy Rigby, by six husbands in succession. Three of them were probably among those "who go down to the sea in ships," two were military officers, and the last was a civil servant; so that she tried all the Services in turn. One wonders which of them all she loved the best. One can never
know. Peradventure, as death drew nigh, her thoughts turned back to the days of her life with Andrew Glen. Her marriage with him lasted longer than the rest, and he was the father of her only child, Elizabeth, destined in due time to become the grandmother of the statesman, of whom a well-known historian has written:—"Notwithstanding his physical disability and almost incessant suffering, the marvellous strength of his will enabled him to perform an amount of work of the highest quality which exceeded the powers of most statesmen, even when blessed with perfect health."

CONTRIBUTIONS TO PUNJABI LEXICOGRAPHY.
SERIES IV.

By H. A. ROSE, I.C.S. (Retired).

(Continued from page 164.)

Pota : sheep's entrails : Ch., 139.
Potande : a festive dish at the Diwāli : Sirmūr, 58.
Potli : the hide of a cow or buffalo : SS., Jubbal, 12.
Prainth : the 3rd and last day of the Diwāli : Sirmūr, 63.
Pruri : Spiraea bella : Ch., 228.
Puchhiyān, pl. ?; 'most important'; as in the proverb:—Kucār siyān, Rāthi puchhiyān, "as Indian corn is the first among crops, so the Rāthi is the most important among castes" : Ch., 136.
Puhāl : a shepherd; -i, a high field above the village, used for grazing in summer; =
Adwāri and Kat : Ch., 278 and 280.
Pūla : a bundle of grass; 5 dathas = 1 pūla : Hazāra.
Pullan : grass shoes (Pāngi) : Ch., 207.
Punjā : an observation at weddings in Pāngi at which a ball of parched flour, honey and clarified butter is divided among the guests at the bridegroom's house, after a portion has been given to the bridal pair : Ch., 157.
Punna : Ehretia serrata : Ch., 239.
Punya : full-moon : Ch., 160.
Putha bāl : hair growing the wrong way, on a horse's neck : Ch., 195.
Puthi un : a cess, consisting in a share of wool : SS., Bashahr, 74.
Putrela : lit. 'son of a handmaid'; and so an adopted son : Comp., 94.
Putreta : Ch., Puteta, P. D., p. 939.
Putriār : a name given to one of the two menial Hálls or ploaghmen who accompany the bridegroom, carrying the badhāti to the bride's father : Ch., 153.
Gānth : (sic), a purse; as in gānth-khulā; a preliminary fee paid to a money-lender for 'opening' his purse : SS., Bashahr, 51.
Rach : (1 chh), = rāt, night, as in rach biyāt, '3 hours before day-break,' and adhī rach, 'midnight': Mandi, 31.
Rāh denā = sunh lainā, to take an oath of compurgation : Gloss., I, p. 906.
Rajae : red currant, Ribes rubrum : Ch., 238.
Rakht burani : lit. 'clothes cutting,' observed at weddings by Pathāns in Hoshiārpur; =
Rakht bari in Kangra : Glossary, I, 809.
Rali : a small painted image (of Shiva or Parbati); Kangra : Gloss., I, pl 328.
Ram chakru: the wood-partridge, *arboricola Torqued*: Ch., 36.

Ram: a custom whereby property is conveyed to the bride’s father to the father of the boy, or by a man to his father-in-law, as a condition of the betrothal: Comp., 153.

Rand put: *the son of a widow*: fem. *raund dikt*: begotten and born in her deceased husband’s house, and ranking as his children, provided she has continued to live in it: Ch., 154; Cf. Riondha.

Randi: a widow; —rakhial, the only ceremony observed when a stranger marries a widow by obtaining her parents’ consent and paying a sum of money: Ch., 158.


Ranhu: a barony: Ch., 61.

Ranhu: the period during which the Rānās and Thākurs ruled; = Thākuri or *ain*: Ch., 171.

Rank: *Cotoneaster microphylla*: Ch., 233.

Rasaili: a religious impost for the temple at Sarāhan: SS., Bashahr, 72.

Rasol: midday meal; = Dopai: Ch., 204.

Rasaunt: berberry: Suket, 36.

Rashī: the second distillation from barley spirit: SS., Bashahr, 77.

Rasūlā: a boy born naturally circumcised: B., 97.

Rat: a bundle of grass tied together by a rope, 7 hath (3½ yds.) in length: Kagān.

Ratini: a red grain: Ch., 123.

Ratir: a snake: Ch., 39.

Ratna: the mundi pheasant: Sirmūr, 7.


Raung: an autumn crop: Ch., 226.


Razal: *Viburnum cotinifolium*: Ch., 239.

Rehri: (1 red), a kind of rice: SS., Bashahr, 48.


Relmi: Mysore thorn, *Caesalpinia sepiaria*: Ch., 233.


Rheuns: = Raush: Ch., 238.

Rihāru: brass anklets, worn by Gaddi women, to avert the evil eye and prevent children crying; made by Rehāras, a menial caste: Ch., 206.

Rīna, a squint: Ch., 138.

Rīt: a fee payable to the State by the man who marries the widow or widows of a landholder who died without immediate heirs: SS., Kuthār, 8; (2) the compensation paid to a husband for the surrender of his wife to another man; ib., Kunhārsain, 8; (3) the expense incurred by a husband on his marriage, including his gifts to the bride, the marriage being annulled by the husband’s acceptance of the amount so spent; ib., Bashahr, 14. Cf., also Bilaspur, 10. Also = Bhora, in Panjabi, q.v.


Rishet: fr., rishi, a sage; the term for a ghost from the end of the 1st year after death to the 4th: Simla Hills: Gloss., I, p. 470.

Rohaila: noisy: Ch., 139.

Roliyan: powder of red colour, used for marking the tiku: Ch., 141; Cf. P. D., p. 972, s. v. Rola.
Ronda: a son born to a widow in the house of her second husband and regarded as his
whoever the actual father may have been: Comp., 115.
Roti-kháwan: lit. 'to eat bread': an observance during betrothal at which the boy
visits his fiancée's house and pays for food, getting a present in return: B., 102.
Rúbrú: a representative: Ch., 152.
Ruhí: a woman employed in planting out rice by the Ruhní method: Ch., 223.
Ruhí: ! for Ruhní, q. v.
Ruhní: (i) land irrigated by streams; (ii) a method of growing rice in nurseries: Ch., 223.
Rumbal: a wild fig, Ficus elavata: Ch., 239.
Rú-namál: (a fee paid for) seeing the bride's face (paid to the bride by her husband's
Sabil: Ar. sabil, a public drinking-fountain: B., 146.
Sadála: for Sat-diála, = Díáli or 'house of mercy,' the feast of lamps held from
Mágh 7th to 14th in Rúpí, (Kulu): Gloss., I, p. 347.
Sádhu: wife's sister's husband.
Sádval: the distance a man's voice will carry: D.I.K.
Ságáhi: a special rate in kind imposed on irrigated lands: Suket, 32.
Ságál: = Sota, q. v.
Sagan-pinní: a rite at weddings, which includes the making of balls (pinnás) by the
women of the bride's family from wheat and syrup prepared by the Jājak: B., 112; Add.
Sagan-háláfá: a rite in which the bride's father sends the boy's father from 17 to 25
pakwás; observed only by Khatri's and Sársut (Brahmans) after or in lieu of the Sagan-
pinní: B., 113.
Sahál: Sahl Khassi, a hut made of reeds (kána): B., 196.
Sáli: a honeysuckle, Lonicera purpureascens: Ch., 239.
Cf., Shah 1.
Sairi: Autumn harvest: -ia, the autumn crop of honey: Ch., 229 and 229.
Sájá: the chief day of certain festivals: Sirnúr, 63-4.
Sákshi: witness or testimony, such as the sacred fire invoked at a wedding: Comp., 38
Sál: grain revenue: Ch., 271.
Sálaj: wife's brother's wife.
Sálán: an autumn crop: Ch., 226.
Sálpan: a gáhar or high pasture owned by the Rájá: Ch., 278.
Sam: dawn, in Kanáwar: SS, Bashahr, 41.
Sámangré: odoriferous articles, sold in offerings: Suket, 25.
Sameháwa: the early morning meal, in Kanáwar: SS, Bashahr, 41.
Sambhó: a breast ornament: Ch., 208.
Samdhána: -ína, the village into which one's child is married.
Samdhétá: fem., -í: the brothers and sisters of a married couple are samdhété, -í, to
their brother's or sister's parents-in-law.
Samdhí: fem., -án, the parents of husband and wife are samdhí (father) and samdhan,
mother) to each other.
Sanan: a small tree; Simla, S. R., xlv.
Sanata: Dodonaea viscosa; Ch., 237.
Sanbhar: a kind of white salt; SS., Bashahr, 63.
Sāneh: a board; Sīrmūr, 53.
Sandan: Ougenia dalbergioides; Sīrmūr, App. IV, iv.
Sandhīra: worship in the evening; Sīrmūr, 42.
Sanha: green hay; Mandi, 46.
Sanj: (i) sweet bread fried in ghī; (ii) sunset; Ch., 204; (iii) offerings; Ch., 139.
Sanjal: Fraxinus xanthoxyloides; Ch., 239.
Sanjāl: a head butler or officer in charge of the wardrobe; Sīrmūr, 63.
Sanjār: land irrigated by water collected in pools; SS., Bāghal, 8.
Sanjua: an iron (?) chain; Simla Hills; Gloss., I, p. 360.
Sanpari: sunset; = Dhīra udeo; Mandi, 31.
Sāntha: a written lease, granted by the Rājā; Mandi, 61.
Sāppu: a kind of tobacco; = Bimbaru; Ch., 225.
Sārāf: = Bhrayāf, q. v.
Saran: a flat roof; Ch., 119.
Sargudhl: a form of marriage in Churāk; = Jhanjārā, q. v.
Sarkhan: stable expenses, levied as a cess; SS., Bashahr, 74.
Sārālān dā dhoda: rice-bread; B., 192.
Sariu: hay which remains green; Cf., Juth: Mandi, 46.
Sarsāhi: see under Wattā.
Sarsanāhain: = bārā pujā or 'greater worship' in exorcism; Sīrmūr, 53.
Sartera: a son by a wife of lower caste. Cf., Sartors; SS., Bashahr, 12.
Sarugar: Rhododendron campanulatum; Ch., 239.
Sarūt: wife's brother's son.
Sarvān shadhe: an undefined substance used at weddings; Ch., 143, n. 5.
Sāsū: = sās, mother-in-law, wife's mother; āna.
Sāsan: a grant, of land, made to a Brahman for religious purposes; Mandi, 61.
Sāt: lucky moment; Ch., 193; Sat-bala, a rite in which two human victims are added to
the five in the Panch-bala; q. v.
Sathoi: an appraiser; SS., Bīlāspur, 21.
Sathrī: a small heap of maize stalks; 3 or 4 sathrīs = 1 kalāwa
3 kalāwas = 1 gatha
2 sathrīs of maize = 1 kalāwa
3 or 4 kalāwas = 1 gaddā

Satrāna: seven different kinds of grain, in Churāk; Ch., 123.
Sattowāra: fr. sat, 'seven,' the bride's return to her parents' house on the 7th day
after her wedding; B., 104.
Satyāra: anklet; Ch., 123.
Saut: co-wife, = sauk.
Savhar: a quilt; = Panj. sawar; B., 196.
Sawāl: lit. 1/4; a custom whereby an eldest son gets 1/4th, more than each of the
younger sons. The form is sawāyā in D.C.K.; Comp., 76.
Sawan: knocking the wall, a substitute for the Mathe lagawan, q. v.; B., 107.
Sawāni: Bhorā, q. v.

Sawāran: the senior woman in a household, employed as a cook: SS., Kumbārsain, 12.

Sayar: the Kharīf crop: Mandi, 62.

Sayol: a kind of fish: Sirmur, 7.

Sedū: small balls of wheat, etc.: SS., Kumharsain, 12.

Selī: a camel's nose-string; = dehun chayhā, 'when the sun is as high as a selī', (say 3 to 4 hours after sunrise): B., 191.

Selī: a goat's hair cord worn round the waist: SS., Bashahr, 41.

Semla: a gum; see under Chakera.

Senh: shām, evening, used by Muhammadans: B., 191.

Sepa: see under Bārī.

Ser: level ground; = Masit.

Shāfd: circumcision: B., 97.

Shāg: vegetables, Shāg ki phand, a kind of stew: SS., Bashahr, 41.


Shāk: a poor soil, chiefly composed of sand and small stones: Sīmūr, App. I.


Shālī: irrigated land: Ch., 223.

Shamla: tail, of a turban: B., 194; = Thirshu q.v. Also = Sutarbandh.

Shānd: a sacrifice, only performed in villages where there are Khund Kanets: SS., Bashahr, 21.

Shāndtu: a minor sacrifice; = Tikar: SS., Bashahr, 28.

Shārvī: like a Bārā, q.v., but saller and more freely manured: Sīmūr, App. I.

Shasman: turnips: SS., Bashahr, 41.

Shela: a small floor mat: Suket, 32.

Shelat: land overshadowed by hills and therefore cold and damp: Sīmūr, App. I.

Shigu?: Shigu kā sattu, a kind of meal: SS., Bashahr, 41.

Shikāri: a box, in Pāngi: Cf., Kanjāl: Ch., 208.

Shil: breakfast, in Kanāwar: SS., Bashahr, 41.

Shila: land shut in and shaded by sheer hill-sides: SS., Jubbal, 16.

Shillong: Olea fragrans: Sīmūr, App. IV, vi.


Shirwān: Autumn harvest: Ch., 220.

Shiu: a cess, consisting of spirits of grapes: SS., Bashahr, 74.


Shoiya: evening; in Kanāwar: SS., Bashahr, 41.


Shupachhawa: supper, in Kanāwar: SS., Bashahr, 41.

Shupkash: afternoon; in Kanāwar: SS., Bashahr, 41.

Shushar: Tamarix ericoides; in Lāhu: Ch., 237.

Shutrala: sticks (of phāpra): SS., Kumharsain, 12.

Sīh kām: 'black palate': Pers. kām-palate or uvula = Buśau, 4: B., 184.

Suana: a village headman: Sīmūr, 63.

Siddahl: a present (Rs. 12) given to the bride's father by the bridegroom: Ch., 157.
Sgri: boiled cakes: SS., Bashahr, 41.
Shal: land cultivated directly by the State. Cf., Shahl: SS., Kuniar, 10.
Sijj: (Cf., Sijh: P. D., 1051), the sun; sijj jiundah, 'the sun lives,' in Ar. ask-shamsu hayyatur, i.e., 'twilight'; choli sijj, 'the sun is above the top-knot,' i.e., at its zenith: B., 192.
Sijj karakka: sunset: ib., 197.
Sikandra: a cess, levied for purchase of sugar etc., in the palace: SS., Kumharasain, 19.
Sil: or sil apparently a nether mill-stone: Ch., 141. Cf., Sil, a brick or flat stone: P. D. s.v.
Sinjla: the ordinary earthen deva or 'lamp': Suket, 27.
Sirla: blue-black: B., 111.
Sir-mel: a rite performed at or after marriage when the bride attains puberty: B.
Sirtora! Sirtola: a bastard, or the issue of a wife of another caste: Mandi, 27-8.
Sir warma: a form of lustration used by courtiers and at weddings: B., 109.
Sia: shisham, Dalbergia sissoo: Ch., 238.
Siyaa: first; see under Puchhiyan.
Sog: land set apart in the name of a neva and never cultivated: SS., Bashahr, 33.
Sot: those who come with the bridegroom: Ch., 147.
Soja: a cess, included in the Mel, q.v.
Solha: a weight = 1¼ sers khaim, 40 tolas or 32 = Thakri and Thola: Sirmur, App. III.
Songi, dawar-watra = Panj. khodakna; the dawan-watras are balls of sugar as big as apples, and at a wedding the bridegroom tries to pick them up out of a dish while his sisters-in-law hinder him: B., 110.
Setar: a snake, uniform in thickness, and believed to have a mouth at each end; hence called domnaha; not very poisonous, it is believed that anyone bitten by it will be bitten again once every year: Ch., 39.
Sthapaa: 'setting-up,' worship (of Ganesh) at betrothals: Comp., 2.
Sturda: land close to dwellings, on which vegetables are generally grown: Mandi, 65.
Subbi: moss: Ch., 150.
Subhara: Pasni, q.v.
Subha-patari: a bride's paraphernalia; consisting of the same articles as the Barsush: Ch., 143.
Sohell (Sahell): a sister by mutual adoption; 'lit. companion': Gloss., I, p. 907.
Soli: the 4th form of marriage: SS., Kumharasain, 8.
Sull: Amaranthus anardana: Ch., 204.
Suker: sukri, the 'dried' wild apricot; = Kiahta: Ch., 226.
Sunima-maruni: Jasmins humile: Ch., 239.
Sunnu: ash tree, Fraxinus floribunda and excelsa: Ch., 236 and 239.
Supind: a ball of rice: Ch., 149: Cf. Suphandi.
Surajgandh: a bracelet: Ch., 124.
Surang: Rhododendron lepidotum: Ch., 239.
Susra: husband’s father; Susral, Susar, (1) a wife’s family, collectively, (2) the village in which it lives.
Süt: see under Tassu.
Swāj, Suāj: dower, given to the bride or her parents by kinsmen and friends, as the tambol is a present made to the bridegroom: Ch., 128, 153 and 157.
Tabīt: (fr. tawiz), a square silver plate—covered with carving, worn as a pendant from the neck: Ch., 206.
Tschh: (a natural clearing in a forest): Mandi, 18; Cf., Thach in III.
Tahor: lit. ‘purity;’ circumcision; syn. sunnat or sunnatān in the Ubdā: B., 97.
Cf., Tahoran; P. D., 1999.
Takl: a horse or mare with an eye like a human being’s: B., 184.
Takka: lit. 1/3th of a rupee; as a measure of area a rupee—roughly 1 kār and a kār—6 to 8 acres: Suket, 33.
Tāllī: pānā, = Tigra pānā, q. v.
Tamākā: a variety of tamākā, tobacco: Ch., 225.
Tamālt: a kettle: = Badhnā.
Tamatt: a weight = 2 sere standard weight, but varying according to its use in selling or buying: SS., Bashahr, 61.
Tanān: deaf: Ch., 139.
Tan-bakhshī: a form of widow re-marriage among Moslems in which the widow states before witnesses that she has given her person to her new husband: Comp., 44.
Tandah: cat’s-eyed: Ch., 138.
Tang-randi: a present of Re. 1 made by the boy’s father to the girl’s when the alliance is arranged: Ch., 160.
Tarā: Philadelphus coronarius: Ch., 238.
Tarā-peshānī, a horse or mare with a white spot, small enough to be covered by the thumb, on the forehead, and unlucky: B., 184. Cf., P. D., p. 1106, s.v. Tārā.
Tarore: (pt.) an ornament worn on the feet: B., 105.
Tassū: a measure of wood:— 24 tassū = 1 yard.
4 pins (1) = 1 tassū.
8 sūt = 1 inch (1 pice = 1 inch).
A tassū corresponds to a rupee: Ferozepur.
Tīt: a metal measure; about 1 1/2 sere: Simla, S. R., xlvi.
Tūtā: hot: SS., Bashahr, 41.
Tātā: dumb: Ch., 139.
Taur: a climbing plant, Bauhinia vahlii: Ch., 238 and 32.
Teg: big or elder: SS., Bashahr, 16.

(To be continued.)
THIRD ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE, MADRAS.

The Second All-India Oriental Conference held in Calcutta in Feb. 1922 resolved to hold the Third Congress in Madras sometime in December 1924. Rao Sahib Prof S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar was appointed Secretary at the address Sri Venkatesa Vilas, Nadu Street, Mylapore, Madras.

In pursuance of the resolution an organising Committee has been formed and a programme has been devised to include the following subjects:
1. Sanskrit Language and Literature.
4. Philology, Sanskrit and Dravidian.
5. Dravidian Languages and their literature.
6. Archaeology, including Epigraphy, Numismatics and Indian Art.
10. Ethnology and Folk-lore.
11. Persian, Arabic and Urdu.
12. Other Asiatic languages and civilizations.

(a) Present position of the study of Indian languages.
(b) Present condition of the old traditional learning.

Membership of the Conference is open to all scholars interested in the advancement of Oriental Studies, to delegates from the Indian Government, Indian States and learned institutions and to scholars of distinction. The Session will be for three days.

Scholars in India, Burma or Ceylon can either read or send papers, provided they are sent six weeks before the date of the Conference, and are accompanied by a summary and prepared in a form suitable for publication.

The Congress will be opened by His Excellency the Governor of Madras and the Vice Chancellor of the University will be the Chairman of the Reception Committee. Those wishing to attend can obtain information as to board and lodging and other such details from the Secretary at the above address.

R. C. TEMPLE.

BOOK-NOTICES.

MEMOIRS OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.
No. 14. ANTIQUITIES OF BHIMBHA AND RAJAURHI.

The Bhimbha-Rajaurhi road, which unites the two large tahseils in the province of Jammu, forming together part of the ancient territory of Dārvabhīṣā, has played a prominent part in the history of Kashmir from very early times. It was by this route that the tyrant Mihirakula retrograded into Kashmīr, after his defeat in India; and along it in later ages travelled the splendid cavalcades of Jalāngir, Nūr Jāhān, and the nobles of the Mughal court, on the annual migration from the heat and dust-storms of the Punjab. Mr. Ram Chandra Kak, who has made a very complete survey of the whole Hindu and Musalman remains in the two tahseils above mentioned, tells a quaint story about one of these ancient Mughal court pilgrimages. The imperial Zanana was wont to halt en route at Sāiḍhābd, where the remains of a bārdārt, bridge and tank are still to be seen, and "the ladies were so charmed with the limpid water of the stream, and the enchanting surroundings, that they refused to stir either forwards or backwards. The Emperor was in a dilemma. Persuasion failing, he had recourse to a stratagem, similar to that employed by the hill Rajas of Panjāb to scare away Fīdā Khan, Aurangzeb's foster brother, who had built himself a retreat there. A number of local ladies, who were afflicted with goitre, were brought together. They were made to wait upon the Imperial harem. When questioned about the cause of their common disfigurement, they replied that it was the evil effect of the water of the stream that flowed near by. They added that before they had the misfortune to be married in these parts, they too were fair and handsome. This, as was expected, had the desired effect. The ladies immediately ordered a retreat, and the dilemma was solved."

One of the most curious features of the old Mughal road are the two gigantic stone elephants, which have given their name to the Hāthīnālā pass and were possibly intended, as Mr. Kak surmises, to serve as memorials of two favourite elephants of the Emperor which died here. He quotes the analogy of the statue which Akbar erected in memory of a favourite horse near Sikandra. Apart from the re-discovery of several Mughal sarīs and mosques, the most important result of the author's tour in Rajaurhi and Bhimihar tahseils is the existence of groups of Kashmirian temples at Sāiḍhābd and Pānjaḥārā. Fergusson in his History of Indian and Eastern Architecture remarked that, although the form and age of the Gandharan monasteries were sufficiently well known in his time to supply most of the links connecting the Kashmiri style with that of the outer world, full information could not be secured until the temples in the Salt Range and other unfrequented parts of the Panjāb had been thoroughly examined. Mr. Kak expresses the hope that the temples, which he has fully described in this number of the Memoirs of the Indian
Archaeological Survey, will serve in some measure to supply the data which antiquarians interested in the ancient art of Kashmir have long been anxious to obtain.

The Memoir is furnished with good photographs and plans of the chief antiquities described in the text.

S. M. Edwards.


This issue is well-edited and illustrated and contains some interesting and historically valuable inscriptions: twelve of Skandar Sháh Lodí in Delhi, all in Persian, from 1494—1611 A.D., collected together for the benefit of students of the request of the Government Epigraphist for Muslim Inscriptions.

These are followed by three inscriptions from Antur Fort in the Aurangábád District of Burtan Nizám Sháh III (1610—1630). It is important to have these, as the period is very confused.

Then we are given Muhammad Tughláq's inscription at Bándhán and Qandhár during his conquest of the Deccan, and also of the Emperor Aurangzeb at both places. In noticing two inscriptions at the latter fort, the editor makes an important note to p. 22: "Scholars interested in the history of the introduction of guns into India may note that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries we invariably find Turkish officers and engineers in charge of the artillery."

In this case certain brothers were "placed in charge of Aqá Rúmí, 998 A.H. (1590 A.D.)."

All kinds of historical allusions are to be found in these valuable inscriptions: e.g., Ráí Bándrában, the historian of Aurangzeb's time, built "a well for the people, as a charitable deed in the name of God." at Elgândal in the Wargánal Division, Nizám's Dominions.

No less than 18 Plates complete this valuable piece of work.

R. C. Temple.


This is well described on its title page as a saga of Rajput chivalry. In its English form it owes its origin to the translator and its publication to Sir George Grierson, who rounded off the work with abstracts of the untranslated portions. The epic poetry which is written in Awadhí, Braj and Rajputani, has for us an interest which far transcends that which we feel for works on rhetoric; sometimes indeed it appeals to us more than the religious literature in which this group of languages is so rich. The fact that it is semi-historical matters no more than the Venetian dresses in which Veronese and Tintoretto robe the subjects of their paintings. We may with equal right a quote a Hindi writer who says, "as we read, strange emotions rise within us: the former splendour of the country and the acts of its mighty men are pictured before our eyes, and we are filled with enthusiasm and joy and pride." The minstral literature of Rajputana and other parts of the north has long been famous. The Lay of Alha is one of the most popular of the poems sung by wandering bards, and we are grateful to the authors of this volume for having given us a stirring ballad version of a remarkable poem (worthy memorial of Mr. Waterfield's scholarship and poetic feeling), accompanied by the valuable notes and additions which attest Sir George Grierson's continued devotion to the affairs of North India. A useful feature is a list of the persons who appear in the story. With this it is possible for any reader to follow the narrative, though nearly 200 actors cross its pages.

In spite of conventional repetitions, especially in the description of battles, the action moves with vigour and freshness, and the historical value of un-historical details is made clear; for these details tell us more about the times and about the bards who then sang the praises of king and country than we should have learnt from scientifically accurate chronicles. They give us atmosphere, they give us life. The end of the 12th century seems to have laid hold on the imagination of epic poets more than any other period of Indian history, for no other time is so well furnished with poetical descriptions which must have their foundations in contemporary writings. Actually these sagas are dateless, or rather they belong to many dates. The 19th century jostles the 12th in their verses, yet the real feeling belongs to the end of the 12th and beginning of the 13th centuries.

This version is intended for those who are not likely to study the Hindi. If another edition is called for, it would be well to give a few pages to a discussion of the language and verse of the original. The advice given to English readers to pronounce all vowels as in Italian is probably due to a slip. To do so would result in pronouncing Ajaijal, Bhaurin, Chakhat, Chauhan, Kanaúj, as Ajáipal, Bhaúráin, Chákái, Cháiún, Kánáuj (the long marks here printed indicate vowel quality, not length). But compared with the solid value of the work this is a trifling matter.

Not a few readers will be glad to have brought before them so vivid a tale in so pleasing a form and to be enabled to live for a brief space among the heroes of a bygone age, many of whom were pre-eminently, "For knightly jousts and fierce encounters fit."

T. Graham Bailey.
Sálāṭura—The birth-place of Pāṇini, the celebrated grammarian (Huen Tsang in Beal's *RWC*, Vol. I, p. 114 note, but see Râm Dâs Sen's *Pāṇini* in the *Aitihāsika Rakshaśyā*, and Weber's *History of Indian Literature*, p. 218). It has been identified by Cunningham (*Anc. Geo.*, p. 57) with the village of Lahor (Lahul of G. Bühler's *Brahma Alphabet*, p. 23) to the north-west of Ohind in the Panjab. It was situated within the ancient country of Gandhāra. Pāṇini flourished between the eighth and ninth centuries before the Christian era (Rajaniktânta Gupta's *Pāṇini*). According to Dr. Bhandarkar also, Pāṇini flourished in the beginning of the seventh century before the Christian era, if not earlier. But in the *Indian Antiquary* (Vol. I, p. 302), it is said that Pāṇini lived at the time of Pushpasmitra, king of Magadha (178 to 142 B.C.). Professor Max Müller supposes that Pāṇini lived in the middle of the fourth century B.C. ( *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 245, 301, but Professor Goldstücker refutes this view in his *Pāṇini*, and has proved that Kātyāyana, the author of the *Vārttikas*, lived later than Pāṇini, and Patañjali, the author of the *Mahābhāṣya*, lived later than Kātyāyana. Pāṇini must have preceded Vyādi by at least two generations, the latter was the author of the grammatical work called *Saṅgāra*. Pāṇini was also called Dākshāyana, his mother's name being Dakshi (Goldstücker's *Pāṇini*).

Sāliṣṭāra-jīra—the place where the Indus falls into the ocean (*Mahābhārata*, *Vana*, ch. 82; *Pāda P.*, *Svarge*, ch. XI). Sāliṣṭāra is another name for Baruṣa (*Mbh.*, *Udyoga*, ch. 97).

Śālivāhana-pūra—Pattana (see *Pratishṭhāna*).

Śālma-li-dvipa—Chaldia. Chal-dia appears to be a corruption of Śālmali-dvipa. Perhaps the rivers Nivritti and Bitrīshu are the Euphrates and Tigris respectively (*Brahma-dvīpa P.*, ch. 53). Mesopotamia or Assyria.

Śālva—It was also called Mārttikāvata. It was near Kurukrshētra (*Mbh.*, *Virāta*, ch. I). It was the kingdom of the father of Satyavan, the husband of the celebrated Sāvitri (*Mbh.*, *Vana P.*, ch. 282). Its king was Śālva who attacked Drāravati. It comprised portions of the territories of Jodhpur, Jaipur and Alwar. See Mārttikāvata and Śālavāpura.

Śālavāpura—Alwar (Cunningham, *Arch. S. Rep.*, Vol. XX, p. 120; *Matsya Purāṇa*, ch. 113; *Harīvanśa*, *Vīshṇu*, ch. 54). It was also called Sauabhānagara, the capital of Rāja Śālva, who was king of the country called Mārttikāvata; he was killed by Krīṣṇa (*Mbh.*, *Vana P.*, ch. 14). See Mūrttikāvata. The Bhauliūgis of Pāṇini, the Bolingae of Ptolemy, were a branch of the Śālavas. They lived on the western slope of the Aravali mountain (McCrindle's *Ptolemy*, p. 163).

Samaṇḍhi-giri—Same as Samida-giri.

Sāmalanātha—Same as Syāmalanātha (*Matsya P.*, ch. 22).

Samaṇga—Same as Samugaṇa.


Samaṇta-pancāhaka—Same as Kurukshētra.

Sambhalakā—See Semulpura.

Sāmbapura—Multan on the river Chandrabhāgā (Chinab) (Bhaviṣṭya P., Brahma Parva, pt., I, ch. 140, v. 3; and Arch. S. Rep., v. pp. 114 ff.). It was founded by Sāmba, son of Krishṇa.

Sambhalagrama—A village near Moradabad in the district of Rohilkhand, eighty miles to the east of Delhi, where Vishnu would incarnate as Kalki, the ninth Avatarā (Bhāgavata P., XII, ch. 2, v. 18; Kalki P., ch. 2; and Archavatara-sūtra-saṅgha-vaihavāv-darpanam). It is the Sambhalaka of Ptolemy (McCrindle’s Ptolemy, p. 133). According to Col. Yule, Sambhal is Northern Rohilkhand (Ind. Ant., III, p. 115).

Sambheda—A place of pilgrimage at the mouth of the river Sindhu or Indus (Amarakosa, Pātāla-varga).

Sambūka-āśrama—Ramtek, north of Nagpur in the Central Provinces, where Sambūka, a Śūdra, performed asceticism, for which reason he was killed by Rāmacandra. Hence it may be identified with the Saibal-giri, a mountain mentioned in the Rāmdāya (Uttara, ch. 75). At the time of Kālidāsa, the author of the Meghadūta, it was known by the name of Ramagiri (Meghadūta, Pt. I, v. I). See Saibala-giri and Rāmagiri.

Samaity-sikhara—The Pārashāth hill in the district of Hazaribagh in the Bihar province, two miles from the Isri station in the Grand Chord Line of the E. I. Railway, the holiness of which is great estimation by the Jainas. It is the eastern country of Jaina worship as Mount Abu is the western one. Paraśvanātha, the twenty-third Tirthaṅkarā of the Jainas, died here at the age of one hundred years. Paraśvanātha was the son of Āvāsaṇa, king of Benares, by his Queen Bāma. He was born 250 years before Mahāvīra at Bhelupurā in Benares. His followers were called the Śvetambaras as the followers of Mahāvīra, the twenty-fourth and last Tirthaṅkarā, were called Digambaras (Prof. Jacobi’s Kalpa-sūtra in SBE., Vol. XXII, p. 271). The hill was the scene of nirvāṇa of no less than nine of the twenty-four Tirthaṅkaras. Same as Samida-giri and Malla-parvata. For the names of the 24 Tirthaṅkaras of the Jainas, see Śrīvasti. The five holy places of the Jainas are Śatrunjaya, Girnar, Abu, Asṭāpada (see Prabhāsa) and Samesāthākara, but the Indian Antiquary (Vol. II, 1872, p. 354) has Chandragiri in the Himalaya instead of Asṭāpada.

Samida-giri—Same as Samet-Sikhara. Perhaps Samidagiri or Sammidaigiri is a variation of Samadhi-giri (or Sīkharā) as 19 Tirthaṅkaras obtained Nirvāṇa on this hill.

Samugad—Fatehabad, nineteen miles east of Agra (Bernier’s Travels, p. 43), where Aurangzeb defeated Dara. Samugad is a corruption of Samanagaival.

Sāuchi—Same as Śanti.

Sandhyā—The river in Sindh in Malwa, a tributary of the Yamunā (R. K. Roy’s Mbh., Sahā, ch. 9, p. 282 n.).

Sāndilya-āśrama—1. Chitai-mandarpur in the district of Faizabad in Oudh was the hermitage of Rishi Sāndilya, the celebrated author of the Sāndilya-sūtras. 2. Śrāvānī (see Śrāvānadā).

Saṅgala (of the Greeks)—Same as Śākala (Cunningham’s Anc. Geo., p. 180). Dr. Bhandarkar (Ind. Ant., I, 22) and McCrindle (Invasion of India by Alexander the Great, p. 348), however, identify it with Śākala of Pāṇini (Sūtra, IV, 2, 75) and place the country between the Hydaspes and Hysapida, probably in the district of Amritsar and towards the hill. Mr. V. A. Smith is also of opinion that the identification of Saṅgala with Śākala is erroneous; he supposes Saṅgala was in the Gurudāspur district (Early History of India, p. 65 note).
Sāṅgama-tirihā—Same as Rāmeśvara. (See Setubandha.)

Sāṅgameruva—1. A town in Koṅkāna, about 20 miles north-east of Ratnagiri. It was the capital of a Chalukya prince Somadeva (see Patañjarāma-kṣethra). 2. It is a Lingayet place of pilgrimage on the confluence of the Malaprabhā and the Kṛṣṇa (Bomb. Gaz., Vol. XXIV, p. 119). Basava, the founder of the Lingayet or Jangama sect, died at this place (Wilson's Mack. Col., pp. 310, 311). 3. A shrine of Śiva at the confluence of the Ganges and Barunā in Benares (Līṅga P., I, ch. 92).

Sāṅkā—An old village called also Sāñjaya in the Thana district, Bombay Presidency. It is the Śīndan of the Arab writers. It was also called Shahpur. Shaheriar was the first priest of the Parsis to settle there in 716 A.D. See Devabandhara. It is evidently the Sāñjayanti nagari of the Mih., (Sabhā, ch. 31) conquered by Sāhadēva.

Sāñjayanti Nagari—Same as Sāñjān.

Sāṅkaka—See Sāṅgala (Pāṇini's Aśṭādhyāiya).

Sāṅkarāčhārya—The name of a mountain, at present called Takht-i-Suleiman, near Šrīnagar in Kashmir. On the top of the hill Aśoka's son Kūnāla (or Jałoka) built a monastery, now converted into a mosque, where the celebrated reformer Sāṅkarāchārya established Śiva worship. See Gopāḍrī. The old Hindu name of the hill was Sāndhumānā-parvata. The temple of the Mahādeva Jyesṭha-Rudra (or Jyesṭheśvara) was on the top of the mountain (Rājarājaṇī, Bk. I, v. 124).

Sāṅkara-Tirihā—In Nepal, immediately below the town of Patan at the confluence of the Bāgmati and the Manimati (Māṇipura). Śiva is said to have performed asceticism at this place for obtaining Durgā (Śvetāmbhu P., ch. 4, p. 298).

Sāṅkāśya—Sankisa or Sankisa-Basantpura, situated on the north bank of the river Ikshumati, now called the Kāli-nadi, between Atranji and Kanouj, and twenty-three miles west of Fategarh in the district of Etah and forty-five miles north-west of Kanouj. In Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya, Sāṅkāśya is said to be four yojanas from Gaḍidhumat which has been identified with Kudarkot in the Etwa district of the United Provinces (Ep. Ind., Vol. I, pp. 179, 183). It was the capital of Rāja Kuśadhvaja, brother of Śrīadhvaja Janaka, the father of Sitā of the Rāmāyaṇa (Adi K., ch. 70). It was a famous place of Buddhist pilgrimage, as it was here that Budhā descended from the Trayastrīmaṇa heaven by the ladder of gold, accompanied by the gods Indra and Brahmā. Cunningham supposes that the temple of Biser Devi occupies the site of the three staircases (Arch. S. Rep., Vol. I, pp. 271 f.). There is also a stūpa of Aśoka at this place. It was visited by Fa Hien in 415 A.D. and by Hiuen Tsang in 636 A.D. See Kapitha.

Sāṅkha—1. The river Sank, a tributary of the Brāhmaṇī in the Chutia-Nagpur division (Mih., Vana, ch. 83); it is called also Sāṅkhīni. 2. A place of pilgrimage on the north bank of the Saraswati in Kurukshetra near Dwaitavana (Mih., Sālya, ch. 38).

Sāṅkhīni—See Sāṅkha (1).

Sāṅkhoddhāra—The island of Bāti (Beyt), belonging to the province of Guzerat, situated at the south-western extremity of the gulf of Cutch. Vishṇu is said to have destroyed a demon named Sāṅkhāṣura at this place and to have delivered the Vedas (Padma P., ch. 71, Hamilton's East-India Gazetteer, o. v. Bata Isl.).


Sānta-tirtha—At Guğēśvarī-ghāṭ in Nepal, where the river Maradarikā joins the Bāchmati or Bāgmati. Pārvati is said to have performed asceticism at this place (Śvetāmbhu P., ch. 5, p. 259).
Sānti—Sānti, about six miles to the south-west of Bhilsa and twenty miles north-east of Bhupal (Cunningham's Bhilsa Topes, p. 181). It is celebrated for ancient Buddhist topes, constructed according to different authorities in the 5th, 3rd, or 1st century B.C. The great tope was built about 188 B.C. by a king of the Sunga dynasty (Sir Monier Williams' Modern India, p. 130). One of the topes contained the ashes of Sāriputra and Moggallāna, two of the principal disciples of Buddha (see Nālandā and Śrīvastā). The railing was constructed in 250 B.C., and the gate in the 1st century A.D. Dr. Fleet, however, considers that the ancient name of Sānti is Kākanāda (Corp. Ins. Ind., Vol. III, p. 31). For a description of the Sānti topes, see Cunningham's Bhilsa Topes, p. 183. See Kākanāda.

Sāpādalakṣa—1. Same as Śākambhāri, modern Sambhar in Eastern Rajasthan (Tawney: Prabandhakāntāmāṇi, p. 120; Ep. Ind., II, p. 422). 2. There is also a temple of Śākambhari in Kumaun. Sāpādalakṣa is the Sanskrit form of the modern Sewalik (Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 157). The corruption of Sāpādalakṣa appears to be Sewālāk (Upham's Rājāvali, p. 50), and Sewalik is the corruption of Sewālāk.


Sāpta-dvīpa—The seven dvīpas or insular continents mentioned in the Purāṇas are Jambu, Plaksha, Śāmali, Kuśa, Krauṇḍa, Śaka and Pushkara (Pañama P., Kriyāyogasāra, ch. 1).

Sāpta-Gaudāki—The seven rivers which unite and form the river Gāndak are the Barigarh, the Śalagrami or the Nārāyaṇi, the Śvēt-Gaudāki, the Marśiangdi, the Damaṅḍi, the Gāndi and the Triśaḷa (JASB., XVIII, p. 762 map).

Sāpta-Gaṅgā—Gaṅgā, Godāvarī, Kāverī, Tāmraparṇi, Śindhu, Sarayu and Narmadā are called Sāpta-Gaṅgā (Śīva P., Bk. 2, ch. 13).

Sāpta-Godāvari—A place of pilgrimage mentioned in the Purāṇas situated at Solangipur, sixteen miles from Pīpañpurana (Pishnupura of Samudra Gupta's inscription), one of the stations of the East Coast Railway, not far from Rājamahendri in the Godāvari district (Mbh., Vana P., ch. 85; Pañama P., Svarga, ch. 19). According to some writers the seven mouths of the Gaṅdak were called by this name (Rājatarangini, Bk. vili, s. 34449; Dr. Stein's trans., vol. ii, p. 271 note).

Saptadāvāra—Saṭṭāgāra, an ancient town of Bengal near Magrā in the district of Hughsly; it is now an insignificant village consisting of a few huts. It was a great emporium of commerce and the capital and port of Raḍha at the time of the Romans, who knew it by the name of Ganges Regia. It was also the capital of Western Bengal at the time of the Mahomedans (Lane Poole's Medieval India under Mahomedan Rule, p. 164). It was situated on the Ganges. The recession of the Ganges in 1630 A.D. and the rise of Hughsly into a royal port caused its ruin (see my Notes on the History of the District of Hughsly or the Ancient Raḍha in JASB., 1910). Formerly Saptadāvāra implied seven villages Bāṃsberia, Kriṣṭāpura, Bāsudevpura, Nityānandapura, Śīhpura, Sambhurā and Baladghātī. For the life of Zaffer Khan, the conqueror of Saptadāvāra, see JASB., XV (1847), p. 393. Ptolemy says that Gange was the capital of the Gangaridai. The Ganga-ridai were evidently the Gaṅgā-Raḍha or the inhabitants of Raḍha, who lived on the west bank of the Ganges, the eastern boundary of Raḍha being the Ganges and hence Gange is evidently Saptadāvāra; it is the Port of Ganges of the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea, the sea being then closer to Saptadāvāra than it is at present; hence Saptadāvāra was the capital of Raḍha in the 1st or 2nd century of the Christian era (see JASB., for 1810). Saptadāvāra was visited...
by Ibn Batuta in 1346 A.D. He calls it by the name of Sudhâwân which he describes as a large place "on the shore of the great sea," but says it was close to the junction of the Ganges and the Yamunâ (evidently at Trîvenî). According to him, Sâtgarâon was not only a port, but the residence of Fakruddin, the then Sultan of Bengal (Ind. Ant., III, p. 210). Merchants from various parts of Asia as Kaliqâ, Traîlaqâ, Gujarât, etc., used to come to Saptagrâma for trade (K. ch., pp. 106, 229; Schoff's Periplus, p. 26; McCrindle's Ptolemy).

Saptâ-Kauśikâ—See Mahâkauśikâ.

Saptâ-Kunâka—the following territories in the Malabar coast were called the seven Koîkânas: Kerala, Tulu, Guvârâsâtra, Koîkâna proper, Karâhâtaka, Barâlûtatâ and Bâbârâ (Wilson, As. Res., XV, p. 47; Dr. Stein's Râjatarâgini, Vol. I, p. 136). See Parasurâma-kshetra.

Saptâ-Kulâchala—the seven principal mountains, which are Mahendra, Malaya, Sahya, Suktimâna, Gandhamâdâna, Bindhyâ and Pâripâtra. For the Gandhamâdana, the Matyâ P. (ch. 144) has Râkshavâna and the Agni P. (ch. 118) has Hema-parvata.

Saptâ-Mokshâdâpurâ—the seven holy towns are Ayodhyâ, Mathurâ, Mâyâ, Kâsî, Kânchi, Avantî and Dvârâvati (Brihat-Dharma Purâṇa, Madhyâ kh., ch. 24).

Saptâ-Pâlåla—See Rasâlatâ.

Sapârâsha—Satara in Mahârâshtra (Vishnû-Saṃhitâ, ch. 85).

Sapâ-sâgara—the seven seas are (1) Lâcâna (salt) or the Indian Ocean surrounding Jambu-dvîpa or India (Padma P., Kriyâyogasûtra, ch. 1); (2) Kâhiro (inspissated milk), it is a corruption of Shirwan Sea, as the Caspian Sea was called (Yule's Marco Polo, Vol. I, p. 59 note); and it formed the northern boundary of Śâkâ-dvîpa (Barâhâ P., ch. 86); (3) Surâ (wine), it is a corruption of the Sea of Sarain which is another name for the Caspian Sea (Yule's Marco Polo, Vol. II, p. 494); and it formed the southern or south-eastern boundary of Kuśa-dvîpa (Bhrahmândâ P., ch. 51; the Barâhâ P., ch. 87, has Kohîrâ Ságara instead of Surâ); (4) Ghrita (clarified butter), it is a corruption of the Erythrean Sea or the Persian Gulf, and it formed the boundary of Śâmâl-dvîpa or Chal-dia, that is Assyria (Barâhâ P., ch. 89); (5) Ikshu (sugarcane juice); Ikshu is another name for the Oxus (Vishnû P., Pt. II, ch. 4), here the river is taken as a sea. It formed the southern boundary of Puskhara-dvîpa (Barâhâ P., ch. 89), Puskhara being evidently a variant of Bhushkara or Bokhara; (6) Daddhi (curd) or the sea of Aral. Daddhi is the Sanskritised form of Dahi (Dahë) the name of a Scythic tribe which lived in the Upper Jaxartes (JBBRAS., Vol. XXIV, p. 548) and evidently on the shores of this lake, it formed the boundary of Krauñcha-dvîpa (Barâhâ P., ch. 88); (7) Svâdu-juice (sweet-water), it is perhaps a corruption of Tchadun, a river in Mongolia, it formed the boundary of or rather flowed through Plaksha-dvîpa. See my Rasâlatâ or the Under-world.


Sapâ-Sîndhu—the Panjab, where the early Aryans, who were afterwards called the Hindus, first settled themselves after their migration to India. The seven Sindhus (rivers) are the Irâvati, Chandrabhâgâ, Bitastá, Bîpâsâ, Śatadrû, Sîndhu and Sârasvati or the Kabul. The word Sapâ-Sîndhu of the Rig Veda (VIII, 24, 27) is the Hapta Hendu of the Vendidad
(I, 73) *Bhavisnya P.*, Pratisarga Parva, Pt. I, ch. 5 and Max Müller’s *Chips from a German Workshop*, Vol. I, p. 83. The ancient Aryans who lived in the Panjab at the time of the *Rig Veda* were divided into five tribes called the Purus (or Bharatas, afterwards called Kurus) who lived on the north of the Ravi; the Tritus (called Pañchálas) who lived on the north and south of the Sutlej; Anus; Yadus and Turvasus (Ragözi’s *Vedic India*, p. 323).

**Sarabho**—Same as **Sarayu** (*Vinaya-piṭaka* : Chullavagga, 9, 1, 3 and 4 in *SBE*, XX, p. 301, XXXV, p. 171; *Mīndā-paśa*, 4. 1. 35). It is the Sarabo of Ptolemy.

**Sarada**—Sardi, on the right bank of the Kissen-Gaṅgā near its junction with the Madhumati near Kamraj in Kashmir; it is one of the Pīthas where Sati’s head is said to have fallen (Glæwing’s *Aycin Akbery*, Pt. I, p. 396; Dr. Stein’s *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, Vol. II, p. 279; *Skanda P.*, Nagar Kh., ch. 157). Saṇḍilya Muni performed austerities here. For a description of the temple, see Dr. Stein’s *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, Vol. II, p. 279. Lalitādītiya Muktāpiṇḍa, king of Kashmir, having treacherously killed a King of Gauḍa, the Bengalees entered Kashmir on the pretext of visiting the temple of *Sarada*, destroyed the image of Rāmasvāmin (Vishnu), mistaking it for that of Parihāsa-keśava left as security for the safety of the king of Gauḍa (Dr. Stein’s *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, Vol. I, p. 152). It is called Saravajñī Pīṭha in the *Saṅkaravijaya* (ch. 16). Saṅkarāchārya was not allowed to enter the temple till he answered the questions put to him by learned men belonging to various sects.

**Sarada-Mathā**—One of the four Mathas or monasteries established by Saṅkarāchārya at Dwārākā in Guzerat (see *Śrīgaṇīṭī*).

**Saraṅganātha**—Its contraction is Sārnāṭha; same as *Mṛgadāva* (see *Mṛgadāva*). It was at this place that Buddha, after the attainment of Buddhahood, preached his first sermon or what is called “turned the wheel of law” (*Dharmachakra*). The Dhamak stupa according to General Cunningham, was originally built by Asoka (*Arch. S. Rep.*, Vol. 1, p. 112) on the spot where Buddha first preached his doctrine to Kaṇḍinya and four other Brāhmans or as it is called “turned the wheel of law”. On the north of the Dhamak stupa there are the ruins of a stūpa where Buddha predicted about the future Buddha Maṭtreyya; but according to Huen Tsiang the site where he first proclaimed the truths is marked by Asoka’s pillar, recently discovered, and the Dhamak stūpa marks the place where Buddha prophesied about the future Buddhahood of Maṭtreyya. At a spot near the mouth of the river Asī, Buddha converted Yasa and his four friends, Purṇa, Bimala, Gavampati and Subahu.

**Sarasvata**—1. The Pushakara Lake near Ajmira (*Varāha P.*, ch. III). 2. Sarasvata or Sarasvatapura was situated on the north-west of Hastināpurā (*Hemakosha*). It was the capital of the Bṛavarmma of the *Jaśminībhārata* (ch. 47).

**Sarasvatapura**—Same as *Sarasvata*.

**Sarasvati**—1. The river Samaśvati rises in the hills of Sirmur in the Himalayan range called the Sevalek and emerges into the plains at Ad-Badri in Ambala, and is deemed as one of the most sacred rivers by the Hindus. The fountain from which the river takes its rise was situated at the foot of a *plaksā* tree, and hence it was called Plakshāvatamara or Plakshāprasravana and frequented as a place of pilgrimage (*Mbh.*, Ādi P., ch. 172 and *Padma P.*, Svarga, ch. 14; *Rig Veda*, X, 76). It disappears for a time in the sand near the village of Chalaur and reappears at Bhāwānipura. At Bālchhappar it again disappears but appears again at Bara Khera; at Urnai, near Pehoa, it is joined by the Mārkaṇḍa and the united stream, bearing still the name of Sarasvati, ultimately joins the Ghaṛgar (Gharhar), which was evidently the lower part of the Sarasvati (*Panjab Gazetteer*, Ambala District, ch. 1).
The Ghaggar or Gaggar is believed to have been the ancient Sarasvati though it is not known how it has lost that name (JRAS., 1893, p. 51); see Pāvani. The Mahābhārata also says that after disappearing, the river appears again at three places, namely at Chamasodheda, Śirodheda and Nāgodheda (Vana Parva, ch. 82). The Sarasvati is described in the Rīg Veda as a flowing river: Mama and the Mahābhārata speak about its disappearance in the sand at Bināsana-tirtha near Sirsa (JRAS., 1893, p. 51). In the Vedic period the Sarasvati was a very large river and it flowed into the sea (Max Müller's Rīg-Veda Śāhāhīla, p. 46 commentary). The Rīg-Veda does not even hint about its subterranean course in the Triveni at Allahabad. The Kurukshetra Sarasvati is called the Prāchī or Eastern Sarasvati (Padma P., Uttrā Kh., ch. 67). The name, however, is specially applied to the Pushkara Sarasvati, that is the Sarasvati which with the Looni issues out of the Pushkara Lake (Padma P., Śrīśṭī Kh., ch. 18). It falls into the Gulf of Kutch. 2. A river near Somnath in Guzerat now called Raunakāshī (see Prabhāṣa). It is a small river which rising in Mount Abu runs westward towards the Rumm of Kutch from the celebrated shrine of Koṭēśvara Mahādeva in the marble hills of Arasoor (Forbes, Rāsākāla). It is called Prabhāṣa Sarasvati, and is supposed to be identical with the Prāchī-Sarasvati (Skanda P., Prabhāṣa Kh., Prabhāṣa-māhāt, chs. 35, 36). On the bank of this river below an aspen tree near Somnath, Krishna breathed his last. 3. Arachosia or Eastern Afghanistan (the district of Kandahar), Sarasvati being written as Harakhaiti in the Zendavesta. It is mentioned as Haravatish in the Behistun Inscription (Ravlinson's Herodotus, II, p. 591). It was also called Saukuta, of which the capital is plausibly identified with Ghazni. Dr. Bhandarkar doubtfully derives the name of Arachosia from that of the mountain Rikhoda mentioned by Pāṇini's commentators (Ind. Ant., 1. 22). 4. The river Helmand in Afghanistan, the Avestan name of which is also Harakhaiti. Hence the three Sarasvatīs of the Atharva-Veda are the Helmand, the Indus ancintly called Sarasvati and the Sarasvati of Kurukshetra (Ragozin's Vedic India). 5. The Arghandāw in Arachosia according to Hillebrandt (Macdonell and Keith's Vedic Index of Names and Subjects, Vol. II, p. 437). 6. A tributary of the Alakānandā (Gaṅgā) in Garwal (Agni P., ch. 109, v. 17).

Sarasvati-nagara—Perhaps Sirsa on the Sarasvati in Kurukshetra, Panjab (Mbh., Mausala, ch. 7).

Saravāna—1. The birth-place of Gośāla Maṅkaliipatta near Śrāvasti. He was the head (or founder) of the Ājīvakas (Heerle's Udāsogadāsī, Intro., p. xiv; Appendix, pp. 1, 4). 2. Rataukunda the birth-place of Kārttikeya, near Kedāranāth temple in Garwal.

Śaravāti—1. Wilford identifies Śaravāti with the river Bārangā which passes through the district of Budaun in Rohilkhand (Asiatic Researches, Vol. XIV, p. 409; Padma P., Svarga (Āśī), ch. 3). 2. Fyzabad in Oudh (R. L. Mitra's Lalitavistara, p. 9), but Śaravāti appears to be the corruption of Śrāvasti (modern Sahet-Mahet) on the Rāpti (Comp. Rāmāyaṇa, Uttara, ch. 121 with the Raghuvaṃśa, canto XV, v. 97). 3. The river Rāpti on which Śrāvasti is situated (Raghuvaṃśa, canto XV). It is the Solomatis of Arrian (McCulloch's Indika of Arrian, p. 156). 4. The Divyāvadāna (Cowell's ed. I, ch. 1) places Śaravati, both the town and the river, to the south-east of Purīraradhana. The river Śaravati was the boundary between the countries called Prāchya and Udichya the former being on its south-eastern side and the latter on its north-western side (Amarakosha, Bhūmi-varga).

Śarāyu—The Ghagra or Gogra in Oudh. The town of Ayodhyā is situated on this river. (Rāmāyaṇa, Bāla K., ch. 24). See Kāma-āśrama and śoṣa. It is evidently the Sarabha
of the *Milinda-pañha*, (4. 1. 35). The river rises in the mountains of Kumaun and after its junction with the Kālī-nadi it is called the Sarayu, the Ghagra or the Dewā. According to the *Mbh.* (*Anuśāsana*, ch. 155) it issues from the Mānasa-sarovara.

Śārikā—One of the fifty-two Pīthas where Sāti’s throat is said to have fallen. The temple of Śārikā Devī is situated on the Hari Mountain, three miles from Srinagar in Kashmir. It was the hermitage of Rishi Kāśyapa (see *Kāśyapapura*).

Śarkarāvarttā—It is perhaps the river Sakri in Bihar which has been incorrectly identified by Mr. Beglar with the Śuktimati (*Arch. S. Rep.*, Vol. VIII, p. 124; *Bhāgavata*, V, ch. 19). Sarkarā and Varttā appear to be two distinct rivers (Desī-*Bhāgavata*, VIII, ch. ii).


Sarpaushadhi-vihāra—Adinzai valley in Buner near the fort Chakdarra on the north of the Swat river, visited by Huen Tsiang (Dr. Stein’s *Archaeological Tour with the Buner Force*, p. 31).

Sarpikā—A tributary of the Gomati. According to Lassen it is the same as *Syāndikā* (*Ind. Alt.*), Map. See *Syāndikā*.

Śaravana-āśrama—Dhāthi or the junction of the two streams Marha and Biswa in the subdivision of Akhbarpura, district Fyzabad in Oudh, where according to tradition Daśaratha, king of Ayodhya, killed Rishi Śarvana or Sindhuh, the son of a blind Rishi, mistaking him for an elephant, while the latter was filling a pot with water. The hermitage of the Rishi was near the confluence. But the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Ayodh. K., ch. 63) places the scene near the Sarayu.

Saryanāvati—Same as Rāmahṛada (Ṛṣig-Veda, VII, 2, 5; Dr. Wilson’s *Indian Castes*, Vol. I, p. 86). It is also written Saryyaśavata.

Śaśasthali—Antraveda, the Doab between the Ganges and the Yamunā.

Śatadru—1. The river Sutlej; it is also called the Ghaggar or the Ghara, which is the united streams of the Sutlej and the Bias from their junction at Endressa to the confluence with the Chenab. The Ghara is known to the inhabitants by the name of Nai (*JASB.*, VI, p. 179). According to some authorities the Sutlej was not one of the rivers forming the Pañchanad, but its old bed was the Sotra or Hakra (Ghaggar), which dried up owing to its diversion into the Bias valley. According to Mr. G. Campbell, the Gaggar is the principal tributary of the Sarasvati (*Ethnology of India*, p. 64; Mrs. Macdonell and Keith’s *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, II, p. 433). See *Sarasvati*. 2. Sirhind in the Panjab (*Märkand., P.*, ch. 57; Beal’s *RWC.*, I, p. 178).

Satyaputra—The Tulu country including Mangalore (Asoka’s Girnar Inscriptions and Smith’s *Asoka*, p. 115). But see Telīngana.

Śatruṇḍjaya—The most sacred of the five hills (see *Samet-sikhara*) of the Jainas in Kathiāwar, at the eastern base of which the town of Palitana is situated, 70 miles north-west of Surat and thirty-four miles from Bhownagar. It is sacred to Śāntinath (see *Brāvasti*). The Chaumukh temple is the most lofty of all the temples on the summit of the hill. The Satruṇḍjaya temple was repaired at a cost of one crore and sixty lakhs of rupees by Bāghaṭadeva in the reign of Kumārāpāla, king of Pattana. The *Śatruṇḍjaya Māhātmāya* was composed by Dhannyaśvara Sūri at the request of Śilādītya of Balabhi.

Satyavatī—Same as Kāṣṭhikī (*Vāyu P.*, ch. 91, v. 88) It is mentioned as “Suttewle” in Gladwin’s *Ayeeni Akbery* (p. 785).
This inscription is engraved on a slab of Chunar sandstone which is now in the possession of Rai Sri Krishna Das, Hastings House, Benares Cantonment, to whom I am obliged for permission to examine the inscription and to have estampages made. I am also obliged to him for the information that this slab was originally lying on the Manikarnika Ghât on the Ganges in the city of Benares, and was removed by Babu Harischandra Bhâratindu, a famous Hindi poet of Benares, whose posthumous notes in Hindi on certain places and objects of Archaeological interest in India were published sometime ago under the name of Purâna, Utañgraha. Babu Harischandra rightly laments, in his notes, the loss and destruction of numerous monuments and suggests that the banks of the river conceal remnants of ancient ghâts which were re-built and renewed times without number, but which are now hidden under modern structures. It is noteworthy that whereas many copper plate inscriptions were issued by their respective donors from the Brahmânical city of Vârânasî (Benares), only four other inscriptions on stone appear so far to have been found in it. The earliest of these is the Benares inscription of Pantha, a private individual of no historical importance. The remaining three epigraphs date from the time of Akbar and Jahangir.

The slab on which the inscription is engraved measures 1' 9" broad, 1' 3" high and 6" thick. It is broken on the upper side and on the left, but is complete on the other two sides. As the whole of the existing portion of the inscription with the exception of the last line, is in Sanskrit verse, the extent of loss in letters which each line has suffered, is ascertainable with certainty. The extent of syllables in each line is twenty-one to twenty-seven, and as I find by scanning that each line has lost from sixty-one to seventy aksharas, the original width of the slab must have been four times the present breadth, i.e., about seven feet. We now possess portions of the last twelve stanzas of the document, but as the verses are not numbered, the number of stanzas lost in the beginning cannot be determined.

The epigraph is engraved in Devanâgari characters, the height of letters averaging one inch. The artisan has done his work with uniform care. Only two peculiarities of the script deserve mention. One of these is the use of the prîshṭhamâtrâ or a vertical stroke attached to the left of the māṭ, iksâs in the rendering of the medial vowels ē, ā, ē and ā, the only exceptions being four syllables in the ninth line where its place is taken by the usual super-imposed stroke of the later Nâgari. We note that the prîshṭha-mâtrâ, which in the Sârâs of Kashmir remained in use until the end of the fourteenth century A.D., must have died out from the Nâgari script somewhat earlier. For, though we find that it is employed side by side with the rival sign in Nâgari inscriptions of the eleventh century A.D., it is absent in inscriptions of the middle of the twelfth century, and of the first half of the fourteenth century, such as those noticed at Deogarh in the Jhânsi District. It is, therefore, somewhat astonishing to find it employed almost exclusively in this inscription which was recorded in the Vikrama Samvat 1359 (A.D. 1302-3). The other noteworthy feature of the script of the inscription is the addition of a right-angled adjunct between the horizontal top stroke and the body of some of the letters, e.g., u (mûnâ, 1. 9) y, s, h and dh (âshâdha, 1. 9). There are no mistakes of spelling. The consonants following r are, as usual, either doubled or left single, and there is no doubling of consonants preceding the rēpha.

2 Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1875, pp. 82-84.
The inscription was a well-composed poem which employed Alāṅkāras or figures of speech, and the rules of prosody are nowhere disregarded. The date of the inscription which is given in figures and partly in words is [Vikrama] Saṅvat 1359, Ādāha vadi 11, Tuesday. The document has not yet been published except for a few remarks based on a somewhat faulty reading published by Babu Harischandra Bhāratīndu in his Hindi notes alluded to above, which I venture to translate here and which run as follows:

"A portion of the inscription is missing, and it is therefore not possible to make out the name of the prince who had it engraved. What is known is that at the time referred to there were two brother princes of the Kṣatariya race, enlightened and devoted to Viṣṇu. Their fame spread far and wide, and they caused to be constructed the Maṇikarnikā Ghat, which extended from Viṅgaṭvara to Viṅgaṭvara. In the centre of the Ghat, they had a lofty temple of Maṇikarnikāsvara-Śiva constructed, with large platforms in the middle of it. None of those constructions have now survived. The present temple of Maṇikarnikāsvara is a deep underground chamber and the Viṅgaṭvara and Viṅgaṭvara temples also occupy other sites." A comparison of this extract with the subjoined text will show the shortcomings of Babu Harischandra's rendering, though it will be seen that he correctly ascertained the main object of the record, namely, the erection of a temple of Maṇikarnikāsvara by a certain person whose name he could not make out. But his interpretation is wrong inasmuch as he states that this pious man constructed at the same time a ghat of this name, which extended from the temple of Viṅgaṭvara to that of Viṅgaṭvara, as there is no mention of any such temples. What he read as Viṅgaṭvara is really vaṇḍa, which stands for the numeral three, and Viṅgaṭvara, mentioned in verse 7, was the name of the builder of the temple whose construction this inscription is intended to record, and not that of a temple as stated by Babu Harischandra. Nor have the platforms (vedikā) of chitaṁśati stone mentioned in verse 4 anything to do with the temple. The whole of the earlier portion of the inscription was devoted to a description of the pedigree of Viṅgaṭvara, but who he was cannot be ascertained from the surviving portion of the document. Babu Harischandra is right in assuming that the temple whose erection is mentioned in this inscription has long since disappeared. I noticed, however, a few architectural stones lying on the Maṇikarnikā Ghat, which to judge from the style of their carvings, might well have belonged to this structure. One of these fragments is a door-jamb representing Śiva and Pārvatī.

Text.

1. — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — [1*]
   कालिक वैशाखी नव: [1*]

2. — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — [2*]
   — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — [3*]

3. — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — [4*]
   — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — [5*]

utra-nilambha-nilambha: kṣetram kṣetram

4. Metro — Ārdhālavikṛttīka

4. 

5. 

6. 

7. 

8. 

9. 

[संवत् (५) १३९९ आपात विाह २९ नौवे | 

स्थिति सोमवारस्खोरायामोद्विद्या वै शिति ||

5 Metre: Indravajra. 
6 Metre: Prākṛit. 
7 Metre: Vāsanta-Nākā. 
8 Metre: Śārīlāvīkṛṣṭa. 
9 Metre: Indravajra. 
10 Metre: Mālinī. 
11 Metre: Upājāti. 
12 Metre: Śārīlāvīkṛṣṭa. 
13 Metre: Śrīgītā.]
A FIXED EASTER AND THE REFORM OF THE CHRISTIAN CALENDAR.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BT.

Introductory.

This Journal has taken so large a part in settling Indian Chronology that all matters relating to the Calendar are of interest to its readers. I therefore make no further apology for discussing here the subject of the reform of the Christian Calendar which is involved in a fixed Easter; especially as now that the Great European War is over this is becoming again of public concern.

I will consider it from four points of view:—

1. A Lunar-Solar Calendar with Fixed Easter;
2. A Solar Calendar with a Fixed Easter;
3. The Existing Solar Calendar with a Fixed Easter;
4. The Existing Solar Calendar with a Fixed Easter and Intercalary days.

The last point is that which strikes me personally as the most practical and the most to be desired, though each of the other three has many points to recommend it.

I.

A Lunar-Solar Calendar with Fixed Easter.

I have had sent me by Fr. Gabriel Nahapetian of the Mechitarist (Armenian) Congregation on the Island of San Lazzaro, Venice, a pamphlet of 24 pp. entitled Two Invariable and Universal Calendars and Fixed Easter with 12 and 13 months. The object of the pamphlet is not only to show how a Fixed Easter could be conveniently arrived at, but also to prove that the systems which have been brought forward in England and America are in reality copies of that originated by the Mechitarist monks of Venice.

The preface 'to the Reader' of the pamphlet sets forth that when Pope Pius X brought up the question of a Fixed Easter in his Encyclical Divino afflatu in 1912, the Mechitarist Congregation almost simultaneously produced a proposal for a Fixed Calendar with 12 months in three Italian Papers or Reviews in Rome and Venice, and that this proposal was considered at a Congress in Liège in 1914, but was dropped on account of the Great War. In 1913 a Fixed Calendar with 13 months was issued by the Armenian Press at San Lazzaro (Venice). On the 5th October, 1912, Fr. Gabriel Nahapetian had audience with the Pope, who encouraged the Mechitarists in their plan. Subsequently the plan seems to have been adopted by a journalist, Ernst von Hesse, with a slight modification, which did not affect the principle, in an article entitled The Germans and a Fixed Easter. This plagiarised plan was, I take it, that which was promulgated in England and America.

A Lunar-Solar Calendar.

Leaving aside, however, the above point and also the interesting historical and similar observations made by Fr. Gabriel Nahapetian, I propose to take the Mechitarist plan into consideration; especially as there are signs of some such idea being brought before the British Parliament by fixing Easter at the nearest Sunday to the 15th April of the present Christian Calendar. That would divide the year more equably than is now possible, as regards the fall of public holidays, but would leave all other irregularities as they now are. But the Mechitarist plan of 13 months, while making many things much more simple for future generations than does the present Calendar, would very much upset the year as regards those who have become accustomed to the present system from their early childhood. However, the plan has so much in its favour that it appears to be well worth while to consider it seriously.
The Mechitarist Calendar would base itself on the week, giving thus 52 weeks for the normal solar year with one day over. Thus $7 \times 52 + 1 = 365$ days. By creating 13 months of 4 weeks each and adding one day to one of the months the same result is produced: $13 \times 28 + 1 = 365$ days. This leaves Leap Year as it is now by adding one day to a second month or 2 days to one month. So far, except as to 13 months in the year, there does not prima facie appear to be much change from existing customs.

This proposal has some immense advantages:

1. Every month, but one, has 28 days, the odd month having 29. In Leap Years two months have 29 days, or one month 30 days.

2. Every week day falls on the same day of the months, if the odd days are given special names and made intercalary, i.e., are not counted as being in any week, thus:

   | Sunday 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 8 | 15 | 22 |
   | Monday   | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | 9 | 16 | 23 |
   | Tuesday  | ... | ... | ... | ... | 3 | 10 | 17 | 24 |
   | Wednesday| ... | ... | ... | ... | 4 | 11 | 18 | 25 |
   | Thursday | ... | ... | ... | ... | 5 | 12 | 19 | 26 |
   | Friday   | ... | ... | ... | ... | 6 | 13 | 20 | 27 |
   | Saturday | ... | ... | ... | ... | 7 | 14 | 21 | 28 |

3. Easter Sunday falls automatically on the 15th April every year. Christmas Day falls automatically on Wednesday, 25th December, every year. Other authorised festivals and holidays also fall automatically on fixed days in the year.

4. An upset, however, occurs of existing almost instinctive habits of reckoning the time of year by the 13 months of 28 days each. Thus:

   i. A new month, with of course a new name, must be created.
   ii. A new name for the annual intercalary day (making annually one week of actually eight days though counted as seven) must be found, together with a choice made of the month to which it is to be added.
   iii. The same process is necessary for the second intercalary day for Leap Years, making either a second week of eight days, or one week of nine days, both counted as seven.

5. The days of the year with regard to those of the existing normal solar calendar will be much altered. Thus:

   1 Old Feby. would fall on existing 29 Jany.
   1 " March " 26 Feby.
   1 " April " 26 March.
   1 " May " 23 April.
   1 " June " 21 May.
   1 " July " 18 June.
   1 " August " 16 July.
   1 " New month " 13 Aug.
   1 " September " 10 Sept.
   1 " October " 19 Oct.
   1 " November " 6 Nov.
   1 " December " 4 December.

---

1 The Mechitarist Calendar puts the first day of the month on Sunday. The German imitation put it on Monday, but made no other change. There is a good deal to be said for beginning the year on Monday as a matter of convenience and something also to the contrary. The point is, however, beside the present argument.
The Mechtarist plan only concerns itself with the ecclesiastical side of the question, and from the point of view of the Christian religious festivals the difficulties that arise are not great. But the table above given will show at once to any one, who will consider it from either the social or administrative point of view, that the difficulties are really many—meaning by "difficulties" changes in age-old habits of thought and practice.

E.g., one can imagine much trouble being raised over the new name for the 13th month, and the place where it should come in the Calendar. For the purpose of this argument, let us follow the Mechtarists and place it between the older and the newer Roman months, i.e., between August and September. And let us call it Sexiber.

Similarly let us put the annual intercalary day at the end of September, for a reason to be given later, and make that the eight-day week as a matter of convenience. Let us call this intercalary day—actually the 29th September—Sanctuary Day. But however convenient ultimately this procedure might prove, it would of course create disturbance in all sorts of social matters that can be easily foreseen in administrative, legal and commercial life, because one week in every year would have an extra day not counted in the Calendar.

Again as regards Leap Years, if we add, on the same principle, one day to the last week of December and make it an intercalary day called, say, Leap Year's Day, we shall have the same trouble.

One can imagine a great torrent of talk over such points, but the really great trouble would occur over the change of 12 months of irregular length to 13 months of regular length. Let us take for instance the public and ecclesiastical holidays. Good Friday would fall on 13th April, Easter Sunday on 15th April, Easter Monday on 16th April. Lent would commence on Wednesday on 4th March. Whit Monday would fall on 8th June, Whit Monday on 9th June, Bank Holiday on Monday, 2nd August, Christmas Day on Wednesday, 25th December, Boxing Day on Thursday, 26th December. The latter half of the year would thus be a long while without a holiday and it would probably end in the 29th September, falling between a Saturday and Sunday, being turned into a Bank Holiday. As it would be an intercalary day, not counted in the week, it would automatically be a real holiday, a dies non, on which no writ would run, no bill mature, and so on, and for that reason it might well be called Sanctuary Day. The annual holiday months would be August and Sexiber.

The above dates would be the fall, however, according to the New Calendar of 13 months of 28 days each; but on the existing Calendar, and with a fixed Easter, the public and ecclesiastical holidays would fall as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Month</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ash Wednesday</td>
<td>1st March</td>
<td>Whit Monday</td>
<td>29th May</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good Friday</td>
<td>7th April</td>
<td>Bank Holiday</td>
<td>17th July</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Easter Sunday</td>
<td>9th April</td>
<td>Sanctuary Day</td>
<td>7th October</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Easter Monday</td>
<td>10th April</td>
<td>Christmas Day</td>
<td>28th December</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whitsunday</td>
<td>28th May</td>
<td>Boxing Day</td>
<td>29th December</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The two holiday months would be from 1st August to the 28th Sexiber (16th July to 9th September of the existing Calendar).

Other "new" things would happen, e.g., as the 12th August would fall on 27th July, grouse shooting would have to begin 16 days later or 28th August, a Saturday. So partridge shooting would be commenced on 10th September, a Sunday, and pheasant shooting on 9th October, a Monday. Other sporting meetings and dates, and close seasons would have to be altered accordingly. But even these minor things would create a great deal of controversy.
Birthdays and other anniversaries would be very much upset. A child born on the 1st June would suddenly find it altered to 21st May, and one born on the 19th August would find the birthday to be the 3rd Sxiber, and so on. There would be an outcry in all nurseries, and what is much more serious, new Calendars would be necessary for 1000 years back at least to reconcile the old and new methods of reckoning the year.

In legal and commercial life many things would require immediate consideration. The Half-year would cease to be six months, but would become six and a half months. Similarly the Quarter would be a month and a week. This would seriously affect Quarter Days for rents, and so on. Lady Day would fall on 18th March, Midsummer Day on 10th June, Michaelmas Day on the 20th September and Christmas Day on 25th December of the present Calendar. Terms of imprisonment, of notices of all kinds, and of contracts could not run, and salaries could not be calculated, as now, by the month, three months, six months and so on, as the term "month" would have a new significance.

All this would require much consideration and would inevitably bring about the calculation of time by the week. E.g., the week and fortnight would remain as now, but a Month would be 28 days, a Quarter would be 13 weeks and a Half-year 26 weeks. Prisoners would be sentenced, notices given, and contracts made to run by the week. It is easy to see what a change in habits and in calculating past statements of time would be necessary.

Many other things of a like nature in every Christian country would arise, which would have to be seriously considered. But they need not be enumerated here, as there would be no fear of their being overlooked. Every interest would at once make itself heard.

In fact the adult Christian world would for a time be put to much inconvenience and trouble, but the children and the future population of Christians would benefit enormously.

II.

A Solar Calendar with Fixed Easter.

Fr. Gabriel Nahapetian gives also "an invariable Calendar with 12 months and fixed Easter" based on a scale of eight months of 30 days and four months of 31 days: i.e., $8 \times 30 = 240$ days $+ 4 \times 31 = 124$ days $+ 1$ extra intercalary day $= 365$ days. This intercalary day he places at the end of August, but for the sake of comparison with the Lunar-Solar Calendar above explained I would place it at the end of September, and both call and treat it as before as Sanctuary Day. For Leap Years I would add an extra intercalary day at the end of December, which I would call Leap Year's Day. This Solar Calendar would work out thus:

(5) FOUR CALENDAR MONTHS OF 30 DAYS BEGINNING WITH SUNDAY.

**JANUARY, APRIL, JULY, OCTOBER.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sunday</th>
<th>Monday</th>
<th>Tuesday</th>
<th>Wednesday</th>
<th>Thursday</th>
<th>Friday</th>
<th>Saturday</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>26</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>27</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>28</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(6) FOUR CALENDAR MONTHS OF 30 DAYS BEGINNING WITH TUESDAY.

**FEBRUARY, MAY, AUGUST, NOVEMBER.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tuesday</th>
<th>Wednesday</th>
<th>Thursday</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(iii) FOUR CALENDAR MONTHS OF 31 DAYS BEGINNING WITH THURSDAY
MARCH, JUNE, SEPTEMBER, DECEMBER.

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thursday</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friday</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saturday</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunday</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuesday</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wednesday</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will be perceived that each year will thus begin on the same day of the week, Sunday, and that therefore the Calendar goes on perpetually. Another way of presenting this Calendar—that adopted by Fr. G. Nahapetian—is shown on Table I attached. From Table I it will be seen that the Four Quarters of the Year follow each other: January, February, March; April, May, June; July, August, September; October, November, December. Also the months of each Quarter commence regularly in order with Sunday, Tuesday and Thursday. It is in fact a much easier Calendar to carry in the head than the existing one, but not so easy as the Lunar-Solar Calendar.

Other advantages also follow on it: Easter Sunday would automatically fall on 15th April and Christmas Day on Sunday, 25th December, Boxing Day on Monday, 26th December. Leap Year's Day would always follow, as in the case of the Lunar-Solar Year, between Saturday, 31st December, and Sunday, 1st January, and as it would be a natural dies non, not counted in any week, it would also be a natural holiday, thus giving two holidays running. Sanctuary Day would fall between Saturday, 31st September, and Sunday, 1st October, giving also two holidays running.

To follow the same line in developing the idea of the Solar Calendar as that adopted for the idea of the Lunar-Solar Calendar, it may be observed that the changes in the existing Calendar involved in it would never be more than a day or so, and no new month with an unfamiliar name would be necessary. But the same difficulty as to the intercalary days would arise in exactly the same way.

As regards the public and ecclesiastical holidays. Good Friday would always fall on 13th April, Easter Sunday on 15th April, and Easter Monday on 16th April. Lent would always commence on Wednesday, 7th March, Whitsunday on 4th June, Whitmonday on 5th June, Bank Holiday on Monday, 30th July or 7th August, Christmas Day on Sunday, 25th December, Boxing Day on Monday, 26th December. Sanctuary Day would fall on 30th August. The annual holiday months would not be changed, and there would be only a slight change of a day or so in the actual fall of sporting meetings and dates and close seasons. But the 12th August would fall on a Saturday, the 1st September on a Thursday, and the 1st October on a Sunday. Birthdays and other anniversaries would not practically change, which would be a great advantage.

In legal and commercial life there would not be much change necessary, and Quarter Days would fall regularly: e.g., Lady Day would always fall on Wednesday, 21st March, Midsummer Day on Wednesday, 21st June, Michaelmas Day on Thursday, 29th September, and Christmas Day on Sunday, 25th December. New Year's Day would always fall on a Sunday.
A month would, as now, be either 30 or 31 days, and February would be reckoned as a 30 day and not a 28 day month, so notices and contracts could be made much as they are now, and there would practically be no difference in calculating salaries. In neither ecclesiastical nor social matters would there be serious alteration in old habits.

In fact the Solar Calendar would be more workable than the Lunar-Solar Calendar in practical life, though not so easy as the latter to carry in the memory or for children to learn.

### Table I.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>January, April</th>
<th>February, May</th>
<th>March, June</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>July, October</td>
<td>August, November</td>
<td>September, December</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I 1 Sunday</td>
<td>I 1 Tuesday</td>
<td>I 1 Thursday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Monday</td>
<td>2 Wednesday</td>
<td>2 Friday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Tuesday</td>
<td>3 Thursday</td>
<td>3 Saturday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Wednesday</td>
<td>4 Friday</td>
<td>4 Sunday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Thursday</td>
<td>5 Saturday</td>
<td>5 Monday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Friday</td>
<td>6 Sunday</td>
<td>6 Tuesday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Saturday</td>
<td>7 Monday</td>
<td>7 Wednesday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II 8 Sunday</td>
<td>II 8 Tuesday</td>
<td>II 8 Thursday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Monday</td>
<td>9 Wednesday</td>
<td>9 Friday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Tuesday</td>
<td>10 Thursday</td>
<td>10 Saturday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Wednesday</td>
<td>11 Friday</td>
<td>11 Sunday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Thursday</td>
<td>12 Saturday</td>
<td>12 Monday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 Friday</td>
<td>13 Sunday</td>
<td>13 Tuesday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 Saturday</td>
<td>14 Monday</td>
<td>14 Wednesday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III 15 Sunday</td>
<td>III 15 Tuesday</td>
<td>III 15 Thursday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 Monday</td>
<td>16 Wednesday</td>
<td>16 Friday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 Tuesday</td>
<td>17 Thursday</td>
<td>17 Saturday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 Wednesday</td>
<td>18 Friday</td>
<td>18 Sunday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 Thursday</td>
<td>19 Saturday</td>
<td>19 Monday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 Friday</td>
<td>20 Sunday</td>
<td>20 Tuesday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 Saturday</td>
<td>21 Monday</td>
<td>21 Wednesday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV 22 Sunday</td>
<td>IV 22 Tuesday</td>
<td>IV 22 Thursday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 Monday</td>
<td>23 Wednesday</td>
<td>23 Friday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 Tuesday</td>
<td>24 Thursday</td>
<td>24 Saturday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 Wednesday</td>
<td>25 Friday</td>
<td>25 Sunday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 Thursday</td>
<td>26 Saturday</td>
<td>26 Monday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 Friday</td>
<td>27 Sunday</td>
<td>27 Tuesday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 Saturday</td>
<td>28 Monday</td>
<td>28 Wednesday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 Sunday</td>
<td>29 Tuesday</td>
<td>29 Thursday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 Monday</td>
<td>30 Wednesday</td>
<td>30 Friday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>31 Saturday</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Conclusion on the first two Calendars.**

Whatever the difficulty in overcoming the controversy that is bound to arise on either a Lunar-Solar Calendar or a Solar Calendar, such as the above, being seriously brought to notice politically, there would be no doubt that the British Parliament, when convinced of the

---

2 To make the 365 days Fr. Nahapetian gives August 31 days by adding an intercalary day after the 30th.

3 Leap Year's extra day could be added as intercalary after 31 December. This Calendar is, thus perpetual and invariable, commencing each year with Sunday and fixing Easter Sunday on 15th April.
necessity, could arrange with the Parliaments and Governments Overseas similarly disposed to bring a Reformed Calendar with a Fixed Easter into general use in the British Empire by law. But even then it would only be of partial use, unless the assent of the rest of the Christian nations of the world were gained over—each nationality bringing its own special festivals and customs into the general scheme. It is in fact a feasible though not an easy task, or one likely to be brought to a conclusion in a short time. That it may before long come within the scope of practical politics is shown by the fact that proposals have already been made to bring before the British Parliament a Bill to fix on the Sunday nearest the 15th April in each year as Easter Sunday, all other festivals and customary dates also becoming fixed in the Calendar accordingly.

III.

The existing Solar Calendar with a Fixed Easter.

The plan, however, for a Fixed Easter which would cause the least disturbance of custom is obviously to confine attention to fixing the fall of Easter Sunday for each year. Let us see how this works out.

As the normal year consists of 52 weeks and one extra day, it obviously ends on the same day of the week as that on which it begins: i.e., whatever day of the week the first of January falls on, that is the day of the week on which 31st December falls. Therefore each succeeding New Year commences on the day of the week following that on which the preceding year commenced, but this regular sequence is broken by every fourth year being a Leap Year, the New Year succeeding which being two days later in the week than that on which the Leap Year began. The result is that the sequence is as follows:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Commencing on</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Commencing on</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Sunday</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Thursday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Friday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Tuesday</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Saturday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leap Year 4</td>
<td>Wednesday</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Monday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Friday</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Tuesday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Saturday</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Wednesday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Sunday</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Thursday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leap Year 8</td>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Saturday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Wednesday</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Sunday</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

And so on.

It is important to give this cycle, as it shows that there is practically no regularity in the fall of New Year's Day on a particular day of the week according to the existing calendar. This is caused by the extra day over 52 weeks in normal Solar Years, and two in Leap Years, being counted as in a week and not as intercalary. Another result is that the fall of every day of the week in a month is one day (or two days after the "leap" in Leap Years) later in the week in each succeeding year. It is this that affects the question of a Fixed Easter and consequently of every festival and customary "day," depending on Easter. The proposal that has been publicly made to fix Easter for general purposes is to fix Easter Sunday as the Sunday nearest to the 15th April. Let us see how this works out. In a normal year the 15th April is the 105th day of the year, i.e., the year is exactly 15 weeks old on that day, and the result is that it falls on the day of the week previous to that on which 1st January falls. If New Year's Day falls on a Sunday, the 15th April will fall on a Saturday, and so on.
Let us now work out the fall of Easter Sunday accordingly on the proposed scheme.

NORMAL YEARS.

(1) In a Sunday Year,
   15th April falls on Saturday: Easter Sunday on 16th April.

(2) In a Monday Year,
   15th April falls on Sunday:
   
(3) In a Tuesday Year,
   15th April falls on Monday:
   
(4) In a Wednesday Year,
   15th April falls on Tuesday:
   
(5) In a Thursday Year,
   15th April falls on Wednesday:
   
(6) In a Friday Year,
   15th April falls on Thursday:
   
(7) In a Saturday Year,
   15th April falls on Friday:

On the above reckoning Easter would fall between the 11th and 18th April, and all other festivals and customary days, dependant on Easter accordingly. The table attached gives the various principal dates. No other festivals or customs would be affected.

In Leap Years, however, owing to the extra day falling on the 29th February, the 15th April falls on the same day of the week as New Year’s Day. E.g., in a Sunday year 15th April would fall on a Sunday, and so on, but that would not affect the cycle of 11th to 18th April for the fall of Easter Sunday in Leap Years.

FALL OF FESTIVALS DEPENDENT ON THE FALL OF A FIXED EASTER.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Festival</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ash Wednesday</td>
<td>. . . . .28 Feb. 1 2 3 4 5 6 March</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good Friday</td>
<td>. . . . .9   11 12 13 14 15 16 April</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Easter Sunday</td>
<td>. . . . .13 13 14 15 16 17 18 April</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Easter Monday</td>
<td>. . . . .13 14 15 16 17 18 19 April</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whitsunday</td>
<td>. . . . .26 27 28 29 30 31 May 1 June</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whitmonday</td>
<td>. . . . .27 28 29 30 31 May 1 June</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will be clear that this Scheme is not nearly so easy to work on as Schemes I and II, the Lunar Solar and the Solar Schemes already examined, but it would create very much less change in age-old habit. Also it would do no more than fix Easter; it would not fix a set day for the commencement of the year, as do the two previously discussed schemes.

(To be continued.)

KOTTAYAM PLATE OF VIRA-RAGHAV A CHAKRAVARTI.

BY K. N. DANIEL.

(Continued from page 196.)

The Dates that suit the Astronomical Positions in the Plate.

Now let us take the copper plate under discussion. It was executed on a Saturday, Rôhini 4th asterism, 21st Mînam, when Jupiter was in Makaram. I have examined this date from the first century to the fifteenth century. All dates, which suit the Astronomical requirements just mentioned, have already been pointed out by Kookil Kelu Nair, Purnell, and Kielhorn. They are the following:

(1) A.D. 290, March 6. It was Kali 3330, Saturday, 21st Mînam. The greater part of the day and the whole night was Rôhini. Jupiter just passed the Makaram râsî. Mean Jupiter passed 14th of the next râsî and the actual Jupiter 3 degrees and 53 minutes, i.e.,
about \( \frac{1}{4} \)th of a \( r\ddot{a}\ddot{s}i \). It is just probable that such a slight difference might have been caused by the Astronomical systems of those early centuries. Dewan Bahadur L. D. Swamikannu Pillai also agreed with me on this point, when recently we had a talk on the subject.

(2) 10th March, A.D. 680, Kali 3780.—This date was pointed out by F. Kielhorn. This fulfils all the requirements.

(3) 11th March, A.D. 775, Kali 3875.—Dr. Burnell after consulting an Astronomer pointed out A.D. 774, but certainly he must have meant 775. This is also correct.

(4) 15th March, A.D. 1320, Kali 4420.—This is also pointed out by Kielhorn.

We now have four dates which suit the Astronomical requirements. One of them must be the date required.

_The date of P\'arkara Iravi._—We must here discuss the date of P\'arkara Iravi Varman also, whose inscriptions form a subject of comparison with the Vira Raghava plate. The date of P\'arkara Iravi can be fixed with certainty on Astronomical grounds.

We have a fairly large number of inscriptions of his time. Some of them giving regnal years or age and the positions of Jupiter. I give below a list of those inscriptions with the years and respective positions of Jupiter.

The Perunna inscription of the 14th year\(^{11}\) Jupiter in _Makara_ (10th \( r\ddot{a}\ddot{s}i \)).

The Tirukko\'ttitaqam Inscription No. 2, 13th year Jupiter in _It\'avam_ (2nd \( r\ddot{a}\ddot{s}i \)).

The Tirkk\'akkara Inscription No. 3, 31st year Jupiter in _Dhanu_ (9th \( r\ddot{a}\ddot{s}i \)).

The Perunna Inscription 33rd year Jupiter in _It\'avam_ (2nd \( r\ddot{a}\ddot{s}i \)).

The Tirunelli copper plate 46th year Jupiter in _Chi\'\'anam_ (5th \( r\ddot{a}\ddot{s}i \)).

The Tirukkk\'akkara Inscription No. 5, 58th year Jupiter in _Chi\'\'anam_ (5th \( r\ddot{a}\ddot{s}i \)).

The Tirunelli plate No. 2, 43rd year Jupiter in _Tul\'\'am_ (7th \( r\ddot{a}\ddot{s}i \)).

It will take nearly a year for Jupiter to travel one \( r\ddot{a}\ddot{s}i \) and nearly 12 years to travel the whole \( r\ddot{a}\ddot{s}i\)chakram (ecliptic) of 12 \( r\ddot{a}\ddot{s}is \). The 13th and the 31st year inscriptions may go together. The 33rd, 46th and 58th year inscriptions may also go together. The 14th year inscription stands alone, so does the 43rd year inscription also. These four kinds of inscriptions cannot be reconciled. The 14th and the 13th year inscriptions cannot be reconciled because in the 14th year Jupiter was in the 10th \( r\ddot{a}\ddot{s}i \) and in the 13th year it was in the 2nd \( r\ddot{a}\ddot{s}i \). Then again the 14th year inscription and the 33rd year inscription cannot be reconciled, because there is a difference of 19 years between them, and Jupiter will return to the 10th \( r\ddot{a}\ddot{s}i \) after 11 or 12 years and in the course of the remaining 7 or 8 years it should reach the 5th or the 6th \( r\ddot{a}\ddot{s}i \), but it is in the 2nd \( r\ddot{a}\ddot{s}i \). The 14th year and 43rd year inscriptions cannot be reconciled, because out of the 29 years of difference 23 or 24 years are required for it to come back to the 10th \( r\ddot{a}\ddot{s}i \). The remaining 5 or 6 years will bring it to the 3rd or 4th \( r\ddot{a}\ddot{s}i \), but it is in the 7th \( r\ddot{a}\ddot{s}i \). Then the 31st year inscription, which may be reconciled with the 13th year inscription, cannot be reconciled with the 33rd year inscription, because in the 31st year Jupiter was in the 9th \( r\ddot{a}\ddot{s}i \) and in the 33rd year it was in the 2nd \( r\ddot{a}\ddot{s}i \). Again the 33rd, 46th and 58th year inscriptions which may go together cannot be reconciled with the 43rd year inscription; because in the 43rd year Jupiter was in the 7th \( r\ddot{a}\ddot{s}i \) and in the 46th year it was in the 5th \( r\ddot{a}\ddot{s}i \). If the years given are all regnal years, there must have been four P\'arkara Iravi Varmanas. In case we suppose that in some of them the regnal years and in others the ages are given, these may be reduced to two. Anyhow from the style, language and paleography it is evident that the inscriptions of all the

\(^{11}\) 12th year opposite the second means 14th (12 plus 2) year. This is quite evident from the Tenka\'\'u pillar inscription of Arik\'\'esari lines 35-57 (Trav. Arch. Series, Vol. 1, pp. 99-102).
Pārkara Iravi Varmars must fall within a period of 100 years. There is no question about this. The suggestion that there were two kings under the name of Pārkara Iravi Varmar has never been made by any one but the present writer.

Now, fortunately, there are two inscriptions of these two different Pārkara Iravi Varmars which give Astronomical positions. When these are put together we have very sure Astronomical data for calculating the dates. The first is the Perunna inscription of the 14th year. This is an incomplete inscription found in the temple at Perunna. Though the name of the king is not mentioned, it is unquestionably taken to be that of Pārkara Iravi. (See Trav. Arch. Series, Vol. II, p. 34.) The style and paleography leave us in no doubt that this inscription belongs to the reign of Pārkara Iravi. Further there are other inscriptions of Pārkara Iravi mentioned by name in the same temple at Perunna. We have evidence to think that this is the same as that Pārkara Iravi who is the donor of the Cochin plates. In the Cochin plates of Pārkara Iravi Vēṇāṭuṭai (King of Vēṇāṭu), Kōvarttaṇa Māttāṭaṇi is a witness. In the Trikkōṭittāgam inscription of Pārkara Iravi, Vēṇāṭuṭai Kōvarttaṇa Māttāṭaṇi is mentioned as the owner of Naṅgula Nāṭu. In another Trikkōṭittāgam inscription of Pārkara Iravi also, Vēṇāṭuṭai Kōvarttaṇa Māttāṭaṇi connected with the Naṅgula Nāṭu is mentioned. In the above Perunna inscription (Perunna is close to Trikkōṭittāgam), a certain king (the name is not written because the inscription was left incomplete where it should occur) of Vēṇāṭu possessing Naṅgula Nāṭu is mentioned. Moreover this is dated the 14th year of the unmentioned emperor who is surely Pārkara Iravi, and the Trikkōṭittāgam inscription mentioned above is also dated the 14th year of Pārkara Iravi. The Perunna inscription named above, therefore, in all probability, belongs to the time of Pārkara Iravi, who was the donor of the Cochin Plates. The Astronomical positions given in the Perunna inscription are the following:—

"20th of the solar month Mina, Sunday, the 7th asterism and Jupiter in Makara."

I have examined the date of the grant for nearly 1,400 years from the end of the first century to the beginning of the fifteenth. The earliest day for which the date is correct is Kali 3626 (expired) 1,324,781st day of Kali, i.e., 8th March, 526 A.D. It was a Sunday. The whole day was the 7th asterism. Jupiter was almost in the middle of the Maka-ram rādi. The next day for consideration is Kali 4160—12th March, A.D. 1060 (1,519,829th day of Kali). This is the date given by Dewan Bahadur L. D. Swamikannu Pillai and it is correct.

He has given one more date. Kali 4255, 13th March, 1155. This date is not correct on the following ground. If samkramam take place 18 nālika after sunrise, the Malayalees reckon the next day as the 1st day of the month; whereas according to the system prevalent in India outside Kēralam, if the samkramam take place at any time during the day, that very day should be reckoned as the 1st day of the month. That this was the system of Kēralam from time immemorial, can be easily proved from inscriptions. Verify the following dates:—


In Kali 4255 (A.D. 1155) Minaamkramanam took place on a Tuesday, 27th nālika, after sunrise, and therefore, according to the Malabar system, 1st Mīnām was on Wednesday. So 20th Mīnām was a Monday. But the inscription was made on a Sunday. The year 1155 therefore, is not correct.
Now let us take the other inscription of Pārkara Iravi Varmar, which contains the necessary Astronomical data for calculating the date. This is a copper plate (Tirunelli plate No. 2) mentioned by T. A. Gopinatha Rao (Proc. Arch. Series, Vol. II, p. 31):—"Wednesday, 8th day of the solar month Mīsa and Nakshatra Uttara Phalguni (12th asterism) when Jupiter stood in the Tula rādi."

I have examined this date also from the end of the first century to the beginning of the fifteenth. The earliest date for consideration is Kali 3671 (expired) 1,341,206th day of Kali, i.e., 22nd February 571 A.D. It was a Wednesday. The whole day and almost the whole night was Uttara Phalguni, the 12th asterism. The mean Jupiter was in Tulām, the actual Jupiter passed into the next rādi. This is inconsiderable as I have already shown. Another date for consideration is Kali 3766, 25th February, 666 A.D. On this day 12th asterism came to an end 2 hours and 24 minutes after sunrise. There are two other dates given by Dewan Bahadur Swamikannu Pillai. They are Kali 4205 and 4216. This is surely due to an oversight on the part of this eminent scholar. In fact he himself admits it in a reply to a letter of mine on this point.

Now we see two dates each of which fulfils the requirements of both the inscriptions of Pārkara Iravi Varmar, A.D. 526 and 1060 for the Perunna inscription and 571 and 666 for the Tirunelli plate No. 2. The Perunna inscription must be either of 526 or 1060. We cannot take the year 1060 because in that case the Pārkara Iravi Varmar of the Perunna inscription should be placed 400 years later than the other, the latest date which suits the other inscription is 666. That these two Pārkara Iravi Varmars must be almost of the same period is, as already shown, beyond question. We therefore come to the conclusion that 526 is the date of the Perunna inscription, and 571 that of the Tirunelli plate No. 2. These dates were verified and found correct by Dewan Bahadur L. D. Swamikannu Pillai.

There are eight inscriptions of Pārkara Iravi in which Jupiter’s positions are clearly given. There is one less inscription in which though the year portion is slightly damaged the year can be guessed. All the inscriptions can be reconciled, if we suppose that two Pārkara Iravi Varmars, one after the other, ruled in Kēralam, and that the years are sometimes age and sometimes regnal years, and sometimes current and sometimes expired. No one has yet reconciled these dates.

A reconciliation table is given below.

### The Reconciliation Table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PĀRKARA IRAVI VARMAR I.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A.D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>526</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>518</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>532-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>545</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>564</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

13 2nd against 11th or 21st. On account of the damage, both the above readings are possible.

15 The Cochin plates are dated the 38th year of Pārkara Iravi. If it is the age it must be Kali 3624 (523-4 A.D.), if regnal year it must be Kali 3650 (549-550 A.D.)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A.D.</th>
<th>K. Y</th>
<th>Month and date</th>
<th>Regnal year or age</th>
<th>Jupiter</th>
<th>Inscription</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>571</td>
<td>3671</td>
<td>Mīṃam 8</td>
<td>8th(^1)(^4) regnal year current.</td>
<td>Tulām (7th rāsi)</td>
<td>Tirunelli plate No. 2 T. A. S. II, p. 31.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>577</td>
<td>3678</td>
<td>Tulām</td>
<td>13th regnal year expired.</td>
<td>Ḫāṭavam (2nd rāsi)</td>
<td>Tirukkōṭṭiyangam inscription (Ibid., p. 36).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>595</td>
<td>3996</td>
<td>Vṛṣikhaṃ</td>
<td>31st regnal year expired.</td>
<td>Dhanu (9th rāsi)</td>
<td>Do. (Ibid., p. 43).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus there can be no doubt as to the dates of Pārkara Iravi Varmar. That two inscriptions, having only two dates, each suitable to the given Astronomical positions during a period of fourteen centuries, should have one date each to fall in the same century by chance, is quite unthinkable. That these dates should chance to be such as to reconcile nine dates of Pārkara Iravi, given in inscriptions with the positions of Jupiter, as being the dates of two kings who ruled one after the other, is still more inconceivable.

_Tiruvalla Temple Plates._—There is another set of copper plates belonging to the temple at Tiruvalla now preserved in the Trivandrum Museum. They have been recently published in the _Travancore Archeological Series_, Vol. II, part 3, under the name of the Hurur Treasury plates. Gopinatha Rao says that these plates are of the time of Pārkara Iravi on the ground that the king Maṇukulātichchan is mentioned as a donor both in these plates and in an inscription of the time of Pārkara Iravi. There is one more piece of presumptive evidence supporting this opinion. The king of Venpoli Nāṭu mentioned in these plates is Iravi Chiri Kaṇṭan and Kōtai Chiri Kaṇṭan, king of Venpoli Nāṭu, is mentioned in the Cochin plates of Pārkara Iravi Varmar. The name of the king is the same in both the inscriptions. The full name is different. This king being a Marumakkattāyi, Kōtai and Iravi are the names of maternal uncles. Perhaps he might have some times called himself Kōtai Chiri Kaṇṭan and some times Iravi Chiri Kaṇṭan. In these plates certain Astronomical positions are given.

The day of _Viśaka_ (16th asterism) corresponding to Wednesday in the solar month _Makaram_ when Jupiter stood in _Tulām_. 6th _Makaram_, Kali 3659, suits the above requirements. According to the above reconciliation table, Kali 3650 or 3624 is the date of the Cochin plates. Though it is quite possible to find a day in every century for which the above date is correct, it is noteworthy that a day so close to the Cochin plates is found.

We have already proved that Vira Rāghava was earlier than Pārkara Iravi Varmar who is now shown to be of the sixth century. There is only one date prior to the sixth century fulfilling the Astronomical requirements of our plate, 6th March, 230 A.D. This, therefore, must be the date of the plate under discussion.

\(^{14}\) The year is given thus 2 plus 6 plus 35 = 43. I take 2 plus 6 to be the regnal year and 43 the age. He therefore ascended the throne in his 35th year. This assumption agrees with the other inscriptions.
III. Linguistic Evidence.

Alleged evidence against an early date.—The linguistic question has never been touched by any one except the late Mr. V. Venkayya, Epigraphist for India, and that very meagrely. To quote him fully: "The language of the inscription is Tamil prose mixed with a few Malayalam forms, of which the following deserve to be noticed: irumarrula (a, 5) (for iruntarula), alamnu (1-12) (for alantu), padud (1-9) (for Padudai), Kuyu (1-10) aṣima (1-11) paga, niga, (1-12) Sarkara, eva la ija and utlata (1-14) ita (1-16) and visēshāl (1-16) (for visēshād). Koyilakam (1-5) would in modern Tamil mean the inside of a temple. In ancient Tamil inscriptions of the time of Rājārāja I, the word koyil alone is used in the sense of a royal palace. In the present inscription koyilakam means a royal palace as in modern Malayalam. Of the words mentioned above, padudai, kuyu, parai occur also in the Cochin plates. The fact that they are there spelt exactly as in Tamil, and that in the subjoined grant they are spelt as in modern Malayalam, suggests that the Kottayam plate is later than the Cochin grant. The form utlata (1-14) occurs in the former, while iirkkanmatu and parumatu occur in the latter. This again points to the same conclusion." (Epigraphica Indica, Vol. IV, 1896-7, p. 292.)

Mr. Venkayya, it is evident, did not enquire when the forms he refers to came into use in Malabar, nor did he carefully compare, the Cochin plates and the plate in question, though he professes to have done so. We must compare the document in question with the ancient writings of Keralam.

Malayalam was once called the Tamil of the Malanātu. The difference between this Tamil and that of the other parts grew greater, and greater, till in course of time they became two different languages. The priority, therefore, of one inscription to another should be decided by its resemblance to Tamil. The language of the country from Quilon southward is even now very different from that of the north, the former being considerably influenced by Tamil. That the difference was very much greater in former days is a point on which there can be no doubt. It is, therefore, of no use to compare the ancient writings of Quilon and the south with the document under consideration. Unfortunately we find no dated inscription prior to the seventeenth century in Cranganore and the adjacent places, which were the real Malayalam area in days of old, but we have a certain literary work of the fourteenth century which will be considered later on. For the present we must confine ourselves to inscriptions, of which we have a few in Middle Travancore. The language of Middle Travancore is even now different from that of the northern regions like Cranganore, although ever since the sovereign of Travancore, whose dominion was formerly bounded on the north by Ijava, south of Quilon, extended it to Cranganore and Parur, the language of the north and the south has been undergoing a levelling operation, while the press and the facilities of communication are now levelling the language further still throughout Keralam. In former days when these elements were absent, the Malayalam of Middle Travancore and that of the northern parts must have been very different. Anyhow as we have only Middle Travancore inscriptions available, let us compare with them the document in question.

The following are the dated and datable inscriptions available from Kaniyūr northwest: the Kaniyūr inscription of A.D. 1218 (Trav. Arch. Series, Vol. I, p. 290), and of 946 A.D. (Ibid., p. 292), the Kaviyūr inscription of 951 A.D. (Ibid., p. 288), and of 950 A.D. (Ibid., p. 289), the Muvaṭattumātham copper plate of Tānu Iravi, ninth century (Ibid., Vol. II, p. 85), the Rājēkha copper plate in possession of Muvaṭattumātham,16

16 This plate does not belong to Talamāna Illam, Changanacherry, as stated by Gopinatha Rao, but to Muvaṭattumātham, Trivullam.

Of all the inscriptions mentioned above the Rājaśēkhara inscription is pure Tamil. It must be the oldest. The date assigned to it by the late Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao is the eighth century A.D., but I cannot find my way to accept his conclusion. Later on we shall discuss the date of Rājaśēkhara. We will now take into consideration the Malayalam forms which Mr. Venkayya points out from the document in question.

(a) Irumaruḷa, Aḻānaṭi—Tamil forms are Iruntarul and aḻantu, Malayalam nn is nt in Tamil: nn has taken the place of nt twice in this document.

Let us enquire when the form nn instead of nt came into use in Malabar. The Kaṇṭiyūr (southern part of middle Travancore almost close to the Tamil area) inscription of 1218 A.D. uses nn instead of nt five times—viz., kōvinnan four times and chēnnan once. In the tenth century inscription of Tiruvanvaṭṭur (Middle Travancore) we find kōvinnan instead of kōvintan (Trav. Arch. Series, Vol. II, p. 23). The Tiruvalla (Middle Travancore) inscription of the ninth century uses chēnnnan instead of chēntan twice. Inscriptions of the time of Pārka Iravi Varma, who has been shown to be of the sixth century, use the Malayalam form nn; vannirunntu (Ibid., Vol. II, p. 44), kōvinnan (Ibid., pp. 39, 47, 49), chēnnan (Ibid., pp. 43, 49), Vannu (Ibid., p. 47). In the Tiruvalla temple plates of the time of Pārka Iravi, we find irunaruḷi, kūṭiyirunnu, aḻunaruḷi, vannu, vāḷṇnu, pūkarnna, uṇṟnaṇna, chēnnan and kōvinnan several times. We find from these plates that even in Tiruvalla Middle Travancore, nn began to take the place of nt during the sixth century. This change must have taken place in the north like Cranganore much before the sixth century. Yet the use of nn instead of nt is enough for Mr. Venkayya to jump to the conclusion that the document in question was of the fourteenth century.

(b) The next Malayalam form which Mr. Venkayya points out is the following i—
Pāṭhaḷa, kutā, aṭima, paṭa, niṭa, sārkara, eṇa, iṭa. In all these words a is used instead of ai, the Tamil form. But this document does not invariably use a instead of ai. It uses ai also, e.g., murai and makotaḷaiya. Here again Mr. Venkayya did not enquire when this Malayalam form of a instead of ai came into use in Malabar. In the Kāṭiyūr inscription of 950 A.D., we find the form a instead of ai, e.g., amachāḍa instead of amāṭṭāṭh or amaiṭṭāṭh. We find a instead of ai (irūpāṭṭāṭh instead of irūpāṭṭāṭh or irūpāṭṭāṇtu) in an inscription of Tiruvirā akkaṭu (a few miles south of Trivandrum where even now Malayalam mixed with Tamil is spoken) dated 871 A.D. (Trav. Arch. Series, Vol. I, p. 14). In the Tirukōṭṭitamin inscription of the time of Pārka Iravi (sixth century) Nos. 1 and 3, we find the forms nangulindu and nangulindu (both a and ai). Again in the Perunna inscriptions (sixth century) we have nangulavāṅu and nangulavāṅu (instead of nangulai nāṅu and tapai18) (instead of tapai) (T. A. S., II, pp. 34, 44). In the Tirukōṭṭatinum inscription No. 4 we read muṭṭa instead of muṇnaḷai (Ibid., p. 4). Though this form began to be used at so early a period, the other form was also in use till the seventeenth century in inscriptions. (See the Parūr inscription of 1624 A.D., Trav. Arch. Series, Vol. I, p. 300.)

---

16 It is now with Mr. N. E. Roby, Jew Town, Cochin.
17 In this document is mentioned, as a current coin, a Roman coin which was suppressed in the Roman Empire under Constantius II, 360 A.D. (vidē Encyclopaedia Brittanica, Vol. XVII, pp. 652, 653).
18 The reading given in the T. A. S. is tapai. But it is clearly an oversight. Tapai not tapai is quite legible in the facsimile.
(c) Mr. Venkayya points out the word *uḷata* instead of *uḷatu* as a distinctly Malayalam word, but in that tongue both the forms *uḷata* and *uḷatu* are used. Whether it is written *uḷata* or *uḷatu* pronunciation is the same. The last vowel is pronounced somewhere between *a* and *u*. I wonder whether Mr. Venkayya took note of the fact that the form *a* instead of *u* is used only once in this document, whereas the latter form is used sixteen times—*anu*, *chakravartikkā*, *nāpyu*, *irpuruttu*, *patiṇatā*, *cheṭikkā* *iruvikorkattukku* (twice), *alānu*, *uppiṇā*, *sarkarayu*, *kastiriyu*, *ulakkeniyāyale*, *kopurattu*, *kavayattu*. In the Māmpallāl plate of Quilon dated Kollam 149, i.e., 973 A.D., *cheṭhā* is used instead of *cheṭhu* (Epigraphia Indica, Vol. IX, p. 236).

The next Malayalam word pointed out is *iṣa*. The word *iṣa* is used in the Kaviyūr (Middle Travancore) inscription of 931 A.D. Mr. Venkayya here does not refer to the form of *a* instead of *ai* which is already referred to. The next word pointed out is *viṣṭhaḍi*. The Malayalam form is the affix *āl*. The affix *āl* (āvirāṭtāl) is used in the Tiruvala inscription of the tenth century and the Kaniṭya inscription of the ninth century. Again this affix *āl* (Aiyyanaṭṭakiruvatāyāl) is used in the Kottayam plates of the ninth century written at Quilon.

(d) Then Mr. Venkayya points out *kōylakam*. He says: "The word kōyā alone is used in the sense of a royal palace. In the present inscription kōylakam means a royal palace as in modern Malayalam." It is pardonable that he should make such a mistake regarding a Malayalam word. In Malayalam too kōyā means palace or temple though not very much in use, and kōyālam means inside of a palace or temple. The full expression is *perumkōyilakattirunnarula* (sitting in the great palace). If we take away *akam* it would be *perumkōyilirunnarula* which has no meaning whatever.

The following Malayalam forms in addition to those already noted are found in the inscriptions of the time of Pākara Iravi:

*Nu* instead of *ṇuṇu*, *maṇḍatattānu*, *-tiervanirinatu*, *tiṇuvatu*, *vignaṇgānu*, *nāṭiṇānu*, *poṭānu*, *pālivattatu*, *tiṇuvālu*, *āmiritu* (T. A. S., Vol. II, pp. 36, 39, 43, 44, 47, 49) *Nukku* form also is used.


*Ari* for *arichi*. (Ibid., p. 47.)

Again in the Tiruvala temple plates of the time of Pākara Iravi we find the following Malayalam forms:

*nā* for *mk. Teṇha*, *tutaṇi*, *palaṇhāri*, *kuṭaṇhāru*, *naṇṇiṇyār*, *aṇṇiṇi*, *taṇṇaḻ*, *maṇṇalam.*

*Mk* also is used.

Thus we find a large number of Malayalam forms in the sixth century inscriptions of middle Travancore, and we find them even in so far south a place as Tiruvitakōtu during the ninth century. But we do not find a single Malayalam form in the Rājaśekara inscription which is the only writing of Kērālam available free from Malayalam forms. The Rājaśekara inscription, therefore, is the most ancient record yet found in Kērālam.

*Evidence in support of an early date.*—Having shown the error in the argument brought forward by Mr. Venkayya, it remains to be considered whether we can form any idea as to date of our copper plate on a linguistic basis.

(1) There is a book on the Malayalam language known as the *Liṭṭalakam* which is written in Śanskrit. It has been translated and published in Malayalam. The latter part of the fourteenth century is the date indisputably assigned to it. I translate a portion from this work. "What do you find in Malayalam poetry (maṇiṇiṇḍa) whether old or new? Is it vanṭānu, *irunṭānu*? Is it *nāṭaṇa*? Is it *maṇṇaṇa*? Is it *kāṇṇa*? Is it *pāčiṇa*? Is it not *pāṭha*, *maṇṇa*, *kāṇṇa*, *pāčiṇa*? Is it *yāṇa*, *yōṇaṇi*? Is it not *āṇa*, *āṇaṇa*? Is it *aṇṇiṇi*, *tiṇniṇi*, *avaṇṇi*, *avuṇṇi*? Is it not *ulīṃṇa,*

---

19 Kōyākkal pōyī means to the place or temple.
(2) Let me now quote an inscription of the thirteenth century.

Tiruvallam inscription of Ko. 4 A.D. 1237.

Svasti śrī Kollam 412 amāṇāja tta (nu) viyālam makara ādīyirū ādīyirū ēravati innāfāl tiruvallattu śrimukā maṇjapattil irumnu cheyita cheyī kāvolaikkakaraṇamāni.

Maṭatu chakkī Tiruvantīti50 tiruvallattu. Tinkalamāvati21 törum chellumāru kalpichcha chełavu tirukkāṇathanpāram mātevan tiruvāṭikkum tiruvamirinjari.22 ........ naman-
skāram................... nānum
pārkkānjarī vēṭṭaṭajjum uḷpute arī.................. nēnum arāṭtikkanappikku........... nēnum

Tiruvallam, four miles south of Trivandrum, is a place where even now Malayalam mixed with Tamil is spoken, and the above is a sample of the thirteenth century language of Tiruvallam. There is very little Tamil in it. There must be a world of difference between the thirteenth century language of Tiruvallam and Cranganore. Compare the specimens of the Malayalam prose quoted above from the Lilātilakam and the Tiruvallam inscription, both of the thirteenth century, with the language of our copper plate and there is no gainsaying the fact that there is a great deal of difference between the language in them and in Vira Raghava’s plate. When we consider this difference, bearing in mind that one of the specimens is from a place where even now a mixture of Tamil and Malayalam is the language, we cannot help concluding that the copper plate is many centuries prior to the thirteenth.

(3) Now let us turn to some of the particular forms found in the document under discussion. This document uses the word ulla twice (Iṣayil Ullat, Chantirāṭiṭiṭiya kaluḷa), In the Pākrāra Iravi plates also we find ulla as not oḷa. In the Tiruvallama temple plates of the

20 Maṭatu chakkī Tiruvantīti is the name of a person.
21 Tinkalamāvati is tinkalamāvati.
22 Tiruvamirinjari is the reading which is evidently tiruvamirinjari.
time of Pārka Iravi we find both ṛḷa and ṛḷa several times. In the Mampalli plate which was written at Quilon in the year 973 A.D. we find the form ṛḷa thrice, ṛḷa never. (Epigraphia Indica, Vol. IX, p. 236.) In the Kāntīyur inscription of 946 A.D. we find the word ṛḷatu twice. In the Tānu Iravi copper plates which were written in the ninth century at Quilon, the word ṛḷa is used four times, ṛḷa is never used.

In the Tiruvallam inscription of 1143 A.D., the Kūnāmkkara inscription of 1196, the Tiruvatāṟu inscription of 1222, the Kēralapuruṇa inscription of 1316, the Chittaral inscription of 1373, we find the form ṛḷa invariably. (Some Early Sovereigns of Travancore by P. Sundaram Pillai, pp. 66, 70, 74; Trav. Arch. Series, Vol. I, pp. 296, 298). In Tamil the term is ṛḷa not ṛḷa. ṛḷa is properly the Malayalam form. In modern Malayalam both forms are used, due to a tendency to bring back the words to their original form. We should bear in mind that Tiruvallam, Kūnāmkkara, Tiruvatāṟu, Kēralapuruṇa and Chittaral are south of Trivandrum and are places where even now Malayalam mixed with Tamil is spoken. In such places also we find the form ṛḷa not ṛḷa during the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The distinct Malayalam form, converting ṛḷa into ṛḷa, came into use in so far south a place as Quilon even during the ninth century, and must have come into use in Cranganore and the adjacent places much before. But in the Vira Raghava copper plate we find only the Tamil form ṛḷa.

(4) Another point to be noted is the use of the word kuṭṭṭām. The document under consideration uses the form kuṭṭṭām nine times but never kuṭṭṭān. Rājāṣekhara uses kuṭṭākka three times, koṭṭa never. The ninth century document of Tiruvallam Middle Travancore uses kuṭṭākka twice. The Quilon inscription (Tānu Iravi copper plates) of the ninth century uses kuṭṭākka ten times and koṭṭa once. Mampalli plate of Quilon dated Ko. 149, i.e., 973 A.D., uses koṭṭa and kuṭṭākka (Epigraphia Indica, Vol. IX, p. 236). We find the form koṭṭa thrice and kuṭṭākka never in the Kāntīyur (Middle Travancore) inscription of 951 A.D. The Kūnāmkkara inscription of 1196 and the Kēralapuruṇa inscription of 1316 use the form koṭṭa (Some Early Sovereigns of Travancore, pp. 70, 74). Kūnāmkkara and Kēralapuruṇa are south of Trivandrum. From the eleventh century forward we find the form koṭṭa invariably. The form koṭṭa came into use even in such a southern part as Quilon during the ninth century and must have taken the place of kuṭṭākka in such a northern part as Cranganore much before the ninth century. We find the forms Kuṭṭān and kuṭṭān in the Tiruvallam temple plates of the time of Pārka Iravi. Kuṭṭa is not at all a Malayalam form, and in modern Tamil it is the colloquial form. Mahāmāhōpādhyāya Swaminatha Iyer of Madras, who is a recognised authority on ancient Tamil literature, assured me that the form kuṭṭākka is invariably found in the ancient Tamil manuscripts, but some other Tamil scholars whom I consulted called this in question. I therefore made a research on this point; and avoided manuscripts as not of great use, for copyists are apt to make corrections according to their ideas of spelling. I, therefore, read a great number of stone and lithic inscriptions in Tamil, many of which do not contain the forms kuṭṭākka or koṭṭa. If found the form kuṭṭākka in eighty-one Tamil inscriptions invariably, some of them use the word kuṭṭa several times. (Vide Some Early Sovereigns of Travancore, p. 65. Travancore Archaeological Series, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 5-9, No. 2, p. 2, No. 3, p. 5, No. 4, p. 101, 104, 151, 152, No. 8, p. 169, No. 12, p. 199, No. 14, pp. 239, 241, 245, 248, 249, No. 15, pp. 252, 255, 256, 257, 259, 260, 261, 263, 264, 265, 266, 268, 272, 276, 279. South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. II, Part I, pp. 2, 15, 21, 33, 53, 69, 78, 85, 91, 105, 113, Ibid., Part III, pp. 249, 251, 254, 261, 306, 386, Ibid., Vol. III, Part I, pp. 12, 13, 16, 19, 23, 25, 30, 33, 40, 42, 44, 45, 47, 50, 55, 61, 66, 72, 76, 78, 80, 83, 87, 88, 91, 94, 97, 98, 99, 101, 103, 105, 108, 109, 112, 116.)
I find only three pure Tamil inscriptions in which the form koṭukka is used. One Tanjore inscription dated S. 1368, i.e., a.d. 1446-47, and the Kasukutti plates of Nandivarman Pallavamalla (eighth century) use the form koṭukka once each (South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. II, Part III, pp. 339, 352). We find it again in the Tirukkurālam plates of Paṇṭya Kulaśekhara-deva Dikshitar S. 1670, i.e., a.d. 1733 (Trav. Arch. Series, Vol. I, No. VI, p. 150). In fact we find the form kuṭukka twice and koṭukka once in this record.

From all this we understand that koṭukka was the recognised Tamil form till very lately, but we do not find the form kuṭukka in any inscription of the Malabar Coast later than the tenth century. The form koṭukka, as is already shown, came into use in Tiruvalla (Middle Travancore) during the time of Parkara Iravi (sixth century) and even in such a southern part as Quilon during the ninth century. It must have come into use in Cranganore very much earlier. We find in our copper plate the form kuṭukka not once or twice but nine times.

The above named pieces of linguistic evidence make it abundantly clear that the document under discussion is a very ancient one and that Mr. Venkayya was far wrong in ascribing it to the fourteenth century.

(To be continued.)

BOOK-NOTICES.

THE SUBJECT-INDEX TO PERIODICALS, 1920

In this publication, very valuable to scholars, we have 639 entries obtained from the examination of 100 periodicals. Judging from the references to this Journal, the association editors have done their work admirably, and I have no hesitation in recommending it to all Indian scholars desirous of knowing where to find what contemporaries are doing in their own line of study.

R. C. Temple


This part contains six inscriptions, some of them of much interest and value. It is admirably edited, with fine plates, in the style inaugurated by the late Dr. J. F. Fleet for his Indian inscriptions.

No. 34, the Dimbulagala Mārā-viśaya Inscription is a new edition based on fresh material brought by Mr. H. C. P. Bell. Don M. Wickremasinghe points out that it belongs to Queen Sundara-mahādevi and not to the reign of Jayabahu as Mr. Bell contends, for the simple reasons that Jayabahu was no longer living when the inscription was indited." The Editor then naturally proceeds to discuss "the anomaly of dating from the coronation of a deceased king, the first of its kind yet known in Sinhalese chronology," and gives his reasons for asserting that it was really a record of Queen Sundara Mahādevi's time.

No. 35, the Ambagamunu Rock-inscription of Vijaya-Bahu I (1058-1114 A.D.). Here again Mr. H. C. P. Bell comes to the fore. This inscription of this great monarch is gone into at length and "the principal events of Vijaya-bahu's career" are fixed after consideration also of the literature on the subject.

No. 36, the Polonnaruva Slab-inscription of Sāhana-Malla is of great importance as "the earliest yet come to light" with a definite date in the Baudhā era: dated "Wednesday, 1743 years, 3 months and 27 days of the Buddhavarma," most probably Wednesday, 23rd August 1200 A.D., thus fixing the initial at 344 B.C. On this assumption much important history can be built up.

No. 38, the Polonnaruva Anuradhapura Slab-inscription (Reg. No. 1) is of great interest, for it refers, as Dr. L. D. Barnett has assisted in pointing out, to the Kanaaree "guild of merchants called Vīra-Banaḷī or Vīra-Valanājīyar," and thus in showing that they extended their trade to Ceylon in the twelfth century A.D.

No. 39, the Polonnaruva Pot-Gul Vehara inscription, very difficult of access, the Editor thinks belong to Līlawati, the widow of Parakkrama-bahu between 1197-1200 A.D.

R. C. Temple

THE LIBRARY SYSTEM OF THE BARODA STATE.
By Newton M. Dutt, Curator of Libraries, Baroda State. 3rd edition, Baroda, 1924.

This little pamphlet of 45 pages relates the story of a remarkable achievement, as "H. H. the
Maharaja Gaekwar is the first ruler in India to introduce free and compulsory primary education and "the first to establish free state-aided libraries throughout his dominions." The Library department was established in 1911.

The next interesting part of the scheme is the establishment of organized travelling libraries, by which "all libraries coming under the scheme are entirely free to all persons, young and old, rich and poor, of every caste and creed." The Central Library contains about 100,000 volumes, 20,000 of them from the Maharaja's own private Library and about 20,000 more volumes in the "travelling library section." It contains also the largest circulating library in India, the circulation in 1923 being about 97,000 volumes, exclusive of 6,000 volumes circulated in Baroda City from the travelling library. There is also a Children's Library which lent out 4,000 volumes in 1923, and further, a valuable thing in India, a Mahila (Ladies') Branch Library. A separate Sanskrit Library, a collection of rare MSS. and The Gaekwad's Oriental Series for publishing them complete, an institution which is more than a credit to its originator and the Baroda State.

The account of the establishment of District and Village Libraries is very interesting and the facts "that 589 libraries and 91 reading rooms have been established in villages," and that "39 of the more ambitious villages have even erected library buildings," speak volumes for the progress of education in a Native State in India.

R. C. TEMPLE.

RAJENDRA, THE GANGAIKONDA CHOLA. By S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR, PH.D. Oxford University Press.

In this pamphlet, reprinted from the Journal of Indian History, Vol. II, Part III, September, 1923, we have another of Professor Krishnaswami Aiyangar's illuminating studies in the history of the Tamils. Rajendra Chola, who reigned from 1011 to c. 1042 A.D., was one of the great Chola sovereigns and succeeded his father Raja Raja, another great sovereign, as an independent monarch, about 1015 A.D. He did great things for his dynasty and received, among other titles, that of the GangaiKonda Chola, the Chola that took the Ganges. What his exploits were and how he came by this title is the task that Professor Krishnaswami Aiyangar has set himself to unearth from inscriptions and literature, performing it with the skill and knowledge that we are now accustomed to expect from him. The task is an important one for the student of South Indian history.

The Professor sets out by showing that the marriage by Raja Raja of his daughter Kundavvai to the Eastern Chalukya, Vimaladitya, was of the first importance to his line. Bit by bit, in the course of a reign of 30 years or more, 985 to c. 1015 A.D., Raja Raja enlarged his dominion till its northern boundary was "the Tungabhadra till it joins the Krishna, and took into its territory along an irregular frontier proceeding northwards from somewhere near Karna to the frontier of Orissa." From this frontier his son Rajendra started on his long career of conquest, having been associated with his predecessor as heir-apparent, and having "actually done the work of conquest for his father."

So when he started on his own account he was no novice at the work. His first efforts brought him into touch with the Western Chalukyas, whose ruler Jayasimha he defeated, having apparently been in Ceylon and Malabar in the interval. All this takes us to his tenth year. In his twelfth year conquests are claimed for him up to the Ganges and across the Bay of Bengal. By his thirteenth year a number of places are mentioned as having fallen to him, and among other rulers he captured Indrarathar at Jatinagar and defeated Dharma-pala of Dandabhukti, Ramasura of Dakshina Ladh, Goyindachandra of Bengal and Othamayipala of Uttar Latha, and thus reached the Ganges. About this time he sent a fleet of ships "into the middle of the Ocean against San grama Vijayottunga Varman, King of Kadaram and captured him. He took, across the seas, Sri Vijaya, and many other places in the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra. Professor Krishnaswami sets about identifying these personages and places with conspicuous knowledge.

By his first campaign Rajendra "had secured his position both in the South, in his rear," and "along a somewhat irregular frontier extending from the region of Central India to Dharrwar in the south of the Bombay Presidency." He then set to work to conquer Kalingam and territories across the Bay of Bengal. His capture of "In draratha of the dynasty of the moon," and of the places mentioned in connection with that monarch took Rajendra Chola to the modern Central India and beyond Orissa. The Professor then shows that the two Ladas represent the two divisions of Rādhā in Bengal; that is, Dakshina Ladhā was Midnapur and Uttar Ladhā was Bardhamān. Next the Professor makes the important identification of Dandabhukti with Bihār, the conquest of which brought Raja Raja to the Ganges itself.

Having secured his route to the sea by the conquest of Orissa and part of Lower Bengal, Rājendra Chola launched his expedition overseas from Pālr near Gopālpur, as above said, against Sangrāma Vijayottunga Varman of Kadaram, which the Professor identifies with the River "Katrea on the North Coast of Sumatra" i.e.,
Kerti, near Aehin; Srí Vijaya he identifies with Palembang to the South-West of the Island. And finally he shows that the expedition against Kadaram was undertaken because the expansion of the Palembang State brought it into hostility with the overseas possession of the Cholas. These possessions seem to have been retained by them, until some time in the reign of another great Chola monarch, Kulottunga. Incidentally, in the course of his illuminating remarks on these expeditions, Prof. Krishnaswami Aiyangar identifies many old names, including Mānakkaśāram with the Nicobar Islands.

Such is a summary of the Professor's researches into the military proceedings of Rājendra Chola, but it will repay scholars to read carefully how he arrives at his conclusions. Incidentally, his remarks show that some of the medieval Indian rulers led anything but quiet lives.

Rājendra had many titles. Among them was that of Mudikōṇḍa Chola, the Chola who took crown-jewels, still perpetuated in many place-names. So is that of Gangaikōṇḍa Chola, already explained. He had also a third well-known title, Paṇḍita Chola, the Chola who was the patron of learning. The last two appellations have a bearing on his character as an administrator. He cleverly used the Ganges water collected in his Northern conquests to establish a magnificent irrigation tank, round which people were induced to settle because of the sacred water he had poured into it. He also caused an educational institution to be established for the acquisition of religious knowledge with fourteen professors attached to it, who had definite salaries provided from a settled fund. There were other foundations of a like nature in his reign.

This care for education was carried on through the eleventh century A.D. by Rājendra's successors, Rājayādhirāja and Vira Rājendra. The first founded a similar theological college and the latter another of the same kind, attached to which was a hostel for students and a hospital of fifteen beds, one surgeon, two men servants, two female nurses and a ward servant. All this is gleaned from inscriptions, which thus show their value if read with intelligence.

Professor Krishnaswami Aiyangar has thus once again proved that Indian scholars are taking the vast collection of epigraphic remains of their country into serious consideration, and are gradually building up the history of the medieval rulers, to show the present and coming generations what manner of men they were and what they looked on as works worthy to be done for their country. In this way the labours of many scholars over a long period, in making available to the student what is otherwise a mass of uninteresting and unintelligible forgotten names collected together, is being utilised to invaluable historical purpose.

R. C. Temple.


This issue contains, as usual, some important articles, worth the attention of all Indian scholars. It commences with 'Documents of the Seventeenth Century British India, in the Public Record Office, Chancery Lane.' This is unquestionably a very valuable piece of work on a difficult subject—difficult because of the arrangement of papers relating to the East Indies in the Public Record Office. The searcher, without this article to his hand, would have to search first in the Colonial Series—East Indies, in the Domestic State Papers, and in the State Papers—Foreign; and even then he would have to know what he was about in a way open to few. This means that the Public Record Office is largely shut to the searcher for information about India; ex professo. But there is a great deal useful to him in that Office nevertheless.

The paper before us, however, goes deeply into the question. It tells us all about the "Colonial Office Records, East Indies, now C. O. 77," the Colonial Entry-Books, the State Papers, Domestic, as they relate to India, State Papers, Foreign, of the same nature, and about a large collection of State Papers, Miscellaneous (Domestic and Foreign). Then there are Records of Parliament and Council (Privy Council, Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, i.e., Oliver Cromwell), the Legal Records (Chancery Proceedings, with a very valuable list of defendants when the East India Company was plaintiff); Admiralty Court Records and Navy Board Records, Exchequer (K.R.)—Port Books, Board of Customs and Excise, Treasury Records including Accounts (Declared Accounts, Audit Office). Finally there is an Appendix giving a list of the published Calendars of Records and Uncalendared Intervales. It would be hard to find a more important compendium for scholars and searchers.

The next paper is a continuation of the important "Place-Names in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, by Mr. Paul Whalley, late of the B. C. S." This is followed by an interesting correspondence on the "Stone Elephant at Ajmere [sic]" between Mr. H. Beveridge and Prof. P. B. Joshi, and an even more interesting paper on Indian Education in the Seventh Century A.D., being 1 ts'ing's account in 672-688 A.D., by Prof. R. K. Mookerji.

Then Sayyad Itikhar Hussain Saheb gives the story of Haji Sayyad Shah Wariq 'Ali of Dewa, near Bara Banki. He was a Husaini Sayyad, born in or about 1819, and influenced 'the religious conceptions and ideals of an incredibly larg
number of human beings." He was by birth, as it were, a Sufi Saint. "It was an ancient practice among the Sufis to seek annihilation in one of the Divine attributes which coloured the whole of their existence and became its predominant feature. The attribute in question involves the annihilation of self and the true recognition of the everlasting nature of the Deity." The attribute concerned with Haji Warsi 'Ali was the name Waris, "one of the ninety-nine names of God (as used in the Koran) and indicating that after everything else has perished, He alone will survive." Here we have the key to this Saint's life.

He was initiated into Sufism by his brother-in-law, Haji Sayyad Khadim 'Ali Shah of Lucknow, to whose mantle he succeeded at eleven years of age, and by the age of fourteen he had a number of disciples. At fifteen he started for Mecca, and quite in his youth he became a Darvesh. He then travelled for twelve years all over Western Asia, and in Europe to Turkey, Russia and Germany, but there is no record of the journeys. In Europe he is said to have been received by the Sultan 'Abdu'l-Majid at Constantinople and by Bismarck in Berlin. Altogether he made seven pilgrimages to Mecca and wandered always, returning to Dewa permanently only in 1899, when 89 years of age—a celibate ascetic all his life, which lasted till 1905.

There are many tales and doubtless some legends told of this remarkable Sufi Saint of our own time, but the interest in his biographer's account of him lies in the Sufism exhibited by Haji Warsi 'Ali. To describe this, he enters into a very brief history of the Sufis which is worth reading for the novelty of the views expressed. He apparently denies their want of orthodoxy, and then he goes on: "Sufism is really a practical philosophy with an ethical side. In order to obtain a real insight into it, it is essential to go through certain exercises and observances. Hence the need for a spiritual preceptor or 'Shaiakh' as the Sufis call him." Here the writer gives us a remarkable footnote: "The word [Shaiakh] should not be mixed up with the popular caste-name"—another instance of the power of the Hindu idea of caste in India. The biographer then describes the fall of the Shaiakhs from their original high moral position, till they "trade on the credulity of the popular mind and offer to give you a passport to Heaven if you can pledge your faith to them!" But all this does not create a bad system, and it is contended that in Haji Warsi 'Ali one finds a man "who knows God as He ought to be known."

Of the three great Sufi schools in India—the Qadiriya, the Chishtiya, and Naqshbandiya, Haji Warsi 'Ali belonged to the first two. "The keynote of his system was Divine and Universal Love." Again: "The Sufis claim that the eternal order of the universe is based on love. It may, therefore, be set down that the deeper a man's love of God, the greater is his spiritual knowledge in proportion." Here we have the teaching of Haji Warsi 'Ali. In this doctrine he became "effaced from self," even to the point of becoming "effaced from effacement"—the old Indian Hindu doctrine of reaching to Nothing, to the Nothing that exists as a reality. On his path of progress Haji Warsi 'Ali passed through the several stages of spiritual progression till he reached tawakkul, complete dependence on God and taslimu-raza, resignation to his will.

Unfortunately he disliked long discourses and has left no systematic teaching behind him; only certain precepts and not many of them. His teaching, however, illustrated certain Sufi doctrines: "God alone has a real existence; everything else is 'non esse,' and 'the seat of God is not Heaven: you should look for him among yourselves," reversing thus the doctrine, "All is God" by making it, "God is all." The Haji had his own way of publicly admitting applicants to the Order—admitting all alike, men and women of every shade of thought and of every religion, with a different formula for different faiths, and he encouraged non-Muslims to follow their own faith "with greater zeal and sincerity."

His disciples were in two classes—those who embraced the ascetic life and those who did not, while adopting his doctrine. Of the last class there were very many, even from distant parts of Europe. He was, like all Sufis, practically accused of heterodoxy, a charge largely based on his acceptance of all religions into his fold. At the same time, miraculous actions are attributed to him. By his own wish he had no successor.

The great pity of the life of this great man is that he left no real "Word" behind him, but we are told that "an excellent treatise explaining his mystic doctrine has been published by an old disciple († in Urdu), Mirza Ibrahim Beg Shaida of Lucknow, under the title of Minhajul Ishaq fi Irshadat Warisya." Now, the reason I have dealt with this article at length is that it is very important for English and European students to have an authoritative account of modern Sufism before them, and I much hope that a correct translation of the treatise will be forthcoming. The issue winds up with one of Mr. W. H. Moreland's excellent accounts of early European trade in India—this time on the operations of the Dutch East India Company, from the W. Geleysen de Jongh Collection in the Public Record Office at the Hague. This collection throws invaluable "sidelights on life in Agra, 1637-39," and Mr. Moreland's method has further illuminated it.

R. C. Temple.
22. The Brahman and his Guru.

(Told by Hira Haliwái and recorded by Bhagún Prasad, Nizámábād, Azamgarh District.)

There was once a Brahman who was initiated by his Guru, and he asked him to give him a Mantra, which none but himself could know. So the Guru whispered the usual Mantra into the ear of his disciple and departed.

Soon after the Brahman went to bathe at Benares, and hearing many other pilgrims reciting the same Mantra, he thought that his Guru had deceived him. So he went to him and charged him with trickery. The Guru was wroth and said:

"Take this scrap of paper and put it at the root of a Banyan tree and bring me whatever you find there."

The disciple did as he was ordered, and found a small ball. He brought it to his Guru, who said:

"Take this to the bazar and sell it; but whoever buys it must give all his wealth in exchange."

He took it to several shops, but no one would buy it on such terms. At last he came to a goldsmith, who saw that it was of wondrous value and gave all his wealth in exchange for it. When he opened it, the whole of his house was filled with a marvellous light, and the king, thinking that the moon had come down, went there with his troops. The goldsmith was afraid, and buried the ball in the ground; and when the king saw that the light was quenched, he went away. Then the goldsmith called the Brahman and said:

"Take away your ball. I am afraid to keep it any longer."

The Brahman went back to the Guru, who said:

"This is like the Mantra which I gave you. It has wondrous powers, which none but I know. Go in peace."

The Brahman fell at his feet and worshipped him.

23. The Biter Bit.

(Told by Ajudhya Prasad Dube of Bhonpapur, Benares District.)

There was once a very poor Brahman, who was sore pressed to marry his daughter. Having no means, he decided to go to the Raja and see if he could make something towards the marriage expenses. The porters at the Raja's gate would not let him enter; so he asked them to show him the house of the Raja's Pandit. The Pandit was at his prayers; but when he came out and learnt what the Brahman wanted, he said:—"There is no use in your going before the Raja unless you can answer the questions he puts. Now what learning do you possess?" The Brahman was obliged to admit that he was an ignorant man. So the Pandit said, "If you cannot say anything else, say, when you are addressed, "Dharm ki jay, Pāp ki chhai" (i.e., "Victory to Religion and Ruin to Vice.")"

When they came to the court, the Raja asked the Brahman to recite some verses, and all he could say was:—"Dharm ki jay, Pāp ki chhai." The Raja could understand this, which he could never do when his own Pandit spoke: so he was pleased and gave the Brahman a thousand rupees. As he was going away, the Pandit asked him for half the gift, and when he refused, the Pandit went straight to the Raja and told him what an impostor the Brahman was.

The Raja said nothing; but next day when the Brahman came to court, he gave him a scrap of paper and said:—"Take this to my Treasurer and he will give you your reward." Now on the paper was written—"Cut off this rascal's nose."
As the Brahmān was walking to the Treasury, he met the Pandit, who demanded his share. Said the Brahmān, "I fear the Treasurer. You go and get this money, and then we will divide it." When the Treasurer read the message, he cut off the Pandit's nose, despite all his protestations. Next day, when the Rāja sent again for the Brahmān he was surprised to see him unhurt. When he heard the story and sent for the Pandit, all he could say was "Dharm ki jay, Pāp ki chhai."

So the Rāja dismissed the Pandit from his service, and appointed the Brahmān Pandit in his place.


(Told by Pandit Chandrasekhara, Zilla School, Cawnpore.)

There was once an old Mahājān who was a widower, blind, deaf and lame, and he had no son. One day he called his chief agent and said:—"I am very anxious to marry again and have an heir. If you can arrange this, I will reward you handsomely."

Now in that village lived a very cunning barber, to whom the agent went and said, "If you can arrange a wife for the Lālāji, you will receive two hundred rupees, and be appointed also his family barber." Delighted with this offer, the barber went to a village some way off, where lived a number of Banias. "There is," said he, "a wealthy Mahājān who is my client, and I am off to Ujjain to find a bride for him." Hearing this, the Banias began to think there was a chance of profit, and so they came to him and said:—"Worthy barber! why should we send you to Ujjain? Perchance the marriage can be arranged nearer home, and if you could bring it about, we would make it worth your while."

The barber raised sundry objections, till they gave him a handsome present, when he agreed to marry his client to the daughter of one of them. Now he knew they would be asking all sorts of questions about the bridegroom, which he could not safely answer. So he pretended to be very hungry, and when the women took him inside and began to feed and question him, he stuffed his mouth full of rice, so that he could not talk properly. Said one woman to him:—"How old is the youth?" "Twenty, twenty, twenty," said he. "Does he care about seeing nautches?" asked a second. "He sees nobody but himself," said the barber. "Does he care for singing?" asked a third. "He never listens to anyone," said the barber. "Has he a conveyance?" asked a fourth. "He never moves anywhere without a conveyance" was his reply.

The barber then left. When the marriage procession arrived and they saw what the bridegroom was like, they seized the barber and cried, "What a lying rogue you are!" But he replied, "If you think well, you will find that I never deceived you. When I was asked his age, I said "twenty" three times, which makes sixty. I said he never looked at dances or listened to singing, by which, of course, I meant that he was blind and deaf, and when I said that he never moved without a conveyance, you might have understood that he was lame."

But they would not listen to his excuses, and drove him and the procession out of their village.

25. The Affliction of Devi.

(Told by Rām Sahai and recorded by Sīr Darśan Sinh, schoolmaster, Awarī, Fatehpur District.)

There were once a Baniya and a Lodha in a certain village, and neither of them had a son. So they went to the shrine of Devi, and the Baniya vowed that if a son were born unto him, he would offer a gold mohur, and the Lodha promised a buffalo as his offering. In due time
by the grace of Devi a son was born to each of them. After the children were named, the Bania and the Lodha went to the shrine with their friends, beating drums and making merry. The Mali, who was the priest of the shrine, thought to himself—"To-day for certain we shall get two valuable offerings." The Bania went in first, and after making a prayer touched the image with a gold mohur. Then he took it up, and coming home to his wife, said—"This is a blessed coin. Tie it round the neck of our son, and he will be safe from the attacks of demons and the Evil Eye."

The Lodha, when he went in, also prayed. Then he tied his buffalo by the neck-rope to the image of the goddess and came home. The Mali was well pleased, but just as he was going to loose the beast, it jumped and made a rush for home, and dragged the image by the rope along the ground to the door of the Lodha's house. Just then Mahadeva came up and, seeing the goddess in this wretched plight, asked her what had happened. She answered—"This is the result of conferring blessings on the base. The Bania robbed me of the offering, and this rascally Lodha has caused me to be dragged through the thorns and disgraced." So Mahadeva appeased her, and carried her off to his seat on Mount Kailasa, and there he comforted her.

26. **The Age of Man.**

(Told by Kazi Waqar-ullah and recorded by Faizullah, schoolmaster, Budawn.)

On the day of Creation Allah called all creatures into his presence and began to allot their ages on the earth. First came the Ass, and Allah said, "Thy age shall be forty years." Next came the Owl, and to him the same age was given. And so with the Dog. Last came Man, and to him Allah said, "Thy age shall be forty years."

The Man said—"O Almighty Father, Thou hast made me lord of all thy creatures and thou hast fixed forty years as the space of my life. In twenty years I shall gain maturity. Twenty years will be spent in acquiring wisdom and knowledge. What time is then left in which I may do thee service?"

In the meantime the Ass came into the presence of Allah crying bitterly and said: "O Lord, Thou hast given me an age of forty years. To me has been allotted the duty of carrying bricks and mortar and the foul raiment of men. My food is only the scraps of dry grass I pick up on the wayside, and my master has been allowed to thrash me with a club and torment me in various ways. How shall I be able to bear such hardship for the space of forty years? Of thy mercy reduce the span of my years." Allah said to his Peshkar—"Lessen the age of this creature by twenty years and give it to Man, who claims that the allotted span of his age is too small."

Then the Dog came into the Presence and said—"O Lord, Thou hast fixed my age at forty years, and thou hast given as my food dead animals and all kinds of carrion and the leavings of men. My business is to lie awake at night, and by day to watch the person and property of my master. How can I pass such a length of time in affliction like this? I pray thee reduce my age. Allah said to the Peshkar—"Reduce the age of this creature by twenty years and add them to the age of Man, who prays that his life be increased." And it was so.

Then came the Owl into the Presence and said—"Almighty Lord, my age has been fixed at forty years. But it has been ordained that my presence in any house is ill-omened. Hence men will ever hate and curse me and abuse me. How can I pass such a long time in this misery? I pray thee shorten my life." And Allah said to his Peshkar—"Take twenty years from his life and add it to that of Man, who says that his age is too short." And it was so,
Thus the limit of man’s age was fixed at one hundred years; and all the animals came
down to this mortal world. This is the reason why up to the age of forty years Man is a man
indeed, active and vigorous, courageous and vigilant. After that, for the space of twenty
years he is as an ass, idle and slothful and content with what he can get. Then for twenty
years he is a dog, weak in strength and sharp of tongue. He is easily provoked to anger
and greedy for everything he sees. After that he acquires the faculties of an owl. His eyes
become weak and, as his teeth drop, he speaks in a croaking voice. He loses his power of
hearing and sits silent in the house, blinking at his friends, who hate and curse him and long
for the day of his death.

27. The Founding of the Dom Kingdom of Gorakhpur.

(Told by Khādīm Husain, village schoolmaster, Dulpur, Benares District.)

There was once a Rāja in Benares, who had no child, and he grieved much on that
account. One day a Fākir came to his palace and begged alms. The Rāja gave him much
money, and when the Fākir asked what boon the Rāja desired in return, the latter said, “Pray
that I may have a child.”

By and by, through God’s grace, the Rānī had a daughter. The Rāja called the Pandits
to draw her horoscope, and when he asked them to explain it to him, they said, “We cannot
tell you one thing.” But on his insisting that they should tell him, they said, “Your daughter
will marry the son of Raghu the Dom.”

The Rāja sent at once for the Dom boy and had him exposed in the jungle, which swarmed
with beasts of prey. As the boy sat alone, the tree above him said, “Dig here, and you will
find a treasure.” So he dug there and found an underground palace, filled with the treasures
of seven kings. He stayed there for some time and then returned to Benares with an army.
The Rāja, who knew him not, was afraid of his power and gave him his daughter in wedlock.
On the wedding night the bride discovered that the prophecy had been fulfilled and that she
was the wife of a Dom. So the old Rāja drove out his son-in-law, and he went with his force
and wealth to Gorakhpur, and there he founded the well-known Dom kingdom.


(Told and recorded by Sheikh Waliullah, Mulla of Sahaswan, Budaun District.)

When Alexander had subdued all the people of the world, he desired to conquer also the
people of the sea, and he enquired of Aristotle how this could be done. Aristotle, after many
days’ reflection, came to the king and said:—“My advice is this. Have a palace built on
the shore of the sea, and collect a party of the loveliest maidens of the earth and make them
live there. Let them go daily to the shore and sing the sweetest songs, and order them to
treat with the utmost kindness any who come from the sea, be they men, beasts, demons
or angels.”

Alexander did as Aristotle advised; and when the maidens came to the palace, they
used daily to sit and sing by the shore of the sea. One day they suddenly saw a head appearing
above the surface of the water. As long as they continued to sing, the head remained above
the water; when they ceased, it sank beneath the waves. In appearance it was as the head
of an ape. Day by day the head came nearer to the shore. At last, when the sea-man saw
that there was nought to fear, he came on land and sat beside them. So he came and went
as he pleased and none forbade him. He lived and ate there and chose the loveliest of the girls
to stay with him; and in due course a child was born to them. And the man of the sea loved
his son dearly, and he used to dive into the water and bring precious stones and jewels, such
as man never saw, from his treasure beneath the waves. He also taught him the speech of the people of the sea, and his mother taught him that of the people of the land. And the boy would often go with his father and visit the kingdom of the sea.

When Alexander heard what had happened, he came to the palace and rewarded the boy and his mother with costly gifts. Then he consulted Aristotle on what was next to be done. Aristotle went to the girl and asked her to request her husband to take her king to the kingdom of the sea. "If he refuses," said Aristotle, "the king of the land will slay thee and thy son." When the man of the sea heard this, he agreed to the order of Alexander. He came next day with a boat, and placed in it Alexander, Aristotle, his wife and son. Then the boat sank in the water, and they landed in the kingdom of the sea. There he showed them all the wonders, and Alexander ordered the boy to write a letter to the king of the sea, which he sent by the man of the sea. When the king of the sea saw the boy and read the letter, he was much pleased and told him to bring his king to his court.

So Alexander went with the boy to the king of the sea, who received them with the utmost respect and seated Alexander on a throne equal to his own, and said to him—"O Alexander! You are now my guest. I will do what pleases you. But is the income of the land too small that you desire tribute from me?" Then he said—"I will give you this little box of wood. If you can fill it with anything, I will own that I am bound to give you tribute. If you fail, you must return to your kingdom as you came."

Alexander returned to the land and told Aristotle to fill the box with something. Aristotle put into it all the things which the world contained, but still it remained empty. All the wise men of the earth tried with all their skill to fill the box, but they failed. So Alexander and Aristotle returned to the king of the sea and admitted that they could not fill the box. The king of the sea said—"Return to your own land and speak not again of levying tribute from me."

As he was going, Alexander said—"Pray tell me now of what this box is made and how it can be filled." The king of the sea said—"This box is made of the eye of covetousness. Nought but the dust of the grave can fill it."

Alexander and Aristotle were abashed and returned to their own land.

29. The dream of the Sadhu.

(Told by Gokul Singh Thakur of Nârdyanpur, Cawnpore District.)

A certain Sadhu was wandering about begging, and reached a village just as a grand marriage procession was passing. Seeing the bride and the rejoicings, the Sadhu thought to himself:—"After all, the lot of the married man is the best." And with that he fell asleep on the edge of a well. He dreamed that he was married and had a lovely wife, and that when he called her she came and sat on his bed. Whereupon he cried, "What insolence to sit on my bed," and gave her a slap in the face. At that moment the Sadhu fell into the well and the people had much ado to fish him out with a rope. "After all," said the Sadhu, "the life of the unmarried man is best."

30. The Mulla and the Boors.

(Told by Nârdyan Das and recorded by Rahmatulla, schoolmaster, Baksiga, Budaun District.)

One day a Mulla went to preach in a rude village. "To-morrow," said he, "Ramzan Sharif will come and you must all fast," The rough villagers were much put out at this, and next day, when a stray camel with a young one entered the village, they cried:—"Here is that rascal Ramzan Sharif. Let us kill and eat him." The following day the Mulla returned and seeing them eating meat, asked them what they meant by it. They replied:—"We killed that scoundrel Ramzan and are eating him." Said the Mulla:—"La hauâl wa la
31. The Liar tricked.

(Told by Kedarnáth Kayasth and recorded by Jang Bahadur Sinh, Basitnagar, Hardoi District.)

There was once a man who was a noted liar. One of the villagers happened to say that his house was too small for his family. Said the liar:— "My grandfather's house was so big that it would hold the whole village." No one replied to this, except an old man, who remarked:— "My father's spear was so long that whenever he pleased, he used to pierce the clouds with it and cause the rain to fall." "And where did he keep such a long spear as that," asked the liar. "In the house of your grandfather," was the answer.

32. Honesty is the best policy.

(Told by M. Durga Prasad Bhargava, Banda.)

A Brahman, who had a grown-up daughter, was so hard pressed to procure money for her marriage that he broke by night into the palace of the Rája. Entering a room, he saw a box full of jewels, but when he seized it, his conscience reproved him, and he laid it down. He entered another room, where he found more valuables, but again he left them untouched. At last he came into a room where the Rája lay asleep on a couch, with a monkey squatting on guard with a drawn sword in its hand. As soon as the monkey saw the shadow of the Brahman fall on the Rája, it raised the sword and would have slain the Rája, had not the Brahman seized the weapon and killed it.

Then the Brahman wrote the following couplet in Sanskrit on the wall of the room:—

\[
\begin{align*}
Pandita shatru bhaso na murkha hitkārka \\
Bandho naahdapi Rája Bīru choure na rakshita
\end{align*}
\]

i.e., "It is better to have a learned man for an enemy than an illiterate man for a friend. If a monkey be even a Rája, and a Brahman a thief, they should not be protected."

When the Raja awoke next morning and saw the dead monkey and the verses written on the wall, he was amazed and called on all his learned men to interpret the mystery. But they failed. So he issued a proclamation that anyone who could explain it should be liberally rewarded. At last the Brahman appeared and explained the matter, and the Rája dismissed him with a royal present.

33. The tale of Nobody.

(Told by Rām Gharib Chāube.)

There was once a woman, whose husband went away to a far country, and during his absence she took another man as her lover. Whenever she spoke of this man to her little boy, she called him "Na koi"—"Mr. Nobody." After a time the husband returned, and he called his child and asked him whether anyone had been visiting his mother in his absence. He replied:— "Na koi used to come." At which the fool was satisfied.

Hence they repeat the following verse:—

\[
\begin{align*}
Na koi jāta tha, na koi āta tha, \\
Na koi god men lekar khelāna tha
\end{align*}
\]

i.e., "Nobody came and Nobody went: Nobody used to take me on his knee and play with me."

[The old tale of Outis and the Cyclops.—W. Crooke.]

34. The old woman and Satan.

(Told by Abdulla Julaha of Man, Azamgahr District, and recorded by Pandit Jadunandan Lal.)

An old woman, who was barren and was very anxious to have a child, used to visit every Fakir and wiseacre whom she heard of. One day, while on her way to another village, she saw an old woman sitting by the roadside. Now this old woman was Satan (may he be...
The old woman approached Satan and explained her case. Satan replied: "Make water in that well over there, and you will have a child." The old woman said: "I cannot do this, because the water of this well is used by mankind for drinking and bathing." "Very well," said Satan, "there is no other way: and if you do not do as I advise you, you will have neither chick nor child." At length the old woman yielded to Satan's advice. When she had done so, a terrible flame rose from the well, the glare of which mounted to the heavens. Her eyes were dazzled and she called to the Almighty to deliver her. Then she returned to the old woman who had given her the advice, but could not see her anywhere. To an old man who happened to be standing near she said: "Babaji, where is the old woman who was sitting here just now?" He laughed and answered: "That was not a woman, but His Holiness Satan himself. He wished to test your honesty and virtue: and now you will have neither son nor daughter.

When the old woman's husband heard what she had done, he divorced her. She then said: "Gaye donon jahan se, na idhar ke hue, na udhar ke hue." "I have been ruined in this world and the next. I am neither on this side nor on that."

35. The Pandit and the Rakshasa.

(Told by Beni Mādho Pandit of Hargām, Sitapur, and recorded by Kunj Būdri Lāl, Hargām School.)

A Rakshasa and a Rakshasi once lived in a forest near a certain city. One day the Rakshasi said to her husband, "I long for the flesh of a man." The Rakshasa promised to fetch her some soon, and so went to the court of the Rāja, dressed as a learned Brahman, and said: "I will ask a question. If any Pandit of the Court fails to answer it, he must die; and if I fail to answer, I will kill myself."

The Rāja agreed, and the Rakshasa then asked the meaning of the following words:—

Na panch Mi na panch Si
Punch Mi aur panch Si.

None of the Pandits could answer this, and the Rāja gave them a week to think over it. Only one day remained and still they had not solved the riddle. The Rakshasa used to attend the court daily and go home in the evening. Finally, one of the Pandits, despairing of life, followed the Rakshasa and overheard him talking to his wife. Said she: "You have been a long time getting me the flesh of a man, and now there is little hope left." So he told her about the riddle, and she asked him for the answer. For a long time he would not tell her, but at last, when she pressed him hard, he said:—

"In the Hindu fortnight there are 15 days. Of these five end in Mi, the Panchami (5th), Saptami (7th), Ashtami (8th), Navami (9th) and Dasami (10th). Five end in Si; the Ekadasi (11th), Dvādaśi (12th), Triyodasi (13th), Chatudi (14th) and Purnami (full moon) day. The five which have neither Mi nor Si for their ending are the Purva (1st), Doṣī (2nd), Tīj (3rd), Chaturthi (4th) and Shashti (6th)."

The Pandit, having heard this, returned home, and when the Rakshasa received the correct answer, he was confounded and killed himself on the spot. The Rāja then had the Rakshasi put to death.

[This story is somewhat on the lines of the English "Tom Tit Tot" and Grimm's "Rumpelstiltskin."—W. Crooke.]

36. How the pious ploughman escaped death.

(Told by Sayyid Khādīm Husāni, Benares District.)

There was once a very pious man who fell into poverty and was obliged at last to work as a ploughman. While at work, he used to keep a copy of the Holy Koran at the side of the field, so that he could read a line or two as he came to the end of each furrow. One
day an astrologer passed by and said to his comrade:—“This man is doubtless very pious: but if he is not married within a week, he will die.” When the pious man heard this, he was dismayed, and having tethered his oxen went about the place, crying, “For the love of God, will anyone give me his daughter to wife and save my life?” For some time none would agree: but at last the pious daughter of a merchant consented to marry him for the love of God.

So they were married, and in the middle of the night the bridegroom said to his wife:—“I have been in such fear of my approaching death that I have not eaten aught to-day. Rise and get me some food, lest I die.” So she got up and cooked for him some of the wedding rice, and just as it was ready, a beggar came by and asked for alms. The pious man, though starving himself, gave him the food, and the Fakir blessed him in the following words:

“May you live a year for every grain of rice you have given me!”

And so it turned out; for he lived to a great old age.

[This story resembles one of the incidents in the life of Raja Harischandra.—W. Crooke.]

37. True Love.

(Told by Pandit Náráyan Das of Kangra and recorded by Rám Gharib Chaube.)

A woman was walking along the road and saw a man following her. She asked him what he wanted, and he said:—“I have fallen in love with you.” She replied:—“My sister, who is much prettier than I am, is behind me.” So he went back and saw the sister, and lo! she was very ill-favoured. So he ran back to the first woman and said:—“You lied unto me.” And she answered:—“Nay, you lied unto me. Had you truly loved me, you would not have gone after the other.”

38. How the Pandit was taught to lie.

(Told by M. Gaurishankar Lál, Unao.)

A Pandit was on his way to give a recitation of the sacred Bhágavata Puráña, when he met the Káli Yuga or Iron Age on the road, who asked him whither he was going. When the Pandit told him and asked him to join the audience, he said:—“I care not for such meetings; but if you wish to please me, tell one good lie in the course of the service.”

The Pandit was a very pious man and could not bring himself to tell a lie. So, just as he was going home, the Káli Yuga in the guise of a dancing girl’s musician appeared, and when the people asked what such a low fellow as he wanted at a religious service, he said:—“This Pandit of yours owes one of my girls fifty rupees, and he said he would pay me out of what he made by this recital.” When the people heard this scandal, many of them ceased attending the service.

The next night Káli Yuga appeared in the guise of a butcher, with the head of a goat under his arm; and when the audience asked what he wanted, he said:—“Your worthy Pandit owes me twenty rupees for meat, which he promised to pay me out of this night’s fees, and he also bade me have a goat’s head ready for him when he left the service.” With this he showed them the goat’s head, and many, who believed that their Pandit never touched meat, left the place.

The third night there were very few people present, and Káli Yuga came as a liquor-seller. When they asked him why he had come, he replied:—“Your Pandit owes me ten rupees for spirits and I have come for it, and I have brought a bottle for him to drink when he goes home.” When they heard this, they all left the place. As the Pandit was going home, Káli Yuga said to him:—“It would have been better for you to do as I asked you.” The Pandit replied:—“Don’t disgrace me any more and I will tell as many lies as you like.”

From that day forth the Pandit became the greatest liar in the village.
THE INDIAN ALPHABET.

By H. C. Ray, M.A.

The origin of the Indian Alphabet is one of the few problems of Ancient Indian civilization that still awaits solution. The absence of any clear proof that India had direct intercourse with the borders of Palestine in the seventh or eighth century B.C., as pointed out by the late Prof. Rhys Davids, vitiates the generally accepted theory of Bühler that Indian Script was derived from the alphabet of the Northern Semites in the sixth or the seventh century B.C. It was with great interest, therefore, that we read an article on this subject by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, which was written in 1919 and published in three separate places at three different times. (Calcutta Review, January 1920, pp. 21-39; Proceedings and Transactions of the First Oriental Conference, Vol. II, 1922, pp. 305-318; Sir Asutosh Mookerjee’s Silver Jubilee Volumes, Vol. III, Part I, pp. 494-514.)

This article tends further to discredit the Semitic theory of origin, for Prof. Bhandarkar has adduced numerous facts from Vedic Literature to show that not only the system of numerical notation, but also the art of writing letters, was known to the Indians at least as early as 1200 B.C., the latest date assigned to the Rigveda. Thus shaking the foundations of Bühler’s theory, Prof. Bhandarkar has suggested a pre-historic origin for the Indian Alphabet.

As might be expected, the views of Prof. Bhandarkar have received attention and some criticism. But so far as is known to me, nobody has ventured to challenge the facts and his interpretation of them, so far as they pertain to the Vedic period, whereby he has indicated that the Indians could write numerical notations and letters at least 500 years before the date of the famous Moabite stone and other epigraphs (850 B.C.). But exception has been taken to his acceptance of certain views and facts, which he has utilised to show the existence of writing in India on pre-historic pottery and artifacts.

In a paper read before the Asiatic Society of Bengal and published in the Jbors., Vol. IX, Part II, June 1923, which however appeared in January last, Mr. Ramaprasad Chanda has raised doubts as to the value of this evidence in favour of Neolithic writing in India. Mr. Panchanan Mitra, one of the Honorary Assistant Curators of the Indian Museum, while inspecting the pre-historic collections of that Museum, discovered two artifacts inscribed with some writing. One of these was a celt of greenish stone found in Assam. The letters inscribed on this axe-head bear some resemblance to the five Arabic numerals 1, 9, 1, 7, 4; but when the celt is held upside down they show a remarkable resemblance to the pre-historic characters of Egypt published by Dr. Flinders Petrie; and what is more, the letters are all connected by one continuous line as in the pre-historic Minoan epigraphs. Mr. Mitra was for some time in doubt; but he inclined at last to the view that the writing was more probably in pre-historic characters than Arabic integers. (New Light from Pre-historic India, ante, 1919, pp. 57-64). Presumably he argued that, if these were Arabic numerals giving an English date, why were the integers indicating the day, month and year not separated by any hyphen or dot, and why were they on the other hand underlined in the same manner as in some pre-historic epigraphs. This was the view of Mr. Mitra, when Prof. Bhandarkar was preparing his lecture on the origin of the Indian alphabet; and naturally enough, as he was anxious to utilise all up-to-date information, and as Mr. Mitra was the only Indian scholar who had made any special study of the pre-historic period in India, he accepted this interpretation. Since then we are told that Mr. Mitra, after a further examination of the stone, has relinquished his theory. Apparently he now inclines to the alternative view that these characters look more like Arabic integers, as is evident from the fact that he makes no
mention of his theory in his Pre-historic Arts and Crafts of India (Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University, Vol. III, 1920) and in his paper on Pre-historic Writing in India and Europe (JASB., Vol. XVII, 1921, No. 4) published long before Mr. Chanda’s criticism. We should, however, add that though Mr. Chanda also shares the view that the letters inscribed on the celt are Arabic integers, he has not yet been able to explain away the presence of the underline nor the absence of hyphens or dots, which one would naturally expect between the integers indicating the day, month, and year, if the letters gave an English date. But while Mr. Chanda’s criticism on this inscribed stone has added little to our knowledge on the subject, his criticism on the other inscribed stone is quite unconvincing. This is described as a piece of earthy hematite, rubbed and scraped. It is shaped like the palm of the right hand and is scratched with three letters only and was found in an old Neolithic settlement near Ranchi. Prof. Bhandarkar expressed the following opinion on this stone:

"It is faintly scratched with three letters only, two of which bear a fairly good resemblance to those of the Brāhmaṇī script of the Asoka period. These were the letters at the ends, one of which was ma and the other ta. The middle letter, as it stood, could not be read for a long time. Then it occurred to me that the letter ta, evidently in a reversed form, and the other, viz., ma, must remain the same even when it is reversed. Might not the middle letter similarly present a reversed form? I at once held the neolithic before a mirror, and to my agreeable surprise found that the middle letter came fairly close to the Asokan dā. As all the letters are reversed, the inscription has to be read from right to left and reads accordingly ma-d-ta."

A comparison of these with the Asokan letters on Bühler’s paleographic chart (Tafel II) will at once convince any scholar as to the substantial agreement of the letters. Mr. Chanda himself agrees that one of the decipherable letters is reverse ta. But he objects to the reading of one of the letters as ma, because ‘this type of ma with one straight and another hooked side is unknown elsewhere.’ But though it is sometimes found that the form of certain letters survives to ages separated by millennia, it would be idle to suppose that all the letters would maintain their form in alphabets, which are separated by thousands of years. A glance at the plates of Bühler’s paleography will disclose the absurdity of such a view. When we find letters changing their forms so fundamentally in a few hundred years, it will be, I think, extremely unreasonable to be surprised by the fact that this particular ma shows a less hooked side than has hitherto been found.

Prof. Bhandarkar has also utilised the recent discovery of writing on the pottery discovered by Mr. Yazdani in the excavations of the pre-historic cairns in the Nizam’s Dominions. Mr. Yazdani has discovered similar letters on the pre-historic pottery in the Madras Museum, and it has been found that at least five of these marks are identical with the letters of the earliest Brāhmaṇī script. Mr. Chanda does not contest the reading of these letters, but simply observes that the ‘practice of erecting megalithic monuments to the dead still survives in certain localities in India and in the south no copper or bronze age intervenes between the Neolithic and the Iron ages.’ But Mr. Chanda would have added strength to his criticism if he had shown that the practice of building this particular type of cairn still survives in the Nizam’s Dominions, or that the custom prevailed in the historical period in these localities. Without these facts his criticism loses force; more so, when there are other scholars and students of the pre-historic period who would refer them at the latest to 1500 B.C.

To sum up the recent discussions of the origin of the Indian Alphabet, we find that Prof. Bhandarkar has succeeded in further discrediting the Semitic theory of Bühler, by showing that writing was known to the Vedic Aryans long before the time of Mesha, king of Moab.
(850 B.C.). His theory of the pre-historic origin of the Indian Alphabet is, as is only natural, based on more or less debatable materials. We can admit with Prof. Das Gupta (*JASB.*, 1921, Vol. XVII, pp. 210–212) that unless there is clear evidence to show that inscribed stones were found in neolithic strata, the value of their evidence is appreciably diminished. But even if this is granted, and even if one of the stones were really inscribed with Arabic integers, as Mr. Mitra now holds, even then the materials brought together deserve the serious consideration of scholars. Thus, though he has not succeeded in finally establishing his theory of the pre-historic origin of the Indian Alphabet, it will be admitted that he has practically shattered the theory of Bühler, which has been for sometime past regarded as unassailable by some Indologists. There should now be a further discussion of all the available materials pointing to a pre-historic origin of the Brāhmī script. Dr. R. C. Majumdar has recently drawn the attention of scholars (*JBORS.*, Vol. IX, 1923, p. 20) to the fact that Mr. Chanda had observed alphabetic forms, resembling some of the Brāhmī signs, on the artifacts of the Azilian period (*Proceedings of the Second Oriental Conference*, p. lxxxvi). This is highly important, and we hope we shall have further light on this point from Mr. Chanda.

**A FIXED EASTER AND THE REFORM OF THE CHRISTIAN CALENDAR.**

By **Sir RICHARD C. TEMPLE**, Br.

*(Continued from page 219.)*

**IV.**

**The Existing Solar Calendar with a fixed Easter and Intercalary Days.**

If, however, every February were given 29 days, the 15th April would always fall on the same day of the week as New Year’s Day; and if the extra day given to February were taken from December, the year would have the same length as at present. December would have 30 days and if the last day, 30th December, of the year were made intercalary, i.e., not counted in the week, made a public holiday, and called, say Old Year’s Day: Then every New Year’s Day would fall on the same day of the week; i.e., every 1st of January would fall on the same weekday. By this plan December would count only 29 days. All that it would be necessary to do would then be to wait until New Year’s Day falls naturally in a normal year on a Sunday (say till 1933) and make every subsequent New Year’s Day fall also on Sunday. Then every Easter Sunday would fall on 15th April, and Easter would be automatically fixed without any change in the length of the year in relation to the course of the sun. See Table II.

Such a plan would involve a second intercalary day for Leap Year, which might, for the reasons above given, be made a public holiday to fall between 30th September and 1st October, and be called Leap Year’s Day, or as above suggested, Sanctuary Day.

This last Scheme appears on the whole to satisfy the requirements with the least possible disturbance of existing habits.

**TABLE II—1933.**

| Lunar-Solar Calendar compared with the Existing Solar Calendar in Normal Years. |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sunday | January 1 | January 1 | February 1 | January 29 |
| Monday | 2 | 2 | 2 | 30 |
| Tuesday | 3 | 3 | 3 | 31 |
| Wednesday | 4 | 4 | 4 | February 1 |
| Thursday | 5 | 5 | 5 | 2 |
| Friday | 6 | 6 | 6 | 3 |
| Saturday | 7 | 7 | 7 | 4 |

* *

4. 1928 will commence on a Sunday but that is a Leap Year.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sunday</td>
<td>January 8</td>
<td>January 8</td>
<td>February 8</td>
<td>February 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuesday</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wednesday</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thursday</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friday</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saturday</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunday</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuesday</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wednesday</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thursday</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friday</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saturday</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunday</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuesday</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wednesday</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thursday</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friday</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saturday</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunday</td>
<td>March 1</td>
<td>February 26</td>
<td>April 1</td>
<td>March 26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuesday</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wednesday</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>March 1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thursday</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friday</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saturday</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>April 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunday</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuesday</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wednesday</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thursday</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friday</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saturday</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunday</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuesday</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wednesday</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thursday</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friday</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saturday</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*In a Leap Year February 29 will make every day after it fall a day later in the week in the existing Calendar.*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sunday</td>
<td>March 22</td>
<td>March 19</td>
<td>April 22</td>
<td>April</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuesday</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wednesday</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thursday</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friday</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saturday</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunday</td>
<td>May 1</td>
<td>April 23</td>
<td>June 1</td>
<td>May</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuesday</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>23</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wednesday</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thursday</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friday</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>26</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saturday</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>27</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunday</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>28</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>May 1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>29</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuesday</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wednesday</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>31</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thursday</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>June</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friday</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saturday</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunday</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuesday</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wednesday</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thursday</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friday</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saturday</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunday</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuesday</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wednesday</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thursday</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friday</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saturday</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunday</td>
<td>July 1</td>
<td>June 18</td>
<td>August 1</td>
<td>July</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuesday</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wednesday</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thursday</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friday</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saturday</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table II—contd.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Week Day</th>
<th>Lunar-Solar Month</th>
<th>Day</th>
<th>Existing Solar Month</th>
<th>Day</th>
<th>Lunar-Solar Month</th>
<th>Day</th>
<th>Existing Solar Month</th>
<th>Day</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sunday</td>
<td>July</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>June</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>August</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>July</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td>26</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuesday</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wednesday</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>28</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thursday</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>July</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
<td>29</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friday</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saturday</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
<td>31</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunday</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
<td>17</td>
<td>August</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuesday</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wednesday</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thursday</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
<td>21</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friday</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
<td>22</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saturday</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>23</td>
<td></td>
<td>23</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunday</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
<td>24</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
<td>25</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuesday</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>26</td>
<td></td>
<td>26</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wednesday</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>27</td>
<td></td>
<td>27</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thursday</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>28</td>
<td></td>
<td>28</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friday</td>
<td>27</td>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saturday</td>
<td>28</td>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunday</td>
<td>Sexiber</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>August</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>September</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>September</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuesday</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wednesday</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thursday</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friday</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saturday</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunday</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuesday</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wednesday</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>23</td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thursday</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friday</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saturday</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>26</td>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
<td>23</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunday</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>27</td>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>28</td>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuesday</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>29</td>
<td></td>
<td>17</td>
<td>26</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wednesday</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
<td>18</td>
<td>27</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thursday</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>31</td>
<td></td>
<td>19</td>
<td>28</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friday</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>September</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
<td>29</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saturday</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
<td>21</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table II—contd.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sunday</td>
<td>Sexember 22</td>
<td>September 3</td>
<td>September 22</td>
<td>October 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuesday</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wednesday</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thursday</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friday</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saturday</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunday</td>
<td>October 1</td>
<td>October 9</td>
<td>November 1</td>
<td>November 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuesday</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wednesday</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thursday</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friday</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saturday</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunday</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuesday</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wednesday</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thursday</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friday</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saturday</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunday</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuesday</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wednesday</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thursday</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friday</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saturday</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunday</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuesday</td>
<td>24 November</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wednesday</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thursday</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friday</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saturday</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunday</td>
<td>December 1</td>
<td>December 4</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuesday</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wednesday</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6 Next-day, Sanctuary Day, intercalary and not counted in the Lunar-Solar Calendar, but counted in the existing Solar Calendar.

7 In the existing Solar Calendar, on account of Sanctuary Day, October 9th will fall really on a Monday and all the rest of the year a day later in the week than that shown in the Table.
### Table II—contd.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Month Day.</td>
<td>Month Day.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thursday</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friday</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saturday</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunday</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuesday</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wednesday</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thursday</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friday</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saturday</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunday</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuesday</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wednesday</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thursday</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friday</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saturday</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunday</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuesday</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wednesday</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thursday</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friday</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saturday</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**CONTRIBUTIONS TO PUNJABI LEXICOGRAPHY.**

**SERIES IV.**

By H. A. ROSE, I.C.S. (Retired),

(Continued from page 206.)

**Tel-chiragh**: land held revenue-free (for supplying a shrine with oil for its lamp? B., 159 and 168.

**Tel lupri**: a rite consisting in anointing bride and bridegroom, followed by worship of the nine planets and the Tel sånd, q.v.: Ch., 127.

**Tel sånd**: a rite in which oil is poured over the heads of a bridal pair by relatives who cast a small coin into a vessel for the Brahman; it follows the Tel lupri: Ch., 127.

**Telangi**: *Viburnum foetens*: Ch., 239.

**Tendu**: *Diospyros montana*: Sirmûr, App. IV, vi.

**Thadairi**: archery, a shooting match; also a tune played at an archery meeting: SS. Keonthai vi. Fr. *thoda*, an arrow.

**Thairi**: a sort of platform, whereas a *thás* is a mere heap of stones: SS., Bashahr, 26.

**Thakri**: a weight = 1½ *sers khám* = Solhā: Sirmûr, App. III.

* In the Existing Calendar the last day of the year falls really on a Sunday for the reason given in the previous footnote, and Christmas Day on a Thursday.

In the Lunar-Solar Calendar Leap Year's Day would be an intercalary day after Saturday Dec. 28th.
Thākri: a measure of capacity (4 thākris = 1 patha), but used as a measure of area: SS., Beja, 4.

Thāl: a form of oath on the Rājā, like the Darohi but merely placing the person upon whom it is imposed within the Rājā's mercy: SS., Bashahr., 34 and Jubbal., 23.

Thali: a sheet: SS., Bashahr., 41.

Thāma: a distribution of dels or 'shares' among Brahmans at a wedding: Gloss., I, p. 797.

Thāmba: a group of villages held by descendants of a common ancestor, direct or indirect: Comp., 19.

Thambi: a granary: Mandi, 33.

Thāngi: hazelnut, Corylus colurna: Ch., 226 and 240.

Thāreth: an official = Bhawāl; he carries out the Chār's orders in Bhattiyāt; fr, tharā, 'a platform': Ch., 265.

Tharwal: Cornus capitata: Sirmūr, App. IV, v.


Thiarsahu: Tireshu, a small fair; syn. Shānd; Sarāj (Kulu): Gloss., I, pp. 440 and 441.

Thobi: a carpet: Ch., 203.

Thoda: a game played with bows and arrows: Sirmūr, 62.

Thōā = Thākri and Solhā: Sirmūr, App. III.

Thōplu: wheat-cakes: Ch., 139.

Thūla: see under Tops.

Thūh: a root: Ch., 243; the thumb, in Attock, Attock Gr., p. 113.

Tiāri pānā: = Tigra pānā, q.v.

Tigra: apparently = Tali, 'a small piece of cloth, a patch' = pānā, to throw a cloth over a man's daughter or sister to disarm his enmity: Gloss., I, p. 906.

Tika: a very good soil: Sirmur, App. I.


Tikidār: a tenant paying cash rental: Ch., 277.

Tikr: = Tigra, q.v.

Tikre: a kind of sweetmeat: B., 106.

Tilla: sweet pātis: Ch., 222 and 243.


Timur: Diospyros malanoxylon: Sirmūr, App. IV, vi.

Tiraqja: the sending for the bride to her husband's home for the third time: Gloss. I, 824.

Tīria: squint: Ch., 138.

Tirmal: Xanthoxylum alatum: Sirmūr, App. IV, iii.

Tirsera: a cess; see Autariāna: Ch., 96.

Tīrd: Rhus sp.: = Arkhol: Ch., 236.

Tola: betrothal by exchange: Ch., 141.

Tola: of gold: = 1 rupee 3 ratīs in Amritsar.

= 1 , 4 , , Ferozepur, etc.

= 1 , 2 , elsewhere.

Tola: 5 tolās = 1 chitānki.

4 chitānks = 1 pāo.

4 pāos = 1 ser.

40 sers = 1 man of 82 lbs.: Gujrāt.

Topa: a round basket; see Pītār.

Topa: corresponds to the English gallon. A hath-rakh topa is the topa measured with the help of one hand. The charra topa is measured without any aid: D. I. K.: the standard measure of capacity in Shāhpur, containing almost exactly 2 standard sers of wheat or bījra:—

\[
\begin{align*}
4 \text{ paropīs} & = 1 \text{ topa} \quad = 2 \text{ sers.} \\
4 \text{ topas} & = 1 \text{ pāi} \quad = 8 \text{ sers.} \\
10 \text{ pāis} & = 1 \text{ man} \quad = 2 \text{ standard mans.} \\
4 \text{ mans} & = 1 \text{ khalwār} \quad = 8 \text{ standard mans.}
\end{align*}
\]

But on the Chenuāb:—1 topa contains only 5 sers of wheat, and 4 pais make 1 man = 26 \frac{2}{3} standard sers; about Bhera and Miānī 1 topa contains only 1\frac{1}{2} standard sers; but in the Tapī \textit{ilaqā} of the Salt Range 1 topa contains 3 sers of wheat and 5 pais make 1 man = 1\frac{1}{2} standard mans.

In Muzaffargarh the topa varies in weight from 1\frac{1}{2} to 6\frac{1}{2} sers, but its usual weight is about 5 or 6 sers. In Ferozepur the topa equals 3 sers pakka or, among the Dogars, 4 sers pakka.

In Hazāra it = 4 chobas, but is now rarely used.

In Gujarāt:— 4 paropīs = 1 topa by measure.

\[
\begin{align*}
16 \text{ topas} & = 1 \text{ man.} \\
50 \quad & = 1 \text{ pānd.} \\
4 \text{ pāndos} & = 1 \text{ mānt.} \\
1 \text{ mānt} & = 9\frac{1}{2} \text{ English mans.}
\end{align*}
\]

The topa however varies in weight from 1\frac{1}{2} to 3 English sers.

Topi: a cap; topt-lānt, a form of widow remarriage: Ch., 127.

Topu: a cap, worn by women: SS., Bashahr, 42.

Tor: Euphorbia Nivulia: Ch., 239.

Torang: a porridge made of bāthā, in Kanawār: SS., Bashahr, 41.


Tūtū: a cone, made of parched flour, about a cubit in height and used in the jānjî form of marriage. The maternal uncle of the bride makes 7 of these cones, cuts the tops off with his right hand, and with it touches the back of the fireplace (on the north), the east, south, west and north of the room in that order, and the top of the door frame: Ch., 157.

Trakar: a pasture, at a distance from the village but whence the cattle can be brought home at night: Ch., 27.

Trangari: a bridge, temporary or permanent, made of two beams with cross-pieces; ef., Gurūr: Ch., 12.


Triimbāl: a wild fig, Ficus glomerata: Ch. 240.

Tritu: pepper, Euonymus fimbriatus: Ch., 237.

Tu'am-l-walima: marriage feast, in Multān: Glossary, 1, 833.

Tukma: silken thread, worn as an ornament: B., 195.

Tukri: a measure containing 4 kassas, in some villages, and in others 5, of the Bori \textit{ilaqā} in Hazāra: 10 tukris = 1 chhat.

1 In the Shāhpur Thal the paropī is called \textit{phulla}, and the topa appears to be called paropī.
Tūlī: an inferior kind of tobacco: Sirmūr, 66.


Tūng: *Rhus cotinus*: Sirmūr, App. IV, iv, and Ch., 237.

Tuni: a box; cf., Kanjāl: Ch., 208.

Tupkha: meat stew; in Kanwār: SS., Bashahr, 41.

Ubthal: a kind of rice: SS., Bashahr, 48.


Ugrāhikā: a collector of revenue; *ugrāhikā*, the circuit of an—: Ch., 264 and 270.


Ulanga: see under Hath bhra.

Umm-us-sibān: lit., 'mother of children,' infantile convulsions; Ar. sibān or subyān— 'boys': B., 187.

Ungal: 3 ungaals = 1 girah.

16 girahs = 1 yard: Gujrat.

Ungal: an instrument of iron, with which the hair is parted in front; used at weddings: Ch., 142.

Upās: the single meal eaten only once a day for 3, 5, 7, 8, 9 or 13 days after a death by the family of the deceased: Ch., 154, 159 and 161.

Utar: North: Ch., 149.

Utkar: Malāna, g. v.

Vakhan: 'to be said': Mandi, 53.

Vanan: ? things or various things: Mandi, 53.

Vand: a lot, usually impartible, and when so the inheritance of the youngest son; in Bangahal (Khāgra): Comp., 73.

Venja: bamboo: Mandi, 53.


Vingrā: curling; see under Chūne.


Wahtar: a measure containing 40 odis; in the Pakhli tract it contains only 20 odis: Hazāra.

Wajūd-i-zill (probably for wujūd-i-qill, 'body of the shadow'), imaginary body: B., 176.

Wāk: an irrevocable betrothal, tantamount to a marriage: Comp., 5: (2) the power of a girl to bestow herself in marriage (Peshawar): ib., 6 and 37.

Wākān: lit. 'a gift by word of mouth,' an irrevocable form of betrothal among Hindus: Gloss., I, p. 785.


Waq, apparently = Wāk, g. v.: Gloss., I, p. 790.

Warenā: a pledge as in weirna or sanbhāl bhejna, to send a support or pledge in ratification of a betrothal: Gloss., I, p. 811 and 834.
Wârnâ : a wedding ceremony at which a sheep is passed thrice round the heads of the pair by the bridegroom's mother. Ch., 158.
Waryâ : prisoner's base: B., 201.
Wasal : onions, Ar. basal. B., 192.
Wat = sâg, vegetables; wat wâlawân, to send a request for Wat, at a betrothal: Gloss., p. I, 792.
Wat: sâkh : sending of fresh fruit, etc., by the girl's father to the boy's: Gloss., I, p. 792.
Wattâ, purâna : the old standard of weight, in which:
2 tolas = 1 sarsâhi
15 sarsâhis = 1 ser. Hence the old ser was = to 32 tolas:
Tain Târan.
Winâlk : a ceremony observed by certain Muhammadan septs in honour of a valiant ancestor: B., 136.
Yêt, fem. -ini : giant; Gilgit: Gloss., I, p. 357.
Yud = satù, porridge, in Kanâwar: SS., Bashahr, 41.
Zaddi baddi : general corvée for special persons travelling through the State: SS.
Kumhârsain, 22.
Zagat-khâna : various taxes: Saket, 43.
Zâkat : (?) Zakât, a duty levied on every house which produces or sells ginger: SS., Kuthâr, 8.
Zakki : Chaugharia, mahûrat, q.v.
Zu : = Ju, q.v.

KOTTAYAM PLATE OF VIRA-RAGHAVA CHAKRAVARTI.

BY K. N. DANIEL,

(Continued from p. 229.)

IV. Paleographic Evidence.

Let us now discuss the subject from the Paleographic standpoint. The alphabets employed in this document are the Vâṭeluttu and the Ārya-eluttu or the Grantha. The Vâṭeluttu is otherwise called the Chêra Pândya alphabet, which was in use throughout Kêralam and the country of the Pândyans : its characters, however, being limited, many Sanskrit words could not be written in it. The South of India, as can be easily shown, was colonised by the Aryans some centuries antecedent to the Christian era, and consequently Sanskrit education in the South must also have begun before the said era. Sanskrit education necessarily implies the existence of some alphabet other than Vâṭeluttu and accordingly we find the Ārya-eluttu alphabet side by side with it, though the Vâṭeluttu was more commonly used. The Ārya-eluttu was used in writing Sanskrit books and sometimes in writing the Sanskrit words in the Vâṭeluttu documents. Hence we find both Vâṭeluttu and Ārya-eluttu in this document.

Alleged evidence against an early date from the Grantha characters.—Mr. Venkayya has adduced some pieces of paleographic evidence to prove that this document was of the fourteenth century. "As I have already remarked," says Mr. Venkayya, "the Vâṭeluttu characters of this grant appear to be more modern than those of the Cochin plates of Bhaskara Ravivarman and of the Timnelli plates. It may not however be quite safe to base any conclusions on the Vâṭeluttu portion, because no dated inscriptions in that character are published and available for comparison. The Malayalam portion clearly shows that the inscription cannot be so old as the eighth century a. d. The
Table showing the letters of the Vatteluttu Alphabet in the Kottayam Plates of Vira Raghava and Thanu Iravi.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>k</th>
<th>φ</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>ch</th>
<th>n'</th>
<th>tr</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>m</th>
<th>p</th>
<th>m</th>
<th>y</th>
<th>q</th>
<th>r</th>
<th>l</th>
<th>v</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ai</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

K. N. Daniel
symbols for a, â, ai, ka, gha, ta, ṭa, and ya, differ but slightly from their modern Malayalam equivalents. The secondary form of the vowel a, which is added to consonants, is almost the same as in modern Malayalam. I have compared the Malayalam portion of this inscription with several stone inscriptions from the Western Coast. One of the stones in the Trivandrum Museum contains a much defaced inscription, dated in Kollam 239 (A.D. 1054), which begins with some Sanskrit words written in ancient Malayalam or Grantha. The alphabet employed in it is much more archaic than that of the subjoined grant. The vowel ai which may be taken as a test letter, and which occurs in the Trivandrum inscription, resembles the corresponding symbol in the Tirunelli plates. (Ind. Ant., Vol. XX, plate opposite p. 291, line 26). The only three inscriptions known to me, whose characters bear some resemblance to those of the Vira Rāghava plate, are Nos. 266, 269 and 270 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1895. Of these, the first is dated in Kollam 427 (A.D. 1252) and the last in Saka Samvat 1256, (A.D. 1314). From these facts I am led to think that the present inscription is much later than the Cochin grant and the Tirunelli plates as well as the Trivandrum inscription quoted above.” (Epigraphia Indica, Vol. IV, p. 293.)

It is true that the characters, a, â, ka, gha, ṭa and ya, do not differ much from their modern equivalents. This will not prove anything, unless it is shown that the ancient equivalents of these characters were different. Mr. Venkayya does not try to prove this, except in the case of one of these symbols, viz., ai. He saw this character on a stone in the Trivandrum Museum and in the Tirunelli plates (line 26). The symbol ai, which we see in line 26 of the Tirunelli plates, is indeed quite different from that of the document under consideration. We see this symbol not only in line 26 (Aṣiyāpiravarkkum), but also in line 34 (aimptāṭaraṇi) of the Tirunelli plates, in line 5 of Tāmūravar copper plate No. 1 (Alyanāṭikāpiravṛati) and in some other inscriptions. But there is one thing which Mr. Venkayya did not know: the character ai found in the Tirunelli copper plates is Vaṭṭeluttu. The ai of the Vaṭṭeluttu alphabet is, of course, quite different from that of the Arya-eluttu alphabet, which we find in the copper plates under consideration. That the symbol ai, which Mr. Venkayya pointed out as Grantha, is Vaṭṭeluttu cannot be gainsaid. Vide plates showing the Vaṭṭeluttu alphabet employed in the Kaviyūr inscription of A.D. 950 and that employed in the Tiranṭikkarai inscription of Rājarāja I and the Rājasēkhar copper plate. (Trav. Arch. Series, Vol. I, p. 288; Vol. II, p. 10.)

Considering the great advance the study of epigraphy has made during the last 25 years, since Mr. Venkayya wrote this article, we should not blame him for his mistake. At the same time it is difficult to understand how he came to make it. There is no other symbol in Vaṭṭeluttu for ai and there must be some symbol for it in this alphabet, as every alphabet is complete for writing the language for which it is intended. The character ai is also necessary to write Tamil, of which Vaṭṭeluttu was the alphabet. Mr. Venkayya was aware of the fact, as he himself says, “in Tamil inscriptions……it is generally the words of Sanskrit origin that are written in Grantha.” The ai which he refers to is not used in writing a word of Sanskrit origin and the characters found on either side of it are all Vaṭṭeluttu. In circumstances he ought to have taken it for a Vaṭṭeluttu character.

Let me point out one other instance in which Mr. Venkayya shows ignorance of the Malayalam alphabet. He reads “Chandraḍikṣhayakaṇṭu” (lines 20, 21). Any school boy will say that there is no kṣhya there, but tṭhya. Moreover, chandraḍikṣhayakaṇṭu is meaningless.

With all deference to Mr. Venkayya, a distinguished epigraphist, one cannot but observe that with so limited a knowledge of the Malayalam or Ārya-eluttu alphabet, he was hardly qualified to make a paleographic comparison of the Malayalam characters.
Let us now turn to the fact that some of the Ārya-ejutu symbols found in this document, do not differ from their modern equivalents. Mr. Venkayya is quite right when he says: "The secondary form of the vowel ū, which is added to consonants, is almost the same as in modern Malayalam." But he should have known that this is the case with the Ārya-ejutu of any age (vide plate showing the variations in the Ārya-ejutu alphabet).

Now there are two varieties of Ārya-ejutu—the Malayalam and the Tamil Grantha. The Ārya-ejutu, therefore, was developed into the Tamil Grantha in the Tamil country, and into the Malayalam on the Malabar Coast. Now, in order to trace the development of the Grantha into the Malayalam alphabet, we should compare the ancient writings of Kērala with this document. Unfortunately we have only very few ancient inscriptions—dated or datable—of Malabar available. I have, therefore, taken all the available ancient inscriptions in which the Grantha characters are used. If we find a fully developed Malayalam character in an inscription of the Tamil country, we can be sure that it was fully developed in Malabar also; on the other hand if we find an archaic one in the inscriptions of the Tamil country, we cannot decide that it was not fully developed in Malabar.

With a view to give the reader as complete an idea as possible regarding the development of the Ārya-ejutu alphabet, I have given a plate, of which a description is necessary. In the first column the modern Malayalam characters are given; in the second modern Tamil Grantha; in the third, those of the Vīra Rāghava plates; in the fourth, those of the Rāja-sēkkhara plate (facsimile, Trav. Arch. Series, Vol. II, p. 12. I have traced the characters not from the facsimile but from the plate itself). In the fifth, those of the Tānu Iravi plates No. I (facsimile, Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 66, 68); in the sixth, those of the Tānu Iravi plates No. II (facsimile, Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 80, 82); in the seventh, those of the Cochin plates of Pārkara Iravi (facsimile, Ind. Ant., Vol. III, p. 334); in the eighth, those of the miscellaneous inscriptions of Pārkara Iravi (facsimile, Trav. Arch. Series, Vol. II, pp. 44-47). These are all from Malabar.


Now let us compare the characters found in these writings. In the Vīra Rāghava copper plate we find the following characters which are almost like their Malayalam symbols, a, i, e, k, kh, g, gh, ch, ṣch, ʈ, n, ʂ, p, m, y, l, l, v, ś, ṣr, ʂh, h, l. Of these we find e, g, śr, h, in the inscription of A.D. 772 (column 9): i, kh, g, ṣch, ʈ, ʂ, p, m, y, l, l, v, ś, ṣr, ʂh, h, in the eighth century inscriptions of Nāndivarman Pallavamalla (columns 10, 11): e, g, ʈ, p, y, l, l, ś, ṣr, h, in the Jāṭilavarman plates of C. eighth century (column 12): and k, g, p, y, v, ś, ṣr, h, in the Rājaśēkkara copper plate which is shown to be a very early one (column 4). We find all these characters in these plates exactly as they are in Malayalam. We have gh in the eighth century Tamil inscriptions of Nāndivarman Pallavamalla and Jāṭilavarman.
exactly as it is in Tamil Grantha. We do not find gh in any inscriptions of Malabar, except in the Vira Rāghava plate. The symbols for gh in Malayalam and Tamil Grantha are almost the same.

In the Vira Rāghava plate we have m twelve times and mm once. The symbol m is twice written exactly as it is in Malayalam. It is written ten times, and mm once quite differently, just as we find in all other inscriptions.

As for τ, it is not Ārya-τεττττu. This character is not necessary for writing Sanskrit, of which Ārya-τεττττu is the alphabet. It was, no doubt, taken from Vatteluttu and adopted into the Malayalam alphabet. The symbol τ of our copper plate is not like the Malayalam τ but like the Vatteluttu τ of Rājasēkhara and Tānu Iravi Tiruvalla. The symbols ṛ and Ṽ are added to it, just as in Malayalam. This character, therefore, was adopted into the Malayalam alphabet. No one can, however, say when it was adopted, or whether it was newly adopted, by the writer of our copper plate.

We have ṯ in the Tiruparappu copper plate of the ninth century (column 13). We find ṯ in the Jātiḷavarmar plates (c. eighth century) and others, almost like the Malayalam τ.

As to the remaining characters a and ṛ, we do not find any other inscription in Kērala in which these characters occur. But we find a symbol for ṛ almost like its modern Malayalam equivalent in the inscription of Māraṇchataiyan (column 9). We find a and ṛ in the eighth century inscriptions of Jātiḷavarmar and Nāndivarman in a slightly different form, i.e., almost like their Tamil Grantha equivalents.

Now let us take the symbol a again. In the plate showing the early Pallava Grantha alphabet of the seventh century (Trav. Arch. Series, Vol. I, p 222), the symbol a is almost like the modern Malayalam a, though all the other characters are far from being similar to their modern equivalents. In the Grantha alphabet of the eighth century (ibid., p. 223) the symbol a is far from being similar to the modern a, but some other characters approach their modern equivalents. Lastly in the table showing the Grantha alphabet of the last quarter of the eight century (ibid., p. 224), the character a by no means approaches the modern a; but many of the other symbols are just like their modern equivalents. From all this we find that the development of the Grantha alphabet was not uniform throughout Southern India.

So the argument that the Grantha characters of our copper plate are too developed to be ascribed to any date earlier than the fourteenth century falls to the ground. For we find them in the eighth century inscriptions of the Tamil country.

Evidence in support of an early date from the Grantha characters.—Let us see whether we can arrive at any positive idea regarding the date, from the Grantha characters used in this plate.

The peculiarity of the symbol a should be noted. It is written twice with two symbols, called pu[ti], unlike its modern equivalent. Since we do not find that character in any other inscription, we cannot say when this gave place to its modern form.

Let us again compare the characters of Vira Rāghava's copper plate with those of other plates. The few characters we find in the Rājasēkhara plate are, no doubt, more archaic than those of Vira Rāghava's plate.

(1) Now compare the Vira Rāghava plate with the Tānu Iravi plates. In Tānu Iravi there are only very few Grantha characters. The characters for comparison are t, r, s, and m. The symbol s of Tānu Iravi is just like its modern equivalent. We have no pure s but stu in the Vira Rāghava plate. The symbols of that stu is far from being similar to the modern s which we
find in the Tānu Iravi plates. The symbol r of Tānu Iravi is decidedly more developed than that of our copper plate. There is a bending on the left side which, if extended further down, makes it like the modern r. Out of the 12 symbols in our copper plate, two are fully developed. We find only three of that character in Tānu Iravi, and they are like the undeveloped ten of the Vira Raghava copper plate. Taking the whole into consideration, Vira Raghava is older than Tānu Iravi.

(2) If we compare c, gh, k, t, r, and s of our plate with those of the Tamil country inscriptions of Nandivarman (eighth century, column 10), we shall find those of the latter are more developed than those of the former. This is presumptive evidence that Vira Raghava is older than Nandivarman, eighth century.

(3) The symbol kr in Nandivarman, Jātilavarman, etc., is uniform and has some resemblance to its modern equivalent. But the kr of Vira Raghava's plate has no resemblance to the modern kr. It is written twice in the Vira Raghava plate, exactly in the same form. This affords presumptive evidence that our copper plate is earlier than the eighth century.

Again, comparing Rājaśekhara with Nandivarman, the symbols bh, t, dh, and n of the latter are just like their Malayalam equivalents, while those of Rājaśekhara are archaic. Rājaśekhara, therefore, must be earlier than the eighth century.

Is there any evidence against an early date from the Vaṭṭelutta characters?—Now let us turn to the Vaṭṭelutta portion of the copper plate. Though Mr. Venkayya has said that it may not be quite safe to base any conclusion on the Vaṭṭelutta portion, he says that "the Vaṭṭelutta characters of this grant appear to be more modern than those of the Cochin plates of Bhaskara Ravi Varman and of the Tirunelli plates." As usual he does not tell us his grounds.

I have examined almost all the available ancient Vaṭṭelutta inscriptions. Many of the characters are the same in all of them, but there are differences in a few. The subjoined plate shows these characters as they are written in 23 inscriptions. The first column shows the characters of the Vira Raghava plate; the second those of the Tirunelli plates of Pārkkara Iravi (facsimile, Indian Antiquary, Vol. XX, p. 290); the third those of the Cochin plates of Pārkkara Iravi (facsimile, ibid., Vol. III, p. 334); the fourth those of the miscellaneous inscriptions of the same king (facsimile Trav. Arch. Series, Vol. II, pp. 34-40); the fifth those of the Rājaśekhara copper plate (facsimile, ibid., p. 12. I have traced the characters from the plate itself); the sixth, those of the first set of the Kottayam plates of Tānu Iravi, ninth century; the seventh, those of the second set of the above (facsimile of both, ibid., pp. 66-82); the eighth, those of the Māvaṭṭatu Maṭham plate of Tānu Iravi, ninth century (facsimile, ibid., p. 68. I have traced the characters from the plate itself); the ninth, those of the inscriptions of Māraṇchatarayan, eighth century (facsimile, Epigraphia Indica, Vol. VIII, p. 320; Trav. Arch. Series, Vol. I, p. 286); the tenth, those of the Madras Museum plates of Jātilavarman, e. eighth century, (facsimile, Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXII, pp. 70, 71); the eleventh, those of the Mānṭalī plate, A.D. 973 (facsimile, Epigraphia Indica, Vol. IX, p. 236); the twelfth, those of the Parttīvapuram inscription of A.D. 923 (plate, Trav. Arch. Series, Vol. I, p. 286); the thirteenth, those of the Kaṇṭiyūr inscriptions of 936 A.D. (plate, ibid., p. 286); the fourteenth, those of the Kaviyūr inscription of 949 A.D. (plate, ibid., p. 288); the fifteenth, those of the inscription of Rājaraja I, tenth century (plate, ibid., p. 288); the sixteenth, those of the Rajendra Chola inscription A.D. 1003 (facsimile, Epigraphia Indica, Vol. V, p. 146); the seventeenth, those of the Kaṇṭiyūr inscription of A.D. 1221 (plate, Trav. Arch. Series, Vol. I); the eighteenth, those of the Chittara inscription of A.D. 1374 (plate, ibid., p. 296); the nineteenth, those of the Nāvaṇyakṣaṅgam inscription of A.D. 1439 (plate, ibid., p. 296); the twentieth, those of the
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Vite</th>
<th>Reghure</th>
<th>Parake</th>
<th>Trikantli</th>
<th>Parekli</th>
<th>Cobbel Plate</th>
<th>Parekli</th>
<th>Mustahilu</th>
<th>Maghaphare</th>
<th>Thani (i)</th>
<th>No. 1, 9th century</th>
<th>Tuhan</th>
<th>No. 2, 8th century</th>
<th>Thani (2)</th>
<th>No. 3, 8th century</th>
<th>Maghaphare, 6th century</th>
<th>Jallavaranu, C. 1st century</th>
<th>Meenambar, 8th century</th>
<th>Meenambar, 8th century</th>
<th>Meenambar, 8th century</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Am</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>U</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>K</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>K</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>K</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>K</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

K. N. Daniel

A mere glance at the accompanying plate, showing the Vaṭṭeluttu alphabet of different inscriptions, will convince the expert reader that Mr. Venkayya is wrong in saying that the Vaṭṭeluttu characters of the document under consideration are more modern than those of the Cochin plates and of the Tirunelli plates.

Let us compare the characters of the different inscriptions in the accompanying plate.

There are two varieties of r. We find closed and open r symbols in the Tānu Iravi plates of the ninth century; a closed r in the Parur inscription of the seventeenth century; and an open r in the Michirai Matham plate of the eighteenth century.

Now let us take s. We find a closed and an open s in the Tānu Iravi plates of the ninth century, and in the Parakara Iravi. We find a closed s in the Nāvayakkalam inscription of the fifteenth century, Chittaral inscription of the fourteenth century, etc., and an open s in the Paliyam plates of the seventeenth century, the Parur inscription of the seventeenth century, Michirai Matham plates of the eighteenth century, etc.

Let us look at the symbol a. There are six or seven varieties of this character. We find two varieties in our copper plate. One of them is in those of Parakara Iravi, Tānu Iravi, etc. The other is almost like that of the Māraṇchaṭaiyaṇ inscription (col. 9). All the varieties of a need not be of the same rudimentary form.

In the modern Malayalam alphabet there are two symbols for ṭ. One is an adaptation from the Vaṭṭeluttu. In Vaṭṭeluttu ṭ is a r with a dot on either side. In Malayalam an r with dot on either sides is read ṭ.

The next symbol for consideration is u. The difference is only very slight in the case of this symbol. It may be stated that there are five varieties. The one variety which we find in Vira Rāghava is that with two angles. The same variety is seen in four inscriptions of the tenth century (cols. 12, 13, 14 and 15). The Tirunelli plate (col. 2) and the Huzur Treasury plates (col. 23), both of the sixth century, have almost the same form. Another variety is in the plates of Parakara Iravi, Tānu Iravi (ninth century), Māmpulli plate (tenth century): another in Jātilavarman (c. eighth century), Tānu Iravi No. 3, Tiruvalla (ninth century): another in the Paliyam plates (seventeenth century).

There are three varieties of the symbol ṅ and two of them are found in the Tānu Iravi plate No. 3 and in the inscriptions of the seventeenth century. The third variety is found only in the eighth century inscriptions.

There are two varieties of the symbol ṅ, and both are found in the seventeenth century inscriptions.

Symbol ṅ is written in two forms and both are found in the Tānu Iravi plates of the ninth century. One is in the Rājasēkhara plate, the Chittaral inscription of the fourteenth century, and Nāvayakkalam inscription of the fifteenth century; the other which is in Vira Rāghava's is found in all other inscriptions.

There are two forms of pe and both are found in Tānu Iravi of the ninth century. One of them, which is in Vira Rāghava, is found in Parakara Iravi, Rājasēkhara, the tenth century inscription of Kaviyūr, the fourteenth century inscription of Chittaral, and the fifteenth century inscription of Nāvayakkalam. The eighth century inscription of Jātilavarman is also
almost identical. The other form is in Pārkara Iravi, Māraṇḍaśājaiyan of the eighth century, the Pārtīvapurum and Māmpalji inscriptions of the tenth century.

There are five or six varieties of l in the subjoined plate, from which we cannot draw any conclusion whatever.

Evidence in support of an early date from the Vaṭṭeluttu characters.—Let us take the character lu. The symbol l is quite visible in the lu of Vira Rāghava, Rājaśekhara, and in two inscriptions of Pārkara Iravi, and is fairly visible in the Cochin plates of Pārkara Iravi. Vide lu of cols. 1, 3, 4 and 5 and lā of cols. 1 and 4. The symbol l is uniform in all inscriptions, except in the Paliyam plates and the Michirai plates (cols. 20, 22).

Originally lu must have been a l with some additional mark, and in course of time have changed and lost all resemblance to l. We can clearly trace the development. In the Cochin plates of Pārkara Iravi the additional mark of u, instead of coming down through the last line, ꞑ, made a bend at the top and came down in another line. This is the only difference between the Vira Rāghava lu and a certain variety of the Pārkara lu which underwent another change. The bending of l gave place to a single line ꞑ. That is the form in which this character appears in other inscriptions. None, I hope, will gainsay this, and contend that the symbol lu, which has no resemblance whatever with l, is the original form. It is not true with any other symbol of the Vaṭṭeluttu alphabet, nor with any symbol of any alphabet. In all alphabets, as well as Vaṭṭeluttu, where the symbols have inflections, it is invariably made by adding some mark to the symbol in its a form.

Some may argue that though the symbol lu of Vira Rāghava and Rājaśekhara is the original form, it does not necessarily follow that those inscriptions are earlier than all the others, in which a later form of lu appears. Original forms and later forms may co-exist for some centuries, and therefore an earlier form may be found in a comparatively late inscription. But we should bear in mind that the Vira Rāghava plate has the symbol lu five times and lā once; all uniformly written. The Rājaśekhara plate has lu twice, and both uniformly written. The Pārkara Iravi inscriptions have the different stages of lu. The character lā employed in the Perumma inscription B of Pārkara Iravi (sixth century) is given in col. 4, which is exactly like that of the Vira Rāghava plate; and the symbol lu employed twice in the Tirukkōṭittāpam inscription C. of Pārkara Iravi is given in col. 4, in which l is quite visible as in the Vira Rāghava plate. But in the same inscription a different lu, as we find in col. 7, is used five times in which l is not at all visible. I have read all the published facsimiles of the Vaṭṭeluttu inscriptions and a very large number of unpublished inscriptions, and I found this lu only in one more inscription, viz., that of Māraṇḍaśājaiyan (eighth century) in the Tirukkurālam temple (No. 480 of the collection of 1917 preserved in the Madras Office of Epigraphy). It is exactly like the Vira Rāghava lu. Of the several inscriptions of Māraṇḍaśājaiyan now preserved, we find this original form of lu only in one inscription, and therefore we may assume that this form of lu had almost gone out of use during the days of Māraṇḍaśājaiyan in the eighth century. Nowhere else did I find this original lu. We find this original form of lu only in five inscriptions, one written at Cranganore and one at Tiruvalla,
one at Perunna, one at Tirukkoṭṭātum and one at Kuṭṭālam. We have one ninth century document and another of the sixth century—35 big copper plates now preserved in the Trivandrum Museum—written at Tiruvalla itself. We do not find in any of them this particular form of $lu$ which appears in the Tiruvalla plate of Rājasēkhara. No scholar will contend that this is due to mere chance. It, therefore, follows that Vira Rāghava and Rājasēkhara are the earliest and Pārkara Irawi the next in point of date. Some may point to the Paliyam plates and the Parur inscription (cols. 20, 21). The characters of the Paliyam plates (A.D. 1663) are very different from the ancient inscriptions. The symbol $l$ which is uniform in all ancient inscriptions has undergone a change in the Paliyam plates. The vowel $u$ and $u$ is added to $l$, not as it is in Vatteluttu, but as it is in Malayalam or Grantha. The symbol $lu$ of the Michirái Maṭhām plates (A.D. 1770) is not like that of the Paliyam plates (cols. 20, 22). As for the Parur inscription (col. 21), the symbol $lu$ is exactly the Tamil $lu$—vide the character in the facsimiles of the ancient or modern Tamil inscriptions. (Trav. Arch. Series, Vol. I, pp. 6-9). The symbol $l$ of Vatteluttu and Tamil are the same. The Tamil alphabet was commonly used in Keralam during the seventeenth century. The writer of the Parur inscription had to write a $lu$ after a $l$. He therefore may have written a Tamil $lu$ by confusion. Or else he thought it proper to introduce a Tamil $lu$ into the Vatteluttu alphabet. Anyhow none followed him.

**Conclusion.**

We can now summarize what we have said on the date of the copper plate in question. We find that there are only four dates which suit the Astronomical requirements given in our plate—A.D. 230, 680, 775 and 1320. I don’t think that any one will ascribe to this plate so late a date as the fourteenth century, after reading the specimens of Malayalam prose of the thirteenth century which I have quoted above.

Paleography has made it very clear that Vira Rāghava is earlier than the eighth century. The year 775 is also, therefore, out of the question.

Now there remain A.D. 230 and 680. It is unquestionably proved on Astronomical grounds that Pārkara Irawi Varmar was of the sixth century. Among the witnesses of the Vira Rāghava plate we do not find the king of the Venpolināṭu who is mentioned in the Cochin plates of Pārkara Irawi. If the dynasty of Venpolināṭu was in existence at the time of Vira Rāghava, it would have been by no means omitted, seeing that Venpolināṭu was a strong Christian centre. Vira Rāghava, therefore, must be earlier than Pārkara Irawi. Virakērala Chakravartti, who lived during the middle of the first century B.C., is mentioned as the great predecessor of Vira Rāghava, but Pārkara Irawi Varmar does not make mention of him. Perhaps he belonged to a different dynasty or, on account of the great distance of time, the name of Virakērala Chakravartti was omitted. This also leads us to think that Vira Rāghava was older than Pārkara Irawi Varmar. Vira Rāghava is a pure Sanskrit name, but Pārkara Irawi is a Tamilised Sanskrit name, and consequently is of so late a date that the Āryan kings in the south allowed their names to be Tamilised. Vira Rāghava, therefore, is earlier than Pārkara Irawi.

Paleographic evidence, especially that afforded by the character $lu$ of Vatteluttu, also leads us to the conclusion that Vira Rāghava was earlier. The date, therefore, of Vira Rāghava is March 6, 230 A.D.
MOUNT D’ELI.

In the issue of this Journal for January, 1923 (pp. 83–5), Sir Richard Temple appears to accept almost too readily the view expressed by Mr. K. V. Subramanya Aiyar in his article on "An Unidentified Territory of Southern India," that the real meaning of Mount D’Eli is the Rat Hill, and not the Seven Hills. I venture to suggest that Mr. Subramanya Aiyar’s explanation is ingenious but incorrect, and that Sir Richard Temple and others who have held that the vernacular name for Mount D’Eli signified the Seven Hills need not so easily abandon that opinion.

Mr. Subramanya Aiyar admits that in Sanskrit works like the Kerala-Mahātmāya the region surrounding this hill is called the land of the Seven Hills (Saptastali); but he states that the mistake arose with the Indian scholar, who confounded the dental with the lingual in transription. This appears to me to be a gratuitous assumption; for it is not only in Sanskrit works, which are more or less modern, that the hill in question is known as the Seven Hills, but also in Tamil works of undoubted antiquity, in which this hill is mentioned, the name bears means unequivocally the Seven Hills. Thus in Nāriṅgai, which is one of the acknowledged Sangam works, we find in lyric No. 391 the following passage:

Pompaṉa Koṅkāna Nanna-nampitar
Eñir kunram perinum,
which means "even if we obtain the Seven Hills (Eñir Kunram) situate in the prosperous territory of Nanan in golden Koṅkāna." Again in Ahaṇḍānu, another well-known Sangam collection, we read in lyric No. 152, Nanan EṁṆu-vaṟai, that is, "the Seven Hills of Nanan." We gather from old Sangam works that this Nanan belonged to a minor branch of the Cēra line (Ahaṇḍānu 97: 258) and ruled over a territory, Pūḷi-naṉu (Pāḍiruppatu IV, Epilogue), situated in Koṅkānam, the modern Konkan (Nāriṅgai 391). His chief cities were Kadamba-peru-vāyi (Pāḍiruppatu IV, Epilogue), Pāḷi (Ahaṇṭānu 15: 258), Vaiyāru (Ahaṇṭānu 97), and Pirambu (Ahaṇṭānu 256); and he owned two mountains, Kūṇṟuṟu or Kūṇṟu Nebuvarai (Nāriṅgai 391, Agaṇṭānu 152) and Pāḷi Sūṟambu (Ahaṇṭānu 152). Kūṇṟuṟu, Nebuvarai, and Sūṟambu are synonyms, meaning mountain. It is this Kūṇṟuṟu or Kūṇṟu Nebuvarai—the seven mountains—that the European navigators came to call Mount D’Eli. Thus, if the evidence of ancient Tamil literature is accepted—and there is no reason why it should not be—the term eli in the European Mount D’Eli has no connexion with eli, the Tamil word for māshika or "rat," but it stands for ću, the Tamil numeral denoting seven. In these circumstances, no purpose is served by attempting to connect the name of the hill with the Tamil word for rat, as Mr. Subramanya Aiyar has done, on the strength of a story told by a romancing poet-chronicle of comparatively recent date. It will be much nearer the fact to hold that the poet gave an ingenious twist to the name of the hill to suit the exigencies of his miraculous story.

K. G. Subba Aiyar.

TOOTNAUG.

For examples of the use of this term, see ante, vols. XXVI, p. 223; XXXIII, p. 323.

Yule, Hobson Jobson, derives the word from Port. tuinaq and says that the formation is obscure. A recent Reply in Notes and Queries, vol. CXLVI, p. 258, however, goes into this origin and there seems no doubt that it is derived from Skr. tuttha, blue vitriol, sulphate of copper +nāga, tin or lead.


L. M. Anstey.

BOOK-NOTES.

A Metaphysique of Mysticism, by A. Govinda-Charaya Svamin (Vedically Viewed).

It is impossible in the course of a brief review to notice in detail the many aspects of mysticism, as related to other philosophical systems or scientific data, or the various viewpoints of other mystics, which have been quoted by the author, sometimes, of considerable length, to support his views and sometimes in defence of the general tenets of mysticism. Suffice it to say, that the author has filled his work with copious extracts from writers, both Eastern and Western, on Mysticism, Philosophy and Religion. How far there is justification for the claim which is made throughout the work that other mystic systems, such as Sufi-ism, even other religions such as Christianity and Buddhism, or other philosophical doctrines such as Tao-ism in its earliest and purest form, derived their inspiration, if not their origin, from the Vedanta philosophy of the Upanishads and of the Bhagavad Gītā, must be left to the reader himself to judge in each particular case. But it may be remarked in general that the claim appears to be a large one; that it ignores the possibility of independent and indigenous origins of creeds and philosophical systems, and that it rests on no very clearly defined evidence.

It is, moreover, a question whether the mystic sense has not been read by the Author into the whole Vedanta philosophy of the time of the Upani-
shades and of the Bhagavad-Gītā, down to Shankarāchārya, its most famous exponent. That philosophy stands forth as a notable example of the many reasoned philosophical attempts, which have been made by the human intellect, to resolve the many into the One, to get rid by means of an intellectual tour de force of the plurality of objectivity, manifested to the ordinary organs of perception and cognition; by shutting out, as it were, the phenomenal world, including the observer’s own body, and by concentrating the attention inwardly, thus attaining to the recognition of the unity of the human soul with God, the ānima mundi. It should, moreover, never be forgotten that the Vedanta philosophy of Shankarāchārya divides itself naturally into an esoteric and an exoteric conception of the Deity—Param Brahma and Aparam Brahma, where Brahma is advisedly of neuter gender. But the esoteric, or metaphysical aspect is never wholly divorced from the exoteric, or religious aspect. Moreover it is sought to prove the whole Vedanta philosophy by means of the ordinary intellectual processes, witness the identification of “cause” and “effect,” and so on. It is therefore open to question how far such a philosophy, based on logical proofs, can be said to be the same as the author’s mystic interpretation of it, an interpretation which elevates Śrī Rāmānuja into something perilously near a personal God. Nevertheless, the author’s work possesses many features of interest to the general reader and will no doubt be welcomed by mystics in all lands as a compendium of Mysticism, a faith which universally uses one form of expression, namely that of transcendental exaltation of the self. For Mysticism is based on faith in God, and is therefore above and beyond proof. In the very opening section the three “fundamentals” of the mystic creed are stated to be “God,” “soul” and “immortality.” “God” is termed “Spirit,” and it is stated that the mystic requires God not merely as Absolute, not merely as Personal, but as a combination of both the Absolute and the Personal. The mystic, says the author, “seeks the expression of God; his outpourings are more from the heart than of the head or the hand. Hence his aim is at the beauty, (ruṣpa), side of the Creator, which he expresses from the beauty analogies of his Creation. The mystic is the Lover of God, and “God is the Lover and Love.” This is not Vedantism. It is pure imagery and apparently borrowed from Sufi-ism. The Deity is here very much sa-guṇam or possessed of attributes. Again, it is said that the mystic is concerned with the relation of his self or soul with God. That this soul can never have existence except by God’s existence, and that immortality consists in the union of God and soul, and that the effecting of this union is the endeavour of the mystic. So far this is more or less in keeping with Vedanta esoterism. When, however, it is claimed that the three states of consciousness, namely waking, dreaming and sleeping prove that there is an ego, a soul, which attaches itself or detaches itself from the objective Universe, we can only reply that, however much Vedanta is followed in this particular, this is not proof, but inference. But it is not Vedanta to exalt, as the author does, the guņa (attribute) ānanda (bliss) above the other guṇas, sat (being, truth) and cit (mind, intelligence) of the param brahma. It is obviously logically false to ascribe, as the Vedanta does, any attributes to an attributeless Deity; the paradox is sought to be resolved by making the 3 guṇas, sāc-chid-ānanda as evanescent or as ineffable as human language can possibly describe them. But mysticism when it exalts “God’s bliss” unconsciously perhaps makes a reality of this guṇa, and God becomes sa-guṇam—a personal God. Here then is the parting of the ways between Vedantism pure and simple and Mysticism. The latter is seen to be a development of the former, a development which in the end results in producing a Theism as distinct from a metaphysical doctrine; a development in process of time, long after the philosophical treatises of the Upanishads and the Bhagavad-Gītā were composed; traceable through the Theism of the Bhakti poets and tinged in more modern times with the erotic imagery of Sufi-ism, which far from being a development from Vedantism, reacted on the latter, so as to transform it completely and divorce it from its philosophical standpoint. Did not the sage Balvān observe silence when asked to describe the Deity? Does not the mystic speak of God as “bridegroom” and “lover” and dwell on his “bliss” and “beauty”? Hence Vedanta and Mysticism are as the poles apart, but such is the self-deceptive nature of the human intellect that it is possible for the Mystic to claim that “bride-groom,” “lover,” “beauty” and “bliss” are purely symbolical terms, apparently oblivious of the fact that they are abstract expressions, which have their root in and are suggested by the practical experience of the cognitive faculty in the world of being and becoming.

In the 4th section the author treats of “mystic factors” in the Bhagavad-Gītā. Bhakta, which simply means “devotee” is strained to mean “mystic lover.” The derivation of Kṛṣṇa from the roots Kṛṣṇa, “earth,” and “heaven” smacks of the Pandits.

In the 5th section spiritual knowledge, which might more appropriately be termed spiritual faith, is exalted above objective and subjective knowledge, i.e., knowledge gained by the ordinary senses of perception and knowledge gained by scientific abstraction or deduction from known scientific data, respectively. The position is necessary to the idealist and the dreamer, but it will be found
that, when giving expression to the articles of his spiritual faith, he seeks to establish his position by unconscious reference to objective and subjective data.

Incidentally it may be remarked that the word "Pandit" can hardly mean "mystic."

In the sixth section it is claimed that by the enlargement of the senses, or by expansion of the intellect, or by exaltation of the heart, the mystic is given ineffable visions of the Reality. It is generally supposed that the exaltation alluded to is sufficient to account for the mystic state. For in section seven it is stated that by "metaphysical abstraction" God is "realized"; that is to say the first step is to exclude objective perception or cognition. Then, it is stated, by "mystical abstraction," or, as the ordinary man would say, by exaltation of the feelings, God is "enjoyed."

The 8th section makes large claims for Krishna worship as underlying the belief in the Divine in all lands. Little, whose work "India in primitive Christianity" connects the doctrines of the Essenes with neo-Buddhism and the latter with Sāivism, is referred to by the Author in this connexion. But there is no room in Little's scheme for Krishna. The ascription of the Vedic epithet Kṛṣṇa, "black," or "dark-hued" to the Kṛṣṇa of the Mahābhārata is fanciful. Krishna was of Rajput and Western Indian origin and had no place in the Vedic Pantheon of Nature Gods of the Panjab and Ganges Valley.

Section 9 is an attempt to reconcile the agnosticism of Buddhism with the mystic view, by means of the thesis that Buddha in his "illumination" finally attained to "blessed Nirvāṇā." But this is Edwin Arnold, and no amount of word-painting can reconcile the essential differences between a negative, a pessimistic creed of quietism, albeit charged with the performance of charity and good works, and the positive, optimistic, efflorescent outpourings of the mystic.

A similar argument applies when we turn to China and when it is sought to read mysticism into Confucianism, the author of which said "do not trouble about superfluous things; they are mere speculations, keep your mind for the practicalities of life."

And again to Tao-ism, which originating as a purely philosophical speculation, in which nothing was very clearly predicted of "Tao," degenerated into a mass of superstitions in combination with Shamanism.

The Mysticism of Sufi-ism is well-known, but it may be remarked that the metaphysical principle underlying it, requiring as it does, the separateness of God and the worshipper, has nothing to do with the Vedanta principle of advaita or Monism, and is in fact diametrically opposed to it. It is a fact that the metaphysics of the bhakti school of worship, as exemplified in the poetical writings of Narasimha Meheto, Akho Bhakata, Tukarama, Nāmdeva and others in Western India appears to incline towards Theism and devata-bhāva, or dualism; a personal God is invoked and too often devata-bhāva is directly contradicted by appealing to such a God. In fact Bhakti worship in its development departed from the Vedanta metaphysic. Indian mysticism hence appears to be a development and Etherealisation of Bhakti-bhāva.

So in conclusion it may be said that Mysticism, which speaks of God as "bridegroom" and "lover" and uses other attributes for the nirguṇam param brahma, or attributeless Supreme Entity of the Vedanta, has clothed Him, or shall we say It, unconsciously perhaps, but nevertheless fatally, as far as logic is concerned, with guṇas (attributes) and upādhis (limitations), and that in the Divinity of the Mystic we have a spiritualized exaltation of the aparām Brahma of Vedanta theology and avidya, but not of Vedanta metaphysic and avidyā.

W. DODDÉ.


Several interesting records were discovered and examined during the year by the Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy, the earliest being a Sanskrit inscription of the Nāla kings, engraved in archaic Telugu characters of about the 8th century of the Christian era. The Nālas have hitherto been known as the traditional enemies of the western Chalukyas, and as having been defeated by Kiritivarman I. They apparently belonged to the Kalinga country, though Fleet-located them in the Konkan during the 6th century A.D. A copper-plate containing a record of the early Eastern Chalukya king Indra Bhattāraka, is important as proving, in supersession of previous views, that this king actually ascend the throne and reigned for seven days. The short duration of his rule is accounted for by the attack made upon him by king Indravarman of the Ganga dynasty of Kalinganagara and his allies. The record is concerned with the grant of a village, probably in the Kistna district, to certain Brahmins and other persons, whose surnames end in boyā—probably a Prakrit form of bhogika. It is noteworthy that although there are no Brahmins in this area today, who bear this title of boyā, the word does occur in certain modern Brahman names in Kashmir. Among many records of Kulotunga-Chola I., deciphered during the year, is one stating that a captain in a certain regiment presented some of the women of his family as devaradi-yan or service in a temple, after branding them with the tisal (trident) in token of their being set apart to the service of the god. This proves that at the date of the record this class of devadasi occupied
an honourable position and had not declined in social esteem to the position which they now hold. In another record of the same reign some of these women are stated to have been forcibly removed from the temple to the king's household, but, on a representation being made to the king, he ordered their return to the sanctuary of the temple.

A sidelight on criminal justice is furnished by an inscription of Vikrama-Choladeva, which records that a man charged with accidental homicide was sentenced to keep a lamp burning at his own expense in a temple of Śiva for the benefit of the soul of the deceased. Several inscriptions of the Vijayanagar kings mention various dues and taxes realised from the villages, including dues paid to the village watchman, taxes on garden lands, oil-mills, and tanks, and pay for the military commander and for the royal messenger. Another interesting document of the reign of the Karnata king Sriranga II contains an agreement by the people of a nadu (district) to allow certain privileges to three classes of artisans, blacksmiths, goldsmiths and carpenters.

The Report ends with an interesting discussion of the position of the ancient South Indian temple in the corporate life of the community, as depicted in the inscriptions, and with notes on village irrigation, the gana of the village, and the brahmasthāna or Brahman assembly-hall at Uttamakeshvara-Visnuswamangalam. Many other details of interest are included in the Report.

S. M. EDWARDS.


I have been through this valuable publication and the first point that strikes me on perusing it is the enormous advance in the knowledge of Indian Numismatics and history in recent years that has made such a work possible. The writer has had at his hand an important set of numismatic exhibits at Calcutta of which the Indian Museum may well be proud, and he has made such use of the research at his disposal as to bring before antiquarian readers the contents of hitherto uncatalogued exhibits in a manner which cannot but content them. I have noticed slips in printing here and there, but nothing that would mislead the enquirer. The author is to be congratulated.

The collection catalogued covers a wide range of subjects. Punch-marked, Buddhist, and Indo-Greek, Indo-Parthian, Kushan, Gupta, Mahākṣatrapa, Traiśūkya, and Vardhan kings and emperors are all represented. The catalogue then turns to Tribal Coins: Makara, Nāgar, Narwar, Yauḍhey, Kujinda, Rājās and Satrapas of Mathurā, and of Vīra-śena, a king in the Gangetic Doab. Next there are coins of Northern India: Anurāda, Ayodhā, Ayodhiyā, Kosam, Taxila, Mitra of Paśchāla, and Kosala, Achyuta of Achī-Deo, and others. Hindu Kings of Ohind (Kabul), Kalaburi of Dīlā, Chandella of Jejakabhukti, Tomara of Ajmir and Delhi, Rāṭh of Kanaūj, Narvar, and Īksa. There is a fine list from Kashmīr, commencing with Taramā, and of Kāmpūr, Nepāl, Assām and Mithila. South Indian coins follow with several from the now-forgotten Nāyaka Kingdom of Ikeri, which loomed so large in the eyes of the 17th century European travellers. These are followed by coins from Arakan, of which the Burmese legend is apparently not read, and this is a pity. Finally, a few coins from Native States and Portuguese India wind up the catalogue.

The mere enumeration of dynasties and localities thus given shows the width of reading and research necessary to make it anything like an acceptable catalogue, and I am impressed by the care bestowed on this one. The not infrequent remark opposite the name of a monarch, "New King" shows how valuable the collection is to the historian.

R. C. TEMPLE.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

A FOLK STORY.

Mr. M. Govinda Naidu of Hyderabad recently sent to this Journal the following example of a folk-story current in that State:

"A certain oilman (Tell) owned a bullock which strayed one day into the compound of the Kazi. The latter, who was very angry, pronounced a judgment on the oilman, which is embodied in the following verse:

لاي كياب ملع نكالا يف
بوني بيل لا كيو
كاليابا كيسان بايا اساد
بلي قي بيج بودر رويرو دنار

or Lāl kitāb men nikāla yoon
zāri bai la kiyon
kāliya khal, bañia sañā
bāil ka bai, pande ra pāiyon dañd !"

"Tell bai la kyon?
Khalfā khal, banīa sañā
Bail ka bai! pandra rupaye dañd !"

"It is written in the Red Book:—Why, O Tell, did you lose the bullock? You fed it well with oil-cake and fattened it. Bullock of a bullock, I fine you Rs. 15."

"The oilman was thus fined Rs. 15 and his bullock was confiscated by the Kazi, who, however, subsequently lost it. Being alarmed at the loss, and fearing that he might have to pay the value of the
bullock as well as a fine for losing it, the Kazi promptly revoked his judgment.

It seems to me that Mr. Govinda Rajaulu’s contribution is a garbled version, or possibly a local variant, of a well-known proverbial saying in Northern India, which is quoted twice by Risley in his People of India (pp. 151 and App. I, xxiv) and runs as follows:—

“The oilman’s bullock on one occasion took to fighting, and the owner was sued before the Kazi for damages. The Red-Bock (i.e., the Kazi) up and spoke, ‘Oilman, what made the ox fight? It was the oilcake you gave him; so I must have the ox and a fine into the bargain.’

The whole story embodies the popular opinion that the Kazi’s judgment is a synonym for injustice, and that the injustice is specially noticeable, whenever a Hindu is hauled before him. There are other proverbs about the Kazi which all point to the same belief, notably that which runs:—

“When the Kazi’s bitch died, the whole town was at the funeral; when the Kazi himself died, not a soul followed his coffin.” That these proverbial sayings and popular fables rest upon a solid foundation of fact and experience becomes clear when we read books like Professor Jadunath Sarkar’s Mughal Administration. He points out that the Kazi’s of Mughal days were notoriously corrupt. Every provincial capital had its local Kazi, who was appointed by the chief Kazi; and these posts were frequently given for bribes. Consequently the Kazi’s department became a byword and a reproach in Mughal days. The popular judgment is crystallised in the common saying:—

“To trust a Kazi is to court misfortune.”

S. M. EDWARDS.

NORTH INDIAN PROVERBS.

The following proverbs, current among the lower classes in Northern India, were collected by Pandit Ram Gharib Chahoe for the information of the late Dr. W. Crooke, C.I.E., and have not been published before. It would be interesting to know whether similar sayings are in vogue in other parts of India.

1. Awar adar nd karai, jat na dijai hast
Ye don kaise jiyen, jadhak au grihast.

i.e., “If the Adra nakshatra does not bring rain at the beginning of the monsoon, and the Hast nakshatra does not bring rain at the end, how are the beggar and the farmer to live?”

Applied to the beggar, the lines mean that unless the rich man speaks kindly to him when he comes and gives him something when he goes, the beggar cannot live.

2. Painti pahir ke jo kar jotai, suhan pahir migadaroo,
Kahai ghagh we tinon bhakna, bojh liye jo gu merits.

i.e., “Ghagh says that these three are fools: he who loughs with sandalas on, he who

weeds grass with trousers on, and he who sings with a load on his head.”

3. Agei kai heti agei Pachhe kai kheti, karma bhaide.
i.e., “If you sow your seed betimes in the rainy season, you will have the chance of a good harvest; but if you sow late, only good fortune can secure you a harvest.”

Much the same idea is expressed in the proverb, Terah Kati, Tin Asdr, meaning that in Kati there are thirteen days for sowing, but in Asdr only three. Those who miss the opportunity will rue it.

4. Gekeu gahee dhaai, bidhen Mendu koto nee sath.
i.e., “If you want a good wheat crop, plough deep and close; if you want a good rice crop, plough your furrows rather wide; if you want kodo crops, weed out all the grass carefully.

5. Thorai jith, thorai boi, uhe kai bongiin ari; Ehn par jo anna na ho koi, Gagh ke diha gair.
i.e., “Plough little, sow little, but raise the field boundary high. If even so your crops are poor, abuse Ghagh.”

i.e., “He whose business fails in Asdr, will have no business throughout the twelve months.”

7. Chhat bharat khar kati; Janaal kari bigha; Magh mds har jati; Khabon na kari bideh.
i.e., “Cut all the grass in the field; marry in a decent family; plough your fields in the month of Magh, and you will never need to purchase grain.”

8. Dhil dih bent kudri kai; Hahat ke bolai ne ri se; Jo kari ke mungai dama, I tinon kam nikam.
i.e., “A loose hand to the spade, accosting women with a smile, and demanding money from a debtor with a smile; these three are evil things.”

The collection ends with a caste-proverb.

9. Chharpansai kai Pande bhoj; Jekar aiwa chhatthis kahal.
Chhagul khud ke banhia de; Edsmin ho ke chhurd de.
i.e., “The Pande (Brahmans) of Chharpansai (near Gorakhpur) are curious people. They know thirty-six tricks. By back-biting they get a man into trouble, and by standing security for the same man, in return for money, they get him released.”

Apparently the Pande Brahman does not stand high in popular estimation.

S. M. EDWARDS.
Saubhanagara—Same as Śalvapura.
Śaukara-kshetra—Same as Śukara-kshetra.
Saundatti—Same as Sugandhavarī.

Saurāshtra—The Peninsula of Guzerat or Kathiawad, the Syrastrate of Ptolemy. The name was also applied to the country from Sindh or the Indus to Baroach; that is, Guzerat, Cutch and Kathiawar (Rāmāyana, Ādi, ch. 13). Saurājya was a synonym of Saurāshtra (JASB, 1873, p. 105). Its capital was Balabhi (Daśakumāracharita, ch. 6). It was governed by the Sātraps under Asoka and the Maurya kings, then by the Sāh kings from the first century B.C. to the third century A.D., and after them by the Senāpatis under the Guptas of Kanouj. Under the Gupta emperors its capital was Bāmanasthali, modern Banthali, before Balabhi became its capital. According to local tradition Mādhavapura in Kathiawar was the place where Krisnā was married to Rukmini. Krisnā met his death at Prabhasa Patan near Veraval.

Śaurīpura—The name given by the Jainas to the town of Mathurā (Uttarāśāyana in SBE., XLV, p. 112). The Jaina Tīrthaṅkara Arisṭaṇemi or Neminātha was born at this place and he died on the Summit of Mount Gīrmar (Kalpa Śūtra in the Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXII, p. 276). But according to the Phāladāśyā, a Jaina work, Śaurīpura and Mathurā are two different towns. Saurī, who succeeded his father Śūra, king of Mathurā, removed his capital to a newly built city named Śaurīpura, while his younger brother Sūvīra remained at Mathurā.

Śauvīra—Same as Śaurīpura.

Sauvīra—It has been identified by Cunningham with Eder, a district in the provinces of Guzerat which was Badari of the Buddhist period, at the head of the Gulf of Kambay (Anc. Geo., p. 497). Sauvīra was the Sophir or Ophir (q.v.) of the Bible (but see Surpāraka) and Sovīra of the Miśinda Paśka (SBE., Vol. XXXVI, p. 269) where it is described as a seaport. According to another writer, Sauvīra was situated between the Indus and the Jhelum, hence it was called Sindhū-Sauvīra (Mbh., Bhishma, ch. 9; Rāmāyana, Ādi, ch. 13). The Satruṇjaya Māhātmya places it in Sindhū or Sindh. It appears from the Agni Purāṇa (ch. 200) that the river Devikā and from Bhāgavata P., (v. 10) the river Ikshumati flowed through Sauvīra. Dr. Rhys Davids places Sauvīra in his Map to the north of Kathiawar and along the Gulf of Cutch (Buddhist India, Map facing p. 320, and Bhāgavata, V, ch. 10; I, ch. 10, v. 36). Alberuni identifies it with Multan and Jahrawar (Alberuni's India, Vol. I, pp. 300, 302; see also SBE., XIV, p. 148 note). See Devikā. Rorukta or Roruvā was the capital of Sauvīra (Jātaka, Can. Ed., Vol. III, p. 280; Adīta Jātaka). But the identifications are doubtful. In the Mārkaṇḍ. P. (ch. 57) Sindhū and Sauvīra have been placed in the northern part of India, and mentioned along with Gāndhāra, Madra, etc., Rapson says that the two parts of the compound word Sindhū-Sauvīra are often used separately as names having nearly the same meaning, and he identifies it with the modern provinces of Sindh (Ancient India, p. 168). Dr. Bhagavanīlā Indraji says that Sindhū-Sauvīra like Ākarāvanti are usually found together. Sindhū is the modern Sindh and Sauvīra may have been part of Upper Sindh, the capital of which was Dāttāmitri (Early Hist. of Gujarat, p. 36), perhaps from Dāttāmitra (Demetrius), king of Sauvīra (Mbh., Ādi, ch. 141). The identification of Sauvīra by Alberuni with Multan and Jahrawar seems to be correct.

Śeka—The country of Jhaipur, south-east of Ajmir (McCrindle's Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian, p. 138 note). But the Mahābhārata (Sabhā, ch. 31) places it to the south of the Charmanvati (Chambal) and north of Avanti (Ujjin); it can therefore be
identified with North Malwa. It was conquered by Sahadeva, one of the Pândavas, with Apara Śeka which was evidently on the south of Śeka.

Semulapura—1. Semah, near Sambhalpur (Tavernier’s Travels, Ball’s ed., II, ch. 13).
2. Sambalaka of Ptolemy, on the river Koil, in the District of Palamu in the Chota-Nagpur division, in Bihar, celebrated for its diamond mines. It is the Soumelpour of Tavernier.

Semulla—Chaul (Bhandarkar’s Hist. of the Dekkan, sec. viii).

Senakhaṇḍasela—Kandy (Bishop Copleston’s Buddhism in Magadha and Ceylon, p. 235). For the transfer of the tooth-relic from Anurádhápurá, see Mutu Coomara Swamy’s Dāthávarṣa, Intro., XIX.

Serendipia—Ceylon.

Śesadhri—See Trimala and Tripadi. It is also called Śesóchala.

Setavyá—To-wai of Fa Hian. It has been identified by Prof. Rhys Davids with Satiabia (Indian Buddhism, p. 72; Spence Hardy’s Manual of Buddhism, pp. 88, 347). Mr. Vost identifies it with Basadìlā, 17 miles from Sakté-Mahét and six from Balarampur (JRAS., 1903, p. 513). It was the birthplace of Kasýapa Buddha.

Setikā—Ayodhyā (Oudh). Setikā is evidently a corruption of Sáketa.

Setubandha—Adam’s Bridge between India and Ceylon, said to have been built by Ráma with the assistance of Sugriva for crossing over to Laiikā. The island of Rámeśvaram is the first link in the chain of islets forming the Adam’s Bridge. The island contains the celebrated temple of Rámeśvaranātha, one of the twelve great Ugas of Mahádeva, said to have been established by Rámachandra on his way to Laiikā (Śiva Puráṇa, I, ch. 38, and Ráma-yáya, Laiikā, ch. 22). Rámeśvara is also called Saúgamatiśrī (Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 368).

Seunadesa—The name of the region extending from Nasik to Devagiri in the Deccan. Its capital was Devagiri or Daulatabad (Dr. Bhandarkar’s Early History of the Dekkan, sec. xiv). The town of Seunapura was founded by Seunachandra I of the Yádava dynasty.

Shadaraṇya—Nandi was cursed by Śiva to become a stone; he accordingly became a mountain called Nandi-durga or Nandídroog (Garrett’s Class. Dict., s.v. Nandi). Víṣṇu interceded on his behalf and Śiva ordered Gaiga who was within his matted hair to fall on the mountain and to wash away the fault of Nandi (the river Pálar rises in Nándídroog). Gaiga replied that if she would descend on earth, she wished that Śiva and Víṣṇu should have their shrines on the banks of the river, so that she might run between them to the sea. The request was granted. Śiva came to Kaśchípura, where he was established by six Rishis. There is a temple of Víṣṇu at Vellore on the opposite bank of the river Pálar. The waste country in which these six Rishis dwelt was called Saḍaraṇya or “six wilderesses,” which in Tamil was called Aru-cadu, which in popular language is called Arcot. But Arcadu is a Tamil compound of A or Ar, the banyan tree, and Cadu a forest (see Wilson’s Mackenzie Collection, p. 50). See Japyesvara.

Shashthi—The island Salsette, about 10 miles to the north of Bombay. It was originally a stronghold of Budhism and subsequently of Śaivism as evidenced by the five groups of caves Kanheri, etc., contained therein (Da Cunha’s Hist. of Chaul and Bassein, p. 189). See Permuda. Shashtashthi of the inscription (Bomb. Gaz., Pt. II, p. 25).

Śiáli—Tribikramapura, in the district of Tanjore, Madras Presidency, twelve miles south of Chidambara mentioned in the Chaitanya-Charitámrta (Arñavatára-sthala-vaihavā-darpam). It is a corruption of “Śrikáli, same as Siáli.”
Siar—Nāthadwār on the Banas, twenty-two miles north-east of Udayapur in Mewar, where the ancient image of Keśava Deva was removed from Mathuṇa by Rāṇā Rāj Singh in anticipation of Aurangzebe’s raid (Tod’s Rājasthān, Vol. I, ch. 19, p. 544; Growse’s Mathura, ch. 6).

Siddhapura—1. Siddhaur, sixteen miles west of Bara Banki in Oudh. 2. Sitpur (Sidpur) in the Ahmedabad district in Guzerat, the hermitage of Bīshī Kardama and birth-place of Kapila, about sixty-four miles from Ahmedabad (Devī-Bhāgavata, IX, 21). Same as Bindu-sara (2).

Siddhāśrama—1. Buxar in the district of Shahabad. Vishṇu is said to have incarnated as Vāmana (dwarf) at this place. On the bank of a small stream called Thorā, near its junction with the Ganges, on the western side of Buxar, is a small mound of earth, which is worshipped as the birth-place of Vāmana Deva (Rāmāyana, Bālakanda, ch. 29). A fair is held here every year in the month of Bhādra in honour of Vāmana Deva. A fair is also held in honour of Vāmana Deva at Fatna, situated at the confluence of the Ganges and the Punpun, in the district of Patna, where a large number of people bathe on a festival called Vāruni Dvādasī. 2. The hermitage on the bank of the Achchhoda-sarovara in Kashmir (see Achchhoda-sarovara). 3. A sacred place near Dwārakā or in Anarta or Gujarāt, where, according to the Brahmavimārtā Purāṇa, the reunion of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhikā took place (Dvārakā-māhāmya, VIII, ch. 3). See Prabhāsa. 4. A hermitage said to be situated in the Himalaya between Kanchananga and Dhavalagiri, on the bank of a river called Mandakini, 14 miles from Namr Bazar (Rāmāyana, Kish. K., ch. 43).


Silabhadrā—Monastery—It was situated on an isolated hill now called Kāwā-daul in the district of Gaya near the Railway station Bela; the monastery was visited by Hiuen Tsiang (Arch. S. Rep., Vol. VIII, p. 48 and Vol. XVI, p. 47). For a description of the hill, see J.A.S.B., 1847, p. 402. Silabhadrā was the head of the Nālandā monastery when it was visited by Hiuen Tsiang in 637 a.d., and the latter studied the Yoga-Sāstra under Silabhadrā for fifteen months. See Khālaṣika Parvata.

Silā-dhāpa—Same as Mahāsthāna (List of Ancient Monuments in Bengal).

Silāhāṭṭa—Same as Śrīhaṭṭa (Tārd Tantra).

Silā-Saṅgama—Śilā Saṅgama is a corruption and abbreviation of Bikramaśilā Saṅghārāma, the celebrated monastery founded by Dharmapāla, king of Magadha, about the middle of the eighth century a.d. It was the ancient name of Pātharghāṭa, six miles to the north of Kahalgāon (Colong) in the district of Bhagalpur, containing the temple of Mahādeva Baṭesvaranātha and rock-cut excavations. Two miles and a half to the south-east of Pātharghāṭa was the capital of Rājā Gandhâ Mardan called Indrâsan where he built a fort in 88 a.d. (Major Franklin’s Site of Ancient Paikābothra; he quotes Chaura Paṃchāśikā by Chaura Kavi as his authority). See Bikramaśilā Vihaṛa.

Sīphala—Ceylon. The Dipavamsa relates the conquest of the island by Vijaya, who came from Lanka which has been identified with Rādhā in 477 B.C. Fergusson identifies Lanka with Lanka or Guzerat, but Upham says that Vijaya came to Ceylon from the province of
"Lade Desay" in the kingdom of Baiga, which he identifies with Rādha Deśa (Upaham’s Bājarañakāri, ch. II, and Rājavali, Pt. I), and this identification is correct (see JASB., 1910, p. 599). Mahendra, son of Aśoka, and his sister Saṅgha-mitrā came to Ceylon during the reign of Devānāmpiya-Tissa and converted the inhabitants of the island to Buddhism (Upaham’s Bājarañakāri, ch. II). See Laṅkā. For the Ceylon coins, see JASB., 1837, p. 298, plate 20.

Sīhpahu—1. It has been identified by Cunningham with Kaṭās or Kaṭāksha, which is sixteen miles from Panḍu Dadan Khan on the north side of the Salt range in the district of Jhelam in the Panjab (Arch. S. Rep., Vol. II, p. 191). According to Huen Tsang the country of Sīhpahu bordered on the Indus on its western side; it was a dependency of Kasmīr in the seventh century. It was conquered by Arjuna (Mbh., Sabhā, ch. 27). It contains a sacred fountain said to have been formed by the tears of Śiva on the death of his wife Kanakavati, to which pilgrims resort every year for the purposes of purification (JASB., XVIII, p. 131). There are remains of ancient temples in Potowar in the neighbourhood of Kaṭās. Tradition ally Sīhpahu is the place where Vīṣṇu is said to have incarnated as Nṛsiṁha and killed Hiranyakasipu (but see Mulsthāna-purāṇa). 2. Sīhgar, in the district of Huglih in Bengal; it was founded by Sīhābhāhu, the father of Vījaya who conquered and colonised Laṅkā. It is situated in Rādha, the Lāṭa or Lāṭa of the Buddhists and Lāṭa of the Jainas—the ancient Suma (see my "Notes on the History of the District of Huglih" in JASB., 1910, p. 599).

Sindhu—1. The river Indus. Above its junction with the Chinab, the Indus was called Sindh (Sindhu); from this point to Aror, it was called Paṁchanad; and from Aror to its mouth it was called Mihiran (Alberuni’s India, I, p. 260; Cull. Rec., Vol. CXVII, p. 15). For a description of it’s source see Sven Hedin’s Trans Himalaya, Vol. II, p. 213. It is the ultimate of the Behistun inscription, Haddu of the Bible, and Hendu of the Vendidad.

2. The country of Sindhu. According to Ptolemy the Āḥiras dwelt in the southern portion of Sindh, and the Mushikas resided in the northern portion. It was the Āḥiras who took away by force the ladies of Krisha’s household from Arjuna while he was bringing them through the Panjab after Krisha’s death (Brahma Purāṅa, ch. 212). After the death of Menander (Mihinda’s Mihinda Pāṇiko) who reigned over the Panjab, Sindh, and Kabul from 140 to 110 B.C., Mauas the Scythian conquered Sindh and expelled the Greeks from the Panjab. Mauas was succeeded by his son Aszas who extended his dominion beyond Jellalabad, and Azilesas, son of Aszas, conquered Kabul (Cunningham’s Arch. S. Rep., II, p. 54). For the Muhammadan conquest of Sindh and its history and for the downfall of Aler and Brahmanabad (see JASB., 1838, p. 93 and also p. 297; Ibid., 1841, p. 267; Ibid., 1846, pp. 75, 155). 3. The river Kālī-Sindhu in Malwa, called Daksinā-Sindhu in the Mahābhārata (Yana P., ch. 82) and Sindhu in the Meghadūta (Pt. I, v. 30; Matoya P., ch. 113.) The name of India (Intu of Huen Tsang) is a corruption of Sindh. For other Chinese names of India see Bretechneider’s Medieval Researches, II, p. 25. According to Mr. Raperon “India” originally meant the country of the Indus (Ancient India, p. 185). 4. A river in Malwa, which rising near Sironj falls into the Yamunā (Mātūrī-Mādhava, Acts IV, 1X). It is the Purva-Sindhu of the Deśī P., ch. 39. 5. Sindhu-deśa was the country of the Upper Indus (Anandaram Baruyah’s Dictionary, Vol. III, Preface, pp. 20—25).

Sīhpahu—Same as Daksinā-Sindhu (Bardha P., ch. 85). Perhaps it is an erroneous combination of the words Sīndhu and Parṇāṭa (see Matoya P., ch. 113, v. 23).

Sīndhu-Sauvīra—See Sauvīra (Matoya P., ch. 114).

Sīndima—Sehwan on the Indus in Sindh, the Sivissāna of the Arabs (Cunningham’s Ancient Geography of India, p. 264).
Sipra—a river in Malwa on which Ujjain is situated.

Sirindhra—Sirhind (Brahmanda P., Purva, ch. 50). It is the Sirindha of the Barahasamhita (ch. 14). See Satadru.

Siroyana—Talkāj, the capital of the ancient Chela or Chera, forty miles to the east of Seringapatam in Mysore, now buried in the sands of the Kaveri (Archavatara-shalavaihava-darpam of Madhura Kavi Sarmā). See Talukāda.

Sītā—1. According to Mr. Cosma, the Sītā is the modern Jaxartes (JASB, 1838, p. 282). It rises in the plateau south of Issyk-kul lake in the Thaš-shan (McGrindle's Tadmor, p. 280). Jaxartes is also called Sir-Daria, and Sir is evidently a corruption of Sītā and Daria means a river (Matsya P., ch. 120). Sītā is also identified with the river Yarkand or Zarafshan on which the town of Yarkand is situated. From the names of the places as mentioned in the Brahmanda Purāṇa (ch. 51) through which the Sītā flows, its identification with the Jaxartes appears to be correct, and the Mahābhārata (Bhishma Parva, ch. II) also says that it passes through Saka-dvipa. See Sītā. 2. The river Chandrabhagā (Chinab): see Lohitya-sarova (Kālikā P., chs. 22, 82). 3. The river Alakānanda, on which Badarkāsrama is situated (Mbh., Vana, ch. 145, v. 49).

Sitāro—the river Sutlej.

Sītāmbaraka—Chidambaram in the Province of Madras.

Sitāprastha—the river Dhabalā or Buṣha-Rāptī. Same as Bāhudū.


Sīvālīya—1. Ellora, Ellur or Berulen, forty miles from Nandgaon, one of the stations of the G.I.P. Railway and seven miles from Daoulatabad. It contains the temple of Ghusriñeśa or Ghrisñeśa or Ghusmesa, one of the twelve great Līgas of Mahādeva mentioned in the Śiva Purāṇa (Pt. I, chs. 38, 38). See Amarasvāra. The Padma Purāṇa and the Śiva Purāṇa (I, ch. 38) place the temple of Ghusriñeśa at Devagiri (Deogiri or Daoulatabad). The village Ellora is about three quarters of a mile to the west of the celebrated caves of Ellora (see Ihalapura and Elapura). A sacred Kunda called Sīvālīya, round which the image of the god is carried in procession at the Sīvātrim festival, has given its name to the place. Ahalyābāī, widow of Khande Rao, the only son of Malhar Rao Holkar, constructed a temple and a wall round the Kunda (Antiquities of Bidar and Avrangabad Districts by Burgess). The Brahmanical Cave temple at Ellora called Rāvan-kā-Khai contains the figures of the Seven Mātrikás (divine mothers) with their Vahanas namely, Chāmuṇḍā with the owl, Indrápi with the elephant, Varāhi with the boar, Vaishnavi or Lakṣi with Garuda, Kaumārī with the peacock, Mahēśvari with the bull and Brāhma or Sarasvatī with the goose.

Sīvā-paura—the country of the Siposh (Śiva-pausa), perhaps the letter 'ra' in paura is a mistake for 'sa.' See Ujjānakā (Matsya P., ch. 120).

Sīvi—According to the Vessantara Jātaka (Jātaka, Cam. Ed., VI, p. 246), the capital of Sīvi was Jetuttara which has been identified by General Cunningham with Nāgari, 11 miles north of Chitore in Rajputana, where many coins were found bearing the name of "Śīvi Janapada" (Arch. Surv. Rep., VI, p. 196; JASB, 1887, p. 74). Hence Sīvi may be identified with Mewar (see Jetuttara); it is the Sivikā of the Brihat-Sarhithā (ch. 14). But see Madhyamika. According to the Śiva Jātaka and Mahā-Ummagga Jātaka (Jāt., IV, p. 260; VI, p. 215 respectively) the capital of Sīvi was Aritṭhapura which perhaps was also called Dvāravati (Jāt., VI, p. 214). The story of Uṣṇara, king of Sīvi, who gave the flesh of his own body to save the life of a dove is related in the Mahābhārata (Vana, chs. 130, 131). Both Fa Hian and Hiuen Tsang place the scene of this story in Udyāna now called the Swat valley. But according to the Mahā-Ummagga Jātaka the country of Sīvi was between the kingdoms of Bideha and Pañchāla. According to the Mahābhārata (Anuśas., ch. 32) Sīvi
was king of Kāśī. It is also mentioned in the *Dakakumāra-charitu* (Madhya, ch. vi). It was conquered by Nakula (*Mbh.*, Sabhā, 32). See *Arishthapura*. Jetuttara is called by Spence Hardy as Jayatura (*Manual of Buddhism*, p. 118). The recent discovery of a steatite relief (now in the British Museum) which represents in a most artistic way the celebrated story of Uṣṇara, king of Śivi, as given in the *Mahābhārata* (Vana, ch. 131) makes it highly probable that the present Swat valley was the ancient kingdom of Śivi. See also the account of Śivika Rājā by Sung Yun (Beal's *Records of Buddhist Countries*, p. 206). It appears, however, that there were two countries by the name of Śivi, one was situated in the Swat valley, the capital of which was Ariṭṭhapura, and the other is the same as Śivikā of Barāhamihira (*Bṛhat-saṁhitā*, ch. XIV, v. 12) which he places among the countries of the south, Śivikā being a pleonastic form of Śivi, the capital of which was Jetuttara, and Jetuttara is evidently mentioned by Alberuni as Jattaraur (*India*, I, p. 302) which, according to him, was the capital of Mairwar or Mevar.

Śivika—See Śivi.

Śivisthāna—Sewan on the right bank of the Indus.

Śiyāl—See Siall.

Śkanda-kṣetra—Same as Kumārasvāmi (*Chaitanya-Charitāmṛta*, Pt. II, ch. 9).

Śleshmatāka—Uttara (North) Gokarna, two miles to the north-east of Pāsupatinātha (q.v.) in Nepal on the Bāgmāti (*Śīva P.*, bk. III, ch. 15; *Barāha P.*, chs. 213–216; Wright’s *History of Nepal*, pp. 82, 90 note). North Gokarna is used in contradistinction to Dakshina (South) Gokarna called Gokarna (q.v.) (*Barāha P.*, ch. 216). The Lāṅga P. (Pt. 1, ch. 92, vs. 134, 135) also mentions two Gokarnas (see also *Svayambhū P.*, ch. 4).

Śobhāvatit-nagara—The birth-place of Buddha or Kanakamuni (*Svayambhū P.*, ch. 6; *Buddhavamsa* in *JASB.*, 1838, p. 794). It has been identified by P. C. Mukerjee with Araura in the Nepalese Terai (see *Kapilavastu*).

Solomatis—See Saravati (McCrindle’s *Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 186).

Somanātha—Same as Prabhāsa (*Agni P.*, ch. 109). It was also called Someśvaranātha (Merutuṅga’s *Prabandhaḥchintāmāṇi*, ch. I).

Somas-parpata—1. The Amarakaṇṭha mountain, in which the river Nerbuda has got its source (Amara-kosha). 2. The southern part of the Hala range along the lower valley of the Indus (Rāmdyaṇa, Kishk., ch. 42).

Somas-tirtha—Prabhāsa (see *Prabhāsa*). 2. A place of pilgrimage in Kurukshetra where Tārakāśura was killed by Kārttikēya, the general of the gods (*Mbh.*, Śalya *P.*, chs. 44, 52; *Śakuntalā*, Act I).

Someśvara—See Somanātha (*Kūrma P.*, ii, ch. 34).

Someśvara-giri—The mount in which the river Bāṅ-Gaṅgā has got its source.

Śopā—The river Sone, which has got its source in the Amarakaṇṭha mountain in Gandwana. It was the western boundary of Magadha. It formerly joined the Ganges at Maner a little above Bankipore, the Western suburb of Patna, from which its embouchure is now sixteen miles distant and higher up the Ganges (Martin’s *East. Ind.*, I, p. 11; McCrindle’s *Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 187 note; *JASB.*, 1843–1849—Ravenshaw’s *Ancient Bed of the Sone*). The Sone and the Sarayu now join the Ganges at Singhī or rather between Singhī and Harji-Chupra, two villages on the two sides of the Ganges, about two miles to the east of Chirand and eight miles to the east of Chupra. At the time of the Rāmdyaṇa (Ādi, ch. 32) the Sone flowed by the eastern side of Rājāghora, then called Girivraja or Basumati from its founder Rājā Basu, down the bed of the river Punpun, joining the Ganges at Fatwa. At the time of the *Mahābhārata* it appears to have flowed by the present bed of the Banas which is immediately west of Arrah (*Arch. S. Rep.*, Vol. VIII, p. 15).

Śomaprastha—Sonepat (see *Kurukshetra*). It is 25 miles north of Delhi. See Pānipratsta.
Sonitapura—The ancient Sonitapura is still called by that name, and is situated in Kumaun on the bank of the river Kedar-Ganga or Mandakini about six miles from Ushamatha and at a short distance from Gupta Kasa (Harivamsha, ch. 174). Ushamatha is on the north of Rudra-Prayaga, and is on the road from Hardwar to Kedarath. Gupta-Kasa is said to have been founded by Bana Raja within Sonitapura. A dilapidated fort still exists at Sonitapura on the top of a mountain and is called the fort of Raja Bana. Sonitapura was the capital of Bana Raja, whose daughter Usah was abducted by Anuruddha, the grandson of Krisha (Harivamsha, ch. 175). It was also called Umavana (Hemakosh and Trikuta-pastra). Major Madden says that Kotalgad or Fort Hastings of the survey maps situated at Lohool in Kumaun on a conical peak, is pointed out as the stronghold of Banausa, and the pandits of Kumaun affirm that Sool on the Jhoom mountain is the Sonitapura of the Puranas (JASB., XVII, p. 582). The Matsya Purana (ch. 118) says that the capital of Bana Raja was Tripura (Teor on the Neroda). A ruined fort situated at Damdam on the bank of the river Punarbha, fourteen miles to the south of Dinajpur, is called “Bana Raja’s Gad,” and it is said to have been the abode of Bana Raja, whence they say Usah was abducted by Anuruddha, and various arguments are brought in to prove this assertion. But the route of Krisha from Dwarkanath to Sonitapura as given in the Harivamsha (ch. 179) and the description of the place as being situated on a mountain near Sumeru, do not support the theory that Damdam was the ancient Sonitapura. An inscription found in the fort proves that it was built by a king of Gaud of the Kamboja dynasty. Bana Raja’s fort in the district of Dinajpur is as much a myth as the Uttara-giri (northern cowshed) of Raja Viratha at Kantanagar in the same district. The Assamese also claim Tejpur as the ancient Sonitapura. Devikote on the Kaveri in the province of Madras and also Bijana, 50 miles south-west of Agra, claim the honour of being the site of the ancient Sonitapura. Wilford identifies it with the Mahupattana (Asiatic Researches, Vol. IX, p. 199).

Sopatma—See Surabhishatana (Periplus, Schoff, p. 46.)

Soreya—Not far from Takshašila (Kern’s Manual of Ind. Buddhism, p. 104; SBE., XX, p. 11). Revata lived here, he presided at the Vaisali Council.

Sothivati—Same as Suktimati, the capital of Chedi (the Cheti of the Buddhists).

Sovira—See Sauvira.

Sravana-belogo—Sravana-Belgola, a town in the Hassan district, Mysore, an ancient seat of Jain learning, between the hills Chandrabatta and Indrabatta which contain Jain inscriptions of the fourth and fifth centuries B.C. On the top of the former is a colossal statue of the Jaina god Gomateshvara. See also Vindhyapada Parvata. Bhadrabahu, the great Jain patriarch who migrated to the South with his followers in order to escape the twelve years famine which took place during the reign of Maurya Chandragupta, went to Sravana-Belgola from Ujjayini, where he died in 357 B.C. Hence it is a very sacred place to the Jainas (Ind. Ant., II, pp. 265, 322; III, p. 153; Rice’s Mysore Inscriptions, Intro., p. lxxxvi). See Kumbapura. Maurya Chandragupta became a Jaina ascetic in the latter part of his life, and he is said to have died at this place (Rice’s Mysore Gazetteer, I, p. 287).

Sravasti—Sahet-Mahet, on the bank of the river Rapti (ancient Airavati or Achiravati) in the district of Goonda in Oudh. It was the capital of Uttara-Kosala, ten miles from Balarampur, 58 miles north of Ayodhya and 720 miles from Rajgir (Ramayana, Uttara, ch. 121). The town was founded by Sravasti, a king of the Solar race (Vishnu Purana, IV, ch. 2, v. 13). Ramachandra, king of Oudh, when dividing his kingdom, gave Sravasti to his son Lava (Vayu P., Uttara, ch. 26). Sravasti is the Savatthi or Savathipura of the Buddhists and Chandrapura or Chandrikapuri of the Jaina. At the time of Buddha, Prasenaditya or Prasenjit was king of Uttara-Kosala and his capital was at Sravasti; he visited Buddha while the latter was residing at Rajagriha (see Kusagama). Buddha,
converted him to his own religion by preaching to him the *Kumāra-dṛiśṭānta-Sūtra*. Prasenajit had two sons Jeta and Virudhaka by two wives. Sudatta, called also Anāthapiṇḍika or Anāthapiṇḍada on account of his liberality, was a rich merchant of Śrāvasti and treasurer to the king; he became a convert to Buddhism while Buddha was residing at Sārīputra (see Nālandā). Buddha accepted the gift of the Vihāra, to which additions were made by Jeta who became a convert to Buddhism, hence it was called *Jetavana Anāthapiṇḍikarāma* or simply *Jetavana-Vihāra*. The Vihāra contained two monasteries called Gandha-kūṭi and Kośambakūṭi which have been identified by General Cunningham. The alms-bowl and beggin pot and the ashes of Sārīputra who died at Nālandā (see Nālanda) were brought to Śrāvasti and a stupa was built upon them near the eastern gate. Vīśākhā, the celebrated female disciple of Buddha, built here a Vihāra called Pārvārāma which has been identified by General Cunningham with the mound called Orā Jhār, about a mile to the east of Jetavana (see Bhaddiya). Buddha resided for 25 years at Jetavana-Vihāra in the Punyasālā erected by Prasenajit (Cunningham’s *Stupa of Bharhut*, p. 90; *Arch. S. Rep.*, I, p. 330; Anc. Geo., p. 407). 416 Jātakas (birth-stories) out of 498 were told by Buddha at this place. Devadatta, Buddha’s cousin and brother of his wife Yasodharā, who had several times attempted to take away the life of Buddha, died at this place during an attempt he again made on his life (see Gīrīvrajapura). Chīnchā, a young woman, was set up here by the Tirthikas to slander Buddha. The sixteenth Buddhist patriarch, Rahulatā (see Tāmāsavana) died at Jetavana-Vihāra in the second century B.C. Prasenajit was a friend of Buddha, but his son Virudhaka or Viśudrabha who usurped the throne, became a persecutor of the Buddhists. He murdered Jeta, his brother, and he slew 500 youths and 500 maidens of Kapilavastu whom he had taken prisoners, though his mother Vāsabha Khattiyā or Mallikā was the daughter of a Śākya chief by a slave girl Mahānandā (Spence Hardy’s *Manual of Buddhism*, 2nd ed., p. 292, and *Avadāna Kalpaśāstra*, ch. 11). He was burnt to death within a week as predicted by Buddha. Traditionally Śrāvasti, or as it was called Chandrikāpurī or Chandrapuri, was the birth-place of the third Tīrthāṅkara Sambhavanāṭha and the eighth Tīrthāṅkara Chandraprabhānāṭha of the Jainas. There is still a Jaina temple here dedicated to Sobbhānāṭha which is evidently a corruption of the name of Sambhavanāṭha. The names of the 24 Tīrthāṅkaras of the Jainas with their distinctive signs are as follows: 1. Rishabha Deva or Adinatha (bull). 2. Ajananātha (elephant). 3. Sambhavanāṭha (horse). 4. Abhinandana (monkey). 5. Sumatinātha (Krauśeha or curlew). 6. Padamprabha (lotus). 7. Supārśva (Svastika). 8. Chandraprabhānāṭha (moon). 9. Subhidhināṭha or Pushpadanta (crocodile). 10. Śīlaṇāṭha (Śrīvalsa or white curl of hair). 11. Śreyoṣannāṭha (rhinoceros). 12. Bāsupāliya (buffalo). 13. Bimalanāṭha (boar). 14. Ananta-necta (falcon). 15. Dharmānāṭha (thunderbolt). 16. Śāntināṭha (deer). 17. Kunthunāṭha (goat). 18. Aranāṭha (Nandyāvarta). 19. Mallināṭha (pitcher). 20. Munisuvrata (tortoise). 21. Namināṭha (blue water-lily). 22. Nemināṭha (conch). 23. Pārśvanāṭha (hooded serpent). 24. Mahāvira (lion). The name of Sahet-Mahet is said to have been derived from "Mahāsetthi" by which name Sudatta was called, and people still called the ruins of Jetavana as "Set" (Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. XII, p. 127). The inscription of Govinda Chandras of Kanouj, dated 1128 A.D., sets at rest the question of identity of Śrāvasti with Sahet-mahet, the site of Sahet represents the Jetavana, and that of Mahet the city of Śrāvasti (Dr. Vogel: *Arch. S. Rep.*, 1907-9, pp. 131, 227).
THE ANCHUVANAM AND THE MANIGRAMAM OF THE KOTTAYAM PLATES OF TANU IRAVI OR THE JEWS AND CHRISTIANS OF MALABAR.

By K. N. DANIEL.

We read of the Anchuvanam and the Manigrāmam in the Payyaṇūr Paṭṭāla which is spoken of by Dr. Gundert as the oldest specimen of Malayalam composition he had ever seen.

"Strong guards are now required, take the sons of Govatsalacheṭṭi of Anchuvanam and of Manigrāmam, who together with ourselves are the four classes of inhabitants in the

With the issue for December 1924, Sir Richard Temple completes forty years of ownership and editorship of the Indian Antiquary. In the uncertainty of individual human life the time has now come when the responsibility for the continuance of the Journal must be transferred to other hands. He has accordingly made arrangements with The Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, 50, Great Russell Street, London, W.C. 1, to take over from January 1925, the conduct of the Indian Antiquary, which the Institute intends to run as heretofore under its present editors.

be paid to the Anchuvanam and the Manigrāmam. These people were given seventy-two privileges, such as the right of carrying (māṣṇunir) bathing water on the back of the elephant on marriage occasions . . . . If they have any complaint they shall redress their complaint by stopping the customs duty on weighment (of articles of merchandise). If any of them commit any crime, they should enquire into the case themselves. Whatever the Anchuvanam and the Manigrāmam, who are made the trustees of this city (Quilon) together with their two chiefs, do, only shall be valid.”

Now who are the Anchuvanam and the Manigrāmam? Anchuvanam.—It is rather amusing to see the remarks of the late T. A. Gopinatha Rao, M.A., on the Anchuvanam. While commenting upon the above plates he says:—“Literally it (anchuvanam) means five colours and by extension of its connotation five castes. From the two Kottayam plates we learn that five castes

1 Kāṭum or Kāṭum.
2 Seems to be the same as setti in, Tamil meaning roadway or pathway.—Ed.
3 Māṣṇunir means bathing-water for kings and gods.
contributed to the bulk of converts to Christianity, and these were Ilavar, Tachchar, Veḷḷālar, Vaññaṟ, and one more which is not legible in the inscription. These, in all probability, formed the Aṉchuvaṉṉattār" (Trav. Arch. Series, Vol. II, page 74).

In the above plates nothing is said about converts or conversion. In plate No. I it is said that a few Ilavas and Vañṇāś (washermen) were given to Tarisappai, and of these slaves, Ilavas were to be exempted from paying taxes on their talai (footropes) and ēpi (ladder), (talai and ēpi for climbing trees), and should be allowed to enter into the market, and the washerman also should be allowed to come into the market and do his work. In plates No. II it is said that a few tachchara (carpenters) and Veḷḷālas were "Ordained to plant and sow for God, so that the church may have due supply of oil and other things." Does this mean that these people embraced Christianity? For argument's sake let it be granted that they do so. The plates, which mention the granting of tachcharas and others to the Pailī, also mention the extraordinarily high position of Aṉchuvaṉṉam. One cannot understand how a distinguished scholar like the late Mr. Gopinatha Rao could dream of identifying these slaves with the Aṉchuvaṉṉam, on whom were conferred the aristocratic privileges of the country. Nobody, after reading the words of the Taṉu Iravi Copperplates quoted above, can identify the Aṉchuvaṉṉam with the slaves, Ilavas, Vañṇāś, etc. But the Aṉchuvaṉṉam can be easily identified with the Jews. In the Parkara Iravi Varmar Copperplates (commonly known as the Cochin plates of Bhaskara Ravi Varmar) in possession of the Jews of Cochin, it is said "Isuppā Irappān, who owns Aṉchuvaṉṉam" (Aṉchuvaṉṉam Uḷaiya Isuppā Irappān). From the name it is very clear that Isuppā Irappān was a Jew. "The Joseph Rabban," says the late Mr. Gopinatha Rao, "of the Cochin plates need not be Rabbi Joseph a Jew. The word Rabban may be considered as another form of Ramban, the name applied to those Christian priests who aspire to the position of a Bishop and who in Russia are either widowers or unmarried men, and in Malabar only unmarried men. The donee of the so-called Jewish deed may as well be a Christian."—(Trav. Arch. Series, Vol. II, page 80). Then how did the Jews get these plates? Did they steal them? A Hebrew translation of these plates is, according to Dr. Burnell, in all probability, 400 years old—(Indian Antiquary, Vol. III, page 334). What was the use of stealing these plates? Is it possible for a people to take all of a sudden certain privileges, saying that they were enjoying them from time immortal? In days of old the kings and the people were very particular about such things, and no community would dare to go beyond the limit allotted to them by proveable usage. The Christians of Malabar are not likely to give ready credence to the words of the late Mr. Gopinatha Rao, who coming from beyond the Ghats tells us that the copperplates in possession of the Jews of Cochin are stolen property of ours, while none of our ancestors have ever said so. It is, therefore, certain that Isuppā Irappān was a Jew. If the Aṉchuvaṉṉam people were owned by Isuppā Irappān, a Jew, the Aṉchuvaṉṉam themselves must be either Jews or slaves. Since the high respectability of these people is described at length, there can be no question that these were Jews. It does not seem to be possible to find out how the Jews got this name.

Manigrāṇam.—(1) Now who are the people of Manigrāṇam? The Taṉu Iravi Copperplates were granted to the parishioners of the Tarisappai, the foreign Christian community just colonised in Quilon. There is a passage in this grant which speaks very clearly about the ancient Christians of the country, viz. "The pārkōḷ and pośičakāṉi which the pailīyar (the people of the Church) had formerly received," (muṉum pailīyar pēṟṟuṟaiṟa pārkōḷum pośičakāṉiyum). The pailīyar here evidently does not refer to the parishioners of the Tarisappai recently colonised here. Though modern scholarship cannot sufficiently explain the words pārkōḷ and pośičakāṉi, we can rest assured that they are some signs

---

4 Rabbi is quite naturally represented by Irappān in Tamil. Ramban could be represented only by a grammatical license, for which there must be good grounds of justification.—Ed.
of royalty, because the king Ayyanaṭikaḷ himself, the vassal of the Cheraman Perumāḷ, says:—
“I who have received formerly pārkkōl, koppān and pāiṇchakkanṭṭi” (pārkkōlum koppānum
pāiṇchakkanṭṭiyum murum peruvattiyen nānum). Pārkkōl is, no doubt, some kind of staff (kōl
means staff) and pāiṇchakkanṭṭi, some kind of necklace. In the Huzur Treasury plates it
is said that a king gave, among other things, a māṇikkakkanṭṭi (a necklace of rubies) to the
Plates No. I, we read Pāničhakkanṭṭi and in line 51 of plates No. II pāiṇchakkanṭṭi. The word
pāiṇcha in Sanskrit means five and kāṇṭṭi necklace. Pāiṇchakkanṭṭi is pure Sanskrit, meaning
a necklace of five. Kāṇṭṭi when written in Vaṭṭeluttu becomes kāṁṭṭi, because there is no ūth
but ū in this alphabet. Pāiṇchakkanṭṭi is the Tamilised form of pāiṇchakkanṭṭi. Pāiṇch is
the Tamil form of pāiṇcha. According to the Tamil rules of Grammar ū of kāṇṭṭi should be
doubled, but according to the Sanskrit Grammar it should not be doubled. So we find this
word in its pure Sanskrit form in plate No. II and in a Tamilised form in plate No. I.

Pāiṇcha, in all probability indicates paṭcharainum5 (five jewels), i.e., sapphire, diamond,
ruby, pearl, and coral. If so, paṭcharainum means a necklace of five jewels. The pārkkōl
and pāiṇchakkanṭṭi, a staff and a necklace, were given formerly by the emperor of Keralam to
the pāliṇḍr, i.e., the head of the Christians, just as to the kings who were his vassals.
From this we understand that when the copperplates mentioned above were given to the foreign
Christians, the local Christians were evidently enjoying some royal privileges. Is it likely
that, while so much is said about the Jews, and they with the Aruṇācchery, a body of Nairs,
are made protectors of Tariṣappalḷi, the local Christians would be ignored? Therefore the
other community the Maṇigradam, who were also made protectors of the Tariṣappalḷi,
 enjoyed extraordinary privileges and were entitled to paṭippattavāram, the rent due to one
who rules under a king, must be identified with the local Christians who are said to have held
pārkkōl and pāiṇchakkanṭṭi, the signs of royalty.

(2) Further from the words quoted from the Tānu Iravi plates, the Aṇchuvaṇnam
and the Maṇigradam seem to be mercantile peoples. The Aṇchuvaṇnam are identified with
the Jews who are mostly merchants. The Maṇigradam, therefore, must be Christians who
are also mostly merchants. Barretto who was procurator of the Jesuit Provinces of Malabar
during the early part of the 17th century speaks of the St. Thomas Christians as follows:—
"These Christians are highly esteemed by the gentle kings in whose country they live, and
they engage themselves in respectable occupations such as commerce and military service."
(Relazione Delle Missioni E Christianità Che appartengono alla Provincia di Malavar. In
Roma Appresso Fransisco Cavalli, 1645, p. 20.)

(3) John de Marignoli who visited Quilon in the year 1348 says that the St. Thomas
Christians were then "the masters of the public weighing office" (Cañhay and the Way Thither,
Vol. III, p. 216). Further when Afonso D’Albuquerque visited Quilon in 1504, the Christians
of the place came and told him "that as he was desirous of confirming to them their
ancient customs, to wit, that the Christians who had the management of the Church, also
should have in their keeping the seal and the standard weight of the city, which privilege
the king of Cauçu (Quilon) had taken from them for the fault and negligence of one of their
number." (The Commentaries of the great Afonso D’Albuquerque, Second Voyage of India,
translated by Walter De Gray Birch, Vol. I, p. 15.) The Maṇigradam were made masters
of the public weighing office by the Tānu Iravi plates. If the Maṇigradam were not
Christians, we do not find elsewhere that the Christians of Quilon ever received this privilege.

The Maṇigradam, therefore, must be Christians.

5 Paṭcharainum is differently enumerated by some other authorities:—(1) gold, diamond,
sapphire, ruby and pearl; (2) gold, silver, pearl, coral and an inferior kind of diamond considered as a
lucky possession for princes.

6 This book was edited by his son Alboquerque in the year 1576.
(4) "This Church," says Barbosa while speaking about the Church of Quilon, "was endowed by the king of Coulan with the revenue from the pepper, which remains to it to this day." (A Description of the Coast of East Africa and Malabar in the Beginning of the 16th century, by Duarte Barbosa, 1516 A.D., p. 162.) The Maṇigrāmam were authorised to collect customs duty on all articles of merchandise. If they were not Christians, we do not find elsewhere that the Christians of Quilon ever received this right. We, therefore, cannot but conclude that the Maṇigrāmam were Christians.

(5) In the agreement of peace which Afonso D'Alboquerque made, "it was arranged that the civil and criminal jurisdiction should be under the control of the native Christians, as it had always been hitherto." (Commentaries of the Great Afonso D'Alboquerque, Vol. I, p. 14.) This privilege was given to the Maṇigrāmam. If they were not Christians, we do not find elsewhere that the Christians ever received this privilege. They, therefore must be Christians.

Having shown that Maṇigrāmam were Christians, we shall proceed to examine the argument of the late Mr. Gopinatha Rao to the contrary.

"The word in all the documents under notice," says the late Mr. Gopinatha Rao, "clearly indicates a close alliance of the Maṇigrāmakkars with the Christian Sapir Iso and therefore were likely themselves Christians. From the fact that the Afchuvañnakkars and the Maṇigrāmakkars observed the ceremony of ankurāpāṇa during their marriages, it would appear that they still continued to be Hindus, though they served the Christians. It is quite likely that some of these families, which were made over to the Christian merchant prince Maruvan Sapir Iso, did not become Christians at all, but remaining Hindus, they served their new masters, the Christians, and on that account they became degraded in the eyes of their castemen. This last supposition might account for the existence at present of a sect of Sudras known as the Maṇigrāmakkār, who are said to be looked down upon by the other Sudras as their inferiors." (Trav. Arch. Series, Vol. II, pp. 74, 75).

The late Mr. Gopinatha Rao thought that these people observed the ceremony of ankurāpāṇa, simply because it is said that they were given the privilege of carrying maṇṣunir (bathing water) on the back of an elephant. The late Mr. Gopinatha Rao took the word maṇṣunir to mean "earth and water," and consequently thought that this indicated ankurāpāṇa. He did not know that bathing water brought on the back of an elephant for a king or a god was called maṇṣunir. Here the brides and bridegrooms of the Afchuvañnamm and the Maṇigrāmam were given the privilege of bringing maṇṣunir on the back of an elephant. In this there is no religious significance whatever.

The late Mr. Gopinatha Rao says that the Afchuvañnamm and the Maṇikkirāmam served the Christians. As a matter of fact they did not serve anybody. We read that they were men of extraordinary privileges. The privileges given to them were much more than the privileges given to the Christian colonists who came with Mar Sapor, whom according to the late Mr. Gopinatha Rao, the Afchuvañnamm and the Maṇigrāmam served. The privileges of the Christian colonists were only that their slaves, as well as the inhabitants of the land belonging to their Church, were not on any account to be punished by the Government authorities but by the Church, while the privileges of the former were the following:—No poll-tax shall be levied upon the slaves bought by them; they were entitled to certain customs duties on articles of merchandise; levying of Government customs, appraising of articles and all other business of the king should be done only in their presence; they were to keep in their custody the daily collection
of Government customs; if they found any cause for complaint, they could redress it by stopping the customs duty and the duty on the weighment of the articles of merchandise; they were entitled to the rent due to a pati (one who rules under a king) from the Kārālmā land (the land which is held on perpetual lease) within the fort; they were given seventy-two privileges, such as the right of carrying maṇṇaṅkī (bathing water for kings and gods) on the back of an elephant on marriage occasions; if any of them committed any crime they could enquire into the case themselves, not the Government authorities; they were the trustees of the city.

If the Manigrāmam who enjoyed such extraordinary privileges were Nairs, why should they be looked down upon by the other Nairs? Moreover they are ashamed to own the name Manigrāmam. Why?

Again the chief man among them is controlling the affairs of the temple in Quilon belonging to the Kammālas. We read in the Vīra Rāghava copperplate that the Kammālas (artisans) were given as slaves to the Christians. The Christians of Malabar are traditionally believed to be the masters of the Kammālas. That the chief Manigrāmam Nair is still holding a special control over the Kammāla temple, is a proof that these Nairs were, some centuries ago, Christians. This is the traditional belief of the other Nairs as well as Christians. Once a Nair friend of mine, a citizen of Quilon, pointing at the Kalari which was used by the Manigrāmam Nairs as a temple, said that that was their Church. It looks like a Church, he added, rather than a temple. These Manigrāmam Nairs are found in Quilon, but one or two families are found elsewhere too. What led them to apostatize, one cannot tell.

We read in the decrees of the synod of Diamper held in the year 1599, that some of these Christians turned Hindus during the 16th century. While speaking about the Church of Travancore, a small town south of Trivandrum (not the State of Travancore), the Synod says:—"Whereas the Church of Travancore is at this time totally demolished, the greater part of its parishioners having above forty years ago turned perfect heathens, all which has happened through the negligence of sending priests among them by reason of their great distance from any other Church, there being nevertheless several good Christians there still."


There is now no remembrance of the names Aṇchuvaṇaṁ and Manigrāmam among the Jews and Christians. It may be that, when the grant of privileges connected with the title of Manigrāmam became a dead letter, the name went out of memory among the Christians. As for the apostate Manigrāmam, that name could not but be retained, because they could not be called Christians after their apostasy. So their title Manigrāmam, which by itself indicates no religion, was retained.

One is not ignoring the fact that the name Manigrāmam does not necessarily indicate Christians. This word occurs in one of the inscriptions of the reign of Rajakesarivarman in Tiruvellarai near Trichinopoly:—"Odu Brāhmaṇaṇe uccafrukkā Uraiyūr Maṇigrāmatto nārāyaṇan nancho... vachcha pon." (Trav. Arch. Series, Vol. II, p. 74.) But the Manigrāmam named in the Tānu Iravi Copperplates executed at Quilon, undoubtedly were Christians and the Manigrāmam Nairs of Quilon were, in all probability, Christian converts to Hinduism.

---

7 There is another reference to Maṇigrāmam in inscriptions. The term occurs in the Takopa inscription, vide J.R.A.S., 1913, pp. 337-9, and ibid., 1914, in Siam, where the Maṇigrāmam occurs as among three communities under whose protection the temple and tank of Nārāyaṇa were placed. Maṇigrāmam cannot therefore be Christians as such, though the Maṇigrāmam dignity might have been conferred upon Christian or Jews. The term seems to refer to the class or guild of merchants dealing in gold and jewels, and being assayers as a consequence. It seems to imply headship of the community of jewellers and no more.—Ed.
THE KNIGHT’S TOUR AT CHESS.

By L. R. RamaChandra Iyer, M.A.

There was a discussion on the Knight’s Tour at Chess, ante, vol. LII, pp. 351–354, in the course of which plates were given of an “Indian Knight’s Tour by Figures” and of a “Correct Knight’s Tour,” also by figures. It was pointed out that the problem to be solved is to move the knight over every square on the chess-board in 64 consecutive moves; that is to say, if the top left-hand square is counted as No. 1, No. 64 must come within a knight’s move of square No. 1. The “Correct Knight’s Tour” solved the problem, but the “Indian Knight’s Tour” did not, because, although it filled up every square in consecutive moves up to 64, the last “move” was not within a knight’s move of square No. 1. Therefore there were only 63 moves, as No. 1 is a station and not a move.

But the interest in that “Indian Knight’s Tour” lies in the fact that the first half of the board is filled by 32 “moves,” in such a way that by merely repeating the “moves” in the first half in the same order in the second half the whole board becomes filled. The tour failed, however, to solve the problem, because neither did move 32 fall within a knight’s move of square No. 1, nor did move 64 fall within a knight’s move of square No. 33.

The “Correct Knight’s Tour” is indeed correct, in so far as move 64 is within a knight’s move of square No. 1, but it does not arrange that when half the board is filled, the rest of it can be filled up automatically, as in the case of the “Indian Knight’s Tour.”

It is, however, possible so to arrange the moves that when half the board is filled up, the remainder can be filled up automatically, and yet to bring move 64 within a knight’s move of square No. 1.

To make my meaning clear I here repeat the plate of the “Correct Knight’s Tour” and the “Indian Knight’s Tour by Figures”: see Plates I and II attached. I also add thereto Plate III which I have called a “Symmetrical Knight’s Tour.”

It will be observed from Plate III that the moves 1 to 33 are so arranged that No. 33 falls in the bottom right-hand corner of the board; i.e., exactly at the opposite corner diagonally of No. 1, which is at the top left-hand corner. So the second half of the moves can be worked backwards to No. 1 in exactly the opposite direction to the first half working forwards from No. 1, and yet No. 64 falls within a knight’s move of No. 1. It will therefore be seen that Plate III exhibits not only a “correct” knight’s tour, but also a more perfect tour than that previously given, as the last half of the board can be filled up automatically. The Symmetrical Knight’s Tour combines in fact the advantages of the Correct Knight’s Tour (Plate I) and the Indian Knight’s Tour by Figures (Plate II).

The point can be made yet clearer by observing Figures A and B of Plate IV, which show the distribution of the first 33 moves in Plates I and II respectively, move 33 belonging to the second half of the board. It will be seen that in the first case the moves are distributed 16 in each half of the board divided vertically; in the latter case they are 16 in each half of the board divided horizontally.

Plates V and VI represent the moves of the “Symmetrical Knight’s Tour.” In Plate V, Fig. A, moves 1 to 32 are distributed, 16 in the upper half of the board and 17 in the lower half: the board being divided horizontally. In Plate V, Fig. B, moves 33 to 64, these facts are reversed, and the distribution is 17 in the upper half and 15 in the lower. Similarly in Plate VI, Fig. A, moves 1 to 32 are distributed, 17 in the left half of the board and 11 in the right half; the board being divided vertically: and in Plate VI, Fig. B, the reverse occurs, the distribution being 11 moves in the left half and 21 in the right half of the board.
PLATE I.

A CORRECT KNIGHT'S TOUR.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>36</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>24</th>
<th>59</th>
<th>34</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>30</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### PLATE II

**Indian Antiquary.**

**Indian Knight's Tour by Figures.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>30</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>20</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>24</th>
<th>11</th>
<th>26</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>23</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>58</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>55</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>44</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>37</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

R. C. Temple, Del.
A SYMMETRICAL KNIGHT'S TOUR.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>51</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>11</th>
<th>60</th>
<th>57</th>
<th>54</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>59</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>56</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>31</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>46</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>37</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>33</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
PLATE IV.

FIG. A.

A CORRECT KNIGHT’S TOUR.
(The First Thirty-Three Moves.)

<p>| | | | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>33</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>27</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>32</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

FIG. B.

AN INDIAN KNIGHT’S TOUR.
(The First Thirty-Three Moves.)

<p>| | | | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

R. C. TEMPLE, DEL.
PLATE V.
A SYMMETRICAL KNIGHT'S TOUR
Board divided horizontally.
Fig. A: Moves 1 to 32.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>11</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig. B: Moves 33 to 64.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>51</th>
<th>60</th>
<th>57</th>
<th>54</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>56</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>36</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>46</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>33</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N.B.—The two figures in circles are not counted.

R. C. Temple, Del.
PLATE VI.
A SYMMETRICAL KNIGHT'S TOUR
Board divided vertically.
Fig. A: Moves 1 to 32.

<p>| | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>26</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>29</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig. B: Moves 33 to 64.

<p>| | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>56</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>36</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>46</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>37</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>38</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N.B.—The two figures in circles are not counted.

R. C. Temple, DEL.
PLATE VII.
A SYMMETRICAL KNIGHT'S TOUR.
Board divided into quarters.

Fig. A: Moves 1 to 32.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>8</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>11</th>
<th>10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>4</th>
<th>15</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>30</th>
<th>17</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig. B: Moves 33 to 64.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>51</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>50</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>64</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>49</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>60</th>
<th>57</th>
<th>54</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>58</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>47</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>63</th>
<th>48</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>35</th>
<th>46</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N.B.—The two figures in circles are not counted.

R. C. Temple, Del.
Also in Plates V and VI it will be seen that the second half of the moves 33 to 35 are in exactly the opposite squares of the board diagonally to those in the first half, 1 to 18. This fact becomes quite clear if the board be divided, as in Plate VII, into quarters for convenience of noting the places of the respective figures.

Table A below, taken with Plates V, VI and VII, shows how the two halves of the board exactly correspond diagonally with the Symmetrical Knight's Tour. Thus:

**TABLE A.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First</th>
<th>Second</th>
<th>First</th>
<th>Second</th>
<th>First</th>
<th>Second</th>
<th>First</th>
<th>Second</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Half</td>
<td>Half</td>
<td>Half</td>
<td>Half</td>
<td>Half</td>
<td>Half</td>
<td>Half</td>
<td>Half</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I give also Table B showing how the two halves of the board correspond diagonally in the case of the Correct Knight's Tour (Plate IV, Fig. A). It will be seen that there is considerable, but by no means completely, exact correspondence. That is to say, the 1st and 3rd quarters of the board correspond exactly, but there is a certain confusion in the 2nd and 4th quarters. Thus:

**TABLE B.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First</th>
<th>Second</th>
<th>First</th>
<th>Second</th>
<th>First</th>
<th>Second</th>
<th>First</th>
<th>Second</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Half</td>
<td>Half</td>
<td>Half</td>
<td>Half</td>
<td>Half</td>
<td>Half</td>
<td>Half</td>
<td>Half</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Taken all round, the "Indian Knight's Tour" fails, because it does not solve the problem in 64 moves: the "Correct Knight's Tour" fails, because it is not exactly symmetrical; the "Symmetrical Knight's Tour" succeeds in being both correct and symmetrical. It does not, however, explain itself in the first half of the moves, Nos. 1 to 32: nor does it confine itself to one half of the board in the first 32 moves. It is this point that has puzzled mathematicians. How is a mathematical statement, or a mnemonic sloka, to be drawn up which will automatically settle the problem from beginning to end? There is still room for research in this problem.

SOME COPPER COINS OF SOUTHERN INDIA.

(A Note on the Plates issued, ante, vol. XXXII (1903), pp. 313-25.)

BY CH. MOHD. ISMAIL, M.A., M.R.A.S.

There is no doubt as to the fact that there was little material for the identification of coins when Mr. Sewell explained the Plate mentioned above. The research carried out during the last twenty years has made it comparatively easy to identify most of the coins now. Being chiefly concerned with Musalman coins or specimens, stamped with "Persian" or "Arabic" characters, I have tried to identify some of the figures in the plates illustrating Mr. Sewell's article, and being successful in some cases, I give below my observations:

Plate I.

Figures 4-A—4-I. Mr. Sewell says that these specimens have peacocks on one side, but with the exception of 4-A, 4-B, 4-F and 4-I, these birds are not clear. For the sake of convenience, however, we may term these specimens "peacock coins". In this connection the following quotation from the British Museum Catalogue of Persian Coins, 1887, will be of interest. "The copper coinage of Persia under the Shahs is until the present reign, with insignificant exceptions, autonomous. It presents on the obverse a type, usually the figure of an animal, and on the reverse the name of the mint, preceded by غرب, غرب or فلوس. No doubt the first inscription should be read غرب فلوس, the inversion being due to the habit on gold and silver money of placing the word غرب at the foot of the coin, to be read immediately before the mint written next above it. As the types in several instances are identical with the eponymous animals of the Tatar Cycle, it might be supposed that these at least were chosen with a chronological intention."—Introduction, p. xx.

Now out of these coins, 4-A and 4-B bear the legend غرب فلوس, which is evidently a portion of غرب فلوس plus the name of the mint where the coin was struck. This fact goes to prove that they cannot be associated with a temple (presumably a Hindu one), which would never use "Persian" for the legend. Though the name of the mint is not to be found on these two specimens, yet by comparing them with figures 9, 21 and 94 of the autonomous copper coins of Persia, given in the above-mentioned Catalogue of the British Museum and figures 30 (p. 105), 47-50 (p. 119), 1 (p. 129), 35 (p. 133), 75 and 84 (p. 141), 172-175 (p. 155) of "Modern Copper Coins of the Muhammadan States" by W. H. Valentine, and taking into consideration the last paragraph of the above quotation from the British Museum Catalogue, we can say with certainty that these coins are "autonomous" of Iranian origin, if we take Iran to mean Caucasus, Persia and Afghanistan, and have nothing to do with the temples of Southern India. Of course, if there is no "Persian" inscription, we are in darkness, as coins of similar appearance have been given, though not definitely assigned, in plate IV (figures 8 and 9) of Thurston's Mysore Coins.
Figures 7-A—7-G.—Mr. Sewell then takes them to be of the "same type" (as 6A-6B), the principal object being a lozenge-shaped ornament with nine dots inside it, Hindustani or Persian lettering around. I am of opinion that all of them belong to Muhammad 'Adil Shāh (A.H. 1037—67, A.D. 1627—56) of Bijāpur. Figure 7 of plate XXXIX illustrating the article of Dr. Taylor (pp. 678—87) in No. 11 of Numismatic Supplement, J.A.S.B., 1910, reproduces the original die, and we find the complete legend as given by Dr. Taylor in the above article as:

"The world from these two Muhammadhs received beauty and dignity. The first is Muhammad the apostle, the second Muhammad Shāh (the king)". The reconstruction as given by Dr. Taylor does no doubt differ to some extent in appearance from the figures 7A—7G, yet I am confident that I am right in assigning them to Muhammad 'Adil Shāh. I have examined about 200 coins of this pattern, in the collection of the Poona Archeological Museum, Prince of Wales Museum, the Bombay Royal Asiatic Society, and of some friends of mine, and some amongst treasure trove coins. All the specimens which I came across, bore, as a rule, fragmentary and in some cases crude inscriptions, and differed a good deal from one another.

In 7-A the word ۱۰ is clear.

In 7-B ۱۰ and ۱۱ can be read. Similarly fragmentary inscriptions can be made out in other specimens.

7-F. This coin has "similar lozenge but with a squatting figure of Narsiṃha, on the opposite side" says Mr. Sewell. This coin, if similar to 7-A—7-E which are of a Muslim king, cannot have, as a rule, the Hindu God Narsiṃha on either of its sides. Possibly the suggestion as to Narsiṃha is due to the preconceived idea that the coin belongs to some temple. This specimen may also be of Muhammad 'Adil Shāh, but one cannot be positive. The "Narsiṃha" figure may be the "sun face" or "Persian Lion" with the face of a man—a representation of 'Ali, the "Lion of God," and thus the coin may be "Persian.,"

No. 8. On one side we find within the rhombus formed by cross lines and on the other ۱۰. We may read it as ۱۰ جائوس and ۱۰ بایشام, and may assign the coin to the Mughal dynasty. It is certainly a post-Aurangzēb coin and probably belongs to Shah 'Alam II. Mr. Sewell is quite right in thinking that it has nothing to do with the temples.

9-A—9-B. These two specimens, on one of which ۱۰ can be read, may be assigned to chiefs who began to strike their own coins during the decline of the Mughal dynasty, stamping them with their own signs or mint marks (in this case the trisula and a club?) while the coin bore the usual Mughal legend plus the name of the impotent ruler at Delhi, usually Shah 'Alam II, though in some cases he was long dead. Only as a mark of nominal allegiance, this practice was followed by the British East India Company as well, though the Emperor at Delhi was their pensioner.

9-C. It is very much defaced with an illegible inscription. It may be of 'Ali 'Adil Shāh I of Bijāpur. (Compare fig. 1 of pl. XXXIX, N. S. No. 11.)

9-D-1, 9-D-2, 9-D-3. By collation of all these we may read ۱۰ فرب جائوس and ۱۰ شاه باد. Evidently it is Mughal and probably of Shāh 'Alam II, for traces of Shāh 'Alam in 9-D-1 and 9-D-3 may be read.

9-E. It is evidently of Ibrahim 'Adil Shāh II (A.H. 988-1037) of Bijāpur. Only the reverse, of which the full legend is ۱۰ نالم علی مرنفی, has been given. Compare fig. 2 on plate XXXIX, N. S. No. II (1910).
9-F. The lettering which is a portion of جاووس can be read. So it is a Mughal or pseudo-Mughal coin.

9-G. The which is probably a portion of جاووس can be read on one side, and خ on the other. I cannot say anything definite about it. Thousands of coins like this, which were struck by local independent chiefs, are still found.

9-H. It closely resembles fulus of Shikarpur.

Plate II.

9-I. In this which is a portion of جاووس can be read on one side, and خ on the other side. The circular stroke of خ resembles the خ of 9-G, but in this case in the belly or the bigger curve of خ there are no dots.

9-K. The words which can be made out are which may be read as or قاووس جاووس and or خاور شکار، خاور تچ، خاور شکار، خاور بہار، خاور پہاڑ and if so, the coin may be assigned to Mysore—but all this is doubtful.

Plate III.

No. 42. I assign it to Muhammad bin Tughlaq (a.h. 725–52, a.d. 1325–51) of the Tughlaq Dynasty. The inscription which is legible on one side is which is similar to that of 219 in Thomas and 373 of Indian Museum Catalogue, the only difference being in the arrangement of letters. It is in the above specimen, whereas it is in the above references.

No. 45. This is no doubt a Mysore coin of Tipu Sultan, as suggested by Mr. Sewell. If Tufnell and Thurston have not figured such a coin in their plates, possibly they did not find one. In fig. 5, pl. VI, figs. 7, 8, pl. VIII of Thurston we see an elephant to the right with similar tail, and if alif is not to be found it is immaterial.

Figs. 162, 176, 188, 194, pl. IV, figs. 228, 230, 255, pl. V, figs. 299, pl. VI, of "The Coins of Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan" by Henderson also bear similar figures of the elephant to the right.

Fig. 46. This coin is of Tipu Sultan and the mint possibly is خالیقabad.
A VISIT TO TUMĀNA.

BY RAI BAHADUR HIRALAL, B.A.

Tumāna, the representative of the ancient Tumāna, the first capital of the principal Haihayas of Mahākośala, was first discovered by me in the year 1903, but I wanted stronger proof than the mere similarity of names for establishing its identity, and this I could not do satisfactorily without personally seeing the place. I found an opportunity to visit the place on 22nd May 1908, but owing to press of work I failed to write a note on it, as promised in a foot-note to my article on Rāṃṭek (ante, 1908, p. 204, foot-note 11). Unfortunately the matter was later on forgotten, until I found the other day some rough notes which I had taken on the spot. It is now very difficult to recollect all that I saw 16 years ago, but I consider it necessary to redeem the promise then made as well as I can with the materials before me.

Tumāna is now a small village in the Lāphā Zamindāri of the Bilāspur District in the Chattisgarh Division of the Central Provinces. It is situated in 22° 35' N. and 82° 45' E., within a ring of mountains enclosing some 16 villages, occupying as many thousand acres, the whole tract being known as Tumāna khōl. Traditionally there are five khōls in that part of the country, the other four being Devikhol, Bhairavakhōl, Narakhōl and Varāhakhol. There are two entrances to the Tumānakhōl, one from the Uporā Zamindāri and the other from Mātīm, and if these two are guarded or garrisoned, the khōl becomes a natural fort. It is just the place which kings of olden times would have selected for their residence. Tumāna is situated on the river Jaṭāsankāri, a streamlet which issued from the foot of a mountain close by, known as Lāphāgarh or Chittorgarh, on which stands an ancient fortress, presumably constructed for offensive and defensive purposes in times of war, which were of frequent occurrence in those days of "might is right."

The ancient remains at Tumāna are not very numerous, but they are quite sufficient to establish its antiquity and importance in days gone by. They consist of ruins of about 30 temples, a palace and a number of tankās. To the east of the present village, which consists of a few huts, there is a space about 200 cubits square, within which there are about 20 piles of carved and cut stone. The central pūca, which seems to have been the best and the last to fall down, has a huge Nandi, probably in the very place where it was originally enshrined. Its plan indicates that it was once a grand structure. The portion above the top of the entrance has fallen, covering the rest with debris, which I had removed and found a superb gateway. It was surmounted with a number of figures carrying garlands of flowers, with a kṛtīmukā in the middle. Under these was the dedicatory block with three niches, the middle one representing Śiva in the Tāṇḍava dance. The nich to the proper right was occupied by Brahmā in a sitting posture and the left by Viṣṇu riding on Garuḍa. In the intervening space between the niches there were figures of the nine grahas or planets. At the bottom of the door stood the rivers Yamunā and Gaṅgā, holding pitchers of water, the former on her tortoise to the proper right and the latter on the dragon on the left. The sides of the door were ornamented with figures of Viṣṇu's incarnations, beginning with Maṭchha (fish) just on the top of the Yamunā and running up to Vāmana. The remaining five commenced with Rāma on the top of the Ganges and ran up to the Kali. Two beautiful figures of Mahādeva were carved on each side of the rivers guarding the entrance. The
exterior of the temple appears to have been ornamented with *kīrtimukhas*, four-handed figures and animals. A line of geese was still visible. I also noticed a figure of a tiger overpowering an elephant, which has been regarded by some writers as the distinguishing crest of the Gonds. The most that can be claimed for the Gonds is that the Chānda princes adopted the device as such, copying it from the figures in the old temples which they found there. It was no invention of theirs. The figure probably appealed to their imagination, the tiger of their jungles representing the ideal of prowess. Another important ruin known as Satkhānḍā Mahal or seven-storied palace, is situated just on the bank of the Jaṭāsankari to the west of the village. Here a number of cut stones were spread over an area, which may well have been the site of a royal residence. The structure appeared to have been a plain one, as very few carved stones were to be seen. This place is protected by hills on two sides and the only approach from outside is by the river Jaṭāsankari.

Tradition avers that there were *chhai ḍagar chhai kori talao* or 126 tanks, but now only one kori or twenty can be traced. There are two tanks in the vicinity of the great group of temples, named Rājā talao, and Rāni talao, and there is one named Divān ḍābri or minister’s pond. The Dulhā, Jhingā, Kajrā and Terhā tanks have heaps of cut stone on their banks. These belonged to temples which have now fallen down.

The earliest mention of Tummāṇa is the Ratanpar inscription of 1114 A.D. In this record it is stated that “in the moon’s primeval race was born the illustrious Kārtavīrya, from whom were born the Haihayas.” “In the race of the Haihayas was born that ruler of Chedi, the illustrious Kokalla, an image of the god of love, whence all derived delight, by whom being on earth in order to measure his own fame how much it might be ……… this of (?) Tritasaurya was sent up high into the universe.” (Verse 4.) “He had 18 sons, who destroyed the enemies as lions do elephants. The first-born son among them was ruler of Tripuri, and he made the remaining brothers lords of maṇḍalas.” (V. 5.) “The race of one among these younger brothers in the course of time obtained an unequalled son, Kalingarāja, a tree of prowess grown large by the water of the eyes of the wives of the enemies, who in order not to impoverish the treasury of Tritasaurya abandoned the ancestral land and acquired by his two arms this country Dakshina Kosala.” (V. 6.) “Since Tummāṇa had been made a royal residence of his ancestors, therefore residing there, he increased his fortune, causing the destruction of his enemies.” (V. 7.) His son Kamalārāja begot Ratanarāja or Ratnēśa. “Tummāṇa with its temples of the holy Vankeśa and other gods and also Ratnēśvara and the rest, with a garden containing innumerable flowers and beautiful fruits, a charming high mango grove, and crowded with palatial buildings, decorated with charming beauty, was made by Ratnēśa pleasant to the eyes, when viewed by the people.” (V. 10.) It was this Ratnēśa, who finally removed the capital about 45 miles southwards to a place where he founded a town, which he named after himself. The inscription describes it as a glorious town, which had its fame listened to in every quarter and was like the city of Kuvera. “From Ratanarāja was born Prithvīdeva who “for the glory of religion established the shrines of Prithvīdevēsvara and others at Tummāṇa and a tank resembling the ocean was built by him at Ratnapura.” (V. 17.) His son was Jājalladeva, who caused the record to be inscribed, from which the above account has been taken.

---

2 They are named Sukhārī, Terhā, Majhā, Dulerā, Dulerī talāī, Gāḍā tarāī, Sāras ḍābri, Jhingā, Raunā, Chamār ḍābri, Devān ḍābri, Rājā talao, Rāni talao, Bambhēn talao, Gadhrā talao, Purushā, Raunā, Ban tarāī, Khajrā, and Kukurūṇā ḍābri.

3 *Epi. Ind.*, vol. 1, pp. 32 ff.
The next inscription in which Tummàga is referred to, is at Mahàmadpur, 19 miles from Bilàspur. It states that "in the Tummàna country there was a king Jàjalladeva, the ornament of the Kalachuris."4 This record is not dated, but from the names of kings mentioned therein, it appears that it was carved about the time of Prithvïdeva II, who flourished about 1145 A.D. A third record with a definite date in the Chedi year 919 (1167-1168 A.D.) was found at Malhär, 16 miles south-east of Bilàspur. It refers to Jàjalladeva II as "ruler of Tummàna," during whose time a renowned Paòdit Gangâdhara, who had settled at Tummàna, built a temple of Kedara at Mallâla (the present Malhär).5 The fourth reference is found at Kharod (37 miles south of Bilàspur) in a record of the Chedi year 933 (1181-1182 A.D.), which gives the genealogy of the Kalachuri kings up to Ratnadeva III, and refers to Kamalarâja as "Lord of Tummàna."6 Finally a Ratanpur inscription of Prithvïdeva III, belonging to the year 1189-90 A.D., speaks of one Govinda, who had come in that Raja's time from the Chedi country to Tummàna,7 showing that in spite of the capital having been moved from there, it continued to be a place of importance. It would appear that the old capital was remembered with pride long after it had ceased to be the residence of what is now called the Ratanpur line of Haihya kings. It is this association with Ratanpur which led Dr. Kielhorn to identify Tummàna with 'Jûnâshahar' or old town, which is the name of an abandoned quarter of Ratanpur. He had never heard of the existence of Tummàna forty-five miles further north.

Tummàna owes its importance wholly to the Kalachuris, who however do not appear to have occupied it continuously, since they first selected it as their residence. The quotations from the inscriptions, which I have given above, indicate that one of the eighteen sons of Kokalla of Tripuri (six miles from Jubbulpore) made it his head-quarters about 875 A.D. It appears that after the lapse of about 125 years the place had to be reconquered by Kalingarâja, a scion of the Tripuri family, who is stated to have taken Dakshina Koûsla by the might of his two arms, after destroying the army at Tummàna.8 Apparently some aborigines had displaced the Kshatriyas. There is a tradition that a local chief called Ghughghus fought with the Kshatriyas for about 10 years. How long Tummàna remained with the aborigines there is no material to determine, but after Kalingarâja took it, it remained in the possession of his family for about 700 years, although the parental stock at Tripuri became extinct within about 200 years from Kalinga's time.

Various conjectures have been made as to the place whence the Kalachuris immigrated to Tripuri. One of them makes Tritassaurya their original capital, as this word occurs in inscriptions and has been taken to stand for a place-name. Thus, in the inscription first quoted above the name occurs twice, and Dr. Kielhorn has treated it as their old capital without any attempt to locate it. To me the name sounds a tribal one, and I am inclined to interpret differently the two slokas which run as follows:—

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{तेनां हैद्र भुशुजा सममक्षे च चेदीकरः} \\
\text{श्री कोकलम ि Hit īmar प्रतिकृतिविवश प्रगोदे यत्} \\
\text{वेनाक्षे धितायिः [सार्थवेदमणया] मेन मातुं यशः} \\
\text{भृगवी भिविष्यनुभुश: किरदिति ब्राह्मदमन्त:किरिति} 181
\end{align*}
\]

---

6 Ind. Ant., Vol. XXII p. 82 and Hiralal's C.P. Inscriptions, p. 108.
7 Epi. Ind., Vol. I, p. 50.
8 शीतल कोकलम जनवदो बालवेदमणयजा राजधानी सुभमाण: पुरुषोऽहुत्सूत्रव: | ततस्थोदास्सि श्रम कुस्वर्त्
वर्षामास स भिवव् | (Epi., Ind, Vol. I, p. 34).
I have already quoted Dr. Kielhorn’s interpretation of both the verses in the commencement of this article. In the original, six letters in the third line of verse 4 are broken off. I have conjecturally supplied them as given within the brackets. If they can stand, I would interpret the measure of Kokalla’s prowess to be the great army of Tritasauryas, whom he apparently defeated and thus exalted his fame. In verse 6 Kalingarāja’s high-mindedness is exhibited by his generous act of leaving his own king’s army with the intention of lessening the burden on the enemy’s treasury. So valourous was Kalinga that the fight would have continued with the greatest vigour, entailing a heavy expenditure on the enemy’s treasury, if he had not left the army and directed his attention to ‘fields and pastures new.’

If the meaning, as given by Dr. Kielhorn, is accepted, it would indicate the poverty of the Kalachuri treasury. Thus instead of being praise, it would be a reproach, implying great weakness, in that it was incapable of supporting even a scion of the family and a great warrior to boot. The question will then arise as to who the Tritasauryas were. In the Vedas we find a tribe named Tritus, whose king Divodāsa was very powerful. His son Sudāsa fought the biggest battles noticed in the Vedas. His opponents combined against him and yet they were defeated. To overpower such a strong tribe would have been an act exceeding the limits of fame. The Tritus are said to have belonged to the solar race, while the Chedis, who also find a mention in the Vedas, obviously belonged to the lunar race and were famous for their generosity. In the eighth mandala of the Rigveda it is stated that a Chedi-puṭra gave away 100 buffaloes and 10,000 cows to a poet. These facts would support the antipathy between the Tritus and the Chaidyas, (who were the ancestors of the Kalachuris or Haihayas) and their mutually antagonistic temperaments. It is therefore possible that Tritasaurya refers to the descendants of Tritus, the hereditary enemies of the Kalachuris. Phonetically the words appear similar, but it is doubtful whether the connection can be established grammatically. This is a problem for Sanskritists to solve.
FOLK-TALES FROM THE DECCAN.

By J. S. MOOTHIAR.

1. Luami and the Drummer.

Once upon a time lived Luami, who was ill-treated by her parents-in-law, so she determined to commit suicide by throwing herself into a well. So she adorned herself with all her jewels, and taking her bindā (lōja, brass water-pot) went towards the jungle. On the way she met a madala-kāḍu (drummer, 'tom-tom' beater) hurrying after his master as he was late. He was, however, much struck with the beauty and the jewellery of Luami and stopped to speak to her.

"Where are you going, Luami, such a long way for water?"
"I am tired of my troubles and I am going to kill myself."
"Why are you so troubled?"
"My father and mother-in-law so trouble me that I am going to extricate myself from troubles."

Then said the drummer: "I will show you an easy way to die: follow me." So they went together to a place where was neither man nor beast, where the drummer halted and said: "Do as I do and then you can die by your own hands." So he put his madala ('tom-tom') on the ground, stood on it and tied a noose to a tree-branch round his neck. But the madala gave way and the drummer was left hanging to the tree.

It was now quite dark and the girl had sense and was not frightened: so she made ready to sleep where she was for the night. At midnight some thieves arrived, and placed all the property they had plundered under the tree from which the drummer was hanging. Then they suddenly saw his body and ran off in great fear, leaving their booty behind. The girl saw her opportunity and filled her bindā to overflowing with the stolen goods.

When the sun had risen next morning she started back for her mother-in-law's house, who received her and her money in the bindā with great joy, and Luami lived thereafter in great happiness.

2. The Meaning of Dharmam.

Once upon a time a Brahman lad lived with his mother, making their living by begging. When the boy grew up he observed that his mother gave away half the proceeds of her begging in charity. He did not understand this and asked his mother the reason. She replied that it was dharmam.

"But what does dharmam mean, mother?"
"That I don't know. If you want to know, go to the jungle and ask a Sannyāsi or Śādhu (a sage)."

So the young Brahman went to the jungle and sat down to rest after his first day's journey. While he was resting a Rāja came up and asked him what he was doing.

"I have come to find out the meaning of Dharmam."
"Where are you going to find it?"
"I must find a Sannyāsi in the jungle who will tell me."
"When you find him," said the Rāja, "ask him also why the band (dam) of my lake does not stand firm."

---

1 This is a more common occurrence in real life than is perhaps realised. There were at the Andaman Islands several prisoners who were girl-wives, that, to avoid ill-treatment in their husbands' houses, had thrown themselves into a well with their babies. The babies died but the girls were rescued alive. They had thus committed murder under British law—R.C.T.
In the morning the lad got up early, and went on till he found a place of safety. There at midnight a huge snake, that was a nāga, came to him and asked the same questions as the Rāja. In the end the Nāga said:—“Will you ask the Sannyāsi why all Nāgas of my age die, but I don’t?” The boy promised to do so.

Next morning he went on, and arrived at a mango tree, where he stopped for the night. When it was dark the tree spoke to him and asked him where he was going. After the Brahman boy had explained his errand, the tree said:—“Kindly ask the Sannyāsi why no one eats my fruit?”

At the end of the fourth day the Brahman lad was again obliged to stop the night in the jungle, when he saw a fire and by it sitting a man and his wife, to whom he explained what had happened to him. The man was a Koli (cultivator) and asked his wife to give a share of her food to the Brahman, as he was giving a third of his own. But she refused, whereon the Koli gave half his own share and also half of his bedding, and so they slept that night. In the morning the Koli had disappeared, and his wife began to abuse the Brahman, as she said her husband must have been taken by wild animals.

And so the Brahman left her and went on and met a Sannyāsi, and said to himself ‘this must be the sage I am looking for.’ So he at once asked him what dharmam meant. Said the Sage:—“Go to the city hard by. There will be a son born there to-day to the Rāja. Ask him to bring the boy to you, and he will explain the meaning of dharmam.”

The Brahman did as he was told, and when the boy was brought to him, all the people from all parts of the city flocked to hear a child just born speak. The Brahman at once asked the child:—“What is the meaning of dharmam?” Then said the child:—

“I am he that gave you half my wheaten bread and half my bed. At midnight I fell out of the hammock and was torn to pieces by wolves. So I was born here to-day as the Rāja’s son. And even to-day is my wife a pig. Ten pigs have been born to-day in this city: the ninth of them is my wife. This distribution of reward and punishment is dharmam.”

Then asked the Brahman:—“Why doesn’t the lake dam stand firm?”

The child replied:—“Because the Rāja has two daughters who are marriageable? The dam will stand as soon as they are married.”

“Why doesn’t the Nāga die?”

“It will die as soon as it gives away the manikam (jewel) in its head.”

“And why does no one eat the fruit of the mango tree?”

“There is much money buried at its roots. Every one will eat its fruit as soon as that money is given away.”

After this the lad began his homeward journey, and coming to the tree he explained that people would eat its fruit as soon as the money at its roots was given away. Said the tree:—“There is no one so worthy of it as yourself.” So taking the money, he came to the Nāga serpent and explained about the manikam (jewel) in its head, and was at once presented with it. Then he came to the Rāja and told him about his daughters. Said the Rāja:—“You are the man to whom I must marry my daughters, as you have saved my lake.”

As soon as he was married the Brahman returned home. When his mother saw him, she perceived that it was that half a loaf of wheaten bread that had procured the boy all his riches and his position and caused the Koli to be born again as a Rāja’s son and his wife a pig in her next life for refusing it. Then they both understood the meaning of dharmam (duty of self-sacrifice).

The moral drawn from this tale for children is that even the poor man can help those poorer than himself.
BOOK-NOTICES.


The object of this work, which is dedicated to the memory of Professor Max Müller, is to satisfy all the requirements for ordinary reading of both scholars and students of Sanskrit. It contains about twice as much material as other Sanskrit works of the same type; it is the only one of its kind that is transliterated and can therefore be used by persons who do not know the Devanāgarī alphabet; and it gives a derivative analysis of all the words it contains. Finally it indicates the literary period to which words and their meanings belong, as well as the frequency or rarity of their occurrence. While purely technical terms relating to medicine, botany, astronomy and ritual are excluded, the dictionary includes a full vocabulary of general post-Vedic literature and also such selections of Vedic texts as are readily accessible to the student. The system employed for the transliteration of the palatal and cerebral consonants is not very attractive to the ordinary reader, though its adoption in the Sacred Books of the East gives it justification. To one accustomed to older methods, kanda for chandra, gāya for jaya, and ḍhampa for jhampa, seem very unfamiliar. In ḍvāra one would not at first recognize jvāra (fever). But apart from this minor criticism, the dictionary strikes one as a valuable product of scholarship and is likely to be useful not only to the student of Sanskrit, but also to those who study the Indian vernacular languages, which have borrowed their vocabulary so largely from the Sanskrit.

S. M. EDWARDS.

"STUDIES IN SOUTH INDIAN JAINISM." By Mr. M. S. RAMASWAMI AIYENGER, M.A. Vizianagram Maharaja's College Publication No. I. Rs. Four.

Critical attempts to write the history of the various religious sects of ancient India have been made in comparatively modern times and have followed in the wake of historical research in this country in the last generation or two. The labours of Western scholars like Bühler, Hoernle, Jacobi, Wilson, Burgess, Rhys-Davids and others whose researches in Jainism and Buddhism have placed before the earnest student of history a fund of valuable materials cannot be exaggerated in this direction. In spite of this, it is still true that the history of Jainism and Buddhism from the remotest period to the modern times in the northern as well as peninsular India yet remains to be written. The history of the development of the Brahmical sects such as Vaishnavism, Sivaism etc., has been attempted with success by the veteran scholar Dr. Bhandarkar in his scholarly work "Vaishnavism, Sivaism and minor religious systems" which forms a part of the Encyclopaedia of Indo-Aryan research. So far as South India is concerned, the histories of Vaishnavism and Sivaism and their literature have been sketched in a masterly manner by Dr. S. K. Aiyengar in his "Early history of Vaishnavism in Southern India" and in his "South Indian contributions to Indian Culture." No one however has so far written a connected account of the history of the Jains and Buddhists of Southern India from the early times. We are therefore gratified to find that the history of Jainism has now been undertaken by the talented scholar, Mr. M. S. Ramaswami Aiyengar in the work under review.

We have been doubting within ourselves whether the time is yet ripe and whether there are as yet sufficient materials to write a connected history of the Jain sect and literature in Southern India. Mr. Ramaswami Aiyengar has however, shown in spite of these difficulties the history of the Jains could be sketched from about the beginning of the Christian era almost to the days of the Vijayanagar emperors. The learned author indeed admits that his work is "sketchy and meagre" but yet represents an attempt 'to estimate in however tentative and fragmentary a fashion the value of Jain contribution to the rich and fruitful stream of South Indian culture.' With this note of caution from the author we may proceed to notice the work in a little more detail.

In the first two chapters (pp. 3-31), the author gives an account of the origin and early history of Jainism, discussing the views of Mesers. Barth, Bühler, Jacobi, and then proceeds to indicate the period of the migration of the Jains in the days of Bhadrabahu and Chandragupta Maurya, which according to the author is to be regarded as the starting point for an account of the Jains in Southern India. In the next and following four chapters (pp. 32-80) he takes us into the vicissitudes of the Jain faith from the Sangham age, the age of Siva Nāyamkās and Vaishnava Álvārs, the Western Gangas, Raṣṭrakutas, Hōysalas, and Vijayanagara sovereigns, Harishcandra and Dēvāraya.

In the last chapter (Chap. VIII) he takes up for examination the age of the Tamil Sangham, which he probably regards as essential to the chronology of Tamil literature he has assumed, but which we feel he might very well have relegated to the appendices, where he has included two more similar discussions of the same subject. These discussions not altogether germane to the subject occupy about one-third of the work.

It is probably unnecessary to enter into a detailed examination of the work, but we are venturing to
point out a few of the many inaccuracies of statements, inconsistencies, exaggerations and wrong conclusions that have unfortunately crept into a critical work like this, representing as it does the inaugural research work of the Vizianagram College. We do so in no spirit of disparagement to the author, but entirely in the interests of genuine historical research, the cause of which the work, as it is, does not seem to advance. We hope that these will be removed in a subsequent edition.

Among the conclusions of the author that remain unsubstantiated by positive evidence we may mention his view that Tiruvalluvar, Tolkâpîyar and the author of the Kalingattuparami were Jains. It is well-known that every religious claim the author of Kural as belonging to his religion, and expressions like (p. 41) *Malarmisai-Ehinnam* and, *Eppada* (p. 43) by no means finally establish that *Kural* was certainly composed by a Jain. There is also no evidence to agree with the author and those who identify the author of the Kural with Kundakkunda alias Blâchârya, the contemporary and instructor of Sivâskanda of Kâñchî in the first century A.D. (P. 43). But the very fact that Tiruvalluvar alludes to the Brahmins in certain of his couplets - *sundaragadu agirinjivar garu madam* - gives us the impression that he regarded the maintenance of the Brahmanical Veda as indispensable to the well-being of the state, a notion which no Jain author would care to lay stress on. Moreover, attributes to Vishnu in such expressions as *śrīśiva śivānu*, and *śrīśiva śivānu* to Śiva have been found in the work. Altogether it seems to be correct to concur with Professor S. K. Aiyangar, who after a minute examination of the Kural has concluded that its author, though undoubtedly belonging to a lower caste, was Brahminical rather than Jain (p. 131. *Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture.*). As regards Tolkâpîyar the author quotes a reference to him by a contemporary, Panambîrâmanar, *śrivishnu bhairavam* *samudrībhûtan*, which in his opinion is sufficient to prove that he was a Jain. (P. 39.) But, as the author of Tolkâpîyam is believed to have been the son of Jamadagni, and as he lived at a time much anterior to the advent of Jainism in the Tamil land, it is improbable that he was a Jain. In the case of Kalingattuparami's author, Mr. Ramaswami Aiyengar quotes a stanza attributed to him by tradition, composed in reply to a question by Apayan, in support of the author being a Jain. But apart from the dubious nature of this evidence there is nothing in support of the author's view. On the other hand it is preposterous to suggest that the author of a work professedly devoted to the description of bloodshed, as this work is could have been a Jain, the fundamental conception of whose religion is *Ahippae*.

The section on the Śiva Nāyakamārs and Vaishnavā Vālvārs is unfortunately marred by a series of inconsistent and wrong conclusions and misquotations. The author's lack of consistency exhibits itself in such views as the following—He regards (p. 61) the Tamil work *Periyapuram* as being *replete with fanciful accounts of miraculous incidents which no modern student of history would care to accept*, and almost immediately after this indictment, he relies upon the testimony of this work for historical information for several aspects of Jain and other-hisory, such as the persecution of the Jains, the identification of the Kalabhras and others. The most prominent blunder in this section is met with in the attempt made by our author to break new ground in identifying Mahendravarman II as the actual Pallava king converted by Appar. (p. 66). Earlier in the section (p. 65) he says that the first half of the seventh century A.D. was the period of the three saints Appar, Sambandara and Tirumular. Almost immediately, he contradicts this by his statement that Tilakavati, sister of Appar, was a contemporary of Paramesvaravarman I, and her husband fought this king's battles against the Châlukyas. It is well-known that this king lived far into the second half of the 7th century. The author adds to the confusion by stating that the Pallava king converted by Appar was Mahendravarman II. If, as the author says, Appar was yet a Jain spending his life in the Jain-cloisters at Tirupâpuliyûr at the time of the death of his sister's husband in the wars of Parameswaravarman I against the Châlukyas, we are unable to understand how it would have been possible for the saint to have converted Mahendravarman II, who was the father of Parameswaravarman and must have been dead when Parameswaravarman I began to rule. Apart from this confusion, into which the author has been evidently led by his ignorance of Pallava genealogy, there is no evidence that Mahendravarman II was a Jain in the early part of his reign; whereas in the case of Mahendravarman I, who is usually supposed to have been converted to Śivaisam by Appar, his inscription at Trichinopoly appears to contain a clear allusion to this event. (*South Ind. Ins.*, Vol. I, p. 28-30.)

As an instance of the author's tendency to arrive at conclusions without evidence, we might point out his view on the prevalence of religious persecution in the Tamil country. He appears to believe in the story of the Jain persecution described in the Śiva traditional accounts, including the impalement of the 8,000 Jains. (P. 67.) For this
purpose the author relies on the work Periyapurāṇam, which he himself had previously described as useless for purposes of history. (p 61.) This view of a general Jain persecution by Kūmār-Pāṇḍya in the seventh century, which is also shared by certain other writers, is not however supported by any inscriptive or other positive evidence. It is a well-known fact that the Pallava kings were uniformly tolerant of Śivaism as well as Vaiṣṇavism, and this fact strongly militates against anything like a general persecution of religious sects in the Tamil country. The frescoes on the walls of the 'Golden-Lily tank' at Madura (Minākshi temple) (p. 79), which the author cites in support of the persecution of Jains in the Tamil country, could be, at the earliest, only of the period of Vijayanagar, as the temple was almost completely destroyed during the Muhammadan occupation of Madura (1225-1370). These cannot therefore be relied upon as offering any proof of religious persecution in the days of Appar, Sambandar and Kūmār-Pāṇḍya, and of the impalement of 8,000 Jains, which appears to be a figment of later Saiva imagination.

The section devoted by the author to the age of the Ālvār exhibits a confusion in regard to the works of the various Tamil saints. On page 71, for example, the author, in illustrating the acrimonious references from Tandaradipodi-Ālvār, quotes from Nāman-gan-Tiruvandadāi, and Tiruvavomajji, the well-known works respectively of Tirumalaisāi-Ālvār and Nammālvār. It may be pointed out also that the author categorically considers Nammālvār as the last of the Vaiṣṇava Ālvārs, though recent research has shown that such a position is wholly untenable. The author's view that the frequent use of the double-plural is characteristic of the period of the Ālvārs (p. 94) is also inaccurate, as this is true only of one or two of the Ālvārs, and not all.

On page 76 and elsewhere in the work the author unduly exaggerates the Jain contributions to Tamil literature. According to him the largest portion of the Sanscritic derivatives in Tamil was introduced by these people. In the same strain the author proceeds, "It is a matter of fruitful speculation to inquire what would have been the trend of Tamil literature but for the advent of the Jains and Buddhists, more particularly of the former. In all probability we would never have had the masterpieces of Tamil literature like the Kūral, Śīlappadikārom, etc. Such fruitful speculation loses all its interest, as long as it has not been incontrovertibly proved that these Tamil works were the works of Jains, in support of which the author has not quoted any positive evidence. As it is, we must be excused if in the present state of knowledge we look upon the contributions of the Brahmanical writers as well as Buddhists as precious as those of Jains. We have already indicated our doubt regarding the Jain authorship of Kūral. We are afraid that the author has not advanced any very cogent reasons in support of his view that the author of Śīlappadikārom was a Jain. In this connection it is pertinent to note that Mahāmāhāpāyāya Pandit Swaminatha Aiyar, Mr. K. S. Srinivasa Pillai and others regard Ilanga-Adigal as a Sivaite.

The chronological position of the author in the matter of the dates which he offers for the various Tamil works is altogether untenable. Apart from his views on the age of the Śangam expounded in Chapter VIII, he has ascribed certain Tamil works to particular dates, which are quite unsatisfactory. For instance he thinks (p. 56) that Āndal was composed under the patronage of the Kalabhra kings in hostile occupation of Madura. There are, according to him, two references in this work indicating that the Kalabhra kings were Jains and patrons of Tamil literature. From the context it is plain that the word Perumuttaraiyar, whom the author equates with Kalabhra, which occurs twice in this work, is used in the plural, and in the sense of the three great kings (Mūvendar), and not in the sense of a specific dynasty of the Muttaraiyar known to us from inscriptions. In this connection the author imports a great deal of confusion by attempting to identify the Kalabhra kings both with the Muttaraiyar and with the Karnatakas mentioned in the account of the Mūrthiyandy in the Periyapurāṇam. (p. 55.) There is no indication that the Muttaraiyar kings were Jains, and the inscriptions that we have of these people do not lend support to this view. It seems to be premature to conclude, as the author does, that the Kalabhra were the Muttaraiyar, and that the period of the Kalabhra, and the period which succeeds it, was the period when the Jains had reached their zenith. (p. 56.) His date for Viramadalapurusha of Chādamani Nighanṭu (p. 163), namely the period of Krishnadēvarāya, is not supported by evidence and cannot be accepted as correct.

Finally, the section of the work devoted by the author to a re-examination of the age of Śangam seems to abound in misleading and undigested conclusions. It is not our intention to weary the readers of the Antiquary by enumerating these and discussing them in detail. We shall content ourselves with examining one or two typical arguments relied on by the author to substantiate his conclusion that the age of the Śangam was posterior to the accepted date. One of these is based on the Pallava datum. According to the majority of scholars, the Śangam works do not contain any reference or allusion to the Pallava kings known to us from a large number of inscriptions and are therefore pre-Pallava in character. The author takes exception to this apparently correct position and puts forward his own interpretation that the Pallavas were not unknown to the Śangam works, where they were called the
'Tiraiyar.' He carries this theory to absurd lengths by stating that the absence of the word Pallava in the mention of Vishnu-gopa in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta is sufficient to prove that in the fourth century A.D. the name Pallava was little used by them and that Vishnugopa was Tirayyan. (P. 143.) Unfortunately for the author the terms Pallava and Pallavamahārāja frequently occur in the copper-plate charters of the third and the fourth centuries A.D., the Prakrit and early Sanscrit charters, of which the author is evidently ignorant; but the term Tiraiyar which according to our author was the name of the Pallavas in the early times is conspicuous by its entire absence in the Pallava records known to us. It is difficult for us therefore to join with the author in his view that the Pallavas of Kanchipuram were known to the Śangam as the Tiraiyar. We admit that Kanchi was in early times ruled by Tondaman-Ilah Tirayyan and that the name Tiraiyar occurs in the Śangam works frequently. But the connection of these with the Pallava kings remains doubtful and has yet to be proved.

In support of the identification of the Tiraiyar with the Pallavas adumbrated by the author, numismatic evidence is sought to be obtained by the attribution of the ship-coins of the Coromandel coast to the early Pallava rulers. On page 143 the learned author says: "One important information is furnished by Dubreuil in his 'Antiquities of Pallavas.' According to him the Pallava rulers of Kanchi had as emblem on their coins, a ship with two masts. This explains their connection with the sea." A reference to this work of Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil shows that this does not happen to be a fact. In his Ancient History of Dekkan where there is a reference to these coins, the learned author attributes these coins to the Sālavāhana Kings who ruled over the region. (P. 47.)

Finally a reference may be made to Appendix D. entitled "Misconceptions of Śangam Chronology," where in seeking the aid of South Indian palæography to support his view on the Śangam age he commits woeful mistakes. According to him, the Grantha-Tamil is essentially a Chola script, although we know the earliest Tamil inscriptions in South India belong to the Pallava kings of the seventh century A.D., and no early Chola inscriptions in Grantha-Tamil of similar antiquity have come down to us. According to the author one reason why the Śangam works could not have been written in the period of the first or second centuries A.D. is the absence of 'a proper developed language' (script?) of a uniform standard in those days. (P. 171.) Here the author has confused the script with language.

Surely with the development of language attained in the Kural, which the author accepts as composed in the first century A.D. (p. 44), it should have been possible for the Śangam works to have been composed about the same period. But the author's theory seems to be that it was really the absence of a properly developed script that made it impossible for the Śangam works to have been written much anterior to the period of the Vatteluttu inscriptions in the eighth century. He rejects the possibility that these works could have been handed down by word of mouth from teacher to pupil, because according to him only religious poetry could be thus handed down, and not secular works like those of the Śangam. By this process of reasoning the author concludes that 'such an intense literary activity as the one ascribed to the Śangam is to be sought for in the time approximating to the century for which we have the earliest known Vatteluttu records.' The absurdity of this theory, which would make works like the Tevāram hymns of Appar and Sambandar almost contemporaneous with the Śangam works, is too patent to need any elaboration.

We are not sure whether many Tamil scholars would agree with our author, when he says on p. 132 that the word 'Podiya' in Tamil is always used to denote 'the vacant site underneath a tree.' We venture to point to line 40 of Pertiya-Tirumāṇaṇ of Tirumangai-Alvār where the word is used in the sense of Podiya hill. The author's transliteration of proper names is not altogether happy. For one thing he is not uniform in this matter (e.g.) Silappadikaram, Chilappadikaram, etc. While he adopts diacritical marks in the case of such names as Tirunānasambander, Tirunāvukkarāsai etc. he fails to use them in the case of Vaishnava Alvars such as Tepparadipoji, Tirumangai-Alvār etc. He uses in his work, such antquated forms as Tirumāzhisai-Alvār "Pazhamoṭṭi," and Sēkkilār, where we now use Tirumāzhisai-Alvār, Pālāmoli, and Sēkkilār. Happily he does not adopt this method to represent the word Tamil, as one would expect. In conclusion while we are glad that the author has taken such great pains in the attempt to throw light upon an important but neglected chapter of South Indian history, we cannot at the same time resist a feeling that he would have rendered the work infinitely more useful, by avoiding mistakes such as those enumerated in the above paragraphs. The get up of the book leaves nothing to be desired and we do hope that when the present work finds its successor in a second edition, Mr Rama-swami Aiyengar will effect the necessary improvement.

R. G.
39. The Quest of Managori.

(Told by Naurang Singh, Tahsil School, Fatehpur.)

There was once a Raja who dreamed that in the city of Ajudhya was a maiden, Managori by name, the like of whom the world never saw. In the morning he put five packets of pan in front of his gadi and said to his courtiers:—"I saw last night in a dream the maiden Managori of Ajudhya. There is no woman in the world so beautiful as she. Whoever brings her to me shall receive the half of my kingdom." When the courtiers reflected on the danger of the task none dared to attempt it. But one named Dariya Rathaur raised the pan and said:—"Maharaj, if thou givest me thy charger to ride and thy five suits of raiment to wear, I will bring thee the maiden."

The Raja agreed and gave him all he asked. The Rathaur went to bid his mother good-bye and told her that he was going in quest of Managori. His mother said:—"Let me give you food for the road." But when she went to look for flour wherewith to cook the cakes, she put her hand into a jar and took up a handful of salt. She was distressed and said:—"How can a journey prosper with an omen such as this?"

The Rathaur did not heed her words and went off. When he had gone a little distance, he saw a snake crossing his path and on the other side lay a broken vessel of curd. When he saw this he spake these lines:—

_Dahine to phuti sar ki matukiya, bayen phenkara siyar;_  
_Rah kate ka nikra hai kalwa, kaise ke laghah par?_

_i.e., "On the right lies a broken curd pot, on the left howl the jackals. The snake crosses my path. How can I return successful?"

When he neared Ajudhya he came on several roads and he could not discover which was the proper path. He saw a cowherd sitting on a tree and watching his cattle. To him he said:—

_Rukh charante chhuhara re bhaiyya, tu awat aur jat,_  
_Awadnagar ki bhali dagariya utari ke dewa bataya._

_i.e., "Brother, you climb the tree and go one way and another. I have missed the way to Awadh nagari. Come down and point it out."_

The herd came down and showed him the road, and by and by he came to the garden of Managori. There he met the gardener and to him he said:—

_Khirkha ke jhakwaiya re bhaiyya, it awat aur jat._  
_Sitalgarh ki talkh tamaku, tanik tumhun lai jawa._

_i.e., "Brother, you peep into every window and go from one place to another. The tobacco of Sitalgarh is tasty; take a little."_

The Rathaur gave him a smoke and then he gave him an ashraf, and the gardener asked him what his errand was. He said:—"I have come here in search of Managori, the fairest of women." The gardener answered:—"Managori comes here daily with her maidens." The Rathaur remained in the garden, and by and by Managori came there. The Rathaur followed her and tried to speak to her. Then a sister of Managori, who had only one eye, said to the maidens:—"I am going to speak to this stranger." They said:—"It is not proper to speak to a stranger;" but she answered thus:—

_Ek lakh ki mor gagar ghailwa, du lakh meri dor;_  
_Tin lakh ki mori sir ki gudariya, panch lakh mera mol._
i.e., "My pitcher is worth a lakh and the rope is worth two lakhs. My head-pad is worth three lakhs and my own price is five."

To this the Rathaur replied:

*Mati ki tori gagar, san ki tori dor;
Lattan gundhi tere sir ki genduriya, kani kauriya ki mol.*

i.e., "Thy pitcher is but of clay; thy rope of hemp; thy head-pad is but of twisted rags and thou thyself art worth a cracked cowry."

To this she replied:

*Ek lakh ki beni, aur due lakh ka jhunna sar
Tin lakh ka mora bana hai ghagra, sat lakh mora mol.*

i.e., "My hair-plait is worth a lakh, my pitcher two lakhs, my skirt three lakhs and I myself seven lakhs."

To which he replied:

*Ek lakh ki beniya, do lakh ki jhunnasar,
Tin lakh ka jobana, ek panahiya ki nok.*

i.e., "Thy hair-plait is worth a lakh, thy pitcher two lakhs and thy beauty three, but I would not give the point of my shoe for any of them."

When he said this, he ran away and left one of his shoes behind him; and when the girl picked it up she saw that the coins of seven kingdoms were broidered upon it. Managori then said her maidens:—"This must be the son of a Râja; and none of you should speak to him."

She returned to her palace; and the Rathaur, not knowing he might have to wait for her return, composed the following verse:

*Sun aqili, sun pacchil Râni, sun majhili panaihar.
Tora ghara ka thanda ho pani, to ek lota dehu piyaya.*

i.e., "Listen, Râni, whether thou be late or whether thou be early. Listen, water-bearer, who comest between. If the water in thy jar be cool give me a drink."

The one-eyed damsel answered:

*Pani piyasapani piu pyare, nain dekhi jani bhul;
Jin ghar ki chhail chhabili, tum as lage majur.*

i.e., "Drink, dear one, drink, if thou art athirst. But be not enamoured of the eyes thou lookest on. I am a maid of a house in which such as thou art binds."

The Rathaur answered:

*Rajan ke ham chhokra, bhule des kudes;
Jin ghar ke ham chhokra, tum as lagi panihari.*

i.e., "I am the son of a Râja and have lost my way in an evil land. In my house girls like you draw our water."

Then Managori said to the one-eyed maid: "Thou shouldst not exchange words with one who is a stranger and has lost his way. I will give him to drink." So she went to the Rathaur with a *lota* of water, but the one-eyed snatched it from her hand. And when
she took him the vessel, he smote her on the back with his riding whip and raised a grievous weal. He took the lōta and washed his hands and feet with the water. Managori took up the lōta and said to him:—"Come to my house and I will tell thee what I desire." To her the Rathaur answered:

_Tumhara to gori naihara, hamara hawai pardes;_  
_Kal kaja koi mar darai, to kaun kahai ghar sandes._  
i.e., "Fair one, this is the house of thy mother and mine is in a strange land.  
If any one should kill me, who will carry the news to my home?"

Managori went into the palace and from the upper window she let down a rope, and the Rathaur climbed up and came unto her. In the morning she let him down into the garden, but she forgot to raise the rope. Just then her husband came home from a journey in a distant land, and when he saw the rope he doubted the honour of his wife. He saw the Rathaur in the garden and rushed at him to slay him with his sword. Long they fought, and at the last the Rathaur was slain.

When Managori heard of this, she raised a funeral pyre and, laying the corpse of her lover upon it, she fell upon his breast and both were burned to ashes. When her husband heard of this, he went and bound up the ashes in a sheet. But as he attempted to tie it up, the bundle became larger and larger. Bind it as he would, he could not tie the ashes up. He was amazed at this miracle and sat on the ground and wept. Just then Mahādeva appeared and asked the cause of his sorrow. When he heard the tale, he pierced his little finger and a drop of his nectar fell on the ashes, and lo! Managori and the Rathaur stood before them.

Then the Rathaur carried off Managori and brought her to his master. Her husband sat mourning the loss of his wife; but Mahādeva poured water on the ground and a second Managori, equal to the first, was formed and he gave her to him as his wife. When the Rāja received Managori he was filled with joy and gave the Rathaur noble largesse, even half his kingdom, and they all lived happily ever after.

40. The Wit of the Rānis.

_(Told by Harcharan Lāl, Musaha, and recorded by Karamat Ali.)_

There was once a Rāja who had four wives, but he was so occupied with business and amusement that he never visited them; and they grieved because none of them bore a son. The youngest Rāni was the cleverest of them all, and she made a plan. She got a parrot and taught him to say "Thua, Thua:" "Fic, Fic;" and then he flew away and sat on a tree in the courtyard of the palace and spoke as he had been taught. When the Rāja heard what he said, he was perplexed and called the Pandits of his court to explain. They said:—"Mahāraj, the time is evil and it is proper for you to make sacrifices and feed holy Brahmins." The Rāja was not such a fool as to accept this advice. So he called the Diwān and consulted him. He said:—"Have you consulted the Rānis in the case?" The Rāja answered:—"What can foolish women know of such matters? Why should I consult them?" Just then the Rānis sent the Rāja a message to say that, if he wished, they could explain the matter. So he sent for them and the eldest said:

_Gaya jaya pinda na parai;_  
_Bairi ke sir kharag na jharai;_  
_Puti, pani, pokhar na kuan,_  
_To tāko tāto pukarai thua._
i.e., "The son who does not go to Gaya and offer holy cakes to his dead father, he who does not take vengeance on his enemy, he who does not sink tanks and wells and maintain the honour of his house, to him the parrot calls Fie, Fie."

The second Rāni said:—

Nahin de bhojan, chhajan, basa,
Brat ekadasi nahin upwas.
Sankar bhagat, na Sursar chhua.
To tota bhi pukarai thua.

i.e., "He who does not give food and shelter to the needy, who does not keep the fast of the eleventh, who is not a votary of Śiva, and touches not the Ganges, to him the parrot says, Fie."

The third Rāni said:—

Sadhu ki sangat nahin dwij dana,
Ram ka nam nahin sunana,
Jotish, Ved, Puran na chhua
Tota tahi pukarai thua.

i.e., "He that keeps not company with the saints, who repeats not the name of Rāma, who reads not the books of astrology, the Vedas and the Purāṇas, to him the parrot says, Fie."

Now the Rāja knew that he had done all these duties, and turning to his Diwān he said:—

"Said I not that the race of women knew not the affairs of state?" Then the youngest Rāni said:—

Charlo rang kumkum nahin lai,
Khatras se mukh suad na pai,
Jo naina mukh adhar na chhua,
Tota tahi pukarasi thua.

i.e., "He who in youth dyes not his garments with saffron, who tastes not the six flavours of food, who regards not the face and eyes of beauty, to him the parrot says, Fie."

"This I have not done," said the Rāja. So he embraced his wives and lived happily with them ever after.

41. The Warning of the Dancing Girl.

(Told by Muhammad Muhib Ali of Nasirabad and recorded by Rām Sarup of Budaun.)

There was once a Rāja who had a son and a daughter who were possessed of great wisdom. His son was of a willful nature, and one day he went to the superintendent of the Rāja's stables and asked him for a horse to go hunting. The officer answered that he could not give it without the leave of the Rāja. The prince was wroth and said:—"How long can I stand the tyranny of my father. This very night will I slay him."

That night he went into the Darbar, armed with a dagger, and sat near the Rāja, intending to kill him when he got an opportunity. As the night passed, most of the audience was overcome with sleep, and the dancing-girl, in order to rouse them and her drummers, sang:—
Bakut gai, thori rahi, aur yah bhi pal pal jat;
Thore der ke waste kahe kalank lagat?
i.e., "Most part is spent and little now remains. Why on account of a little time dost thou bring disgrace upon thyself?"

On hearing this the prince jumped up and gave his shawl to the dancer. The princess gave her a necklace worth nine lakhs, and the daughter of the Wazir gave her father a slap in the face, and he jumped up and began to dance with her in the midst of the assembly.

When the Raja saw this unusual and improper conduct, he was much enraged and called on all of them to explain why they had acted thus.

First the princess said:—"My father, three years ago I was married and the time draws near when my husband will fetch me home. But in the meantime I had fallen in love with another, and this night I intended to abscond with him. When I heard the words of the dancer, I thought that it would be ill to lose my honour when such a short time now remains."

The prince said:—"Father, I was impatient to rule in thy stead, and this night I purposed to slay thee. But when I heard the words of the dancer, I repented of my evil design; and I knew that in the usual course of things it could not be long before I succeeded to the throne. So I forbore."

The daughter of the Wazir said:—"My father up to this has taken no thought for my education; and when I heard her words, I thought that soon I would be married and the time for learning would be past. So I struck my father to remind him of his duty."

The Wazir said:—"When my daughter struck me, I thought that perchance she might slay me. For who can tell what an ignorant woman may do. So I thought it wise to feign to be a madman and disturb the assembly, that I might save my life."

Then the dancer said:—"I meant only that it was time for the drummers to wake and for the audience to listen to my song, as the night was far spent."

The Raja was pleased and gave her royal largesse.

42. The Test of Honesty.

(Told by Girwar Lal and recorded by Mulchand of Kakuba, Agra District.)

There was once a Bania who was going on a pilgrimage, and hearing that the road was beset by thieves, he thought it well to leave his money with some honest person until his return. He saw a shopkeeper sitting in his shop and wondered if he was a proper person with whom to leave the money. As he sat at the shop considering the matter, the servant of a dancing girl came up to buy some ghī. The shopkeeper was a rogue at heart and thought that this was the servant of some rich man. So wishing to ingratiate himself with her, he gave her three pice worth of ghī for two pice. This still more convinced the Bania that the shopkeeper was a very honest man and he was the more inclined to give him the money. Meanwhile the girl went home with the ghī, and when her mistress saw it she said:—"You have brought more than the right amount. It must be some lover of your's who has sold it to you." The girl angrily denied it and brought it back at once to the shopkeeper saying:"My mistress has sent back this ghī because you gave her too much." The Bania thought that the girl's mistress must be a most honest woman. So he went to her house, thinking that he would leave his money with her.
He was talking to the dancing girl about the matter, when a Sadhu came in. The dancing girl gave him at once three cakes and said to him:—"Be off at once." The Sadhu said to himself:—"There must be some ruggery afoot; because this woman never before gave me a single cake willingly; but now, the moment I enter her house, she offers me three." So he said:—"What can I do with all these cakes. Take back the rest and give me only one which suffices me." The Bania thought the Sadhu must be a most honest man, and that he would leave his money with him.

When he came to the hut of the Sadhu, he said to him:—"Maharaj, I have a large sum of money with me and I wish to leave it with you, till I return from my pilgrimage." The Sadhu, who was a very rogue at heart, pretended not to care whether the Bania left the money there or not. So he flung his tongs into a corner of his hut and said:—"You can bury your money there if you wish, and come and dig it up when you return." The Bania did so and went his way.

When he had gone, the Sadhu dug up the money and then he changed the appearance of his house; so that when the Bania returned, he could hardly believe that this was the same place. But he knew the Sadhu and went to him and asked for his money. The Sadhu addressed him angrily, saying:—"Why do you talk of money? I never saw you before in my life."

The Bania was in despair when he found that he had been tricked. So he went to the dancing girl and asked her advice. She said:—"I will do a trick and recover your money. But you must give me half of what you get back." The Bania agreed and she said:—"Go to the Sadhu and dun him for the money until I come." So she went and filled several boxes with bricks, and putting them on the heads of her servants, came disguised to the Sadhu and said:—"I am the Rani of Gwalior, and I want to leave all these valuables with you."

The Sadhu was just then arguing with the Bania about the money, and he thought it unwise, just when another matter was on foot, to quarrel about a trifling sum. So he paid him the amount of his deposit. Just then the maid of the dancing girl came running up and said:—"Rani Sahiba, you need not mind leaving your things here, as the Raja Sahib himself has come." So the Bania went off after thus outwitting the Sadhu.

Then the maid-servant began to laugh and her mistress said:—"What are you laughing at?" She replied:—"I remember the proverb:

\textit{Jo dhan disai jat,}  
\textit{Adhi d\text{\text{\text{"}}}jai bant.} 
\textit{i.e., "When you see that you are losing something, compound for half."}

\textbf{43. Sujan Chand and Nitikala.}

\textit{(Told by B\text{\text{\text{"}}}deo Sing, schoolmaster, Sayyidnagar, Jalaun District.)}

Sujan Chand was the Raja of the western land and Nitikala was his Rani. One night the Raja and his Rani were sleeping on a bed of flowers, and that day the Mali had left among the rose leaves a single thorn which pricked the tender skin of the Rani. She told her husband and abused the Mali for her lack of care. Then the lamp which hung in the room laughed and said to her:—"You fret to-day for a thorn among the rose leaves; but to-morrow, when you have to carry bricks and mortar on your head, what will you say?"
They slept through the night, and in the morning the Râni reminded the Râja of what the lamp had said. He knew that its words would come true, and knowing that he could not bear the sight of the affliction of his loved one, he determined to remove her from his sight. So he got a box and shut up the Râni in it, leaving a hole to admit the air, and then he took the box and flung it into the river.

The box went floating down the stream till it came opposite the palace, where lived the sister of the Râja Sujan Chand. Her husband was bathing in the river, and when he saw the box floating down, he sent his servants and they drew it to land. He did not open the box, but, making it over to his Râni, he went to the Darbar and busied himself in the affairs of his kingdom. The Râni opened the box and found inside a damsel so lovely that the world did not hold her equal, and she thought to herself that, if her husband saw the maiden, his love for her would change. So she blackened the girl's face with charcoal, took off her gorgeous apparel, and gave her a suit of rags. When the Râja came and saw her, he deemed her some foul slut, who had been sent away for her foulness, and he made her a servant in his household. He was then building a new palace, so he set Nitikala to carry the bricks and mortar for the masons. Some years were spent in this manner.

One day the Râni was keeping her fast in honour of the Disha Râni, and Nitakala, following her example, fasted also in honour of the goddess. The deity was pleased at her devotion and determined to mend her state and end her days of sorrow. So she brought to the mind of Sujan Chand the Râni whom he had loved, and he set out at once to seek her. By and by he reached the palace of his sister, where his Râni was a maidservant; and his sister received him with love and entertained him with all due respect.

One day it happened that his sister was sitting in the courtyard. Beside her sat her brother, and near them Nitikala was carrying the bricks and stones to the workmen.

The Râni said to Nitikala:—"Go and shampoo the feet of my brother." She went and began to press his feet, and as she pressed them she saw on his feet the marks of royal birth, the lotus sign which marks a king, and the moonlike brightness of his face; and she began to think of her husband and how she too had loved a king and lost his love. So she began to weep, and the eyes of the Râja were opened and he asked her why she wept. She said:—"O Mahârâj, when evil days come, they bring trouble in their train." And then she repeated these lines:

Barhat nir sampati bibhan man barij barhi hoe;
Ghatat nir puni ghatat nahin, kauj dukh sukh jee.

i.e., "When the water of fortune rises, the lotus of the heart also rises.
But the heart, like the lotus, does not sink low."

By this she meant that it is impossible for one used to happiness to accustom himself to trouble. Again she said:—

Kabahun palau shakh men kabhun mahi dikhahin;
Aise he dukh sukh sakal, yah tan gujarat jahin.

i.e., "Sometimes the shoots of the tree grow and sometimes they fall upon the ground. So pleasure and sorrow come and go betimes."

Then she cried:—"Mahârâj, I wept to see the marks of royalty upon thy feet," and she added:—

"I think of how the lamps laughed when I complained of the single thorn among the rose leaves." Then he told his sister the whole tale of Nitikala, and she begged her forgiveness.
for her despiteful treatment of her. Then Sujan Chand took his Râni home and they lived many days in happiness.

44. Half a lie.

(Told by Thakur Pohap Singh of Kota, Budaun District.)

There was once a very respectable Kâzi who hired as his servant a man named Pira. Now Pira was given to lying, and whenever the Kâzi sent him on any business he used to shirk it, and, when he came home, would tell all kinds of lies to his master. At last the Kâzi could stand him no longer and sent for him and warned him. Then Pira said: "When you took me into your service, you knew that I could not help telling a lie now and then." "But," said the Kâzi, "there is a measure in lying. I do not mind your telling half a lie now and then; but to lie always is bad."

Some business took the Kâzi from home and after some time Pira went to see him. "Is all well at home?" asked his master. Tears began to drop from Pira's eyes and he said: "All is well save that your brown dog died suddenly." "What matter," said the Kâzi, "dogs die every day." Then he asked "Of what disease did he die?" "He had no disease," said Pira, "but when he began to chew the bones of your ox he got choked." "And what happened to the ox?" "He died from the labour of carrying the bricks." "What were the bricks wanted for?" "For building the grave of your wife, the Bibi Sâhiba." Then the Kâzi was overwhelmed with grief and said: "What happened to the Bibi Sâhiba?" "She died of grief at the death of your eldest son." Then the Kâzi fell down senseless with grief.

"Tell the syce," said he "to saddle my horse at once." Pira went out and said to the syce: "Your master will not go out riding to-day. Take out the horse for a long airing along the road outside the village." The Kâzi waited for a long time for the horse; but when it did not come, he was perforce obliged to walk, and he was quite worn out when he came to the neighbourhood of his house.

"Let me go in advance," said Pira, "and make all ready that your worship may join in the mourning." So he went on to the Kâzi's house and began to weep and beat his breast. "What is the matter?" asked the Bibi Sâhiba. "Alas, alas," cried Pira, "your respected husband, the Kâzi Sâhib, has just dropped down dead." On this the lady began to weep and lament, and when all the neighbours heard the sound of lamentation in the Kâzi's house, they all crowded round the place. But when they saw the Kâzi arrive mourning and beating his breast, they were filled with astonishment and asked what had happened. "O fools," cried the Kâzi, "is it not enough that my wife and son and ox are dead? Why should I not lament?" With these words he entered the house, and what was his surprise to find his wife and family lamenting him. When he was somewhat comforted, he asked where Pira was; but he had by this time made his escape. Then he went out and saw his syce standing outside with his horse. "Where have you been all this time, you ruffian?" asked the angry Kâzi. And he was about to flog his servant, when the syce managed to convince him that it was all the fault of Pira.

After some time Pira came back, when the anger of the Kâzi was somewhat appeased. "What do you mean by this?" enquired the Kâzi. Then Pira said: "This is but the half lie which your worship told me I might tell now and again." "If this be only half a lie, God preserve us from a whole one," prayed the Kâzi. But he so much admired his cleverness that he took him back again into his service.