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FOLKLORE, LANGUAGES, LITERATURE, NUMISMATICS,
PHILOSOPHY, RELIGION, &c. &c.,

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THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY
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VOLUME L—1921

THE HISTORY OF THE NIZĀM SHĀHĪ KINGS OF AHMADNAGAR.

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL T. W. HAIG, C.S.I., C.M.G., C.B.E.

(Continued from Vol. XLIX, p. 224.)

XLIV—AN ACCOUNT OF THE REASONS FOR THE OVERTHROW OF 'ALÌ BARĪD SHĀH'S POWER, AND OF THE CAPTURE FROM HIM OF KANDHĀR.

Quem Deus vult perdere prius dementat; and thus it came about that Ali Barid Shah committed foolish and base acts. First there was the facetiousness of Khan Jahān at the expense of Shāh Tāhir,111 then 'Ali Barīd Shāh's alliance with Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh, next his attempt to conquer Telingāna, which things led to the loss of most of his kingdom. Yet did not the king at once seek his overthrow, but remembered the services of his father.

I. H. 949 (A.D. 1542-43), as some say, the king again betought himself of recapturing Sholāpūr, which had been taken from his troops, and the desire for recovering which had been a continual source of strife. He therefore assembled his army with the object of attacking Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh, and marched to the bank of the Gang (Godavari), where he encamped. As soon as Daryā 'Inād Shāh heard of the approach of the royal army, he assembled his troops and joined the king, having the honour of being admitted to an audience. Burhān Niẓām Shāh now decided to give 'Ali Barīd Shāh one more chance of strengthening himself, by entering into an alliance with him and by submitting himself to his court, and therefore sent Shāh Tāhir on an embassy to Bīdār. Before Shāh Tāhir's arrival, the envoy of Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh had come to summon 'Ali Barīd Shāh, and 'Ali Barīd Shāh had agreed to wait on Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh; but after Shāh Tāhir's arrival, 'Ali Barīd Shāh withdrew from this engagement and dismissed the envoy of Bīdār, who returned without accomplishing his object. Shāh Tāhir then succeeded in persuading 'Ali Barīd Shāh to enter into a treaty, and 'Ali Barīd accompanied Shāh Tāhir on his return to the royal camp, and, all his anxiety having been removed, appeared before the king and made his obeisance.

111 See ante, XLIX, 220 Kān Jāhān's jest was coarse and foolish. He said to Shāh Tāhir, "Is the dung of Burhānī clear (īdhīr) or unclean?" Shāh Tāhir replied that he had not his books with him and so could not refer to them for the answer, but that he would look the question up when he returned to Ahmadnagar and let Shāh Jāhān know. The threat was well understood.

Both the date and Burhānī's objective as given in this section are wrong, for the section refers to the campaign which ended in the treaty by which Burhān was to be permitted to capture Kandhār and this campaign occurred in 1544. Burhān, at the instigation of Sādāshiv-dāna, marched to Ġurhāna and besieged it. Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh marched to the relief of the place, but was delayed for two months on the banks of the Bhima, which was swollen with the rains and the line of which was held by Burhānī's troops. In October he succeeded in forcing a passage and utterly defeated Burhān. About this time Sholāpūr also appears to have been recovered by Ibrāhīm.
When Ibrāhīm ʿAdil Shāh heard that the army of Aḥmadnagar had been assembled with the object of recapturing Sholāpur, he assembled his army and marched from Bījāpur to take the field.

Now, although ʿAli Barid Shāh was professedly the faithful servant of Burhān Nizām Shāh, he secretly inclined towards Ibrāhīm ʿAdil Shāh, with whom he maintained correspondence, and as will be seen, behaved with disgraceful treachery, which in the end brought about his downfall.

When Ibrāhīm ʿAdil Shāh with his army approached Burhān Nizām Shāh's army, ʿAli Barid Shāh attempted to separate himself from Burhān Nizām Shāh, and thus weaken his army; but he struck with his axe only his own leg. He sent his brother, Khān Jahān, to Burhān Nizām Shāh to say that the army of Bīdar was weak, exhausted, and scattered, and to implore Burhān Nizām Shāh to consider his own army and to make peace and to give him permission to return to Bīdar in order that he might devote himself to the reorganization of his army and thus be ready to join the king whenever he should again set forth to war.

Bhopāl Rāj, who was one of the Brāhmans of ʿAli Barid Shāh, and had accompanied Khān Jahān on his mission was, by the guidance of his own good fortune, a well-wisher of Burhān Nizām Shāh and used his influence to guide the negotiations into channels favourable to Burhān Nizām Shāh. He openly put to Khān Jahān this question, "When you are content and at ease, are your enemies content and at ease or not?" This opposite question attracted the king's attention to him, and the king, by means of judicious favours, induced the Brāhman to forsake ʿAli Barid Shāh's service and enter his own, in which he was distinguished by the royal favour; but at last he displayed the treachery and ingratitude which are inseparably connected with infidels, and surrendered the fortress of Kaliyānī, of which he was khas, to the ʿAdil Shāhī troops, as will be related in the history of the reign of Husain Nizām Shāh.

Burhān Nizām Shāh was well aware, from what Khān Jahān said, that ʿAli Barid Shāh meditated treachery, and was very angry within himself, but, owing to the treaty which he had made, he refrained from openly taking vengeance on Khān Jahān, and gave him leave to depart. He then took counsel with Shāh Tāhir in the matter of ʿAli Barid Shāh. Shāh Tāhir said that as ʿAli Barid Shāh was ever at variance with Aḥmadnagar and constantly opposed the king and allied himself with his enemies, the wisest course was to put him out of the way now, while opportunity offered, as, if he escaped, he would not again be easily seized, but would gain power day by day and would become prouder than ever, for the only object which he had in view was independent sovereignty, to gain which he ever stirred up strife and caused much suffering to the land and its inhabitants.

While this discussion was in progress news was brought to the king that ʿAli Barid Shāh had now thrown off all disguises and had caused the envoy of Daryā ʿImād Shāh to be trampled to death by an elephant, and that Daryā ʿImād Shāh had drawn up his troops and was about to attack ʿAli Barid Shāh. Burhān Nizām Shāh sent for Daryā ʿImād Shāh, and did his best to compose the strife, saying that ʿAli Barid Shāh had been induced to join the army on the strength of his treaty with Aḥmadnagar, which was a safe conduct to him, and that if the treaty were broken by the imprisonment of ʿAli Barid Shāh, no one would henceforth place any trust in treaties entered into by Aḥmadnagar. The king said that it was advisable to leave the faithless treaty-breaker, ʿAli Barid Shāh, alone for the present, and then, having made peace with Ibrāhīm ʿAdil Shāh, to devote their whole attention to punishing ʿAli Barid Shāh. Both Daryā ʿImād Shāh and Shāh Tāhir expressed admiration for the wisdom of the king's advice, and loyally accepted it.
'Ali Barid Shâh, having received leave to depart, retired with all speed to Bidar, and Shâh Tâhir and Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh sent envoys to Ibrâhîm 'Adîl Shâh with proposals for peace. They said that it was a pity that the fortress of Sholâpur had so long been a source of strife between Ibrâhîm 'Adîl Shâh and Burhân Nişâm Shâh and that 'Ali Barid Shâh had thus had an opportunity, of which he had never failed to take advantage, of stirring up strife to serve his own ends. They suggested that Ibrâhîm 'Adîl Shâh should raise no objection to the capture of Kandhâr by Burhân Nişâm Shâh from 'Ali Barid Shâh, as compensation for the loss of Sholâpur, and said that Burhân on his part would raise no objection to the conquest by Ibrâhîm 'Adîl Shâh of as much of the dominions of Vijayanagar as he could take from the infidels. These terms were most acceptable to Ibrâhîm 'Adîl Shâh. Indeed, it was on this principle that he had always wished to settle the quarrel. He therefore gladly accepted them and sent an envoy to Burhân Nişâm Shâh bearing valuable gifts and a letter confirming his acceptance of the terms of peace. Burhân Nişâm Shâh received the envoy and formally accepted the terms of peace. He there dismissed the envoy and marched, with Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh, towards Kandhâr, while Ibrâhîm 'Adîl Shâh marched with his army against Vijayanagar.

As soon as Burhân Nişâm Shâh reached Kandhâr, he laid siege to it. The garrison at first defended it bravely but, in spite of the great strength of the fortress, were not long able to withstand the army of Almâdângar, and as the besiegers had so surrounded the fortress that there was no way of escape, the garrison besought Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh to intercede with Burhân Nişâm Shâh for them, that their lives and goods might be spared. Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh undertook the task, and when the garrison were assured that his intercession had prevailed, they came forth and surrendered the fortress. Burhân Nişâm Shâh, as in the case of the other forts which he had captured, placed one of his trusted officers in command of the fort and in charge of the administration of the district dependent on it, and returned to Almâdângar. On his way to the capital he gave Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh permission to depart to Berar.

XLV.—The death of Shâh Tâhir.

In A.H. 953 (A.D. 1546–47) Shâh Tâhir was sent as an ambassador by Burhân Nişâm Shâh to Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh of Berar, and while absent on his mission, died. The king was much grieved on hearing of his death, but found no remedy for his grief but resignation. Some of the learned men of the age composed a qasîdâh on his death, one couplet of which contained four chronograms. The couplet was as follows:

...اراق نسيام نبي امامة... واقف آتار دين ماع اصراحماك...

By the king's command Shâh Tâhir's coffin was taken to Mashhad, and was there buried near the shrine of the 'Imâm Husain, the son of 'Ali.

XLVI.—An account of the capture of the fortresses of Ausa and Ùdîr.

A year or more after the capture of Kandhâr, Burhân Nişâm Shâh formed the resolve of conquering the fortresses of Ausa and Ùdîr, and ordered his army to assemble

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112 Firishta (ii. 220) places the siege of Kandhâr after the sieges of Ausa and Ùdîr.
113 Firishta (ii. 230) places the death of Shâh Tâhir in A.H. 956 (A.D. 1549), but it appears to be wrong, for each of the ingenuous chronograms here given gives the date 953. The Mashhad here mentioned is not the city of that name in Khurasân but the mashhâd (place of martyrdom) of Husein at arbaêt Shâh Tâhir left four sons, (1) Shâh Hâidar, born in 'Iraq, and (2) Shâh Hafiz-ud-din Husain (3) Shâh Abû Husain, and (4) Shâh Abû Tâlb, born in the Dakon.
114 The campaign against the Bidar Kingdom was undertaken, according to Firishta (ii. 56 229 in A.H. 955 (A.D. 1548) for the purpose of avenging the insult offered to Shâh Tâhir by Khân Jahân. Burhân besieged Ausa and 'Ali Barid Shâh purchased the help of Ibrâhîm 'Adîl Shâh by ceding to him
Daryā ‘Imād Shāh, in accordance with the terms of his treaty of alliance with Burhān Nizām Shāh, brought his army to the king’s assistance as soon as he heard of his intention of attacking these two fortresses. When the army was assembled, the king marched first on Ausa and, having encamped before that fortress, laid siege to it.

Some historians say that when Jamshīd Qūb Shāh heard of the intention of Burhān Nizām Shāh to march against Ausa and Üdgir, he assembled his army and marched to oppose him, but that on reaching a hill whence a full view of the army of Ahmadnagar could be obtained, he was so alarmed at its strength that he fled with all haste to Telingāna. But God knows whether this be true or not.

In accordance with the king’s command the army surrounded Ausa and not only made constant attacks on the fort, but also carried mines beneath the bastions and curtains, while the artillery maintained a constant fire on the walls. The garrison, confident in the strength of the fortress, resisted all attacks with great firmness and valour. Among those of Burhān Nizām Shāh’s army who especially distinguished themselves by bravery and activity, was Gharib Khān the Foreigner, who was known as Redbeard.

At length the heavy artillery fire demolished one face of the wall, and the troops were drawn up and marched towards the breach with the object of taking the place by storm.

The garrison now followed the example that had been set them by the garrison of Kandhār and cried for quarter, making Daryā ‘Imād Shāh of Berar their intercessor with the king, who, at Daryā’s instance, pardoned the garrison for the offence of opposing him. The commandant of the fort, one of the amirs of ‘Ali Barīd Shāh, then came and made his submission to the king, and was taken into his service.

Burhān Nizām Shāh then appointed one of his trusted officers to the command of the fort and the government of the district dependent on it, and marched towards Üdgir.

When the army had halted and encamped at Üdgir, the fortress was carried by a determined assault and Burhān Nizām Shāh, in accordance with the terms of a treaty which he had made, handed it over to Daryā ‘Imād Shāh and returned to Ahmadnagar.

Daryā ‘Imād Shāh, however, had pity on ‘Ali Barīd Shāh and restored Üdgir to him, thus the fortress remained in the possession of the Barīd Shāhī dynasty until the reign of Murtaza Nizām Shāh I, when it came into the possession of the Nizām Shāhī dynasty, as will be related hereafter.

**XLVII.—DEATH OF JAMSHĪD QŪB SHĀH.**

At this time Jamshīd Qūb Shāh died, and Saif ‘Ain-ul-Mulk, who was related to the Qūb Shāhī family and was distinguished among all the amirs of the Dakan for his valour and power, raised to the throne one of Jamshīd’s sons and ruled the kingdom as an absolute monarch in his name.

The Sayyid Muṣṭafā Khān and the other amirs and officers of state could not endure the domination of Saif ‘Ain-ul-Mulk, and therefore sent a message to Ibrāhīm Qūb Shāh, who was then with Rām Rāya of Vijayanagar, inviting him to take possession of the...
thrones. Ibrâhîm Qâb Shâh marched to Golconda, which is the capital of the kingdom of Telengânâ, and Murtazâ Kân and the amîrs hearing of his approach, sped forth to wait on him and to welcome him. Saif ‘Ain-ul-Mulk, finding himself unable to resist Ibrâhîm and the amîrs who had espoused his cause, fled and took refuge with Burhân Nizâm Shâh, while Ibrâhîm Qâb Shâh ascended the throne in Golconda.

XLVIII.—AN ACCOUNT OF BURHÂN NIZÂM SHÂH'S EXPEDITION AGAINST SHOLÂPŪR, OF HIS BATTLE WITH IBRÂHÎM ‘ÂDIL SHÂH BEFORE KALIYÂNÎ, OF THE DEFEAT OF THE ENEMY AND THE CAPTURE OF KALIYÂNÎ.

It has already been mentioned that Burhân Nizâm Shâh, ever since Sholâpûr had passed out of his possession into that of Ibrâhîm ‘Adil Shâh, had been revolving schemes for its recapture, and for taking vengeance on his enemies and that he had been making attempts to recapture it whenever he was unoccupied with other enemies.

In a.H. 954 (A.D. 1547),116 when he found himself unoccupied with any other campaign, he marched with his army to Sholâpûr with the object of recapturing it. On reaching Sholâpûr he sat down before it and laid siege to the fortress.

Ibrâhîm ‘Adil Shâh, trusting to the strength of the fortress and to the extent to which it was garrisoned and provisioned, did not march against Burhân Nizâm Shâh, but remained in his capital, and Burhân very soon realized that Ibrâhîm’s confidence in the strength of the fortress was misplaced, and that its capture would be extremely difficult. He therefore thought that it would be better to attack first the fortress of Kaliyânî, which could be captured with greater ease, and having called a council of his amîrs and officers of state, acquainted them with his design, which was unanimously approved. The army then abandoned the siege of Sholâpûr and marched on to Kaliyânî, and laid siege to that fortress.

When Ibrâhîm ‘Adil Shâh heard that Burhân Nizâm Shâh was besieging Kaliyânî in the strength of which place he had no confidence, he marched with a large army to its relief, encamped over against the army of Āḥmadnagar, and entrenched himself, besides forming a laager.

According to some historians, Ibrâhîm ‘Adil Shâh reached Kaliyânî before the arrival of Burhân Nizâm Shâh and marched on towards Sholâpûr, halting before he reached that place and entrenching himself as already described, in order to guard against night attacks by Burhân Nizâm Shâh; but God knows whether this be true or not; but however this may be, the two armies lay opposite to each other for a long time until grain and other food rose to a very high price in the camp of Burhân Nizâm Shâh, and the amîrs and officers of the army, tired of lying inactive before the enemy, had no stomach for fighting, but wished to return to Āḥmadnagar. When Burhân Nizâm Shâh heard of this, he summoned Malik ‘Ain-ul-Mulk, who had now entered his service, and the other amîrs, to a council of war. The king asked ‘Ain-ul-Mulk, who was distinguished for wisdom and resourcefulness, as well as for bravery and valour, his opinion on the question of fighting or retiring, and he replied that it would be disgraceful for Burhân Nizâm Shâh’s army to retire before Ibrâhîm ‘Adil Shâh, and that they should attack the enemy and fight bravely. These words removed

116 The date of this campaign is most uncertain. Here it is given as a.D. 1547, but is placed after the death of Jamshid Qâb Shâh, which occurred in a.D. 1550. Firishta (ii. 59) places it after the death of Asad Khân Lârî, which occurred on Jan. 30, 1549 and, in another passage, after the death of Shâh Tâbhrî, which he places in a.H. 956 (a.D. 1549). It seems most probable that the campaign occurred in 1551.
all fear from the hearts of amirs and eazirs and they asked that they might be led against the enemy. The king then abandoned the idea of retiring.

XLIX.—THE BATTLE, AND THE CAPTURE OF KALIYÂNI.

On the following day, which was the 'Id-ul-Fitr, ¹¹⁷'Ain-ul-Mulk and the whole army having assembled, as was the custom in the kingdom of Ahmadnagar, on the occasion of 'ids, appeared before the king to offer him their congratulations. Spies now brought information that the whole of Ibrâhim 'Adil Shâh's army was asleep and that there were no guards over Ibrâhim's tents, or even over the laager of waggon which was usually guarded with great care both by night and day, but that all had gone to their quarters to take their ease. Even Ibrâhim himself, neglecting all precautions, was taking his rest. On receipt of this news, the king ordered an instant attack on the enemy, and the army penetrated to the midst of the camp and laager of the Bijâpûris and took them completely by surprise. No way of escape had been left, and the slaughter was great. Ibrâhim 'Adil Shâh was bathing when he heard of the attack and was so overcome with fear and trepidation, that he made no attempt to resist it, and had not even time to dress himself, but, naked as he was, mounted a horse and fled precipitately, leaving his umbrella, āḏāḥqâr, and all his insignia of royalty, his crown, throne, tents, sleeping apartments, camp equipage, treasure, furniture, elephants and horses in the hands of the victors. When the army of Bijâpûr saw that their king was fled and that their officers were slain, they made their escape as best they could, pursued by the troops of Ahmadnagar, who slew large numbers of them and took many others captive. Among the prisoners was that chief of renegades, Râi Chaitpâl, who had formerly been in the service of Burhân Nigâm Shâh, but had fled and entered the service of Ibrâhim 'Adil Shâh. He was executed as an example to other traitors.

The army of Ahmadnagar collected all that Ibrâhim 'Adil Shâh and his army had left and presented all before Burhân Nigâm Shâh. The king alighted from his horse to render thanks to God for this great victory, and his amirs and officers and his whole army tendered him their congratulations on his victory. Honours were then bestowed on those who had distinguished themselves in the battle, but especially on 'Ain-ul-Mulk, to whom the victory was, in fact, due. The spoils taken from the enemy were abandoned by the king to the army.

The kotâd of Kaliyâni was much alarmed by the complete and crushing defeat inflicted on Ibrâhim 'Adil Shâh, and sent a petition to the royal camp begging that his life and goods might be spared on condition of his surrendering the fortress. Burhân Nigâm Shâh granted these terms and the fort was surrendered. The kotâd and the officers of the garrison came before the king with swords and shrouds suspended round their necks and were honourably received. A robe of honour was granted to the kotâd and he was enrolled among the servants of Burhân Nigâm Shâh. The news of the king's victory over Ibrâhim 'Adil Shâh and of his capture of Kaliyâni was noise abroad.

Burhân Nigâm Shâh then appointed one of his trusted officers to the command of Kaliyâni and the government of the country dependent on it, and returned in triumph.

¹¹⁷ If the date given in note ¹¹⁶ for this campaign be correct, this was Shawwâl 1. A. H. 938 (Oct. 2, 1551). The mention of 'Ain-ul-Mulk as one of Burhân's principal amirs seems to settle the question, for 'Ain-ul-Mulk did not enter Burhân's service until 1550. The army of Ahmadnagar was reduced to great straits owing to its supplies being cut off by the Marâtha troops of Bijâpûr.
to his capital, where he passed his time in enjoying himself, in administering justice, and in distributing largesse. 118

I. — AN ACCOUNT OF THE TREATY BETWEEN Râm Râj (Sadâshivapâya) RULER OF VIJAYANAGAR AND BURHÂN NÎZĂM ŞÂH WITH REGARD TO THE CAPTURE OF THE FORTRESSES OF RÂICHûR AND SHOLÂPûR.

A. D. 1552. It has already been mentioned that Burhân Nîzám Şâh was ever meditating the recapture of Sholapûr. He now, by the advice of some of his officers of state, entered into a treaty with Râm Râj (Sadâshivapâya) of Vijayanagar, by the terms of which he was to assist Sadâshivapâya in taking the fortress of Râichûr from Ibrahim ʿAdîl Şâh and Sadâshivapâya was, in return for this aid, to assist him in recovering Sholapur from Ibrahim ʿAdîl Şâh. 119

As soon as this treaty had been concluded, Sadâshivapâya assembled a large army and invaded the kingdom of Bijaípur, and when Burhân Nîzám Şâh heard that he had marched into Ibrahim ʿAdîl Şâh’s dominions, he assembled his army at the capital and marched to Humâyûnpûr, where he halted for some days to complete his arrangements.

When the king was halting at Humâyûnpûr, he heard that the Sayyid, Şâh Haidar, whom he had sent on an embassy to Shâh Tahmâsb, son of Shâh Ismâ’il, Shâh of Persia, had returned, and had landed at the port of Murtazâ-âbâd Chaul. The king sent Maulânâ ‘Alî Kal Astarâbâdî, one of his most intimate courtiers, to receive Şâh Hâidâr, and to bring him to court. The army had not marched from Humâyûnpûr when Şâh Hâidâr arrived and, after having been received with the greatest honour, presented to the king the gifts which he had brought for him from the court of Persia, and a letter written to him by Şâh Tahmâsb.

After this, Burhân Nîzám Şâh gave Şâh Hâidâr leave to return to Ahmadnagar in order that he might rest there after the fatigues of his journey, and the army marched from Humâyûnpûr towards Râichûr. On the arrival of the army at Râichûr, it was found that Sadâshivapâya had already reached that place from Vijayanagar. Sadâshivapâya had the honour of meeting Burhân Nîzám Şâh, and the army of Vijayanagar besieged Râichûr on the east, while the army of Ahmadnagar besieged it on the west. But the fortress of Râichûr is famous throughout the Dakan for its strength, and, although the two armies closely besieged it for a long time, there appeared to be but little prospect of success. Burhân Nîzám Şâh, therefore, came to the conclusion that as the fortress could not be taken for a long time, in the course of which the rainy season would begin, the energies of two armies were being wasted in the attempt to reduce it; and he decided that it would be better to leave Sadâshivapâya to continue the siege of Râichûr, while he, with the army, marched to

118 Ibrahim ʿAdîl Şâh I, after his defeat at Kâliyâni, invaded the Ahmadnagar kingdom by another route, laid waste Bîr and some other districts and, on his homeward journey, appeared suddenly before Pârenda, found the gates open, occupied the fort and drove out Khvâja Jahân’s garrison. He then placed one of his own Dâkâni officers in command of the fortress and retired to Bijaípur. The Dâkâni commandant was a coward and lived in perpetual terror of being attacked by Burhân Nîzám Şâh. One night he was awakened by the buzzing of a mosquito and imagined that he had heard the enemy’s trumpet. He leapt out of bed, caused the gates to be opened, and fled in terror, followed by the garrison. Burhân, on his arrival, found the fort empty and occupied. Ibrahim caused the Dâkâni commandant to be beheaded for his cowardice.

119 Sayyid ʿAlî’s account of this campaign, which occurred in A. H. 959 (A.D. 1552) is substantially the same as that given by Firîshta, who, however, adds that Sadâshivapâya captured both Râichûr and Mûndgâl.
Sholāpūr and laid siege to that fortress, for, he argued, there was the probability of one, if not both, of the fortresses being captured, and the fall of either would weaken Bijāpūr, and, to the same extent, strengthen Bijāpūr’s enemies. This design, which was, in fact, the best for both parties, was discussed between Burhān Nīgām Shāh and Sadāshīvarāya, and was agreed upon, and the army of Aḥmadnagar marched from Rāichūr to Sholāpūr.

Burhān Nīgām Shāh, having reached Sholāpūr, laid siege to it, and the garrison, relying on the strength of the fortress, defended it with resolution and bravery. The king then ordered Rūmī Khān Sāhīb, superintendent of the artillery, to bring up the big guns and lay them against the fort. The guns, however, made no impression on the walls, and the king in his wrath sent for Rūmī Khān, who was haled before him. He was so enraged that he drew his sword and made for Rūmī Khān as though to slay him with his own hands, but Shābzāda Mirān ‘Abdul Qādir and the other princes and amirs restrained him, representing that it was not becoming that he should slay Rūmī Khān with his own hand. They said that if his death had been decided on, orders should be issued for his execution to proper persons; but if the king would pardon him they would engage that he should do better in future and atone for past faults. The king pardoned Rūmī Khān on condition that he breached the wall of the fortress in twelve days’ time. Rūmī Khān then left the presence and set about his business, and so well were the guns served that within the stipulated period of twelve days one face of the fort wall was levelled with the ground. The army was then ordered to attack the place, and though the garrison made a most determined stand in the breaches, the fort was carried by storm and the royal army entered the town. There was much slaughter in the streets and the corpses were piled up in heaps. At length the king in his mercy commanded the troops to stay their hands from slaying, and the survivors, both of the garrison, and of the inhabitants, had the honour of submitting to the king.

Burhān Nīgām Shāh, before leaving Sholāpūr, repaired its defences, and when he was satisfied that it was as strong as before, he marched to Parenda.

Saif ‘Ain-ul-Mulk now, without any cause whatever, began to apprehend that the king had designs upon him, and he therefore fled and entered the service of Ibrāhīm Ādīl Shāh. Some historians give a later date for his flight from the king’s service, but God know the truth of the matter.

(To be continued.)

THE EARLY COURSE OF THE GANGES.

BY NUNDOLAL DEY, M.A., B.L.; CALCUTTA.

The Ganges is the largest and holiest of all rivers in India. According to the legend mentioned in the Rāmāyana, Mahābhārata, and the Purāṇas, the goddess Gaṅgā (the Ganges), the daughter of the Himālaya, resided in heaven. Sagara, king of Ayodhya (Oudh), performed a horse sacrifice and let loose the sacrificial horse which was stolen by Indra. Sagara ordered his sixty-thousand sons to search for it. They looked for it everywhere on this earth, but unable to find it, resolved to seek for it in Rasātala (Pātāla), the lower regions. They dug and delved and pierced the earth on all sides, and at last entered Rasātala through a chasm made in the north-eastern quarter. They found the horse browsing by the side of an ascetic named Kapila Muni. Believing him to be the stealer of the horse, they tried to attack him. But the sage burnt them to ashes by a glance of his eyes. On account of their
long absence, Sagara sent his grandson Anśumān to find them out. He entered Rasāṭala by the path they had made, found them reduced to ashes and recovered the horse; but he was told by Garudā that without the purification of their ashes by the water of the holy river Ganges, there could be no salvation for their manes. He brought back the horse and completed the sacrifice. After Sagara’s death, Anśumān ascended the throne of Ayodhyā, and, leaving the reins of Government in the hands of his son Dilipa, went to the Himālaya to perform asceticism. Dilipa was likewise unable to devise any means for bringing down the Ganges, and was succeeded after his decease by his son Bhagiratha, who also practised austerities for the purpose for many years at Gokarna. He was advised by Brahma to propitiate Mahādeva with a view to hold Gaṅgā on his head, and thus break the force of her fall from heaven and save the earth from destruction. Bhagiratha followed his advice. Mahādeva was pleased by his austerities, and instructed Bhagiratha to request Gaṅgā to fall upon his (Mahādeva’s) head. The goddess had her own vanity to satisfy: she conceived the idea of entering Rasāṭala by drawing him along with her current. But the omniscient god read her thought and caught her in the tangle of his matted hair. She was thus unable to find an outlet; but on Bhagiratha’s intercession, Mahādeva allowed her to fall into the Bindu-sarovara. At this place Gaṅgā branched into seven streams, three of which went to the west, three to the east, and the last followed Bhagiratha who, seated on his chariot, led her on. During the journey, she flooded Jahn’s hermitage and was drunk off at one draught. Bhagiratha, however propitiated the ascetic by his entreaties, and thus she became the daughter of Jahn, and since then she has been called Jahnavi, as she is called Bhagirathi or the daughter of Bhagiratha, being brought down from heaven by he latter. Gaṅgā followed Bhagiratha in her course and joined with Sagara or the ocean, and entered that part of Rasāṭala where the sixty-thousand sons of Sagara had been reduced to ashes by the curse of Kapila; she flooded their remains with the sacred water, and obtained for them salvation. At this time Brahma declared that she would be known by the name of “Tripathagā,” on account of her having passed through the three paths of Swarga (heaven), Marta (earth) and Rasāṭala (the nether region).1

I have related the story of the descent of Gaṅgā or the river Ganges, as given in the Rāmāyaṇa, at some length, in view of its bearing upon facts connected with her course. I should here observe that the main feature of the story is the same in the Mahābhārata, the Purāṇas and the Upa Purāṇas, the differences being confined to minor details and names of places here and there. All the aforesaid works, however, agree in three points, viz., the source of the Ganges, he junction with the Yamunā (Jumna), and her fall into the ocean at Sagara-saṅgā or Kapila-āśrama (the hermitage of Kapila Muni).

Before proceeding further, I should make some remarks regarding the place where Bhagiratha performed asceticism with the object of bringing down Gaṅgā from heaven. The Rāmāyaṇa states that he performed austerities at Gokarna.2 The Mahābhārata simply says that Bhagiratha’s place of asceticism was in the Himālaya,3 while some of the Purāṇas mention that

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1 Rāmāyaṇa, I, chs. 38—44.
2 Rāmāyaṇa, I, ch. 42:
Mantrishvādīhaya tadātīyaṃ Gaṅgāvata-ratayat.
Tapo dirghaṁ samāśaṭijhad Gokarna Raghunandanaḥ. 12.
3 Mahābhārata, Vana Perva, ch. 198.
he performed asceticism at Bindu-sarovara in the Himalaya. It will be observed that the Rāmdāyaṇa mentions only Gokarṇa, without definitely assigning its situation. A celebrated place known as Gokarṇa is situated in North Kanara between Kārvar and Kumā in the Bombay Presidency. The Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas refer to it as a most sacred place of Śiva worship, containing the temple of Mahābāleśvara. But this Gokarṇa could not have been the Gokarṇa of the Rāmdāyaṇa, which, from all accounts, was situated in the Himalaya. The Brihat-Nāradīya Purāṇa in its confused attempt to reconcile the two statements contained in the Rāmdāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata caused Bhagiratha to deviate from his direct path from Ayodhyā to the Himalaya while going there to perform asceticism, and brought him to the banks of the Godāvari. It should be stated that Gokarṇa was the hermitage of Gautama, after whom the Godāvari is called the Gautami. According to this Purāṇa, Bhagiratha went from the Godāvari to Nādisvara in the Himalaya and performed austerities there. Bindu-sarovara is situated two miles to the south of Kangotri, and close to Kangotri is Gomukhi. Hence Bindu-sarovara and Gomukhi are very close to each other. Go-karṇa (or cow's ear) of the Rāmdāyaṇa, therefore, has evidently been transformed into the modern Go-mukhi (or cow's mouth) where Bhagiratha performed asceticism. In fact, Fraser states in his Himalā Mountains that the present temple of the goddess Gaṅgā or Bhagirathī near Gaurikund, "a gunshot below Gungotree," is situated precisely on the sacred stone on which Bhagiratha used to worship Mahādeva. Nādisvara is evidently the same as Bindu-sara or Bindu-sarovara.

As already pointed out, all the ancient works agree on three points regarding the course of the Ganges. They state that she is the daughter of the Himalaya, which indicates that her source is in the Himalaya. The Rāmdāyaṇa, which is the earliest of all the works which contain the legend about the Ganges, states that the river got the name of Bhagirathī in consequence of her having been brought to the earth by Bhagiratha. The Bhagiratha, therefore, which rises at Gangotri in the mountains of Garwal, is the primary and the holiest source of the Ganges. But the Mahābhārata, places the source at Badarikāśrama, and by some of the Purāṇas the main

4 Mateya P., ch. 120, v. 27; Brahmdāya P., ch. 51.
5 Brihat-Nāradīya Purāṇa, Pt. I, ch. 16:—
Bhagiratho mahārāja jātāchāndhara mune
Gachchhan himādrīṃ tapas preṣṭa Godāvari-taṭāṇa. 2.
6 Kārma Purāṇa, I, ch. 20.
7 Śiva Purāṇa, I, ch. 54.
8 Major Thorn's Memoir of the War in India, p. 594: "Two miles lower down (the stream the Bhagratī at its source) is a large rock or stone, called by the Hindus Gau Mukhi, or the cow's mouth for its supposed resemblance to the head and body of that animal."
9 ch. XXVIII, pp. 466–468.
10 Iyam Himavanī jyothā Gaṅgā Himavataḥ sutaḥ. (This Gaṅgā is the eldest daughter of Himalaya.) Rāmdāyaṇa, Ādi, ch. 42, v. 23; see also Mbh., Amāśāsana, ch. 26.
11 Iyaśe ha duhitā jyothā tava Gaṅgā bhavayati
Tvātāītāna cha nāmaśa loke sthānyati viśrutā. 5.
Gaṅgā tripathagā nāma divyā Bhagirathī cha
Trin patho bhāvayantiti taśāṃ tripathagā Śrīvidā 6.
(This Gaṅgā shall be your [ Bhagirathī's] eldest daughter, and she shall be celebrated in the world by the name conferred by you. This heavenly Bhagirathī shall also be known by the name of "Tripathagā"; because she goes by the three paths, therefore she would be celebrated as "Tripathagā") Rāmdāyaṇa, Ādi, ch. 44.
12 Badariprabhāva rājan devāragnaśanerṣe ṭīta. 4. [Oh king! she (Gaṅgā) whose source is at Badari is worshipped by the Devas and Ṭīṣṭha]. Mbh., Vana, ch. 142.
13 Mārkaṇḍeya P., ch. 56; Kārma P., I, ch. 46; Varāha P., ch. 82.
stream of the river is considered to be the Alakânandâ which rises at Badarikâśrama near the temple of Badrinâtha. According to the *Brahma-saîvatatô Purânâ*, however, the Mandâkinî which rises at Kedâranâtha near the temple of Kedâranâtha, is the main head-water of the Ganges. The Mandâkinî has also been described as Svarga-Gaṅgâ or the Ganges of heaven in the *Amarakosha*. In the *Mahâbhârata*, it is called Akâsa-Gaṅgâ or the Ganges of the sky. Its other name is Kâlî-Gaṅgâ. In fact, one stream does not form the Ganges: several streams combine to form the river, and though their sources are different, yet they are all situated in the mountains of Garwal. But the principal sources at Gangotri are described by Mr. Fraser in his *Journal of a Tour through the Himalâ Mountains* as being not more than five miles horizontal distance from the temple, and in a direction 85° nearly, and is situated in the loftiest and greatest mountain of the snowy range in this quarter known by the name of Rudra Himâlaya which "is held to be the throne or residence of Mahâdeo himself." It is also called Paîchâ Parvata, from its five peaks called Rudra Himâlaya, Brahmapuri, Bishnupuri, Udagari-kaṇṭha and Svargamohini. "These form a sort of semi-circular hollow of very considerable extent, filled with eternal snow, from the gradual dissolution of the lower parts of which, the principal part of the stream is generated: probably there may be smaller hollows beyond the point to the right above Gangotri, which also supply a portion."

The Bhâgirathî after issuing from Gangotri is joined at Bhairavaghati by the Jâhnâvi, which also rises in the Garwal mountains. The *Ramâyaṇa* relates that shortly after her descent, she flooded the hermitage of Jahnu Muni who in a rage swallowed her up, but let her out again, and thus she acquired the name of Jâhnâvi. Subsequently, she was joined by the Alakânandâ at Deva-Prayâga, which is as famous for its sanctity as Gangotri. From Deva-Prayâga, the united stream, in its onward course towards the south, takes the name of Gaṅgâ or the Ganges, which pierces the Himâlaya mountain and enters the plain at Gaṅgâdvâra, now generally known as Haridvâra. The Alakânandâ, which is considered by some as the main stream of the Ganges, has been traced by Captain Raper to its source at Varshadhûrâ, which is a waterfall situated a little beyond Badrinâtha. It is itself formed by the union of five rivers: Mandâkinî, Vishûngaṅgâ (Dhanli), Sarasvati and others, and their junctions are considered as sacred spots, collectively called Paîchâ-Prayâgas, viz., Rudra-Prayâga, Nanda-Prayâga, Vishû-Prayâga, Deva-Prayâga and Kaṅga-Prayâga.

All these rivers, which go to swell the volume of waters of the Ganges, have their sources in the Garwal mountain. The wild and majestic grandeur of this region has fired the imagination of the pious Hindu to crowd it with events and deeds of the gods and goddesses. At Gouri Kuṇḍa, which is one day's journey from Kedâranâtha, Gouri performed asceticism to obtain Mahâ-deva for her husband; at Agnisatyapada, called also Kriśnî, she was married; at Reta

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14 *Asiatic Researches*, vol. XI; Captain Raper's *Survey of the Ganges.*
15 *Brahma-saîvatatô Purânâ*, Kriśna-Jansa kh., ch. 34:—Pradhûnadhûrâ yâ svarga sâ Mandâkinî amântâ (The principal stream which is in heaven is called Mandâkinî.) See Fraser's *Himalâ Mountains*, p. 381.
16 *Amarakosha*, Svarga varga, v. 44.
17 *Mahâbhârata*, Vana Parva, ch. 127.
18 Fraser's *Himalâ Mountains*, pp. 470, 471.
19 *Râmâyana*, Âli, ch. 43.
20 Fraser's *Himalâ Mountains*, p. 470.
21 *Mahâbhârata*, Vana, ch. 91.
23 Fraser's *Himalâ Mountains*, p. 381.
25 *Varsha P.*, ch. 141.
Kuṇḍa, Kārtikeya was born; at Kuṟma-vana (corrupted into Kumaon which is a part of the region), Nārāyaṇa became incarnate as the tortoise (Kuṟm-āvatāra) to hold the Mandāra mountain on his back during the churning of the ocean; at Kuṃarāvana in Kumaon, the Nymph Urvāśī was transformed into a creeper;²⁷ at Manal near the source of the Alakānandā was the hermitage of Vyāsa where he is said to have divided the Vedas into four parts, and composed the Mahābhārata; and at Svargarohanī, which is the westernmost of the five peaks of the Pañcha-Parvata, four of the Pāṇḍavas and their wife Draupadi died. The Garwal mountain is called Gandhamadāna,²⁸ and its eastern portion forms a part of the Mandāra range.²⁹ It is also called Sumeru³⁰ and Kailāsa.³¹ Mr. Fraser says "This mountain [in which the Ganges has its source], which is considered to be the loftiest and greatest of the snowy range in this quarter, and probably yields to none in the whole Himalaya, obtains the name of Roodroo Himāl, and is held to be the throne or residence of Mahādeva himself. It is also indiscriminately called Pāṇch [Pañch] Purbut, from its five peaks; and Soomeroo Purbut, which is not to be confounded with the mountain so called near Bunderpouch; and sometimes the general appellation of Kylās is given, which literally signifies any snowy hill, but is applied to this mountain by way of pre-eminence."³² According to the Mahābhārata,³³ the three principal sources of the Ganges and Bindusarovara are situated in Badarikā Āśrama.

In the Rāmāyaṇa, it is related that on the intercession of Bhagiratha, Mahādeva released Gaṅgā from his matted hair, where she had been confined for her arrogance, into the Bindu-sarovara, and from Bindu-sarovara, she went out in seven streams, three to the east, three to the west and one to the south. "Seven" is a sacred number.³⁵ In the Mahābhārata³⁶, however it is said that she fell in three streams from Mahādeva's forehead on her way to the ocean but it will be observed that the seven streams of the Rāmāyaṇa issued out in three sets. These three streams are evidently the three headwaters of the Ganges, namely the Mandākini, the Alakānandā, and the Bhāgirati, and from them Gaṅgā acquired the name of "Tripathagā".³⁷ The first is the Mandākini, which is called the river of heaven;³⁸ the second is the Alakānandā, the river of the earth,³⁹ and the third the Bhāgirathi,⁴⁰ which following Bhāgiratha, entered Pāṭalā when she is called Bhogavatī.⁴¹

The Garwal mountain forms a part of the Rudra-Himālaya, and the Pañcha Parvata, as stated before, contains the source of the Ganges. The five peaks of the Pañcha Parvata, or Sumeru as it is called, with their heads capped with eternal snow, and their sides corrugated by the perpetual

²⁷ Vikramorvasī Nāṭaka, Act IV.
²⁸ Mbh., Vana, chs. 141, 146, 152; Vikramorvasī, Act IV; Mārkaṇḍeya P., ch. 58.
²⁹ Ibid., Vana, ch. 163; Harivamśa, ch. 219.
³⁰ Devī Bhāgavata, VIII, ch. 7; Mārkaṇḍeya P., ch. 56; Liṅga P., I, ch. 52.
³¹ Matsya P., ch. 120, v. 4; Brahmagāda P., ch. 43, v. 14; Mbh., Vana, ch. 145.
³² Himālī Mountains, p. 470.
³³ Mbh., Vana, chs. 142, 145.
³⁴ Perhaps the word "seven" is used, as it is a sacred number (see Max Müller's Rig Veda Saṁhitā, p. 240).
³⁵ Max Müller's Rig Veda Saṁhitā, p. 240.
³⁶ Vana, ch. 109.
³⁷ Rāmāyaṇa, I, ch. 44, Brihat Dharmasastra P., Pūrva kh., ch. 5.
³⁸ Brahmagāda P., Kṛishṇa Janma kh., ch. 34.
³⁹ Ibid., ch. 34; Varāha P., ch. 82.
⁴⁰ Matsya P., ch. 120.
⁴¹ Devī-Bhāgavata, IX, ch. 12; Brahmagāda P., Kṛishṇa-Janma kh., ch. 34.
drippings of water congealed at places into icicles and stalactites, rise high up in the skies, and form, as it were, a stepping-stone to heaven. The poetic imagination of the religious Hindu sees in these five peaks the five heads of Mahādeva, called also Pañchānana on account of his five faces. With the hanging icicles on their corrugated sides looking like his matted hair, they tower high to receive, as it were, the heavenly Ganges.

The two epics and the Purāṇas agree that the Ganges joins the Jumna at Prayāga or Allahabad, which is considered one of the most holy places in India. Prayāga. At the time of the Rāmāyaṇa42 “Prayāga Tirtha” had already acquired celebrity for sanctity, especially as it contained the hermitage of Rishi Bharadvāja. At the time of the Mahābhārata43 it was considered holy. But neither in these two epics nor in the Rig-Veda is there any mention whatsoever that the Sarasvatī ever joined the Ganges and the Jamunā at Prayāga or any where else. Even the earlier Purāṇas such as the Matsya, the Vaishnava, etc. do not say that the Sarasvatī joined these two rivers at Prayāga. It was evidently with the object of attracting larger numbers of pilgrims by conferring further sanctity upon the place, that the latter Purāṇas,44 conceived the idea of joining the Sarasvatī, the “lost river,” with the other two rivers through a subterranean passage; and hence the Sarasvatī at Prayāga is called “Gupta (hidden) Sarasvatī” in the Brhad Dharma Purāṇa.45 This conception was further utilized for the creation of a new place of sanctity in Bengal, and that place is Trivenī, about two miles to the north of Hugli. Advantage was taken of the disarrangement of the Ganges at some later period, by throwing out two arms, one to the west and the other to the east of Trivenī, to call them Sarasvatī and Yamunā respectively, and to proclaim that the three rivers Gaṅga, Yamunā and Sarasvatī, which joined at Allahabad, separated at Trivenī in the district of Hugli and thus a place as sacred as Prayāga was secured for Bengal. Hence the junction of the three rivers at Allahabad is called Yukta-Veṇi or “junction of the rivers,” and the separation of the three rivers at Trivenī is called Mukta-Veṇi or “disjunction of the rivers.” The Mahābhārata does not mention the name of Trivenī in Bengal, though Yudhishthira visited Gaṅga-Sāgar, the place where the Ganges entered the ocean.46 But the mouth of the Ganges at that time was evidently much higher up than it is at present. The Mahā-Purāṇas also do not mention the name of Trivenī near Hugli. It appears for the first time in the Brhad-Dharma Purāṇa47 which is an Upa-Purāṇa. The names of Yukta-Veṇi and Mukta-Veṇi also do not appear in any of the Purāṇas, nor even in the Padma Purāṇa,48 which only calls the confluence at Allahabad by the name of Trivenī. Pandit Raghubindana of Nadia in his Prāyaśchitta-Tattvam, in commenting upon the word “Dakshina-Prayāga” occurring according to him in a passage of the Mahābhārata, says it is also called “Mukta-Veṇi,” which is another name for Trivenī near Hugli.49 There can be no doubt therefore that the Ganges flowed by the

42 Ayodhyā K., ch. 54.
43 Mūh., Vanā, ch. 85; Anuśāsana, ch. 25.
44 Padma P., Kriyāyogasāra, ch. 3, v. 5; Uttara, ch. 14; Brhad-Dharma P., I, ch. 6.
46 Vanā, ch. 144.
47 Brhad-Dharma P., I, ch. 22, v. 33.—Triveni nāma tirthaḥca prathagbhūte cā yatra vai, Sarasvatī cā Yamunā Prayāga phaladāyakam (where the Ganges separated from the Sarasvatī and Yamunā at the Tirtha named Triveni, it is efficacious as Prayāga).
49 Prāyaśchittatattvam, Gaṅga-Māhātmya, p. 100.—Pradyumna-nagarat yāmye Sarasvatsya-vastottare, Dakshina-Prayāgastu unmuktavai saaptagramāhakaḥ dakshinadāḥ Triveni-tikhyāte [*On the south of Pradyumna-nagara and on the north of Sarasvati is Dakshina-Prayaga (southern Prayāga)
side of Triveni on the north of Hugli, which is said to be the counterpart of the Triveni at Prayaga or Allahabad.

The place where the Ganges joins the Ocean is called Gaṅgā-Śagara or Sāgara—Gaṅgā-Śagara. As, according to the legend, it was the point where Gaṅgā entered Pāṭālā to give salvation to the sixty-thousand sons of Sāgara (who were cursed by Kapila Muni and reduced to ashes) by washing them with her holy water, it is always associated with the hermitage of Kapila. Hence, the point where the river enters the ocean is also called Kapilārāma. This is one of the most sacred spots in India, like its source in the Garwal mountains, and was considered as a place of pilgrimage even at the time of the Mahābhārata.60 But the place where the Ganges debouches into the ocean is not always fixed. The Gaṅgā-Śagara of the Mahābhārata was not the Gaṅgā-Śagara of the time of Ptolemy in the second century A.D., which again is not the Gaṅgā-Śagara of the present day. This spot has always shifted with the gradual extension of the deltaic formation from the north to the south. But at whatever point the main channel of the Ganges may have entered the sea, it is always designated by the names of Kapilārāma and Gaṅgā-Śagara, and it is considered to be the most holy. At present, Kapilārāma is situated where the Hugli river, which is the main channel of the Ganges, joins the ocean near the Sagar island. But there was a time when the Ganges entered the ocean at Shibgaj near Gaur, and Hamilton has recorded this tradition in his East Indian Gazetteer.51 He says, "At a most early period of antiquity, this place (Gaur) is said to have been the residence of a saint named Jāhuna, who one day swallowed the Ganges, as Bhagiratha was bringing it down from the mountains to water Bengal; since then, there has always existed here a path to the infernal region, the mouth of which may be seen at Sheebgoā." The "infernal region" mentioned means Pāṭālā, where Sagar's sixty-thousand sons were reduced to ashes by the curse of Kapila Muni. Of course, it is very difficult to say now where the Ganges joined the ocean when it was visited by Yudhishthira, who after visiting Kauśiki or the river Kosi went to Gaṅgā-Śagara, and from the latter place, to Kāliṇga, no intermediate place being mentioned to locate the spot.52 At the time of Ptolemy, i.e. in the second century, Gaṅgā-Śagara must have been much higher up than it is at present. According to him, there were five mouths of the Ganges indicated as follows 53:

"The Kambyson mouth, the most western.
Poloura, a town.
The second mouth called Mega.
The third called Kamberikhon.
Tilagrammon, a town.
The fourth mouth, Pseudostomon.
The fifth mouth, Antibole."

I should observe here that in his map 54 also he has placed the town of "Poloura" near the "Kambyson mouth" and "Tilagrammon" near the "Kambērikhen mouth."

(To be continued.)

where the Yamunā has issued out of the Ganges. "Dakshinā-Prayaga" is Muktā-veni, which is known as Trivenī in the southern country named Saptagrāma. See my Notes on the History of the District of Hugli or the Ancient Rāja in JASB, 1910, pp. 611, 613.

50 Mbh., Vana, ch. 114.
51 Sc. Gour.
52 Mbh., Vana, ch. 144.
53 McCrindle's Ancient India as described by Ptolemy, pp. 72, 73.
54 Ibid., facing p. 8.
THE DESERT CROSSING OF HSÜAN-TSANG, 630 A.D.

BY SIR AUREL STEIN, K.C.I.E.

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It was on my second Central-Asian expedition, in the autumn of 1907, that I travelled across the stony "Gobi" of the Pei-shan by the desert track which leads from the oasis of An-hsi to Hami and serves as the Chinese high-road connecting westernmost Kansu with the province of Hsin-chiang, the "New Dominion," or Chinese Turkestan. I knew at the time that I was following that ancient "Northern Route," which, ever since the Chinese had first acquired a firm foothold at Hami in 73 A.D., had been used by them as a main line of access to their Central-Asian dominions, whenever they were able to assert political or military control over those distant territories. This knowledge then helped to reconcile me to the fact of having been obliged by practical considerations to choose a route which since the days of Prjevalsky has been followed by more than one European traveller, and which in its great wastes of crumbling rock and gravel offers but little chance for new observations of interest.

But it was not until I came to deal with this ground in "Serindia," the detailed report on the scientific results of my second Central-Asian journey, completed in 1918 and, I hope, soon to be published by the Oxford University Press, that I paid adequate attention to the circumstances which give this desolate desert track a claim upon the special and quasi-personal interest of the student of the historical geography of Central Asia. It arises from a celebrated episode in the life of the great Chinese pilgrim Hsüan-tsang, our Buddhist Pausanias and Marco Polo combined, to whose travels from China across Central Asia to India and back in the second quarter of the seventh century A.D. we owe such ample and so important records on the geography, history, antiquities, etc., of the vast regions he traversed. I mean the adventurous desert journey by which the pious traveller about the beginning of 630 A.D. made his escape from the jealously guarded north-west border of the Chinese Empire, as it then stood, into those "Western Regions" he was about to explore in his eager search for the sacred Law of Buddhism.

The story of this great adventure, which nearly caused Hsüan-tsang to perish of thirst in the desert, has not hitherto been examined in the light of exact topographical knowledge. It is not to be found in Hsüan-tsang's own "Hsi-yii-chi," or 'Records of the Western Countries' (these do not take up the relation until his start westwards from Turfan), but only in Hsüan-tsang's "Life," a work originally compiled by his disciple Hui-li and edited later under conditions which were bound to impair the critical value of its text. Hence doubts as to the accuracy of the details contained in this narrative might well have arisen, particularly in view of the supernatural tinge which the story as related by the devout biographer imparts to certain incidents connected with the great pilgrim's quasi-miraculous rescue when lost in the waterless desert and faced by imminent death through thirst and exhaustion.

All the more interesting is the close agreement which a careful examination reveals between all precise details of the story and the topographical facts ascertained in the course of our survey from the tract of An-hsi to Hami. This exact agreement affords striking evidence of the faithfulness with which Hsüan-tsang himself must have remembered and related this famous initial episode of his wanderings. It helps to confirm afresh the

1 Cf. Stanislas Julien, "Histoire de la vie de Hsüan-tsang," preface, pp. lxxvi. sqq., regarding the conditions under which the text of the biography, originally compiled by the monk Hui-li, was recovered and edited.
subjective trustworthiness of his records, and as we have to use these so often when dealing with questions of ancient geography in Central Asia or India, the following notes on Hsüan-tsang’s desert itinerary may find an appropriate place here.

Before, however, we attempt to trace the pious traveller’s steps, it will be well to indicate briefly certain main topographical facts concerning his starting-point, the oasis of An-hsi, and as regards the ground which the present high-road thence to Hami traverses. In chapters xv. and xxvii. of my ‘Serindia’ I have had occasion fully to discuss the broad geographical features which have obliged the Chinese from the earliest expansion of their power westwards, in the last quarter of the second century B.C., down to the present day, to follow the north foot of the snowy Nan-shan as their main line of progress towards Central Asia. There alone can be found a succession of relatively well-watered fertile tracts, stretching from Liang-chou past Kan-chou to Su-chou, such as could serve as a secure base for trade and military movements across the great deserts intervening between Kan-su and Chinese Turkestan. Beyond Su-chou, where the mediaeval Great Wall of the Empire ends, this line thins out westwards into a series of small oases, comprising the present Yü-mên-hsien, An-hsi, and Tun-huang. These are situated in the wide but for the most part utterly barren valley in which the lower course of the Su-lo Ho descends to its terminal basin in the desert east of the ancient Lop Sea bed. Map I. attached to my ‘Ruins of Desert Cathay,’ and first published in the Geographical Journal for March 1911 to illustrate the explorations of my second journey, will help to make clear these essential features.

As long as Chinese trade and military enterprise towards the Tarim Basin could continue the move westwards in a straight line along that earliest route which led through the clay and salt wilderness of the dried-up Lop Sea to the ruined Lou-lan settlements, and which I succeeded in tracking right through by my Lop Desert explorations of 1914-15, Tun-huang, the last oasis within the ancient Chinese border of Han times, remained the starting-point and eastern bridgehead as it were for the great desert crossing. But when after the third century A.D. Lou-lan was abandoned to the desert, and this difficult but most direct route became impossible for traffic through total want of water, such intercourse with Central Asia as survived the downfall of Chinese political control over the “Western Regions” was bound to be diverted almost wholly to the routes crossing the Pei-shan “Gobi” to Hami.

Of these routes the one starting from the An-hsi oasis and leading in a nearly straight line north-westwards to the cultivable area of Hami at the southern foot of the Karlik-tagh must certainly have been at all times relatively the easiest and the most frequented. It follows the line on which the distance over absolute desert ground to be covered by travellers from or to China proper is the shortest. It crosses the stony desert of the Pei-shan in eleven marches which our survey showed to aggregate to a total marching distance of about 218 miles. Hami, owing to the irrigation facilities assured by its vicinity to the snows of the Karlik-tagh, has all through historical times been a place noted for its agricultural produce and a natural emporium for whatever traffic passed across the desert south-eastwards. An-hsi has not yet recovered from all the destruction caused by the great Tungan rebellion of the sixties of the last century. But even thus, scanty as its resources now are, they suffice to allow trade caravans and other travel parties to revictual locally. In earlier

times they are sure, as plenty of historical evidence shows, to have been considerably greater. What other routes there are, leading from Hami and the eastern extremity of the Tien-shan towards the border tracts of Kan-su and China proper, all cross the barren wastes of the Pei-shan "Gobi" for considerably greater distances. As my journey of September 1914 from Mao-mei to the Karlik-tagh showed (see "A third journey of exploration in Central Asia," Geographical Journal, 48, p. 200) they offer the same, if not greater, difficulties about water and grazing.

In view of these plain geographical facts it appears to me clear that the importance of the route leading from An-hsi to Hami cannot have undergone any material change during the periods while it was open for Chinese intercourse with Central Asia, and further that its track is not likely to have ever diverged far from the present one. The latter conclusion is all the more justified because, as can be seen from the map attached to "Desert Cathay" and in fuller detail from sheets reproducing our surveys on the scale of 4 miles to 1 inch, the actual road, except for a small détour between the springs of Ta-ch'üan and Sha-ch'üan-tzü, due to necessities of water supply, leads in what practically is a straight line from An-hsi to the nearest outlying settlement of the Hami oasis.

An-hsi, the ancient Kua-chou, where that episode of Hsüan-tsang's travels starts with which we are concerned here, need not detain us long. In my "Desert Cathay" I have already recorded what observations of its extinct conditions I was able to gather during my stays in 1907 (cf. "Desert Cathay," 2, pp. 235 seqq.). The present An-hsi-chou, situated not far from the left bank of the Su-lo Ho, is, in spite of its grand name, "the City of the West-protecting [garrison]," scarcely more than a straggling street within a big enclosure of crumbling walls. It owes its importance, such as it is, solely to being the last halting-place with local supplies on the road to Hami. To the south of the "town" there stretches between the river-course and the foot of the outermost barren hills of the Nan-shan a wide scrub-covered plain, where strips of poor cultivation are broken up by extensive stretches of waste lands. Ruins of walled villages and towns abound in this desolate tract, attesting its former prosperity. Among them the largest and most central still bears the name of Kuachou-ch'eng, "the walled city of Kua-chou," and is known to local tradition as the site of the ancient chief place of the district. Antiquarian reasons, which I have discussed in "Serindia," make it appear highly probable that this tradition is correct, and that we have

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3 Such routes leading across the Pei-shan east of the Hami-An-hsi line are indicated in sheets XXI., XXIII. of the Russian Asiatist Transfrontier Map, 40 versas to 1 inch, partly from the surveys of Russian explorers like Grum Grishmaio and Obручев, partly from "native information." A route-line distinct from the above and leading from Hami to the great bend of the Su-lo Ho was followed in 1898 by Prof. Futterer, who has very carefully described it in "Geographische skizze der Wüste Gobi," Ergänzungsheft No. 139, Petermanns Mitteilungen, 1902. This memoir provides a very instructive account of the geology and physiography of the eastern Pei-shan ranges in general.

Of the several route-lines shown by the above Russian map as crossing the Pei-shan west of the An-hsi-Hami road only one can be considered as practicable and actually proved to exist. It is the one surveyed by Captain Roborovsky's expedition in 1893, which branches off from the Chinese high-road at Ku-shui, four marches from Hami, and leads due south to Tun-huang. Owing to difficulties about water, etc., it is but rarely followed nowadays, Chinese travellers from the last-named oasis preferring to join the high-road at Hung-hu-yüan the second station after leaving An-hsi. The existence of the other routes in view of information collected by Captain Roborovsky and Prof. Pelliot, appears very problematical.

4 See Sheets Nos. 73, 76, 77, 80, 81 of the Atlas prepared by the Survey of India for my "Serindia," Advance copies of this Atlas were presented early in 1914 under the orders of Surveyor-General of India to the principal geographical institutions of Europe and America.

5 See for the exact position of this ruined site and the topography of the An-hsi tract the inset map on 1/M scale, in Map I of "Desert Cathay."
to locate here the district headquarters of Kua-chou, where the 'Life' makes Hsüan-tsang arrive towards the close of 629 A.D. 6

The learned Buddhist monk had set out from Ch'ang-an, the Chinese capital, with the avowed object of 'travelling to the west to search for the Law in the kingdom of the Brahmans,' i.e. India. But though the great T'ang Emperor T'ai Tsung (627-650 A.D.) was already engaged on that policy of expansion westwards which was destined before long to reassert Chinese power and authority in the Tarim Basin and even beyond after the lapse of long centuries, the traditional methods of Chinese seclusion against the barbarian West were still rigorously enforced on the Kan-su border. 'At that time the administration of the country was still new, and the frontiers of the Empire did not extend far. The people were subjected to severe restrictions, and nobody was permitted to leave in order to visit foreign countries' (cf. Julien, 'Vie de H.,' p. 16).

So Hsüan-tsang had been obliged to leave Liang-chou secretly and to travel to Kua-chou by night marches. After his arrival there the Master of the Law, on inquiring about the western routes, was told: 'At 50 li from here, marching to the north, one comes to the River Hu-ku, of which the lower course is wide and the upper one very contracted. Its waters are constantly whirling and flow with such impetuosity that they cannot be passed in a boat. It is near to the widest part that the Yu-män Barrier has been established, by which one is obliged to pass, and which is the key of the western frontiers. To the north west, beyond this barrier, there are five signal-towers where the guards entrusted with keeping the look-out reside. They are a hundred li apart one from the other. In the space which separates them there is neither water nor herbage. Beyond these five towers there lie the desert of Mo-ho-yen and the frontiers of I-wu (Hami).'

The 'Life' gives a touching account of how the eager pilgrim came to brave the official prohibition and to venture into the dread desert beyond (see Julien, 'Vie de H.,' pp. 17-21). On receiving that information he had first become downcast, and having also suffered the loss of his horse, passed a month in distress. Then the local governor, who happened to be a man of piety, learned from spies of Hsüan-tsang's intentions, showed him secretly their report, but in the end, moved by his sincere fervour, decided to close an eye—more Sinicæ Still the saintly traveller's troubles increased through the defection of two young monks who were to have accompanied him, and through the difficulty of securing a guide. But auspicious dreams and omens gave him fresh courage, and a devout young native helped him to meet in secret an aged 'barbarian' who had done the journey to I-wu fifteen times to and fro. The old man gave him the grave warning: 'The western routes are bad and dangerous. At times streams of drift sand obstruct, at others demons and burning winds. If they are encountered no one can escape. Often big caravans lose themselves and perish.'

But Hsüan-tsang remained firm and declared that if he did not reach the country of the Brahmans in the end he would never turn eastward again to China. 'If I were to die on the way I should not regret it.' Thereupon said the greybeard: 'Master, since you are decided to start, you must mount my horse. More than fifteen times already, going and coming, he has done the way to I-wu (Hami). He is strong and knows the routes. Your horse, on the contrary, is weak and will never reach there.' We shall see further on how

6 Cf. Stan. Julien, 'Histoire de la vie de Hieuén-thsang' (Paris, 1853), p. 17; also Beal, 'The Life of Huen-tsang,' p. 13. In subsequent quotations from the 'Life' the version of the great French Sinologue will be followed, from which the latter work is in the main retranslated.
important a part this hardy mount, "lean and of russet colour," for which he exchanged his own, was destined to play in the pilgrim's final escape from death in the desert. 7

Thus mounted and accompanied by the young native who was to act as guide, Hsüan-tsang started at night from Kua-chou. "In the third watch they came to the river and sighted the Yü-mén Barrier from a distance. At 10 lǐ from the point where the barrier stood the upper river-course had its banks not more than a chang (10 feet) apart." Here a crossing was effected by a rough foot-bridge which the "young barbarian" improvised with cut-down branches of trees, etc. Then, after resting by the river-bank, they set out with the first rays of the sun. But after going a short distance Hsüan-tsang's companion, frightened by the dangers ahead, refused to venture beyond, and left the brave pilgrim to pursue his adventure alone.

Before we proceed to follow Hsüan-tsang further, it will be convenient to sum up the indications derived from this brief account and from the local information previously reproduced and to compare them with the actual topography of An-hsi. Starting from the town of Kua-chou, the route to I-wu or Hami first led north for 50 lǐ to the river Hu-lu, where the watch-station of Yü-mén-kuan, or the "Jade Gate Barrier," was then placed. From this point the route towards Hami turned to the north-west and passed towards the five signal-posts maintained in the desert for look-out purposes. Hsüan-tsang, having to avoid the "Jade Gate Barrier" where his unauthorized move beyond the border would have been stopped, set out from Kua-chou at night and reached the river at a point some 10 lǐ above the watch-station. Having effected a crossing, unperceived, in the third watch, he thence picked up the track leading to the nearest of the watch-towers, and, as we shall presently see, arrived there after covering 50 lǐ.

It is easy to demonstrate the full accord of these indications with the topographical facts as our survey shows them. By the river Hu-lu no other but the Sung Ho can be meant. 8 From the ruined town of Kua-chou-ch'eng, which in view of its central position and surviving local tradition may safely be assumed to mark the approximate site of the Kua-chou of T'ang times, it is 8 miles almost exactly due north in a straight line to the point where the present road to Hami crosses the Su-lo Ho. If we assume that the river-course in Hsüan-tsang's days lay about 2 miles further to the north where our survey marks an old river-bed, the agreement in distance with the 50 lǐ of the 'Life' becomes still closer; for the equation of 5 lǐ to the mile is the one which my extensive experience of Hsüan-tsang's distance-reckonings along Central-Asian routes has proved to be the generally correct.

7 The mention of this experienced equine wayfarer seems to me to give a distinct touch of reality to the story as recorded in the 'Life.' Together with other points to be indicated below it creates a presumption in favour of the substantial veracity of the account as received and handed down by Hsüan-tsang's biographers.

At the same time the way in which the 'Life' connects the acquisition of this auspicious mount with a prognostic Hsüan-tsang had received from a diviner before his start from Ch'ang-an, shows the same quaint intermingling of sense of reality and naive credulity which characterizes the personality of my Chinese 'patron saint'—like that of so many of his compatriots, ancient and modern—throughout his own 'Records': cf. e.g., 'Desert Cathay,' 2, 169 sq., 189.

8 I follow here Rett's interpretation; see 'Life of Hsien-tsang,' p. 10. Julien's version would imply that the point of crossing was at the barrier itself. But this obviously cannot be the sense intended since the passage had to be effected secretly. Besides, we have been told before that the Yü-mén Barrie stood where the river was widest, and consequently may be supposed to have been fordable.

8 This identification with the Su-lo Ho, the Boulungir of the Mongols, was first correctly made by V. de Saint-Martin (cf. Julien, 'Mémoires de Hsien-tsang,' 2, p. 202).
average. That the road to Hami after leaving the river leads steadily in a north-westerly direction is shown by a look at the map. Finally, the 80 li which Hsüan-tsang is said to have covered from the river-crossing to the first watch-tower agree in a striking fashion with the 16 miles or so which the map shows between the above-mentioned old bed and the first halting-place, Pei-tan-tsü, with its spring, on the present caravan road.

As to the exact position of the Yü-mên Barrier, as located at the time of Hsüan-tsang's departure, I am unable to state anything definite; nor does it affect his itinerary with which we are concerned here. The discoveries made in the course of my explorations of 1907 along the ancient Chinese Limes have solved the question as to the original position and remains of this famous frontier station of the "Jade Gate," once far away to the west of Tun-huang, and there is strong antiquarian reason to believe that even in Hsüan-tsang's times its transfer to the north of Kua-chou could not have been of old date. To the strict watch over all trans-border traffic which was kept in ancient times at this western main gate through the original Great Wall, and which had its close analogy in the procedure observed down to recent times at the Chia-yü-kuan Gate west of Su-chou, I have had repeated occasions to refer elsewhere (see 'Desert Cathay,' 2, pp. 148, 154, 282; 'Serindia,' chap. xxvii., secs. i, ii).

It will help us better to appreciate the conditions under which Hsüan-tsang's desert-crossing was effected, if we cast a rapid glance at the general aspects of the route as it exists now and at the topographical features distinguishing certain of its stages. To the Chinese, with their strongly fixed notions of civilized existence, this desert route must have at all times been distinctly deterrent, whether they had to face it as soldiers, traders or casual travellers. It was easy to realize this as we moved along from one wretched little roadside station to another, each established with its refuse-filled mud hovels and tiny post of soldiers at a point where some shallow depression offers a scanty supply of water in spring or well. Only here and there do they offer patches of equally scanty grazing on scrub or reeds. The conditions of traffic I was able to observe while moving across the utterly barren wastes of gravel, crumbling rock or drift-sand which extend between these miserable halting-places could certainly have changed but little since ancient times.

The difficulties about securing a sufficiency of reed straw and water for animals, together with the equally great dearth of fuel, must have at all periods seriously hampered the use of the route whether for trade or troop movements. The very trying climatic conditions of the central Pei-shan, with its dreaded north-east blizzards frequent in the winter and spring and with its parching heat and dust-storms in the summer, were always bound to imply grave risks for individual travellers. There is danger for them now too, if unguided, of straying from the track along certain portions, and obviously this risk must have been far greater still during periods when the political seclusion of China prevented all regular traffic.

Uniformly barren and dreary as the ground crossed by the route is, it yet divides itself into certain distinct sections; in the detailed map-sheets accompanying 'Serindia' we can easily make them out, and even the map of 'Desert Cathay' suffices to mark their limits.

10 How long the "Jade Gate Barrier" remained near Kua-chou, and when and how the present Yü-mên-haien, between Su-chou and An-hai came by its designation derived from the ancient frontier station of Han times, is another question which must be left for future investigation (cf. 'Desert Cathay,' 2, pp. 115 sqq.; 'Serindia,' chapter xix., secs. i-vii).

11 A passage of the T'ang Annals referring to the despatch in 610 A.D. of the famous Chinese Commissioner Pei Chü to Yü-mên-haien, distinctly places this frontier "Barrier" at the town of Chin-ch'ang (cf. Chavannes, 'Documents sur les Turcs occidentaux,' p. 18). Chinese antiquarians and local traditions of An-hai seem to agree in considering Chin-ch'ang as a sub-prefecture dependent on Kua-chou and situated to the east of the present An-hsi. But its exact position still remains to be determined.
The first five marches from An-hsi lead across a succession of narrow hill ranges, all striking approximately east to west and rising but little above the wide plateau-like valleys between them. Water is found in springs at the first three stages (Pei-tan-tzu, Hung-liu-yuan, Ta-ch'uan), and subsoil drainage is reached by wells, not more than 6 to 8 feet deep at Ma-lien-ching-tzu and Hsing-hsing-hsia. It is probably not without reason that the boundary between the provinces of Kan-su and Hsin-chiang or Chinese Turkestan is fixed now close to Hsing-hsing-hsia; for beyond, the character of the ground changes and distinctly for the worse. Much of bare rocky ledges and of detritus is passed on the next two marches to Sha-ch'uan-tzu and K'un-shui, there being a steady descent of some 2,000 feet from the average level of the preceding stages. Vegetation even of the humblest sort becomes increasingly rare and the water decidedly brackish, as the name of K'un-shui "Bitter Water," rightly indicates.

But it is the next march to the station of Yen-tun which is most dreaded of all by Chinese wayfarers. For a distance of some 35 miles it leads down over absolutely bare gravel slopes into a great depression or trough lying at its bottom some 1,500 feet below the level of K'un-shui. Totally devoid of water or shelter of any sort, this long march is attended with risks both on account of the great summer heat here experienced and the icy north-east gales to which it is exposed in the winter and spring. Carcasses of transport animals mark the route all the way from K'un-shui; nor are losses in human lives unknown here. From Yen-tun another march, over similar gravel wastes but much shorter, brings the traveller to the springs of Chang-liu-shui (Chang-liu-shin in the 1:3,000,000 map is a misreading), at the southern edge of a wide belt of loess ground receiving subsoil water from the snows of the Karlik-tagh and covered with abundant scrub and reed-beds. At Chang-liu-shui the first tiny patch of Hami cultivation is met, and after two more marches the town of Hami or Kumul is reached in the central oasis.

With these topographical features of the route the essential points in the story of Hsüan-tsang's desert journey can be proved to be in close accord. This agreement is all the more remarkable in view of the avowedly imperfect text of Hui-li's 'Life' and the impossibility of checking its statements from Hsüan-tsang's own travel records. A variety of details and personal touches strongly support the impression that Hui-li gathered his graphic account of the desert adventures from the Master's own lips and has reproduced it with faithfulness. We know too much of Hsüan-tsang's pious ardour and naive credulity to mistrust the few references to supernatural incidents; they obviously reflect genuine subjective illusions such as conditions of intense strain and real peril were most likely to produce in a mind so devout and fervid.

From Hui-li's narrative of the journey we gather the following main facts (cf. Julien, 'Vie de H.,' pp. 23 sqq.; Beal, 'Life of H.,' pp. 18 sqq.). Forsaken a short distance beyond the Su-lo Ho, by the "young barbarian" who was to have acted as his guide, the pilgrim moved ahead alone, guided himself by the bones of dead animals and the droppings of horses along the track. Visions of armed hosts moving in the distance caused him alarm. But seeing them disappear on closer approach, he recognized that they were vain images created by the demons. Obviously mirages are meant such as I frequently observed on my first few marches beyond An-hsi. After covering 80 li Hsüan-tsang arrived at the first signal-tower. In order to pass it unobserved he hid himself until nightfall. When he tried then to replenish his water-bottle from the water near the tower he was shot at with arrows by the men on guard. On declaring himself a monk come from the capital they took him before the commandant of the post.
This, a native of Tun-huang, Wang-hsiang by name, closely examined him. Having verified his identity with the would-be pilgrim in search of the Law, about whom a report had reached him from Liang-chou, he felt pity and gave him a kindly reception. Having failed to persuade him to return, he directed him in the morning to proceed to the fourth tower commanded by a relative of his. On arriving there the same night Hsüan-tsang passed through a similar experience. He was stopped by an arrow shot by the guard and then taken before the commandant. On receiving the message of Wang-hsiang the officer gave him hospitable welcome, but warned him not to approach the fifth and last watchtower, as it was held by men of violent disposition. Instead he was advised to go to a spring, a hundred li off, called Yeh-ma-ch’üan, "The Spring of the Wild Horses," and to replenish his water supply there.

"A short distance from there he entered the desert called Mo-ho-yen, which has a length of 800 li and which in ancient times was called Sha-ho, or the 'River of Sand.' One sees there neither birds nor quadrupeds, nor water nor pasture." In this desert the pious traveller was troubled again by demonic visions, i.e. mirages, from which he protected himself by reading his favourite sacred text, the Prajñā-paramita Sutra. After having covered a hundred li, he lost his way and failed to find the "Spring of the Wild Horses." To add to his distress he dropped the big water-skin he had been given at the fourth tower and lost its precious contents. "Besides, as the route made long dé tours, he no longer knew which direction to follow. He then meant to turn back to the east, towards the fourth signal-tower." But after having thus proceeded for 10 li he thought of his oath not to take his way again eastwards until he had reached India. "Thereupon fervently praying to Avalokiteśvara he directed himself to the north-west. Looking all round he saw only limitless plains without discovering a trace of men or horses." At night he was troubled by lights lit by wicked spirits, and in daytime by terrible sandstorms. "In the midst of these severe trials his heart remained a stranger to fear." But he suffered cruel torments from thirst.

After having thus travelled for four nights and five days without water he lay down exhausted. In the middle of the fifth night after fervent prayers to Avalokiteśvara he left refreshed by a cool breeze, and then found rest in short sleep. A divine vision seen in a dream roused him to a fresh effort. After about 10 li his horse, which also had found strength to get on its legs again, suddenly turned into another direction, and after a few more li carried him to a patch of green pasture. When he had allowed his horse to graze and was about to move on, he discovered a pool of clear water and realized that he was saved. Having halted a day at this spot, he continued his journey with a fresh supply of water and fodder, and after two more days emerged from the desert and arrived at I-wu or Hami.

If we compare this summarized account of Hsüan-tsang's desert crossing with the actual topography of the route from An-hsi to Hami, we cannot fail to recognize their close accord in essential points as well as an obvious lacuna in the text of the 'Life.' This makes the pilgrim proceed in a single march from the first signal-tower to the fourth. But this is clearly in contradiction with the previously quoted passage of the 'Life,' which records the information given to Hsüan-tsang at Ku-shou: "To the north-west beyond this Barrier there are five signal-towers... They are 100 li apart, one from the other." We are thus obliged to assume that Hsüan-tsang in reality had to cover four marches from the river before reaching the fourth tower, and that in the narrative presented by the extant text two of these marches have been left unrecorded.

12 Yeh-ma-ch’üan is still a frequent designation for desert localities beyond the Kansu border.
Once allowing for this lacuna, which unfortunately has its only too frequent counterparts in the 'Life' and is easily accounted for by the extant condition of its text, we can easily trace the stages and incidents of the desert journey. That the position indicated for the first signal-tower clearly points to the present Pei-tan-tzū, the first stage from An-hsi, has been shown above. The 480 li reckoned from the Su-lo Ho to the fifth signal-tower are in remarkably exact agreement with 96 miles marching distance recorded by cyclometer on our journey from the river to Hsing-hsing-hsia, the fifth halting-place on the present road. The statement about the dreaded Mo-ho-yan desert extending beyond the fifth signal-tower is in perfect accord with the marked change for the worse which the character of the ground exhibits after we leave Hsing-hsing-hsia. Nor is it difficult to prove that all the matter-of-fact indications which the narrative of Hsüan-tsang's experiences in this desert furnishes, are fully consistent with what the map shows us.

We read there that the traveller, having been advised to avoid the fifth signal-tower, i.e., Hsing-hsing-hsia, turned off from the main route at the fourth tower in order to reach the "Spring of the Wild Horses," at a distance of 100 li. When he failed to find this and thought of regaining the fourth tower, he is said to have turned back to the east for a short while. This makes it quite clear that the Yeh-ma-ch'üan spring to which he had been directed must have lain in a westerly direction. Now a look at the Russian Trans-frontier map shows that the route from Tun-huang to Hami, as surveyed by Captain Roborovsky's expedition, passes at a distance of about 30 miles west of Ma-lien-ching-tzū before joining the An-hsi-Hami road at K'yu-shui, and that one of its halting-places with water is to be found at about that distance to the west-north-west of Ma-lien-ching-tzū. Thus the existence, in the past or present, of a spring approximately in the position indicated for the Yeh-ma-ch'üan which Hsüan-tsang vainly sought for, becomes very probable. That the pilgrim unguided failed to find it is an experience with which I became only too often and painfully familiar myself when we made our way in September 1914 across unexplored portions of the Eastern Pei-shan (cf., Geographical Journal, 48, p. 200).

In any case it is certain that if at the present day a wayfarer from An-hsi had reason to avoid observation at Hsing-hsing-hsia he could do no better than leave the main route at Ma-lien-ching-tzū and strike to the west-north-west. He would have to cross there a continuation of what appears to be the highest of the decayed hill ranges of the Pei-shan, the one which the main road passes in tortuous gorges just above Hsing-hsing-hsia. On such ground it would obviously be difficult to follow a straight line, and this circumstance may well account for the passage in the narrative telling us that "as the route made long détours he no longer knew which direction to follow." After vainly searching for the "Spring of the Wild Horses," and a brief attempt to regain the fourth tower, we are told that Hsüan-tsang turned resolutely to the north-west and continued his journey undaunted by thirst and the perils of the desert. It was a resolve needing all the religious fervour and courage of the great pilgrim, but it was also the wisest course to follow—for one who knew how to keep up that bearing. And that Hsüan-tsang fully possessed that instinct of the compass, so prevalent among Chinese of whatever condition, is abundantly proved by the topographical records he has left us in his 'Hsi-yü-chi.'

As the map shows, this course to the north-west was bound to carry the traveller across the utterly barren gravel glacis about K'yu-shui down to the Yen-tun depression, and beyond this to the south-eastern edge of the loess belt, where subsoil drainage from the Karluk-taghi...
supports vegetation. We are told that on his progress across the Mo-ho-yen desert he went without water for four nights and five days, until after the refreshing rest of the fifth night his hardy mount carried him a few miles beyond to pasture and water in a pool. Here we find once again the approximate distance reckoning, as indicated by the record of the 'Life,' as closely concordant with the actual topography as we could reasonably expect; for we have seen that on the present caravan road five marches are needed to bring the traveller from Ma-lien-ching-tzū, i.e., the fourth signal-tower, to Chang-liu-shui, the first place with spring water and verdure on the Hami side, the total marching distance amounting to 106 miles.

There are likely to have been wells then as now on the regular route leading from the fifth watch-station to Hami, in positions corresponding, or near, to Sha-chüan-tzū, K'u-shui, Yen-tun. But how difficult, if not impossible, it would have been for Hsüan-tsang, once off the caravan track, to find them I know only too well from my own personal experience on similar desert ground. The line he followed obviously lay more or less parallel to the route. Yet this might easily have remained hidden from him even if approached within a few miles.

That it was the scent or local sense of his horse which enabled Hsüan-tsang in the end to reach the saving spring before succumbing to thirst and exhaustion, distinctly strengthen my belief in the authenticity of the record as presented by Hui-li. We have been told in it before how Hsüan-tsang, when preparing for his adventure at K'ua-ehou, had wisely, by exchange for his own, secured this horse from an "old barbarian" who had ridden it more than fifteen times to Hami and back (see above, p. 18). The remarkable way in which horses and camels in the desert can scent water and grazing for considerable distances, or correctly locate such places, remembered from previous visits is too well known to need my personal testimony. But I may well record this as regards the fact that a horse trained to desert travel may in the cold of a Central Asian winter well go on for five days without water. On my crossing of the Taklamakan to the Keriya River end our few ponies could not be watered for fully four days (see 'Desert Cathay,' 2, pp. 391 sqq.); yet, judging from their condition when we at last struck the river, they might probably have held out for a couple of days longer. (It is true, they were never ridden on this desert crossing.) It must also be noted that the going on the uniform gravel slopes and plateaus of the Pei-shan is far less tiring to horses and to men, too, than the crossing of dune-covered areas in Taklamakan.

The accuracy of the narrative preserved in the 'Life' asserts itself to the end; for the two more days which it makes Hsüan-tsang spend en route before reaching Hami correspond exactly to the two marches now reckoned from Chang-liu-shui to Hami town, a distance of some 35 miles. Thus we close the story as handed down in the 'Life' with the gratifying assurance that even this initial chapter of the pilgrim's travels, which in view of the grave perils and quasi-miraculous escape it records might most readily have lent itself to exaggeration and fiction, has retained in Hui-li's narration the form in which the Master of the Law himself is likely to have told it.
THE HISTORY OF THE NIZāM SHĀHI KINGS OF AHMADNAGAR.

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL T. W. HAIQ, C.S.I., C.M.G., C.B.E.

(Continued from p. 8.)

LII.—An account of Makhḍūm Khvāja Jahān’s attendance on the King, and of the marriage of his daughter to one of the princes.

It has already been mentioned that Ratan Khān, the brother of Makhḍūm Khvāja Jahān, had complained to the king of his brother’s oppression and had taken refuge at court, and that Makhḍūm Khvāja Jahān, when the king went to punish him, had fled and taken refuge with ‘Adil Shāh, and had then fled to Gujarāt. Makhḍūm Khvāja Jahān, having now obtained a passport and safe conduct by the influence of some of the courtiers, joined the court and made his submission to Burhān Nizām Shāh.

The king decided to restore to Makhḍūm Khvāja Jahān, Parenda, which was his fief, and by way of attaching him to himself, to obtain one of his daughters in marriage for Mirān Shāh Haidar. Having laid the matter before his amīrs, he ordered a pavilion fit for the marriage feast to be constructed in that neighbourhood. When this had been completed, the king occupied it and ordered the astrologers to fix an auspicious day for the wedding, and when this had been done, Mirān Shāh Haidar and the daughter of Makhḍūm Khvāja Jahān were married according to the rites of Islam and a great feast was held. A robe of honour was bestowed on Makhḍūm Khvāja Jahān, and the fortress of Parenda was restored to him by an order under the royal seal.

The king passed the rainy season of that year in peace and festivity at Parenda and when the rains were over, re-assembled his army and, having informed Sadāshivarāya of Vijayanagar of his intention, marched against Bijāpūr.

Sadāshivarāya, who had been continuing his unsuccessful siege of Rāichūr, when he heard of Burhān Nizām Shāh’s intention, marched on Bijāpūr with his army and joined Burhān Nizām Shāh before Bijāpūr.120

Ibrāhīm ‘Adil Shāh, from fear of the army of Aḥmadnagar, shut himself up in the citadel of Bijāpūr and was besieged there by the armies of Aḥmadnagar and Vijayanagar. The heavy artillery of Aḥmadnagar was brought against the citadel and maintained an incessant fire against its walls. Ibrāhīm ‘Adil Shāh was in no wise slothful in his defence of the fortress, but displayed great valour and energy, and thus the siege continued. Every morning the fire of the siege guns began afresh and was silenced only at night.

LIII.—An account of the sickness which came upon Burhān Nizām Shāh and caused his return from Bijāpūr.

While the siege was in progress, Burhān Nizām Shāh fell sick and had to take to his bed. The learned Persian physician Qāsim Beg, who enjoyed great confidence after the king’s death, advised him that it was unwise to remain in the field or to continue the siege, and proposed that peace should be made and that the king should return to Aḥmadnagar. As this proposition was supported by the amīrs and the officers of the army, the king accepted it, and agreed to return to Aḥmadnagar and to remain there until God restored his health sufficiently to allow of his attacking Bijāpūr again. He therefore sent a message to Sadāshivarāya informing him of his intention to abandon the siege, and Sadāshivarāya marched from Bijāpūr for Vijayanagar.

120 This invasion of the Bijāpūr kingdom, in 1554, is described by Firishta as Burhān Nizām Shāh’s last campaign against Bijāpūr, but according to him Ibrāhīm ‘Adil Shāh did not stand a siege in the citadel of Bijāpūr, but fled to the fortress of Panhāla.
Būrān Nīgām Shāh then returned to Ahmadnagar, where he was received with much joy by his subjects, who came to pay their respects to him, but although he took his seat on his throne, his weakness increased day by day and he was attacked by a variety of diseases against which the skill of the physicians was of no avail.

LIII.—An Account of the Quarrels Between the Princes Before the Death of Būrān Nīgām Shāh, and of the End of that Affair.

Historians of the Sultans of the Dākan relate that Būrān Nīgām Shāh had six sons, each of whom was worthy of a crown and a throne. (1) Mīrān Shāh Ḥusain was the eldest son and was superior to his brothers in wisdom, generosity, and bravery. Most of the emirs and officers of state, but especially Qāsim Beg and the rest of the foreigners, were in favour of his elevation to the throne. Next came (2) ‘Abdūl Qādir, on whom Būrān Nīgām Shāh, for the love which he bore to him, had bestowed an āḏābghīr and an umbrella, and who had married a daughter of Dārā ‘Imād Shāh. The honour which the king had bestowed on him induced the people to think that he was destined for the throne, and his marriage had strengthened his position. Next came (3) Mīrān Shāh ‘Abī, who was, through his mother, the grandson of ‘Īsā ‘Ādīl Shāh. Next came (4) Mīrān Shāh Ḥādīr, whose marriage to the daughter of Makhdūm Khwāja Jāhān has been mentioned. Then came (5) Mīrān Muhammad Bāqīr, who fled and took refuge with Ibrāhīm ‘Ādīl Shāh and is yet (A.H. 1,000—A.D. 1591) living. Then came (6) Mīrān Khudābānda.

Of all these sons the two most worthy of the throne were Mīrān Shāh Ḥusain and Mīrān ‘Abdūl Qādir, of whom the latter was at first the favourite of the king, who for the love that he bore him, bestowed on him an umbrella and an āḏābghīr and thus distinguished him above his brother. Later, however, when Būrān Nīgām Shāh was guided into the way of truth and converted to the religion of the twelve Imāms, Mīrān Shāh Ḥusain, who was predestined to happiness in both worlds, and to the kingdom, followed his example, while Mīrān ‘Abdūl Qādir, led astray by the unworthy Mālānnā ‘Ārī ‘Alī Shāh, strenuously refused to accept the faith and became disaffected towards his father, and was awaiting an opportunity of rising in rebellion and throwing the kingdom into confusion. The king naturally withdrew his favour from Mīrān ‘Abdūl Qādir and now inclined wholly to Mīrān Shāh Ḥusain, whom he treated with more honour both in public and in private, though as a matter of precaution, he still gave Mīrān ‘Abdūl Qādir a place beside himself in darbar and Mīrān Shāh Ḥusain a place behind himself. He determined, at the same time, that Mīrān Shāh Ḥusain should succeed him on the throne.

For this reason the two princes were extremely jealous of each other and there was perpetual enmity between them. The king gave the fort of Daulatābād to Mīrān ‘Abdūl Qādir, Jannār to Mīrān Shāh Ḥusain, and Pālī to Mīrān Shāh ‘Abī, and established a rule that whenever the royal army assembled for an expedition, the princes should be excused from

121 Fīrishta (ii, 235) gives the following list and description of the sons of Būrān Nīgām Shāh I. (1) Shāh Ḥusain, and (2) ‘Abdūl Qādir, by the courtesan Aūma; (3) Shāh ‘Abī, by Bīlī Mariyām, daughter of Yūnus ‘Ādīl Shāh; (4) Shāh ‘Hādīr, who married the daughter of Makhdūm Khwāja Jāhān the Dākanī; (5) Mīrān Muhammad Bāqīr, who died in Bijāpur; and (6) Prince Sultan Muhammad Khudābānda, who died in Bengal.

Sayyid ‘Abī’s account of the strife between the brothers does not differ materially from Fīrishta’s (ii, 235). Fīrishta says that ‘Abdūl Qādir was supported by his other brothers and that the Foreigners and Afghans supported Ḥusain, and the Dākanes and Hindūs, ‘Abdūl Qādir. The Dākanes and the Afghans usually followed the same policy. ‘Abdūl Qādir took refuge with Dārā ‘Imād Shāh in Berar, where he died.
attending and should go to their forts, in order that they might have no opportunity of quarrelling and fighting.

Now that the king’s health was failing and that he was weak, Qâsim Beg and the rest of the officers of state thought it advisable that the princes should go to their forts, as their presence in the capital was likely to lead to disturbances and strife, for, they said, should the king recover, all would be well, but should he die, they would be able, at their leisure, to elect to the throne that prince most fitted for the position and most acceptable to the army and the people. They therefore approached the king and represented that it would be well if the princes were sent to their forts, in order that there might be no fear of open strife between them, until the king should summon them again to the capital. The king accepted their advice and issued orders accordingly.

Mirân Shâh ‘Ali at once obeyed the order and retired to his fort of Pâli; but Mirân ‘Abdul Qâdir was suspicious of the motives of the amirs and delayed his departure, hoping that he would be able to remain in the capital until Mirân Shâh Husain had left for Junnâr, and would thus be in a position to make good his claims. Mirân Shâh Husain divined his intention and said that he would not leave the capital until Mirân ‘Abdul Qâdir had, in accordance with custom, first departed for Daulatâbâd.

Qâsim Beg and others of the amirs now secretly advised Mirân Shâh Husain not to leave the capital until Mirân ‘Abdul Qâdir had departed, but to collect his troops and depart as soon as ‘Abdul Qâdir had left, as though he were marching to Junnâr, and then to halt without the city and to await events.

When Mirân ‘Abdul Qâdir saw that he could no longer delay his departure, he collected a small body of horse and took the road to Daulatâbâd, but halted in the village of Chamâr Tekrî, which was afterwards known as Son Tekrî.

Then Mirân Shâh Husain left the fort and assembled his army, and ordered the daroghas of the elephant stables to draw up the elephants with their standards and banners. He then marched out of the city in royal state and drew up his army in the plain of Kâlâ Chabûtra, which is near the fort. Then the whole army of the Dakan with its officers and Foreigners, drawn up in order, marched out and joined the prince and made obeisance to him. Although most of the Dakânis had sworn to support Mirân ‘Abdul Qâdir, all now joined Mirân Shâh Husain, and not a man showed any inclination to join the enemy, so that Husain had possession of all the elephants and artillery.

Although Mirân ‘Abdul Qâdir found that the armed strength necessary to enable him to gain the kingdom had passed out of his control, he endeavoured to supply the deficiency by valour, and ordered his troops to advance to the attack. Mirân Shâh Husain’s army advanced against them and defeated them, and Mirân ‘Abdul Qâdir was forced to seek refuge in flight. When the sun set, his followers deserted him and took their separate ways, and his elephants, horses, umbrella, and âôlûghûr, fell into the hands of Mirân Shâh Husain. Mirân ‘Abdul Qâdir then, with one elephant and a few attendants, made his way with great difficulty, to Berar.

When the enemy was defeated, Mirân Shâh Husain ordered his troops to refrain from pursuing the fugitives, and by way of precaution, kept his army under arms all that night and did not himself dismount till sunset. In the morning he went to pay his respects to his father, who still lived, but was near death. Qâsim Beg told the king that the long-standing enmity between Mirân Shâh Husain and Mirân ‘Abdul Qâdir had at length culminated in battle and bloodshed, that Mirân ‘Abdul Qâdir had been defeated and had fled to Berar,
and that Mirān Shāh Ḥusain had come to pay his respects. The king, whose breathing was laboured, no longer had the power of speech, but he looked on the face of his eldest son and shed tears.

LIV.—THE DEATH OF BURHĀN NĪŻĀM SHĀH.

After Mirān Shāh Ḥusain had paid his respects to his father, Burhān Nīżām Shāh’s spirit took flight for its abode in Paradise, and the amirs, the officers of state, and the ladies of the haram were plunged into grief. The amirs, having arranged for the washing of the late king’s body and for the funeral ceremony, buried him in the Rauṣah garden, which is the burial place of the Nīżām Shāhī family. The body was afterwards exhumed by order of Ḥusain Nīżām Shāh and was sent to Karbalā where it was buried near the shrine of the Imām Ḥusain. The death of Burhān Nīżām Shāh I occurred, according to the best known accounts, on Muharram 24, a.h. 961, (Dec. 30, 1553). In that year died three great kings who had not their equals in Hindustān, nor, in the whole world, and a learned man wrote the following verses as a chronogram for their death:

‘At one time came the decline of three kings from whose justice Hind was the abode of peace.

The first was Māhmūd, king of Gujarāt, who, like his kingdom, was in the pride of youth.

The second was Ḥusain Shāh the king of Dīhlī, who in Hindustān was a lord of the fortunate conjunction;

The third was Nīżām, that Bahri king, who was seated as king in the Dakan. If you ask me the date of the death of these three kings, I answer, “The decline of the kings.”

Burhān Nīżām Shāh thus reigned over the Dakan for fifty years, and his age at the time of his death was 58 years, for he ascended the throne when he was eight years of age, in a.h. 918 (A.D. 1512-13). But God knows the truth. Burhān had, according to all accounts, six sons, as has been already mentioned.

When Mirān ‘Abdul Qādir fled from Mirān Shāh Ḥusain, he went to Berar in the hope of obtaining assistance from Daryā ‘Imād Shāh, who, in obedience to an order from Ḥusain Nīżām Shāh, requested him to leave his country, which he did, and went to Bījāpūr, where he remained until his death under the protection of ‘Adil Shāh.

Mirān Shāh ‘Ali, who was the grandson of Ismā‘īl ‘Adil Shāh, was in the fortress of Pāli at the time of Ḥusain Nīżām Shāh’s accession, and let himself down from the wall and fled to Bījāpūr. Here he assumed the umbrella and ḍilīgūr of royalty and marched to Sholapur, but was defeated by Ḥusain’s army and returned to Bījāpūr, as will be described hereafter. Mirān Shāh ‘Ali, like Mirān ‘Abdul Qādir, spent the rest of his life in Bījāpūr and died there.

Mirān Muḥammad Bāqir was imprisoned in the fortress of Chāndūr in the early part of the reign of Ḥusain Nīżām Shāh and remained there until the reign of Muṭṭāzā Nīżām.

122 This chronogram is very well-known and is quoted with variations, by several historians. It was composed by Maulānā Ghulām ‘Ali Ḥaḍīr Shāh, father of the historian Firisti. A better reading of the first homestich of the fourth compleat is, “The third was Nīżām-ul-Mulk Bahri.” The chronogram is زوال خسروان (“the decline of the Kings”) giving the date 961. Sayyid ‘Ali very carelessly gives it here as فوت خسروان (“the death of the Kings”) which gives the impossible date 1403. The two kings besides Burhān were Māhmūd III of Gujarāt and ‘Īsām Shāh, son of Shīr Shāh, of Dīhlī. The name of the latter is usually corrupted, by ḍilīgūr, into ḍilāh, into ‘Īsām, and sometimes ‘Salim.

Muharram 24, 961, seems to be too early a date for Burhān’s death, for according to Firisti (ii. 234) it was not until a.h. 961 that he set out for Bījāpūr; but perhaps Firisti’s date is wrong.

123 See page 38, where Sayyid ‘Ali places Ahmad’s death and Burhān’s accession in a.h. 911 (A.D. 1508-09).
Shâh I, when he was released by the command of that king and went to Bijâpûr where he still (A.H. 1000 = A.D. 1591-92) lives.

Mirân Shâh Hâidar, having been disappointed of assistance from Naṣîr-ul-Mulk and Makhdûm Khâyâjâ Jahân, joined his brothers in Bijâpûr, and there died.

LV.—The Character of Burhân Nîgâm Shâh.

Sayyid ‘Ali, after praising Burhân Nîgâm Shâh for his generosity, his valour, his conversion to the Shi’ah faith, his invariable success in war, and other qualities, enumerates the forts which he captured. He explains that in the Dakan, qal’âh means a fort built on a hill, and hišâr, a fort built on a plain. The enumeration is as follows:—(1) the hill fort of Rola Chole, (2) the hill fort of Kâchtân, (3) the hill fort of Kâtra, (4) the hill fort of ânki, (5) the hill fort of Kondhâna, (6) the hill fort of Purandhar, (7) the hill fort of Rohera, (8) the hill fort of Kherdrug, (9) the hill fort of Alang-Karang, (10) the hill fort of Râmsej, (11) the hill fort of Aundhyâtyâ, (12) the hill fort of Mârkonda, (13) the hill fort of Kohej, (14) the hill fort of Bola, (15) the hill fort of Hâholi, (16) the hill fort of Trimbak, (17) the hill fort of Anjîr, (18) the hill fort of Bhorap, (19) the hill fort of Karkara, (20) the hill fort of Haris, (21) the hill fort of Jûdhan, (22) the hill fort of Antûr, (23) the hill fort of Gâlna, (24) the hill fort of Chândher, (25) the hill fort of Râjîcher, (26) the hill fort of Pâlî, (27) the hill fort of Ratangarh, (28) the hill fort of Dhorap-Wânki, (29) the hill fort of Vanjarâî, (30) the fort of Anhawant, (31) the fort of Salâpur, (32) the fort of Pârenda, (33) the fort of Qandahâr, (34) the fort of Ausa, (35) the fort of Kaliyâni, (36) the fort of Mânikpûn, (37) the fort of Kodeval, (38) the fort of Ketra, (39) the fort of Bodherâ, (40) the fort of Erkâ, (41) the fort of Sitonâ, (42) the fort of Taltam, (43) the fort of Tânkêr, (44) the fort of Lohogarh, (45) the fort of Moranjan, (46) the fort of Kâwanî, (47) the fort of Berwâri, (48) the fort of Karnâla, (49) the fort of Sâtkasa, (50) the fort of Morkel, (51) the fort of Anwas, (52) the fort of Hâtka, (53) the fort of Tabâkbâbâ, (54) the fort of Taltam Batyâla, (55) Koldeosher, (56) Râjdeosher, (57) Bhisa Anker, (58) Trimbak Banesa.

Of these forts Antûr and Gâlna, by reason of the rebellion of Bahârjî and Dânya, their commandants, passed out of the possession of Burhân Nîgâm Shâh at the time when he marched to assist Sadâshivarâya in the siege of Râichûr, but were recaptured in the reign of Husain Nîgâm Shâh, as will be related hereafter.

Burhân Nîgâm Shâh built many buildings and laid out many gardens, among them the buildings and gardens of the fort of Ahsadnagar, which were named Baghadî and were the royal residence. These buildings and gardens were very fine.

There was also the beautiful garden of the old kârîz which was completed by Malik Ahmad Tabrizî. The king also built the almshouse of the twelve Imâms, and other mosques and colleges.

I have not translated Sayyid ‘Ali’s encomium of Burhân Nîgâm Shâh I, which is long and fulsome, nor have I attempted to identify all the forts here enumerated. It is probable that the text is corrupt in some places. Some of the forts have been noticed before. No. 4, Anki, is probably ‘Ankâî situated in 20°7’ N. and 74°28’ E. No. 9 should be Alang-Kulang, twin forts situated in 19°53’ N. and 73°40’ E. No. 16, Trimbak, is situated in 19°55’ N. and No. 36, Mânikpûn, in 20°13’ N. and 74°44’ E. No. 48, Karnâla, is perhaps Girnâtê, situated in 20°4’ N. and 73°39’ E.

The Baghadî palace was built on the site of the building in which Burhân had seen the vision of Muhâmmad and the Imâms. The garden of the old kârîz, or underground watercourse, was afterwards known as the Bâgh-i-Hafta Bihâsh, or “garden of the eight heavens.” The almshouse of the twelve Imâms was plundered by a zealous Sunni officer of the imperial army during the siege of Ahsadnagar by Sultan Murâd and the Khân Khânân.
Burhan Nizam Shah was in the habit of taking counsel with his amirs, ministers and officers of state before entering on any enterprise and in all matters of administration. His most intimate counsellors were Shab Tahir, Kamil Khan, Miyar Raja, Partab Rai, and some others. If any one of these happened to be absent when any matter was discussed, the arguments were, by the king's command, repeated to him by the other counsellors and he was called upon for his opinion. After Shab Tahir's death Itibar Khan was admitted to the king's privy council.

Burhan Nizam Shah was very merciful, and in punishing wrong-doers, never acted hastily or without careful consideration. His forbearance was great, for many times Abdul Qadir, instigated by ill-disposed persons who hated the religion of the twelve Imams, plotted against his life and sometimes even came to court with the intention of making an attempt on his father's life, but though all this was discovered to the king, he never made any attempt to seize and imprison the conspirators, but ignored them. He used, however, to tell Miran Shab Husain, in whom he had the greatest confidence, of this matter; and when he went to his private apartments to take his ease, Miran Shab Husain always mounted guard there, and whenever Abdul Qadir made any attempt to enter, he was frustrated by his elder brother.

Another of Burhan Nizam Shah's characteristics was his exact and methodical apportionment of his time, both for business and amusements. When he had finished his morning prayers, the jesters would appear, and the king would amuse himself for a while with them. Then he would dress, and the mahalldars would come, and he would continue to amuse himself with jesting until the counsellors arrived. After sitting with his councillors, he would mount his horse and ride forth and inspect the elephant stables, the stables, and the workshops, and would approve what was being done well and point out what was being done ill. He would then return and have his morning meal and would amuse himself the while with jesting. After the meal he would transact business of state, and decide cases, inquiring personally into all administrative and revenue matters, and also into all questions of holy law, with the help of the learned men who were present. Religious discussions often took place at court and the king often discussed ably on religious questions, so that the guests at this feast of reason and flow of soul found ample food provided. Learned men and disputants, officers in charge of departments, all assembled. The officers got the orders, which they had ready, past the signet and made their representations regarding them; the learned men held disputations, and musicians and singers of Hinda and Khurasan enlivened both the ear and the wit by their music and songs. The king used to speak on all subjects in such wise that all who heard him were delighted, and he would put aside all ceremony. He would then retire for a short time to rest, and when he awoke, the musicians and singers would again be summoned and he would sit and listen to them and talk with them, and make interpolations in their songs, and jest with them. In the afternoon he would go to his prayers again, and when the lamps were lit, the courtiers, councillors, and officers of state again assembled, and until the fourth hour of the night were engaged in discussing and deciding affairs of state and in relating anecdotes and uttering witticisms. After these had been dismissed, the mimes were sometimes brought in, and the king would engage in discourse with them till ten o'clock. Sometimes again the camp boys would be brought in and set to wrestle with one another and to abuse one another, when they would use expressions which both delighted and astonished the king. At one, or two o'clock, the king would retire to rest, and again, when the sun rose, the same round of duties and pleasures would follow.

126 Mahalldars were either officers in charge of quarters of the city or Governors of rural districts, probably, in this case, the former.
The king never departed from this routine, and even in the field, when the officers of the guard had to attend for orders, and when writing had to be done at night in the matter of issuing orders for the drawing up of troops, neither these duties, nor the daily round already mentioned were neglected. The king would ride out and inspect in person the defences, the gun-carriages and waggons and the positions of all the troops in camp, lest intervals should be left unguarded, and would issue orders to remedy defects. Nothing escaped his eye and nobody could venture to be out of his place by a hair's breadth, or to display any lack of vigilance. At all great feasts, on birth-days, and especially on the birthday of the prophet, great banquets were held, at which food and drink of various kinds were served to the whole army. The Sayyids, from the love which the king had to the house of the prophet, were specially honoured, for he poured water over their hands himself. This laudable custom established by Burhan Niqām Shāh is still (A.H. 1000 = A.D. 1591-92) observed by his successors. Every petition presented during the days on which these feasts were held received the king's special attention, and it rarely failed of receiving a favourable reply, no matter from whom it came, and gifts and robes of honour were freely distributed. These customs are still observed by the Niqām Shâhi dynasty.

(To be continued.)

ARYAN MOTHER-RIGHT?

By PROFESSOR H. J. ROSE.

Introductory Note by the Editor.

[I have much pleasure in bringing the following remarks and the request accompanying them to the readers of the Indian Antiquary in the hope that some of them may be able to help him in what he wishes to achieve.

Mr. Rose desires to have evidence—ancient and modern—sent him from India to prove or disprove the existence there now, or at any time, of Mother-right among the population usually classed as Aryan (as distinguished from Dravidian, Aboriginal and non-Aryan), i.e., among that part of the population which is allied to the Indo-Germanic races. Mr. Rose, on the present evidence available, does not favour the proposition that it ever existed among this race. The point now is to prove the allegation one way or the other if possible.—R.C.T.]

Since the days of Morgan, McLennan, and Bachofen, much has been written, a good deal of it very loosely, about the system formerly known as matriarchy, but now, by the help of a loan-word from German, better labelled mother-right or mother-kin. This system I need not describe to anyone who knows even the rudiments of Indian sociology. It is that of the Khasis and of the Nairs, to give no other examples. Under it, relationship is traced through the mother as in father-right it is traced through the father. The father is legally no kin to his own children, and therefore in strict forms of this system may be found marrying his own daughter; and the head of the family is usually the mother's brother, or in default of such a one, her nearest male relation on the distaff side. Modifications and corruptions of such an arrangement are common enough, e.g., among the Veddas of Ceylon, who practise cross-cousin marriage, an easy way of providing the husband with a legal relationship towards his children, if any are born.

I do not propose in this article to attempt a survey of Indian mother-right, which I am quite incompetent to do, but to appeal to those who know India, past and present, to contribute from their knowledge towards the accomplishment of a work of common interest.
Some years ago I was led to examine the statements of one or two writers to the effect that such a system had existed in ancient Greece, not very long before the classical epoch, and in that connection to consider also the claim, which was at that time (1911) generally made, that mother-right was the earlier system which had everywhere preceded father-right. My investigations led me wholly to deny the cogency of the supposed evidence for Greece; and recently I have come to a similar result in the case of ancient Italy, outside Etruria, which is known to have been matrilinear. My results have appeared in Folk-Lore (On the Alleged Evidence for Mother-Right in Early Greece, XXII, 277; Mother-Right in Ancient Italy, XXXI, 92). But the interest of the subject has been made all the clearer by these partial investigations, and I now hope to collect materials and collaborators for a book on the question of Indo-Germanic mother-right in general.

I would not be understood here to beg the question whether there ever was such a thing as an Indo-Germanic people. I freely confess that I do not know, and I am doubtful if any one else does. What we do know however is, that there was an Indo-Germanic language, whoever may have spoken it. Now a language is a very important culture-complex, and is almost sure to attract other complexes to itself. Teach a Gold Coast negro to speak English, and he certainly does not become an Englishman; but it is more than likely that he will, if he has the opportunity, wear some parody of English dress, try to imitate English customs, perhaps become, or pretend to become, a Christian, and look down upon such "dam' niggers" as have not these marks of civilisation. So with the Indo-Germans; whether they were one race or twenty, they had a language in common, whose dialects we most of us speak to this day, and therefore it is very likely that they had in common other culture-complexes. Thus for the study of any Indo-Germanic sociological phenomena, whether the people immediately under discussion live in Travancore or Iceland, it is useful to have as full knowledge as possible of the customs and history of their co-linguists, however remote. Hence in particular, if we would determine whether or not Italian, Teuton, Slav, or Greek were ever matrilinear, a knowledge of the full evidence for India is of much use.

But such a book as I hope to see published must needs be the work of specialists. To cover one region adequately is no easy task for one man; to cover them all, in any but the most superficial way, is out of the question. Therefore I have for some time been looking for collaborators, and have thus far met with considerable success. But in the case of India, the mere collection of material is proving to be a vast affair, and it is for help in this respect that I now appeal.

The material required is of three kinds, as follows:—

1. Evidence from the ancient Aryan texts, from the earliest to the latest, tending to show

(a) Prominence in the family or clan of the maternal uncle, or an especially close tie between him and his sister's children (such as that between Arthur and Kilwch, in the Mabinogion, which gives colour to the theory that the Kelts were once matrilinear).

(b) Stories of marriage, or irregular connections, between persons related closely by father-right, but not by mother-right. In all such cases it should be noted how the story is told, i.e., whether great abhorrence is expressed at the incestuous union, or whether there is any tendency to treat it as nothing out of the common.
(c) Traces of inheritance through women,*or of women holding property, in
early times, in their own right.
(d) Surnames formed from the name of the mother.
(e) Stories in which father and son are strangers or enemies. Here it should be
noted whether or not the son is legitimate, also if the estrangement or
enmity is viewed with horror or not.
(f) Relationship-names of any kind indicating, on analysis, a system other
than the patrilinear.

(2) Evidence from later times, and especially customs existing at the present day,
or noted in the earlier books of travel and exploration, tending to show survival of any
such phenomena in an Aryan community anywhere in the peninsula.

(3) Evidence tending to show that any such community has at any time been
influenced in the direction of mother-right by any of non-Aryan, matrilinear peoples
of India. I would point out in this connection that such phenomena as the unions
between hypergamous Brahmins and Nair girls, prove nothing at all. The men in
this case do not want to marry, or to have anything to do with the children of the—to
them—irregular union. The women, according to their own ideas, are married and
their clan assumes, according to its regular custom, the custody of their children.

It may be that there is no such evidence. If so, that fact is in itself evidence,
and welcome as such. It may be that Maine’s picture of the undivided Indian family
is perfectly correct for the earliest times in which a family existed among the Aryans
at all, as in my opinion it is true, mutatis mutandis, for Rome, as soon as the gens ceased to
be, what I think it originally was, an exogamous group with classificatory relationship.
In any event, I am only too willing to receive and arrange any evidence that may be
sent me, only asking that in the case of bulky or rare works quoted, there be furnished,
not references only, but extracts. When the material is gathered, I propose to submit
it to the judgment of the Editor of this magazine, to be shaped into an article and
finally, I hope, incorporated with the rest into the book I am planning.

THE EARLY COURSE OF THE GANGES.

BY NUNDOLAL DEY, M.A., B.L.; CALCUTTA.

(Continued from p. 14.)

But before we proceed to identify the mouths of the Ganges, as stated by Ptolemy,
we must try to form some idea of the Delta or rather the
configuration of the head of the Bay of Bengal, as it existed,
in the second century of the Christian era. In the fifth century
B.C. Tāmralipta (modern Tamluk) was a maritime port; it was then called the
port of Surana or Suhma, the modern Rājā. The two merchants Tapusa and
Bhallika who gave honey and other articles of food to Buddha just after he attained
Buddhahood, landed at this port. Fa Hian, who visited Tāmralipta in the fifth century
A.D., says that it situated on the sea; Hïuen Tsiang, who visited it two centuries
later, also says that it bordered on the sea. It appears from Ravenhaw’s Memorandum

on the Ancient Bed of the River Soane and Site of Palibothra that "during the boring in Fort William with the view of making an Artesian well, a fossil bone was brought up from a depth of 350 feet below Calcutta, which evidently proves that part of the Delta was (geologically speaking) a comparatively modern accumulation of alluvial deposits, and it is not impossible that Calcutta itself may at that period (460 B.C.) have been not far distant from the mouth or one of the mouths of the Ganges." It also appears from the Mahāvamsa that the Ganges near Pāṇḍu, anciently called Pradyumna-nagara and Morapura which is evidently a corruption of Mārāpura, was very close to the ocean in the fourth century B.C. when Pāṇḍu Sākya, who was Buddha's cousin, founded a settlement at this place. Perhaps this old bed of the Ganges became afterwards the bed of the Sarasvati (not the same as its namesake of the north-west) when the Ganges receded to the east. According to the commentator Nilakaṇṭha, Suhma of the Mahābhārata is the Rādhā of modern days, and in that work it has been mentioned as being very close to the sea, and Rādhā comprises amongst others the district of Hughli. Megasthenes writing in the fourth century B.C., also states that the ocean was very close to the eastern boundary of the Gangaridai, which means the people of the country of Rādhā situated on the Ganges. He says, "Now this river (the Ganges) which in its source is 30 stadia broad, flows from north to south, and empties its waters into the ocean forming the eastern boundary of the Gangaridai, a nation which possesses a vast force of the large-sized elephants." Agonagara of Ptolemy, which has been identified with the modern Agradvipa situated to the south of Katwa (Katadvipa of Arrian), had already come into existence in the second century A.D., which shows that this portion of Bengal, in the district of Nadia, was in the course of formation, as the name of Agradvipa (foremost island) indicates. I should here state that Tilagrammon of Ptolemy has been correctly identified by Yule with Jessore, not the headquarters of the present district of that name, but with Pratāpāditya's Jessore in the present district of Khulna which has but its name to the former town. By "Tilagrammon" is not meant the "sesamum-village," as it has been rendered by McCrindle. The word is evidently a corruption of Tiragrāma, r and l being interchangeable. It means a "village situated on the sea-shore," which clearly proves that it bordered on the ocean in the second century A.D. Hence it will be observed that Tamluk and Rādha on the west, and Jessore on the east were very close to the sea in the second century. In the fifth century B.C., the present site of Calcutta, and Pāṇḍu were very close to the sea. Calcutta is now about 80 miles from the sea-board, which shows that the sea has receded only 80 miles in the course of twenty-five centuries. Tamluk, which is about 35 miles to the south-west of Calcutta, was a maritime port in the seventh century A.D. It is now 60 miles from the ocean, which shows that in the course of thirteen centuries, the sea has receded only 60 miles. Though, of course, the process of delta-building is not uniform everywhere, yet there cannot be the slightest doubt that the process is a very slow one. Hence, in the second century A.D., the sea could not have been far distant from either.

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88 Turnour's Mahāvaṃsa, ch. viii.
89 Prayagaśṭita-Tattvam, p. 100.
92 McCrindle's Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian, p. 33.
93 McCrindle's Ptolemy, pp. 212, 216.
94 Ibid., p. 72.
95 Ibid., p. 75.
the present site of Calcutta, or Pāṇḍuā. In the north, we find the name of Agonagara mentioned by Ptolemy. Had there been any other town of importance in the district of Nadia, he would not have certainly failed to mention it, as he has done with regard to Gaṅgā, the chief town of Gangardai. In the absence of any mention of any other town, we are led to infer that in the second century A.D., the delta had extended only to a certain portion to the south of Agonagara in the district of Nadia, and the remaining portion of the district together with the present sea-board had not then come into existence. Hence, we find that Tamralipta (Tamluk) the present site of Calcutta, Mārapura (Pāṇḍuā) and Rādhā on the west, "Tilagrammon" (Jessore) on the east, and a certain portion of the district of Nadia on the north, were very close to the ocean in the second century of the Christian era. It is very difficult at this distance of time to lay down precisely the nature of the configuration of the head of the Bay of Bengal which wedged in, as it were, in Mid-Bengal, between old formations on the east and west, but the above facts will give some idea, however vague it may be, of the shape of the Bay of Bengal at the time of Ptolemy, into which the Ganges debouched itself in the second century. This portion of the Bay of Bengal has since been filled by salts and sands brought down by the current of the river.

From the physical features of Bengal in the second century, as described above, it will be clear that to identify the places and mouths of the Ganges as mentioned by Ptolemy with the present positions would certainly be erroneous. We must therefore look for some of the mouths of the Ganges (mentioned by Ptolemy) much higher up, and most probably in the area now occupied by portions of the districts of Nadia, Hughli, 24-Parganas, Jessore, and Khulna, up to which the Bay of Bengal extended at that period. There can be no doubt that the mouth called "Kambysen," which was the western-most mouth of the Ganges, is a transcription of "Kapilāśrama." Though attempts have been made to explain the word "Kambysen" and identify it with "Nungabuṣoṇa" near Tamluk, with the Suvannarekhā, and also with the Jelasor river, called in Sanskrit Suktimati, synonymous with Kambu or Kambuj, on the "river of Shells," yet the arguments do not appear to be convincing. McCrindle says, "It is difficult, however, to identify the mouths, he (Ptolemy) has named, with those now existing, as the Ganges, like the Indus, has shifted some of its channel and otherwise altered the hydrography of the delta." There cannot be the slightest doubt that the whole feature of the delta has changed considerably since the time of the Mahābhārata; but whatever change there was, and at whatever points the Ganges might have entered the ocean, its principal outlet has always retained the ancient name of Kapilāśrama, on account of the sacred character of the spot where the Ganges gave salvation to the sixty-thousand sons of Sagara,—the principal object for which she was brought down from heaven, and which is visited from time immemorial as a place of pilgrimage,—a circumstance which has served to keep alive the name and memory of Kapila Muni's hermitage. Moreover, it would be observed that according to phonetic rules, the word "Āśrama" is sometimes changed into "Āson" or "son", as Garga-Āśrama is the modern Gagāson, Bhṛigu-Āśrama is the modern Bagāson. Now the question is where was this Kapilāśrama or Kambysen mouth situated at the

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67 McCrindle’s Ptolemy, p. 74.
time of Ptolemy in the second century A.D. It is very fortunate that a town by the name of "Polura" has been mentioned as being situated near the Kambyson mouth. The identification of this place would clear up much of the obscurity that is involved in the question.

As stated before, we must seek for Poloura, not near the present mouths of the Ganges, but much higher up, as the whole feature of the delta has changed since the second century A.D., and in order to do this, we must rely upon local traditions as recorded by writers of the 16th century. In the district of Nadia in Bengal, there is a town called Pâhââpur, the ancient name of which was Koladvipa-Parvataapura as recorded by a Vaishnava poet Narahari Chakravarthi in his Navadvipa-Parikramâ. It was briefly called Koladvipa or Kolâpura. Kolapura is close to Samudragââ, the ancient name of which was Samudragatâ ("Entrance into the Ocean"). Kavikaâaka also states in his Châtî that Śrîmanata and his father Dhanapâti Sadâgar in their voyage to Ceylon arrived at Samudragââ after leaving Pâhâpur (Pâhââpur). The Navadvipa-Parikramâ records a

89 It should be observed that in the Navadvipa-Parikramâ the word "Deipa" is synonymous with a town (Pura or Nagar) as Antardvipa is now Atopura (p. 13), Râdvipa Ratupura (p. 46), Kuhudvipa Jânnagara (p. 51), Agradvipa Agongara (Ptolemy), Ruradvipa Rrudrapura (p. 72). Hence, Koladvipa is Kula or Kolapura.

70 Navadvipa-Parikramâ, p. 37:—
Śrîvâsa prâti kahi Śrîmadhura bhâsha
Kulyâ-pahââpur dekha Śrînivâsa.
Pârvva koladvipa parbhatâkhyâ o prakhâra
E nâmâ haila jaichhe kahi de prakhâra.
Parvata apmâna koâ vipre dekhâ dila
Ei hetu koladvipa-parbhatâkhyâ hola.

(Then in a sweet voice (Isâna) said to Śrînivâsa "Oh Śrînivâsa! See Kûla-Pâhâpur! its former name was Koladvipa-Parvata, and I will relate to you how it got that name,

71 Ibid, p. 40:—
Aichhe kâla kahi chal Koladvipa haite
Prabhur vilâshthâna dekhite dekhite.
Samudragââ grâmer nîkâte giyâ kaya
Dekha Śrînivâsa o Samudra-gadi haya.

(Thus saying they proceeded from Koladvipa, looking at the scenes of the early life of the Lord (Gaurânga). Coming near the village of Samudragââ, he said "See Śrînivâsa; this is Samudragââ.

72 Ibid, p. 44:—
Gangâsaha gatite Samudragââ nâm
Eve loke kahaye Samudragââ grâma.

(The union (of Samudra) with the Ganges has given it the name of Samudragââ, which people now call Samudragââ village.

73 Kavinkaâaka-Châsa, p. 234, (Śrâppâ's journey to Trivad)—
Râjanil prabhâte śâhu meh sâha nâyâ
Navadvipa Pâhâpur edâyâ yâya
Samudragââ Mirjâpur vâhe tvarâ tvarâ
Nâhi mânâ sadâgar basanter kharâ.

(The merchant taking his seven boats early in the morning passed Navadvipa and Pâhâpur (Pâhââpur), and quickly plied his boats from Samudragââ to Mirjâpur, without heeding the currents of the spring season).

Again, Ibid, p. 200 (Dhanapâti's journey by boat)—
Pâhââpur Samudragââ vâhî melân
Mirjâpur ghâte diûgâ karîl châpân.

(The boat after passing Pâhâppur and Samudragââ arrived at the ghât at Mirjâpur).
tradition to the effect that one day long before the birth of Chaitanya, Samudra (the Ocean) said to Gaṅgā (the Ganges) that she was very fortunate, in as much as she would see the "full-god Gaurachandra" appear at Nadia on her banks, where he would pass the best part of his life, sporting in her waters, as he had done before in the Yamuna; whereupon Gaṅgā replied, "I am very unfortunate that Gaurachandra after affording me so much happiness would plunge me into the deepest sorrow by turning a Sannyāsi (ascetic) and going to live on your coast (meaning Puri in Orissa on the sea-shore) and you would be the happiest of beings." Samudra (Ocean) replied that what she said was true, but it would burst his heart to see him turn a Sannyāsi, and therefore he would take her protection. She would show him Gaurachandra and his companions in the heyday of their sportive career on her banks in Nadia. Since then Samudra and Gaṅgā awaited together with impatience the advent of Gaurachandra at "Samudragati." The story, stripped of its poetical garb and allegory, clearly points out that the Ganges once disembogued itself into the ocean at Samudragati in the district of Nadia near Koladvipa-Parvata or Kolapura. The name also of Samudragati strongly corroborates the fact, of which we have no historical evidence except the tradition above referred to, that at some former period, the Ganges joined the Ocean at this place, and the mouth by which the former joined the latter must have been its principal or the Kambyson mouth of Ptolemy, on account of its proximity to "Poloura," which is a corruption of Kolapura in the district of Nadia, and the configuration of the head of the Bay of Bengal in the second century A.D. makes the identification highly probable. Ptolemy's "Kambyson" therefore appears to have been Kapilārāma and his "Poloura" Kolapura. The former is now represented by the Hughli mouth at Kapilārāma near the Sāgar Island.

This tradition, as well as the names which we have tried to restore, receives some confirmation from the fact that at Jāhannagar (Brahmānitalā), which is four miles to the west of Nadia, there is a tradition of the hermitage of Jahn Muni being situated there. In fact, Jāhannagar, which is mentioned also as Jānnagara, is a corruption of Jahn-Dvīpa, as stated in the Navadvipa-Parikrama. It should be borne in mind that Jahn Muni is said to have swallowed up the Ganges and then let her out through his thigh on the intercession of Bhagiratha. This is merely an allegory for indicating a change in the course of the river. The very fact of a Jahn existing at Nadia shows that a change in the course of the Ganges must have taken

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<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>Navadvipa-Parikrama, p. 40 —</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Nija gane Śrīsamudragati nāma kaya</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Ethā Gaṅgā-samudra-prasāga sukhamaya</td>
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<td>Gaṅgārasya kariṇā Śamudragati ethā</td>
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<td>Loko ye prasiddha atma, kahi ye, se kathā.</td>
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<td>(Our people call it (Samudragati) Samudragati: there was a happy union here of the Ganges and the Ocean; I shall relate to you the tradition so well known to the people regarding the union of the Ganges at Samudragati here.)</td>
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<td>76</td>
<td>Ibid, p. 41 —</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Obe Śrī-nivāsa Gaṅgā-sindhu eikhāne</td>
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<td>Sadāi adhairya Gaurachanderr dhīyāne.</td>
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<tr>
<td>(Oh Śrīnivāsa; here (at Samudragati) Gaṅgā (the Ganges) and Samudra (the Ocean) always remained impatient in the meditation of Gaurachandra.)</td>
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<td>78</td>
<td>Navadvipa-Parikrama, p. 53, v. 27.</td>
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place, which had the effect of giving it a term in its present direction with the extension of the Delta to the south at some period subsequent to the second century of the Christian era.

Tilagrammon is stated by Ptolemy to have been situated near the third mouth of the Ganges called Kamberikhon,78 and in his Map also, he has placed the town near the mouth. Yule places it in his map on the site of Jessore, and McCrindle says, "The name seems to be compounded of the two Sanskrit words "tila," "sesamum" and "grāma," "a village or township."79 Yule's identification appears to be correct, for, by Jessore, as stated before, is meant not the headquarters of the district of that name, but the Jessore of Rājā Pratāpāditya, situated in the district of Khulna (which formerly appertained to that of Jessore), where some remains of his palace still exist. Ram Camal Sen in the Preface to his Dictionary in English and Bengalee80 states, "when Sarvānanda Mazumdar, the uncle of Rājā Pratāpāditya, who was the founder of the city of Jessore, fixed his residence there about three hundred years ago (i.e., in the 16th century A.D.), it was a forest on the borders of the sea." Hence it will be observed that "Tilagrāma" does not mean "Sesamum-village" as interpreted by McCrindle, but is a corruption of Tiragrāma, which was evidently overgrown by a wilderness "the last scene in the life of an Indian river."81

Wilford identifies the mouth Kamberikhon with the "Jamnâ," called in Bengal "Jabunâ"; he further says, "though the Jamnâ falls into the Kambarekhon mouth, it does, by no means, form it, for it obviously derives its name from Kambadâra or Kambaraka river, as I observed before."82 But "Kambarikhon" appears to be a transcription of "Kumbhirakhâtam" which means the "Crocodile-Channel." Like "Kambyson" or Kapilâśrama, the name of "Kamberikhon" or Kumbhirakhâtam has also shifted with the extension of the Delta to the south since the second century A.D., and it now attaches itself to the estuary of the Kobadak under the name of Bangara which is a corruption of Mangara or Crocodile, in the southern part of the district of Khulna, intersected by rivers and interlaced by cross-channels, swamps and marshes, the original channel of the Ganges having shifted or rather having been lost in the tangled network of swamps and rivers. The name of Kumaria village on the river Kobadak, the river Kumer in the district of Jessore, and several places with the name of Kumbhra or its corruptions, situated on the present branches of the Ganges in the neighbourhood, lead us to believe that Kamberikhon must be a corruption of Kumbhirakhâtam, now represented by the Bangara estuary.

It is now very difficult to identify the other three mouths of the Ganges mentioned by Ptolemy, as no places have been mentioned near them, as has been done in connection with the Kambyson and Kamberikhon mouths. But with regard to the second mouth called Mega, it may be suggested that it is a corruption of Magrâ, a channel so graphically described by

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Kavikaśākana in his Chastā, as Mega cannot be identified with the Meghnā estuary, because in the second century, the Ganges had no connection with the Brahmputra. At some remote period there was perhaps a mouth of the Ganges near Magrā in the district of Hughli, and perhaps with the gradual extension of the Delta towards the south, the name has also gone down along with the shifting course of the channel, and it is at present situated in the district of 24-Parganas, now known by the name of Magrā-hā; near the Rasulpur river which joins the Ocean through the Jāmira estuary. Moreover, the difficulty of identification arises particularly from the fact that the hydrography of the delta has been considerably altered by the shifting of the Channel of the Ganges. The Kavikaśākana Chastā, which was written by Mukundarāma Chakravartti in Saka 1499, corresponding to 1577 a.d., describes the route of Dhanapatī Sadāgar and Śrīmanta Sadāgar to Ceylon along the river Hughli from its junction with the river Ajaya. It shows that they did not pass through the Adigāgā or the "Original Ganges," a part of which is called Tolly's Nālā, which joined the sea near the Sāgar Island. Rennell says that the river called the "Old Ganges" received that name whilst the circulation of the change was fresh in the memory of the people. The siltting up of the Adi-Gaṅgā took place in the 16th century, as it appears from the route described in the aforesaid Chastā. Instead of proceeding through the Adi-Gaṅgā, the two merchants struck to the south-west, and keeping Hiṭī to the left arrived at the Magrā Channel where they met with a severe storm. Sir William Hunter also says that the siltting of the Adi-Gaṅgā took place about four hundred years ago. John Surman excavated it originally in 1717; it bore his name for some years, but it was deepened by Colonel William Tolly at his own expense in 1773, 1775 or 1777, and it has since been named after him. According to Ptolemy, Tamalites or Tamluk was situated on the Ganges. Ptolemy, however, does not mention on which mouth of the Ganges it was situated. It is now situated on the river Rupnārāyaṇa. It is therefore clear that the mouth of the Ganges on which Tamluk stood has since been thrown back to the east when the southern portion of the Delta was formed, and it is probable that the old bed of the Ganges near Tamluk has now been occupied by the Rupnārāyaṇa which in the old maps of Gostaldi (1581) and Blaeu (1650) was called "Gaṅgā" and "Guenga" respectively. Hence we may reasonably suppose, from the present situation of Tamluk and the Magrā estuary, that the town stood in the second century near the mouth called Mega by Ptolemy, now represented by the Jāmira estuary.

Nothing can be said definitely about the mouth called Antible. Is it a transcription of Antā-pura, now called Átopur, a village near the town of Navadvipa in the district of Nadia, the ancient name of which was Antardvipa? I have already stated that dvipa in many instances was changed into pura, when the island joined the continent and became fit for habitation.

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83 Kavikaśākana Chastā, p. 292:—

Dura jūmi Magrā jaler niṣṭāvan.
Yena āsādher nava megher garjan.

(From a distance was heard the sound of waters of the Magrā, like the rumbling noise of the new cloud in the month of Āśālāka.)

85 Imperial Gazetteer of India, s. v. Twenty-four Parganas.
86 H. E. A. Cotton's Calcutta, Old and New, under "Tolly's Nālā."
87 McCrindle's Ptolemy, p. 119.
88 Mr. O'Malley's Midnapore, p. 8.
89 Navadvipa-Paripravām, p. 15:—

Ohō Śrī-nivās呼吸ei Ātopur sthān
bahu kālābādhi lupta hāla eigrāma. 1.
pūrve Antardvipā nāma āśhīla tāhār. 2;
I have also shown that in the second century A.D., the head of the Bay of Bengal was most probably situated in the district of Nadia. Perhaps Átipur or Atpur is now represented by the Mátla estuary by the gradual extension of the delta to the south.

To sum up, therefore, the Kambyxon mouth in the second century A.D., was at or near Somudraga, in the district of Nadia. It is now represented by the Hughli mouth at Kapilārama near the Sāgar Island. The Kamberikhon (Kumbhārakhātamu) mouth of Ptolemy was near Jessore in the district of Jessore. It is now represented by the Bangara estuary in the district of Khulna. The Megā mouth of Ptolemy was probably at Magrā now Magrāhājī, in the district of 24-Parganas, represented at present by the Jāmira estuary,³⁰ which receives the Rasulpur river near which Magrā is situated. The name is evidently derived from Magrā in the district of Hughli, where perhaps the mouth was once situated. The Antioch mouth in the second century was probably near Átipur in the district of Nadia: Átipura or Atpur is now perhaps represented by the Mátla estuary.³¹ One peculiarity, it should be noted, is that nearly all the names of the mouths of the Ganges mentioned by Ptolemy have their counterparts in the south, the names having shifted along with the gradual extension of the delta.

Though there is no historical record or tradition of subsidence in Mid-Bengal, yet the arguments adduced by Major Hirst³² to prove this fact are worthy of every consideration. Based as they are upon geological evidence, they should be further investigated with a view to account for the changes in the course of the rivers in Bengal. It is very unlikely that there would be stiff old red clay elevations on both sides of Bengal with a gap in the middle, while we know that the ground was a level one so far as this part of Bengal was concerned, affording facility for a uniform and homogeneous formation of the delta from east to west. Hence Major Hirst's theory appears to be very probable, that some natural agency was at work to cause a subsidence which had its effect upon the courses of the rivers, as explained by him.³³ There is, however, no gainsaying the fact that a part of the delta comprising portions of the districts of Murshidabad, Nadia, Burdwan, Hughli and 24 Parganas in Mid-Bengal were formed subsequent to the main body of the delta on the eastern and western sides, and the configuration of the area which remained unformed was of a triangular shape which has been gradually filled up, the apex, so far as tradition goes, being at Gour, as I have stated before. Within this area, the very names of places by which they are still designated, indicate emergence from the sea, as Kajāha-dvīpa or Cauldon-island, modern Katwa; Agrādvīpa or Foremost island; Nava-dvīpa or New-island, modern Nadia; Chakradaha or the Circling-whirlpool, modern Chakda; Sushkasāgara or the Dried-up sea, modern Sukhsagar.

³⁰ Jāmira seems to be a metathesis and corruption of Magrā. The transposition of letters is not uncommon in the geographical names of India, as Ranod for Narod, Ranaí for Narsi (Narasimha), Nakhlor for Lakshmor (Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India, p. 103) and perhaps g of Magrā has been softened into j.

³¹ Mátla very likely appears to be an altered form of Átipura or Atpur. The syllable Māl of Mátla is an emphatic form of Āt, as Mulaka is another form of Alaka, and the vestige of pura may be traced to ḍ, as I represents pura in several words, as Ambala is Amba-pura, being a town founded by an Amba Rajput, "from whom it derives its name" (Imperial Gazetteer of India, s.v. Ambala City); Karnal, Karqāpur (Ibid., s.v. Karna); Verawal, Etpura (Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India, p. 319).

³² Major Hirst's Report on the Nadia Rivers, 1915, Chs. IV—VI.

³³ Ibid, Cha. IV, V.
Damburadaha or the whirlpool of the shape of Dumbura. 24 Besides these, several devipas or islands in the district of Nadia are mentioned in the Navadiparikram, as Antardvipa or Atoipura; Madhya-devip or Majita-grāma, etc. It should be observed that Arrian mentions the name of "Katadupa" or Katwa on the river Amystis or Ajaya, which indicates that Kaṭhāhadvipa was in existence in the second century of the Christian era. 25 Ptolemy also mentions Agradipya as Aganagara. 26 Hence, it appears that some of the islands which afterwards joined with the mainland, had already formed before the second century A.D., though it appears that the delta did not extend to the south much beyond Samudragati and Tila-grāma or Jessore. I should also observe that a portion of Bengal, at least Mid-Bengal, was so insalubrious that it was considered by the Muhammadan Emperors of Delhi as a "Dojak" or hell. Ram Comul Sen says that the Muslim invaders of the west of Hindustan, who afterwards established themselves at Delhi, considered the country (Bengal) to be Dojakh or an infernal region, and whenever any of the Amir or courtiers were found guilty of capital crimes, but their rank did not permit the supreme punishment, they were banished to Bengal. Of those individuals banished to Bengal, one, named Malik Kasim, had his residence immediately west (sic for south) of Hughli, where there is a hāţ market, still held, which goes by his name. Ahmad Beg was another person of that description; his estate is still in existence opposite to Bansberiah, and there are a Haut, ganja or mart, and a khal or creek, still called after his name. 27 I should here observe that the aforesaid Hāţ of Malik Kasim is in Chinsura, and this shows that Chinsura was once situated in a Muhammadan "Dojakh." It should be further observed that when Jayāpā, king of Kashmir, bereft of kingdom, travelled alone and incognito, and visited Puṇḍravardhana (modern Pūndja, called also Fīrūzabad, six miles north of Malda), the capital of the country of the same name in the eighth century A.D., he killed at the place a lion which had been destroying men and cattle for several days past. 28 This clearly shows that in the neighbourhood of Puṇḍravardhana, there were jungles, and the town was thinly populated. If that was the condition of the ancient capital of Bengal in the eighth century, the condition of the other parts of the country at some previous period may be easily conceived. This indicates that the lands were still low, humid, swampy and insalubrious, covered perhaps with sands which rendered them unfit for cultivation, and in places overgrown with jungles,—the result of emergence from the sea. In contrast with this, "the people of Manipore, Tripura and Jeyantipore, and other eastern countries called their regions Svarga or heaven, especially the people of Tripura, who still style their king svarga-deva or king of heaven, or the celestial regions." 29 The eastern part of Bengal, therefore, appears to have been much higher than the middle portion.

In further corroboration of the fact that the delta of Bengal has been formed by gradual elevation out of the sea, I should mention that Suhma was placed very close to the sea. 30 From the Mahābhārata also, it appears that Suhma or Rādha was close to the sea. 31 Rādha, as stated before, comprises among others the districts of Burdwan and Hughli. Rādha is

24 Ram Comul Sen's Dictionary in English and Bengali: Preface.
25 McRindle's Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian, p. 187.
28 Kāhlana's Bājavarangīvat (Dr. Stein's Trana.), vol. I, p. 162.
30 Raghunath, IV, vs. 34, 35; McRindle's Megasthenes, p. 135 and Ptolemy, p. 172.
31 Sabhā-Parva, ch. 29.
the country of the Gangrides of Megasthenes and Ptolemy, and Gangarides is evidently a corruption of Gaṅgā-Rāja. According to Megasthenes, who was an ambassador in the court of Chandragupta in the fourth century B.C., the river Ganges formed the eastern boundary of the Gangaridai, and their capital was Parthalas, which is evidently Purvasthanī, a very old and large village situated on the Ganges in the district of Burdwan. According to Ptolemy, the capital of the Gangarides was Ganga. Mr. Schoff in his translation of the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea says that by Gange is meant the port of the Ganges as well as the country. Mr. Schoff appears to have been correct in his statement that the name applied both to the country and to its principal town on the Ganges. But the "country" of Gange was not Bengal as stated by him, but Rājha (which now indeed forms a part of Bengal under the British rule); for it appears from the Karhad Plate Inscription of Krisha III and also from the Harirhar and Belur Inscriptions that Gaṅga was the name of a country, and in the first mentioned inscription, Gaṅga has been placed between Kalinga and Magadha. Perhaps Gaṅga was the country of Gāṅga or Gāṅgā of the Kaushitaki Upanishad, the king of which was Chitra, who was also called Gāṅgāyānī or Gāṅgāyaṇī. The Gāṅga dynasty ruled over the south of Mysore and Coorg, etc., from the second to the ninth century A.D., and a branch of the family ruling over Orissa in the 12th century conquered Rājha. As regards the town of Gange, its proper identification depends upon three circumstances: it must be in the country of Rājha; it must be on the Ganges; and it must have been an emporium of commerce as described in Ptolemy's Geography and in the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea. Mr. Schoff suggests Tamluk (ancient Tāmralipta) as the "town of Ganges." Tamluk, however, was a maritime port and not a part of the Ganges in the second century A.D. Gange has been variously identified with Sonargaon, Chittagong, Jessore, etc. Mr. Irving says, "The town of Ganges situated at no great distance from Calcutta was a grand emporium for Bengal," but he does not specify any place. Saptagraha, now called Satagāon, situated at a distance of two miles to the north of the town of Hughli, conforms to the three conditions above stated. It was situated on the Ganges at the point from which the Sarasvati and the Yamuna branched off towards the south and the east; so that its position was eminently suited for being a trade distributary, and an emporium of commerce. It was in a flourishing condition from the beginning of the Christian era to the 16th century. Triveni was the eastern quarter of Saptagraha. Pliny, who flourished in the first century A.D., mentions it as a great commercial centre. Frederike, who visited Satgaon in 1570, says, "In the port of Satgaon every year, they lade 30 or 35 ships, great and small, with rice, cloth of bombast, divers sort, lacca, great abundance of sugar, pepper, oil, zereline and other sorts of merchandise." Kavikaśakana, the author of the Chandī, spoke of it in glowing terms that merchants

102 McCrindle’s Megasthenes and Arrian, pp. 32, 136.
103 McCrindle’s Ptolemy, p. 172.
104 Schoff’s Periplus, pp. 47, 255; McCrindle’s Commerce and Navigation of the Erythraean Sea, p. 146.
105 Epigraphia Indica, vol. IV, p. 278.
106 Rice’s Mysore Inscriptions, pp. 70, 222.
107 Epigraphia Indica, vol. IV, pp. 278—290, v. 10—
Dvārakāśāṅga-vahga-Kalinga, Gāṅga-Magadha, vārcharisattasāchiraṃ, etc.
108 Kaushitaki Upanishad, I, 1.
110 Schoff’s Periplus of the Erythraean Sea, p. 255.
111 McCrindle’s Ptolemy, pp. 174, 175.
112 Irving’s Commerce of India, p. 84.
113 J.A.S.B., 1910, pp. 513-516.—My Notes on the History of the District of Hughli or the Ancient Rājha.
114 Kavikaśakana-Chandī, pp. 228, 229
115 Pliny’s Natural History, Bk. VI, ch. 19, translated by Philamon Holland (1901).
from all parts of India and Ceylon used to come there with their merchandise. It was a royal city where the kings of the country resided. Gange of Ptolemy and Pliny was evidently Saptagrāma, the capital of Rāḍha, situated on the Ganges and an emporium of commerce. Saptagrāma was known to the Romans by the name Gange Regina. Its ancient name appears to have been Gāṅga, and the country was perhaps called Gāṅga from the name of the capital, as from Champā, the country of Aṅga was called Chaṃpā (Chenpo), and from Mathura. Gange has been described in the Periplus as a seat of commerce. It says, "on its bank (i.e. the bank of the Ganges) is a market-town which has the same name as the river Ganges. Through this place are brought Malabathrum and Gangetic spikenard and pearls, and muslins of the finest sorts, which are called Gangetic." The word Gāṅga of the Kaushitaki Upanishad is also derived from Gaṅgā (the Ganges) from its situation on that river. According to Ptolemy, Gange was "the Royal residence," and it was not far from the mouth of the Ganges. There can be no reasonable doubt therefore that Saptagrāma or modern Sātgāon near Hughli was the Gange of Ptolemy, and it was the capital of the Gangarideśa or Gaṅgā-Rāḍha. Gaṅga-Rāḍha may mean either that Rāḍha was situated, as it now is, on the western side of Gaṅgā or the Ganges, or that it is a combination of names of both the capital called Gāṅga (Gange of Ptolemy) and the country called Rāḍha. At any rate, we come to know that in the second century of the Christian era, Saptagrāma was known by the name of Gāṅga. During the Paurāṇic period, it was known only by the name of Triveṣṭi which was and still is a quarter of Saptagrāma situated on the Ganges. Perhaps the name of Saptagrāma (the Seven Villages) was too secular for the religious Hindus, and Triveṣṭi (the three plains or rivers) was associated with the three most sacred rivers of India: Gaṅgā, Yamunā and Sarasvati.

It is therefore clear that Parthalis of the fourth century B.C., was not the capital of Rāḍha in the second century A.D. In the course of five or six centuries, there was evidently an extension of the delta of the south, and Saptagrāma rose into importance from its vicinity to the sea and the convenience it afforded to commerce by allowing easy access to it as a port through the channel of the Sarasvati. The capital was consequently removed from Parthalis to Saptagrāma. It should only be observed that at this distance of time, it is difficult to determine precisely the points from which the channels branched off the Ganges, and it would be erroneous to form a conception of the mouths of the Ganges of the second century A.D. from the present distribution of the channels in the delta, as it has been done by many writers who have attempted to identify them on the assumption that the deltaic channels and estuaries of the Ganges in the 19th or 20th century were identical with those of the second century. From the aforesaid facts, it would appear that Mid-Bengal was gradually elevated, but whether or not the subsidence took place after the complete formation of the delta is entirely a geographical question.

(To be continued.)

121 Schoff's Periplus of the Erythraean Sea, p. 47; see also McCrindle's Commerce and Navigation of the Erythraean Sea, p. 146.
122 McCrindle's Ptolemy, p. 172.
123 Brāhmaṇa Purāṇa, I, ch. 6; II, ch. 22; Kanikaśākana Chana, pp. 228, 229; see also Brīndavāna Dāsa's Chaitanya-Bhāgavata, anta-khaṇḍa (Nityānanda's stay at Saptagrāma).
THE NAKSHATRAS AND PRECESSION.*

BY G. B. KAYE, F.R.A.S.; SIMLA.

1. Mr. S. B. Dikshit was not the first to formulate a connexion between the nakshatras and precession, but he did so in a very interesting and forcible manner. He used as his text the following passage from the Ṣatapatha Brāhmaṇa:

"The other nakshatras (consist of) one, two, three or four, so that the Kṛttikās are the most numerous ... and again, they do not move away from the eastern quarter, while the other nakshatras do move from the eastern quarter." ¹

Dikshit’s argument was as follows: ¹ The nakshatra Kṛttikā he equated with the Pleiades, and he calculated that the Pleiades were on the equator at about 3000 B.C., and concluded that the age of the Brāhmaṇa, or rather that portion of it in which the passage occurs, was about 3000 B.C.

His calculation may be accepted, but the point in his argument to which I wish to draw attention is the identification of Kṛttikā with the Pleiades (a) for the period of the text, and also (b) for the particular purpose of the text.

2. From the astronomical point of view the problem is one of precession. We term the plane in which the apparent motion of the sun takes place the plane of the ecliptic; and the apparent daily path of any star is in a plane parallel to the plane of the equator. At two moments in the apparent path of the sun it is also in the plane of the equator and these moments are termed the equinoxes. The positions of the line of equinoxes is not fixed, but changes with reference to the stars at the rate of about one degree in 70 years, or one nakshatra in somewhat less than a thousand years (about 333 years), or one sign in about 2200 years. At about 2200 B.C. the vernal equinox was roughly marked by the Pleiades; at A.D. 560 by 3 Piscium, the yogatāra of Revati; and now it may be said roughly to be marked by 7 Pegasii which is identified with the yogatāra of Uttarā Bhādrapadā.

The motion in precession is so slow that it requires fairly accurate observations covering a considerable length of time to notice it. Dikshit did not, however, claim for the authors of the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa the discovery of precession, but simply that they had recorded a fairly accurate observation, namely that Kṛttikā was then on the equator.

3. The question What were the nakshatras originally? has never been satisfactorily answered. Indeed it may be said that no satisfactory attempt to answer the question has yet been made. The issue has been masked by the lengthy and learned discussions as to the relationship between the Arabic manāzil, the Chinese Siu, and the Hindu nakshatras.² With this discussion we have no concern at present. It has led to no satisfactory conclusion and entailed a good deal of controversy, rather unnecessarily flavoured with acrimony.

The generally accepted theory is that the nakshatras were 27 or 28 constellations that roughly mapped out the ecliptic. The two ideas here embodied are almost irreconcilable, for the constellations selected often cannot be connected with the ecliptic without a great strain on the imagination. Also the identifications that have been accepted are based upon comparatively modern texts and ideas. They are sometimes vague and hardly explainable.

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¹ Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, II, 1, 214. The Bodhāyana Srauta Sūtra also records that "the Kṛttikās do not move from the east." ² Indian Antiquary, xxxiv, 1895, p. 245.
There is nothing definite in Vedic literature regarding the positions of the nakshatras, and the accepted identifications cannot be traced back earlier than about the fifth century A.D. Indeed the earliest known complete list of positions is possibly much later than this. To utilise an identification of about A.D. 450 for a period over 3000 years earlier requires justification, and so far that justification is not forthcoming.

The connexion between the nakshatras and the ecliptic has generally been looked upon as a sort of corollary of the constellation idea. A diagram, showing the relative positions of the selected constellations and the ecliptic, demonstrates, one might say, as much disconnexion as connexion.

4. It is often the case that two independent notions, in the course of time become amalgamated, and here it is quite conceivable that (i) the nakshatras as connected with certain constellations and (ii) the nakshatras as connected with the ecliptic have independent origins. In early Hindu works the former notion is extremely vague, but there is little doubt that the term nakshatra often indicates a star or constellation. In the Jyotisā Vedaṅga, however, a nakshatra simply indicates one twenty-seventh part of the ecliptic and has no connexion with any constellation. This is the orthodox astronomical teaching, from which we are led to believe that the normal astronomical use of the list of nakshatras was that of a scale of the ecliptic like the western astronomical use of the signs of the zodiac. The first point of Kṛttikā would thus always denote the vernal equinox and would in no way be affected by precession.

5. Such considerations lead us to a conception of the nakshatras as an ecliptic scale; but there is also other evidence of a special nature. (1) We have already quoted the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa and the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Srauta Sūtra to the effect that the nakshatra Kṛttikā does not move from the east, and this completely agrees with the notion of the nakshatras as an ecliptic scale. (2) There is an equally significant statement in the Sūryaprajñāpati where we are told explicitly that the stars move faster than the nakshatras. This Thiibaut dismissed as incomprehensible, but it is a sufficiently reasonable statement of the phenomenon of precession, and can only mean that the nakshatra scale, which marked the equinoxes, gradually shifted with reference to the fixed stars. (3) One of the best-known astronomical statements in Hindu literature occurs in many of the Purāṇas and tells us that the constellation of the Seven Rishis (Ursa Major) revolves through the nakshatras. This statement was rather ridiculed by Whitney but there is little doubt that it is connected with precession; and, at least, it definitely indicates that the nakshatras and constellations were considered as very different matters; and it is explainable only on the hypothesis that the nakshatras formed a scale that gradually shifted with reference to the constellation of the Seven Rishis. (4) We have already pointed out that the Vedāṅga conception of the nakshatras was a scale divided into 27 equal parts, and this conception with slight modifications has persisted until the present time; but (5) from about A.D. 450 this nakshatra scale was largely replaced by the scale of signs of the zodiac; and these signs of the zodiac were not used in India for ecliptic scale divisions only, but for the divisions of any circle—thus further divorcing the signs and the constellations.

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4 Vedic Index, 1, 415. 5 JASB., 1880, p. 185. 6 JAOS., 1858, p. 364.
7 The Sūryaprajñāpati division into 28 parts is based upon the sidereal month of 27 7/11 days. It gives 13° 11' to each of 15 nakshatras, 6° 35½' to each of six, 19° 46½' to each of six others, while to Abhijit it gives the remainder or 4° 19'.
6. For details regarding the names and positions of the nakshatras as established in comparatively modern times I must refer you toColebrooke’s and Whitney’s works and to the Vedic Index. We may, however, briefly mention one or two points in connexion with these investigations. (a) Most of the names of the nakshatras not only cannot be connected with stars but in some cases are distinctly discordant with the equated constellations. Six of them, however, are fairly appropriate and these six are Rohini, Aślesha, Hasta, Chitṛa, Aśvin, Kṛittikā. Of these Rohini means ‘reddish’and is particularly applicable to Aldebaran; but it is disconcerting to find that in some lists it is applied to Jyeshṭha (?) Antares also. Aślesha means embracer and appears appropriate when applied to ṇ, ṛ, ṇ, ṛ, Hydreae. Hasta, ‘hand’, is applied to five stars in Corvus; but on a Hindu astrolobe of the end of the seventeenth century I find Hasta applied to a star in Orion. Chitṛa ‘bright’ might be appropriately applied to any of the first magnitude stars, and is generally suitable for Spica, to which it is usually equated. The Aśvins have been often connected with the Dioscuri, and with the morning and evening star, by several writers of note; but as a nakshatra Aśvin is equated with β and γ Arietis, which strains the imagination almost to the limit. The identification of Kṛittikā with the Pleiades is extremely curious. According to the editors of the Vedic Index it seems to depend on a passage in the Yajur Veda which mentions abhrayantī ‘forming clouds,’ meghayantī ‘making cloudy’, varshayantī ‘causing rain,’ as constituents of the nakshatra.8 The rain-forming Pleiades naturally come into view, but in the Byāhata Sāhiṭā9 we are told that Garga and others do not support this idea. (b) Many of the lists of the nakshatras, it will be noticed, contain only twenty-four different names; there being three pairs of double nakshatras, viz., Phalguni, Ashāhā, and Bhādrapadā. The number 24 is very suggestive, but at present we need not pursue the suggestion. (c) Twelve of the names are also utilised as the names of the months. The traditional explanation of this nomenclature is as follows: The full moon which occurred when the moon was in conjunction with Chaitri was termed Chaitri, and the lunar month which contained the Chaitri full moon was named Chaitra. But, since full moon is likely to occur at all points of the ecliptic, this explanation is not satisfactory, unless it indicates either an original division of the ecliptic into twelve divisions, or an attempt to equate the nakshatras and the signs of the zodiac.

7. The Rg Veda gives no list of the nakshatras, but it mentions three probable asterisms—Tishya,10 Aghās and Arjunī,11 and it has been suggested that there is a reference to the 27 nakshatras in book I.12 Complete lists are given in the Atharva Veda,13 Taittirīya Samhitā,14 Kāṭhaka Samhitā,15 Maitrāyani Samhitā,16 Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa,17 etc. The lists agree generally, but the number of nakshatras is variously given as 27 and 28. The Atharva Veda and Maitrāyani Samhitā lists have 28 while the Taittirīya Samhitā and Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa give 27; and of the more modern texts the Jyotisha Vedāṅga and the Sūrya Siddhānta imply 27, while the Śūryaprajāpāti, the Brāhmaṇapuṣṭa Śiddhānta, and the Sūrya Siddhānta (in another place) give or imply 28. Abhijit is the extra nakshatra and there is a legend that it dropped out, although the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa18 marks it as a new-comer. The

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8. Vedic Index, i, 415; but the curious point is that the identification is made to depend upon the elements of a Greek myth: the fact that Hindu works provide no independent identification is thus emphasized. Note that I do not question the identification of Kṛittikā with the Pleiades so much as the somewhat loose argumentation employed.

10 V, 54, 13; X, 64 9.
11 X, 557.
12 A.V., xix, 7.
13 T.S. IV, 4, 10 3.
14 M.S. ii, 13 20.
15 Ś.B., x, 5, 4.
16 T.S., 1, 5, 23.
numbers 27 and 28 suggest a connexion with the sidereal month, but in the early texts the only month referred to is one of 30 days. The term nakshatra has often been translated by the term ‘lunar mansion’ and the Taśtrīrīṣiya Saṁhitā, \(^{19}\) Kāthaka Saṁhitā \(^{20}\) and the Mahābhārata \(^{21}\) state that the nakshatras were wedded to Soma, but the term itself does not suggest the connexion. No satisfactory explanation of the different numbers has been achieved: Weber thought 27 was the older number, but the authors of the Vedic Index suggest that Abhijit was omitted, and that \(27 = 3 \times 3 \times 3\) appealed more strongly as being of a more mystical nature. Finally we must note that the earlier lists are astrological or religious in character rather than astronomical.

8. The early lists all begin with Kṛttikā, but the Mahābhārata puts Śravaṇa first, the Jyotisha Vedaṅga begins with Śravishṭā, the Sūryaprajñāpīti with Abhijit, the Sūrya Siddhānta with Aśvini. But here Aśvini is definitely equated with the vernal equinox, while Abhijit, Śravaṇa and Śravishṭā, which are contiguous, are equated with the winter solstice; and the interval between Aśvini and any one of the other three is 90 degrees, if we measure according to the equal division scale of the Jyotisha Vedaṅga or the unequal Sūryaprajñāpīti scale as we please. The change of importance is therefore from Kṛttikā to Aśvini, an interval of from about 13\(\frac{1}{2}\) to a possible 40 degrees. Was this change due to precession? The question has been discussed ad nauseam and I shall only briefly give the latest conclusions. According to Tielk, \(^{22}\) it was stated by Garge that Kṛttikā was first for purposes of ritual, while for the purpose of the calendar Śravishṭā was put first; and Fleet, in one of his latest articles, wrote : \(^{23}\) ‘I hope to revert to this matter in a paper in which I shall show that the Kṛttikādi list has no basis in the fact that the sun once came to the vernal equinox in Kṛttikā, but belongs entirely to ritual and astrology.’

9. I have put the difficulties of the case before you by way of caution. One would like to come to some simple and definite conclusion like Dikshit’s, but that seems hardly possible. My conclusions, except on one point, are rather disappointingly vague and are consequently not quite easy to formulate. Let me recapitulate the premises:

(a) In very early works we have orderly lists of the nakshatras that are of a ritualistic nature rather than astronomical. These lists all begin with Kṛttikā.

(b) In these early works the nakshatras are rather vaguely connected with the heavens.

(c) In the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa and the Bodhāyana Śruti we have Kṛttikā definitely connected with the equator.

(d) In the Jyotisha Vedaṅga the nakshatras form a scale of the ecliptic and have no particular connexion with any constellations.

(e) There are a few early star myths, e.g. regarding the Seven Rishis, Rohini, Kṛttikā; but the identifications are somewhat vague.

(f) In comparatively modern times the nakshatras were definitely equated with certain constellations.

(g) The Purāṇas and the Sūryaprajñāpīti speak of the constellations revolving with reference to the nakshatras.

(h) Certain later lists of nakshatras begin with Aśvini.

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\(^{19}\) T.S., ii, 3, 5. \(^{20}\) K.S., xi, 3. \(^{21}\) Mbh. ix, 3545.

\(^{22}\) Orion, p. 36. \(^{23}\) JRAS, 1916, p. 570.
In these rather inconsistent premises I see indications of a somewhat mixed genealogy of the nakshatras. Perhaps I am slightly biased by the consideration of the fact that researches into early origins generally teach us that a pure genealogy for any notion or set of notions that have prevailed in some form or other for centuries is an almost unknown rarity. It is indisputable that the nakshatras have had connexions with ritual, with constellations, and with the ecliptic—more or less independently; but we must be very cautious how we utilise any combinations of these connexions when we aim at establishing definite conclusions.

The one point that is definite has been ignored in the lengthy controversies that have taken place regarding the nakshatras. It relates to the evidence that shows unmistakably that it was known that the constellations revolve with reference to the nakshatras. This I take to indicate a knowledge of precession, a knowledge that has sometimes been denied, so far as the early Hindu teachers are concerned; and I suggest for your consideration that if the nakshatra scheme were conceived as an ecliptic scale, analogous to the zodiac scale as used by western astronomers, a number of the controversial passages would be cleared up. This is a suggestion only, to which I am by no means wedded, but it is a hypothesis that ought to be considered when dealing with the vexed questions that have arisen in connexion with the nakshatras and Vedic chronology.

**SOME NEWLY DISCOVERED TULUNIDE ORNAMENT.**

BY CAPTAIN K. A. C. CRESWELL, R.A.F. 1

The well-known mosque of Ahmad Ibn Tulun, one of the most beautiful in Cairo, possesses the additional advantage of being the oldest Muhammadan monument of certain date in Egypt. I exclude the mosque of 'Amr, as it has been repeatedly rebuilt, and only attained its present size in 212 H. (827). I also exclude the aqueduct of Ibn Tulun, as it is not exactly dated. It therefore follows that the ornament of this mosque possesses a pre-eminent importance in the history of Muhammadan art. Its beautiful ornament, executed in the hardest stucco, is well known to students, and illustrations of the capitals of the engaged columns at the angles of the piers, and of the bands of ornament which decorate the arches and windows, are to be found in many books. 2 The Aqueduct of Basatin, the only other existing Tulunide monument, does not bear any surface decoration, so that the sum total of Tulunide ornament is to be found in this mosque, with the exception of a few small fragments which are occasionally brought to light in the rubbish mounds of Fustat 3 and there was little reason for believing that any substantial addition would ever be made to it. I will now describe how and where the discovery was made.

The Mosque of Ibn Tulun consists of an open courtyard (sahra) surrounded by arcades (riwaq) five rows deep on the side of the sanctuary and two rows deep on the three other sides [Fig. 1]. The whole forms an almost exact square, which is itself bounded on three sides by a ziada or extension. These three ziadas are themselves enclosed by the outer

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1 Reprinted from the Burlington Magazine, November, 1919.
2 See P. Coste, L'Architecture arabe, ou Monuments du Caire, Plates IV. and VI.; Prisse d'Avennes, L'Art arabe, tome I, Plates I-III; Ebers (C.), Egypt; Corbet (E. K.), The Life and Works of Ahmad Ibn Tulun in the J.R.A.S., 1891; Franz Pauth, Kairo, pp. 13 and 15; Gayet, Le Caire, pp. 43-45; etc.
3 See Herr Bey, Catalogue raisonné du musée du Caire; Mrs. R. L. Devonshire, Rambles in Cairo, p. 80.
boundary wall of the mosque. The best and fullest description of this mosque is that given by Corbet, so I will refer readers desirous of further information to his memoir already cited.

This mosque in the past has only received moderate attention from the Comité de Conservation des Monuments de l'Art arabe. Recently, however, its great importance has been realised; S. E. Zilvar Pasha, the Minister of Waqfs (Endowments), during his short period of office, showed the keenest possible interest in Muhammadan architecture, and gave practical effect to it by allotting a sum of no less than £64,000 for the complete overhaul, paving and cleaning of this building.

One of the first steps taken was to remove the layers of inferior plaster with which the piers and the soffits of the arches had been covered at various periods. I say various periods, because in some places there were three, four, and even five layers of coarse plaster, each as much as three-eighths of an inch thick. These layers had already buckled and fallen away in patches in many places. They were easily removed by striking them sharply with a small hammer.

It was in applying this process last May to the soffits of the arches next the qibla that the wonderful ornament shown in the accompanying plates was revealed. This ornament is executed in stucco of great hardness, quite different from the shoddy plaster by which it had been hidden with almost incredible vandalism. The qibla is bounded by thirteen arches on each side, as shown in the plan [Fig. 1], but the whole outer row on the east side has fallen. A part of the outer row on the west side has also perished owing to the vandalism of Clot Bey, who, about 1846, turned part of this mosque into a poorhouse. The ornament shown in the plates occurs on the soffits of the arches of the south side of the qibla. Ten arches still preserve their ornament, while three—Nos. 1, 2 and 13—are completely bare. No trace whatever of ornament is to be found on the soffits of any of the interior arches except those which continue the eastern arcade of the boundary wall, viz., at 14 [see Fig. 1 and Plate] and 15. I therefore assume that this was the case with the arches of the west side also, although they are bare at present. A trace or two here and there is to be found on the arches of the north side, but these traces are too small to show the pattern.
I am aware that a study of the plates of Coste and Prisse d'Avensnes would lead one to suppose that the soffits of every arch in the mosque were covered with similar ornament. Coste, whose work was published in 1837-9, shows the soffit of every arch as so decorated, but each with the same pattern, which we can even now see was not the case. In Plate VI he is guilty of a grave inaccuracy, viz., he makes the south outer arcade run through the sanctuary to the qibla wall, although it is the outer arcade of the sanctuary which runs through to the south wall of the mosque [see my Fig. 1]. It is therefore obvious that his Plate VI has been produced afterwards from notes and sketches, instead of being drawn on the spot, and consequently cannot be taken as safe historical evidence. I must own that I feel equally sceptical towards Prisse d'Avensnes' plates, and do not take his Plate I (by Gicault de Prangey), which shows ornament on the soffit of an arch of the inner arcade of the sanctuary, next the mihrâb, as weighty evidence either, as I have a strong suspicion that he has transposed it in the same way from a page in his sketch book.

The first recorded restoration of this mosque took place in 696 H. (1296—1297) by 'Alam ad-Din Sangar, under the orders of Lâgin, but the stucco ornament of the end of the 13th century, of which many examples have come down to us, is utterly different from anything we have here. The same remark applies to Fâtimid ornaments (967—1171 A.D.) and this, together with the fact that although there is a feeling for strict geometrical ornament, the familiar interlacing star pattern has not yet been evolved, leads me to ascribe it without hesitation to the original foundation.

We will now turn to the history of the mosque and its founder, with a view to finding a possible clue to the source of this ornament. Ahmad Ibn Tûlûn was a Turk, whose home was Sâmarra, at that time capital of the Khalifate. He was sent to Egypt in 254 H. (868) as Deputy, by the Emir Bâkbâk, who had been appointed Governor of Egypt by the Khalif al-Mu'tazz. This being so, one would almost expect to find Mesopotamian influence in his mosque, more especially by Maqrizi (II, p. 266) quotes al-Qodâ'i (d. 454 H. = 1062 A.D.) to the effect that Ibn Tûlûn built his mosque "on the plan of the mosque at Sâmarra, and likewise the minaret." Ibn Duqmâq, who died 1406 A.D., says the same thing about the mosque, but without an express reference to the minaret (IV, p. 123). The minaret at Sâmarra referred to is, of course, that built by Mutawakkil (847—861 A.D.), which still exists and is known as the Malwiya Tower. Although the minaret of Ibn Tûlûn is now of circular section above and of square section below, it would appear certain that it once resembled the minaret of Sâmarra more closely than it does at present, since Maqrizi (II, p. 267), Ibn Duqmâq (IV, p. 124) and Abû 'l Ma'âsin (II, pp. 8 and 9) repeat a little fable to the effect that Ibn Tûlûn, trying one day with a piece of paper and rolling it round his finger, produced a spiral, and then ordered his architect to take it as a model for his minaret. At Sâmarra the same fable is told of the Malwiya Tower, but, whereas it provides an exact description of that minaret, it does not accurately fit the minaret of Ibn Tûlûn in its


5 The earliest known example occurs on the window of the north minaret of the Mosque of al-Hâkim (690—1012 A.D.). See Flury (S), Das Ornaments der Azhar und Hakim-Moschee.
A—No. 3 (1 and 2 blank)

B—No. 4

C—No. 5

Mosque of Ibn Tulun. Stucco ornament on the soffits of the arches on the south side of the sahn.

D—No. 6
Mosque of Ibn Tulun. Stucco ornament on the soffits of the arches on the south side of the sahn.
Plate III. TULUNIDE ORNAMENT. Indian Antiquary

I—No. 11

J—No. 12 (13 blank)

K—North-east, north half
Mosque of Ibn Tulun. Stucco ornament on the soffits of the arches on the south side of the sahn

L—South-east, north side
present state. As I have gone into the question of the alteration more fully elsewhere, I will not discuss it further here. I will, however, point out other features of Mesopotamian origin. Firstly, the brick piers with their engaged columns, counterfeited in brick at the angles, are similar to those found in the mosque at Raqqah. Mosques on piers had been previously unknown in Egypt, and this feature was such a novelty that a fable about a Christian architect was invented to explain it. Secondly, the position of the minaret in the centre of the west zidda corresponds exactly with the position of the two similar spiral minarets in the mosques of Samarrâ and of Abû Dulâf close by. Thirdly, the decorative band, consisting of a recessed square with a circular hole in the centre, which runs round the mosque below the parapet but just above the level of the roof. It is therefore to be expected that the ornament of this mosque was chiefly influenced by slightly earlier ornament at Samarrâ. It is well known that Professors Sarre and Herzfeld were carrying out very exhaustive excavations at this spot when the war broke out, and had even published two reports. The great work on the site, however, has not yet appeared, but I understand that no less than sixty cases of stucco ornament, etc., packed ready for despatch to Berlin, fell into the hands of the British Army when Samarrâ was occupied. Until they see the light of day any remarks on the ornament shown on the attached plates would be premature, and I publish them without further comment so that they may be at hand when the time comes for a comparative study.

ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM OF SHIVAJI.

BY SURENDRRA NATH SEN, M.A.; CALCUTTA.

INTRODUCTION.

Our Sources of Information.

The History of the Maratha Administrative system can be conveniently divided into two periods. The first period opens with the rise of Shivaji, and ends with the accession of Shahu. The second period opens with the rise of the Peshwas, and ends in 1818, when the second Baji Rao retired to Brahmavarna to spend his last days in performing ablution and offering oblations to his gods and ancestors. I have already dealt with the latter period elsewhere. Here I shall try to give an account of the administrative system of Shivaji, which practically continued unchanged till the death of Rajaram, except in some minor details. In fact the administrative system of any country is naturally of gradual growth, and develops but slowly as ages pass, but has always its root in the deep substratum of legendary or prehistoric past. Dynasties rise and fall, conqueror after conqueror comes and goes, native Government yields to foreign yoke; but it is always the interest of every ruler not to disturb the administrative system in its essential characteristics. The Muhammadans largely adopted the old indigenous system that they found prevalent in the Deccan at the time of their conquest. Shivaji borrowed a good deal from the former Muhammadan rulers, and the Peshwas, when they

7 See Bell (G. L.), Amurath to Amurath, fig. 39.
8 Ibid., figs. 137 and 164. Bell (G. L.), Palace and Mosque at Ukhaidir, p. 156 and Plate 91 (1).
became the real heads of the Maratha empire, and established their head-quarters of the Government at Poona, while the weak descendants of Shivaji were left to languish in the prison of Satara, the sentimental capital of Maharashtra, had still to leave Shivaji's system unaltered and unaffected in many respects, and a few changes were effected in the central Government only. Otherwise the administrative system of Shivaji was for all essential purposes identical with that of the Peshwas. It will, therefore, be my duty to indicate here the few differences that existed in the theory and practice of Government of these two periods.

While dealing with the Peshwa period, we are confronted with such an amazing abundance of materials that we can hardly expect to do justice to them. State-papers have been carefully preserved. Revenue regulations, instruction to revenue collectors and higher officials, deeds of sale and other documents, judgments in both civil and criminal suits, have come down to us in their hundreds and thousands. They give us a vivid picture of the Government as it actually was in the Peshwa period. But when we approach the Shivaji period we are confronted with such a scarcity of materials as is most discouraging. Of State-papers we have but very few, and they are not very important either. Mr. Rajwade complains (Ithās Ami Aishānsik) that during his twenty years of labour and research he has hardly come across twenty-five important Shivaji-papers. Most of these papers again are political and diplomatic correspondence and do not enlighten us about the administrative system. Fortunately, however, some old documents that cannot properly be styled State-papers, have after ages seen light, thanks to the wonderful tact and labour of Mr. V. K. Rajwade.

These give us useful information about some of the early adherents of Shivaji, the history of their Wadans, sometimes an account of their deeds and exploits, and often a long and exhaustive list of the taxes, cesses, and abwabs of those days. From these family papers of the old Sardars and Jagirdars we can frame a fairly accurate sketch of the administrative system of Shivaji, but these papers have to be used with extreme care and caution. Many of them are of doubtful origin, and some of them were undoubtedly forged to deceive the Government of the day.

Next in importance, are the Bakhars3 or Marathi prose chronicles. Supremely indifferent, like their Muhammadan teachers, to every thing that affected the ordinary people, the Maratha chronicles pay very little attention to the administrative system of their times and the economic condition of their country. They give lengthy accounts of battles, gossipping stories of the superhuman deeds of their heroes and confine themselves mainly to the narration of political events. Consequently we learn very little from them. Sabhasad, who wrote in 694, is perhaps the most sensible as he is the earliest of Shivaji's biographers. Condensed and concise in style, he devotes a few pages to Shivaji's regulations, both civil and military. Chitragnet who elaborated Sabhasad's work added a few stories and verses of his own composition. The only additional information that we obtain from Chitragnet is a short page where he enumerates the duties of the Secretariat Officers.

1 The papers have been published by Mr. Rajwade in the 8th, 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th and the 20th volumes of his Marathayache Ithāsanchi Sathanal.
2 Most of these Bakhars have been published by Rao Bahadur Sane in the Kavyeti has Sangrāha.
Malhar Ram Rao Chitnis, who wrote his bakhar long after Sabhasad, does not give us any additional information about the administrative system. His Rajniti is a treatise on polity, in which he compiles the theories of public administration from old Sanskrit works. It could not therefore, have any bearing on the actual government of Maharashtra as it then existed, although the duties of the eight Pradhans might probably have been compiled from some old papers. Shivadigvijaya, the most voluminous work of its kind, is full of legends and impossible stories, but has not a word to say about the working constitution of Maharashtra in Shivaji’s days. The only thing we should note here is that Messrs. Dandekar and Nandurbarkar, the joint editors of Shivadigvijaya, have failed to prove their contention, that it is the work of Khande Ballal son of Balaji Avaji. It is in all probability a very recent work, and consequently its evidence has but little weight with the modern student who aspires to study history as a science.

Shri Shivaji Pratap, which is nothing but a compilation of myths and legends. The anonymous author had not only no historical training, but he seemed to lack historical knowledge altogether. This bakhar is therefore absolutely useless both for a reconstruction of the political history of Maharashtra and for the compilation of an account of Shivaji’s administrative system. Very recently a sixth bakhar has been published by Mr. Bhave in his Marathi Daftar. It is only an elaboration of Sabhasad. The anonymous author has copied freely from an old manuscript of Sabhasad’s bakhar, and his own additions are not at all trustworthy. About Shivaji’s Civil and Military regulations he has nothing more than a long extract from Sabhasad to give. Even there he has omitted some old and obsolete words which he evidently did not understand.

A seventh bakhar, viz., the Shahanavkalmi bakhar was discovered and published in the columns of the now defunct periodical—the Prabhat—by Mr. Chandorkar. This Bakhar is alleged to have been found by the old copyist in the Daftar of Annaji Datto, a Brahman officer who played an important part in Shivaji’s service. It is however devoted mainly to political history, and even there it is not quite trustworthy.

An English translation of a Bakhar found at Raiari has been published by Prof. Sir G. Forrest. Scott-Waring, who wrote in 1811, spoke very highly of the original. This however has unfortunately been lost. The accuracy of the English translation has been challenged by the late Justice Telang. Rao Bahadur D. B. Prarasnis claims to have rediscovered a manuscript of Raiari Bakhar, but, it has to our misfortune again disappeared. On the whole it may be safely asserted that this bakhar is not worth much. The Kayasha Prabhuunche Bakhar is very modern and of no use to us.

Lastly remains a bakhar of peculiar interest, discovered and published by Mr. V. K. Rajwade in the abovementioned magazine, the Prabhat. This Bakhar is of very little historical value, but it is a wonderful specimen of human industry. The published Bakhar covers more than one

3 I have discussed this point more fully in a note in my extracts and documents relating to the Maratha History, Vol. I.

4 See Ranade’s Rise of the Maratha Power, p. 259 f.
hundred pages honestly printed, and the whole of it was found inscribed on the stone walls of a temple at Tanjore. Mention should also be made here of Jedhe Yanche Shakavali published by Mr. B. G. Tilak. But its main importance is chronological. A few Marathi papers have also been published by the Bharat Itihas Sanshodhak Mandal of Poona. Some more papers have been published by Rao Bahadur Sane in his Patre Yadi Bagaire and by Messrs. P. V. Mawji and D. B. Parasnis in their Sanads and letters. Sardesai's Marathi Riasat is not of much importance in this respect. And this fairly exhausts the materials we have in Marathi.

Sanskrit Sources.

In Sanskrit, I have come across only two works, viz., Shiva Raj Prashasti of Gega Bhatta and Shiva Kavya of Purushottam Kavi. Both of them were Maharashtra Brahmans, and he former a contemporary of Shivaji, but their works are useless for our purpose.

Hindi Sources.

In Hindi, there is only one contemporary work—the poems of Shivaji's Court poet Bhusan. His Shiva Raja Bhusan and other poems may be of considerable literary merit but they are of very little interest to a historian. Moreover they do not make the slightest reference to Shivaji's administrative system.

Tamil Sources.

Very recently a Tamil Chronicle, Shiva Bharat by name, has been discovered by a Madras Scholar. Part of the work has been translated into English and read before the Bharat Itihas Sanshodhak Mandal. Until the whole work is translated into English or Marathi, we shall not be in a position to judge its historical value. At present we do not know whether it gives any account of the Civil or the Military branch of Shivaji's Government.

Persian Sources.

Both Hindu and Muhammadan writers must have written a good deal about the wonderful career of Shivaji in Persian. There are moreover very important letters, so far as political history is concerned, written by Jai Singh and other officers of Aurangzib from the Deccan. Whether these make any incidental reference to Shivaji's administrative system, is yet to be investigated. This source however promises to be fruitful in more than one way. For the present, I have to be satisfied with such an imperfect English translation as we get in Scott's Ferishta, Vol. II, and with the still more inaccurate and fragmentary translation that has been given by Elliott and Dowson, in their History of India as told by its own historians. Of the authors selected there, the most important is Khafi Khan, but there is very little in his work to help us in our study of the administrative system of Marathas.

French Sources.

Hitherto I have not seen more than one contemporary French work. Dr. Dellen, a French physician, visited the western coast of India towards the close of Shivaji's career. He published a short account of his travels on his return home, and the small volume was so interesting that it was translated into English shortly after its publication. He praises Shivaji as a tolerant and liberal prince, but his information was derived mainly from hearsay.

5 Another Hindi work—Chhatra Prakash is mentioned by Prof. Jada Nath Sarkar but unfortunately I have not yet been able to procure a copy.
Portuguese Sources.

Prof. J. N. Sarkar obtained from Lisbon a Portuguese biography of Shivaji, written by a citizen of Goa and published in 1730 A.D. It is, however, absolutely unreliable. The author hints that Shivaji, though popularly known as the youngest of Shahji’s eleven (7) sons, was really the bastard of a Portuguese noble, Menedes by name. The assertion is so palpably false that it hardly requires any refutation. Curiously enough, this uncanny suggestion was very recently repeated by Dr. De Cunha in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. The whole question, however, was so thoroughly examined by Mr. V. K. Rajwade in the Sarovara Mandir of Satara that there remains not the slightest ground for giving credence to the unhistorical fabrication of the Portuguese writer. It is not from writers of Gaurda’s mental attitude that we should expect any historical truth. The masses of Portuguese State-papers lying in the state archives of Goa may, indeed, yield really valuable information. Since Captain Grant Duff’s time, no English or Indian Scholar, however, has cared to make any use of them. The Portuguese had for so many centuries dealings with the Marathas, both as friends and foes, that many contemporary events of Maratha politics must have found place in their letters and reports and despatches. It does not appear, however, from the Report of Mr. Danvers’ that the Portuguese papers have any important information to give except about the Angrias. This seems improbable on the face of it. Mr. Danvers, however, did not study the Goa records. There is no reason why these records should not contain as valuable historical materials as the Surat and the Bombay Factory Records. Dr. Gracioso, a Portuguese scholar of Goa, used to take great interest in these old papers, but the results of his research are not available in English. Dr. Gracioso died only a few months ago, and it is urgently necessary that some other scholar should now carry on the self-imposed task of the late Doctor.

English Sources.

In English there is a number of works about Shivaji and the Marathas. The Surat and Bombay Factory Records are invaluable historical documents, and their importance cannot be overestimated. They are, however, more important to the writer of a political history, but some information about Shivaji’s navy and his commercial policy can be gleaned from them.

In addition to these old factory records, English travellers have left us the accounts of their travels in the Maratha country, and English historians have left us the result of their researches. The earliest English traveller to write any account of the Maratha country and Shivaji’s court was Fryer. A physician by profession, he had seen some parts of Shivaji’s dominions, and he had doubtless seen the Reports of the Oxenden Embassy. His stay in the Maratha country was, however, very short, and his information was by no means accurate. His account of “Several Brahmans whose flesh they tear with pincers heated red hot, drub them on the

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shoulders to extreme anguish." betrays a good deal of humour but is evidently untrustworthy. Even Khafi Khan who delighted in abusing Shivaji, gave him credit for the respect he had usually shown to holy places and holy men of both the Hindus and the Muhammadans.

Mannucci's *Storia De Mogor*, another contemporary work, has been translated into English by a great scholar, the late Mr. Irvine. The gossiping adventurer, however, had little regard for truth, and loved to give anecdotes in which he himself figured. He claims to have met Shivaji in Jai Singh's camp, but unlike most European writers, refrains from giving any account of his dominions, his people and government.

Robert Orme wrote his fragments long after Shivaji's death. But all that he learnt of the great Maratha ruler was nothing but popular legends. These were reproduced by John Bruce, Esq., M.P. and F.R.S., keeper of His Majesty's State-papers and historiographer to the Hon'ble East India Company, in his *Annals of the Hon'ble East India Company*. Both Orme and Bruce failed to give any account of the administrative system of Shivaji. What their version of political history is worth will be evident from the following account of the night attack on Shaista Khan:

"In the next campaign Aurungzebe reinforced Chaest-Chan's army by sending the forces of the Maha-Rajah of Jodhpore to join him. These generals were at variance with each other;—the Maha-Rajah, to gratify Sevagee, undertook to assassinate Chaest;—the murderers broke in on Chaest, who escaped with a severe wound; but his son was slain."—Bruce, Vol. II, p. 39.

The most important English work from our point of view is Major Jervis' *Geographical and Statistical memoir of the Konkan*. A junior contemporary of Elphinstone, the work of surveying Konkan was entrusted to him. While so engaged, he gathered valuable information about Land Revenue settlement, in all probability, mainly, from popular traditions. He tells us many things about Malik Ambar's and Shivaji's Land Revenue Settlement, Annaji Datto's Survey and Assessment, but never quotes any authority. It is therefore extremely difficult, or rather impossible, to verify his assertions. Hitherto I have come across only one Marathi Document (Rajwade, M.I.S., vol. xv), a circular of Annaji Datto, that supports Jervis' account of the Bighami survey. But this does not improve our situation much. We can without much hesitation accept Elphinstone's account of the Administrative System of the Peshwas or Sir John Malcolm's account of the Administrative System of the Central Indian chiefs. For both of them had personal acquaintance with men who had served under the Peshwas and the Maratha and Rajput Chiefs of Central India, who could give them first-hand information. But the case of Jervis is altogether different. He lived and wrote about two centuries after Shivaji. Most of the old documents were yet unknown in his time, and he had to rely mainly upon popular traditions transmitted from generation to generation. Consequently it is extremely difficult either to accept or to reject the views of Jervis. The writer of the *Bombay Gazetteer*, however, has accepted Jervis, as the sole authority on the subject.
From these old authors we turn to Ranade with a sense of relief. Born in Maharashtra educated in the western method, for several years record keeper of the Bombay Government, Ranade combined in himself the three qualities so indispensable for a historian of the Marathas. He knew the language and traditions of his country, was well conversant with the historical method of the west and had ready access to all the papers then available. With true historical instinct, he made a deliberate departure from the beaten track and selected a course of his own. His fame to-day does not rest on the discovery of a new document or an unknown event, but on the surer basis of the right interpretation of the history of his people. He did not confine himself to dry details of battles and sieges but tried to discover the real causes—remote and immediate—of the rise, progress, and downfall of the Marathas. This made him study the civil institutions of Shivaji, very carefully, for they were, according to him, not only the outcome of Shivaji's genius but also an expression of Maratha aspirations. It is beyond doubt that Ranade was the first scholar to guide us properly to the real sources of Maratha history, as he was the first to perceive the real importance of the administrative system of Shivaji. It is a matter of regret that the many sided activities of the great savant did not permit him to devote his leisure solely to the study of his country's past. Modern researches have made some of his conclusions untenable to-day, but the credit of pointing out a new angle of vision belongs entirely to him. He might have erred in minor details, but while dealing with broad principles, his judgment never failed him. It is true that we do not get in his work as much information as we wish for, but that is because many papers, now published, had not seen the light when Ranade lived and wrote.

Scott Waring was the first Englishman to attempt a comprehensive history of the Marathas. His work was published in 1811. But we get little more than a narrative of political events in Scott-Waring's History. In the third decade of the 19th century, another scholar, destined to become famous as the historian of the Marathas, undertook to write a more satisfactory history. Captain Grant Duff was more fortunate than his predecessor in the attempt, in more than one way. As political agent, he had ready access to all the papers in the Satara Archives. The descendant of Shivaji was ever ready to assist him in all possible ways. Perhaps many of the later spurious Bakhaars owed their origin to the zeal of Chhatrapati Pratap Singh to gratify the Agent Saheb. Above all, Grant Duff had the great advantage of working under the guidance of Elphinstone. But Grant Duff had not sufficient materials for sketching a graphic account of the administrative system of Shivaji. Prof. H. G. Rawlinson's Shivaji the Maratha is a very recent publication, but it does not aim at dealing in detail with the civil institutions of Shivaji. Only a few months ago was published the first volume of the History of the Maratha People by Mr. Kineaid and Parasnis. From the great mass of published materials and the still greater mass of unpublished documents in the possession of Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis, it was expected that the long-felt want would at last be removed. But we have again been disappointed. Far from giving us a comprehensive account of Shivaji's administrative system, the joint authors have not even made any serious attempt to supplement our knowledge in that direction.

7. See Elphinstone's letters quoted in Colebrooke's Life of Elphinstone
Sydney Owen of Oxford has drawn a brilliant sketch of Shivaji, in his *India on the eve of the British conquest*, but it is only a study of Shivaji's political career. Pringle Kennedy has also given us a charming picture of Shivaji and Maharashtra in his *History of the Great Moghuls*. But neither of these scholars studied the original documents. They relied mainly on such secondary authorities as Khafi Khan, Orme and Grant Duff, and their aim has been to write a readable and sensible summary for the general run of readers. From them, therefore, we should not expect anything that we do not get elsewhere—Maratha history had for them only a relative interest.

Prof. J. N. Sarkar’s articles in the *Modern Review* are important and interesting in their own way. He has utilised many source of Maratha history hitherto unexplored. His articles on Shivaji’s navy are of special interest to us.8

A few articles were published in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*. The following are the most useful for our purpose:

1. Ranade—*The currency system of the Marathas*.
2. J. E. Abbott—*A preliminary study of the Shivarai or Chhatrapati copper coins*.
3. P. V. Mawji—*Shivaji’s Swarajya*.
4. Codrington—*Seals of the Satara kingdom*.

So far as my information goes, no attempt has yet been made to sift and examine these scattered materials on scientific lines and to present the results in a handy and intelligible form to the ordinary student. No one will, however, contend that such an endeavour is not worth making. In the following pages it has been my aim to present a fairly accurate sketch of Shivaji’s Government, its principle and working. It does not, however, claim to be complete and is by no means the last word on the subject.

*(To be continued.)*

**MISCELLANEA.**

**KRISHNARAJA OF THE BALSANA TEMPLE INSCRIPTION.**

Mr. R.D. Banerji in his *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle*, 1919, pp. 45-46, mentions a Balsanâ Temple Inscription, wherein is recorded the repair of a royal *maṭha* on the banks of a river in the Saka year 1107, by the illustrious Somaśvara who held Krishnaraja in the palm of his hands, by his personal and famous good qualities. He starts a rather long discussion regarding the identification of this Krishṇa, whom he says he does not know from any other records. Mr. Banerji apparently loses sight of two other inscriptions, found at Châlîsgōon in the Khândesh district, where the Balsanâ Temple inscription was discovered. The former two inscriptions are referred to in Kiellhorn’s *Southern List*, Nos. 333 and 337; and they were published in this *Journal*, vol. VIII, p. 39, and in *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. I, p. 341 respectively. In these two inscriptions Krishnaraja of the Nikumbha family is mentioned. From a list of the names of the family, we know that there were two Krishnarajas in that line. Inasmuch as all these three Inscriptions were found in the same district, and as the dates are not far removed, it seems reasonable to identify Krishnaraja of the Balsanā inscription with the second of the kings of the same name of the Châlîsgōon inscriptions.

In the Châlîsgōon *Inscription of Govana III* (above vol. VIII, p. 39) where the construction of a temple of Śiva is mentioned, the order for building the temple was given by Indrarāja, father of Govana III, in the Saka year 1075. We, therefore, know that Indrarāja was in that year on the throne. We also know from the Châlîsgōon Inscriptions that Krishnaraja II was the father of Indrarāja. The period of Krishnaraja’s rule may have, therefore, extended...
BOOK NOTICE


I cannot but welcome this new Journal of Archaeological and Epigraphical researches, edited by the very competent Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey of the Burma Circle and his accomplished Assistant. Thirty years ago or thereabouts, when I temporarily filled the post of Archaeological Officer of that country, efforts were made to draw attention to the enormous number of inscriptions extant there, and some success was achieved, with the active cooperation of the Government of the day, in getting together the numerous inscriptions on stone, gathered long before by Bodawpaya from all parts of Burma and lying about the Arakan Pagoda at Amarapura, and in setting them up under cover. Transcriptions of these into modern Burmese characters were made (though of no particular scientific value) and printed. The idea was to preserve them for future investigation in some form rather than let them run the risk of perishing altogether. A few inscriptions of well-known value were about the same time reproduced and edited by my friend, Mr. Taw Sein Ko, then the most promising of the young scholars, in the pages of this Journal (see ante, vols. XXII, XXIII, XXIV). Since those days great strides have been made in philological and archaeological knowledge about matters Burmese, and the Burma Research Society has been formed. It is quite time therefore to commence a systematic examination of the vast epigraphic remains still available in the country, and hence the peculiar pleasure to myself in seeing that this has been done and that it is placed in such competent hands.

No better example could have been chosen to commence the Epigraphia Birmanica than the quadrilingual inscription on the two stone pillars near the Myazedi pagoda at Myinkabu near Pagaun.

Possibly to hold that Someesvara was a contemporary of Krishnaraja II, and survived him till 1106 B.C., or for a few years later. It is not impossible for a man to live a few decades more after the death of his contemporary. There is no incongruity then in identifying Krishnaraja II of the Balaks plans the inscription with Krishnaraja II of the Chalukyan inscriptions.

SACHINDA CHANDRA MAJUMDAR.

Firstly, because they contain the same document in four languages: Pali, Burmese, Talaing and Pyu, the last of which has long been dead and practically lost. Secondly, because the document is presented to us in quadruplicate. Thirdly, because it fixes with certainty the dates of three most important kings of medival Burmese history—Anorat, Kyanzithu and Alaungdau, post-dating them by 28 years in reference to the generally accepted chronology of the Mahdydsawin. The contemporary evidence adduced by the editor seems to be conclusive that the inscription is a correct record, and it seems to me that the famous chronicle has gone wrong in giving the commencement of the reign of the great Alaungdau the date 447 B.C. (1085 A.D.), which properly belonged to his predecessor Kyanzithu, the usurper with the romantic story, who reigned 28 years. So that we may now date the Conqueror Anorat 1044-1077, his son Sawlu, 1077-1084, the Usurper Kyanzithu, 1084-1112, his grandson Alaungdau, 1112-1187. This re-dating cuts the reign of Anorat down to 33 years from the accepted 42, and lengthens Sawlu's to 7 years from the accepted 5—and it throws the whole chronology out after Alaungdau by 28 years. The date for the commencement of Kyanzithu's reign is given in the Myazedi Inscription as Anno Buddhae 1628 (1084 A.D.), representing 447 B.C., which is the Mahdydsawin's date for the commencement of Alaungdau's reign. But Kyanzithu reigned 28 years by all accounts and this would make his commencement 1000 A.D. This fact would seem to account for the origin of the mistake in the Mahdydsawin; thus:

Kyanzithu, commenced 1000 A.D., reigned 28 years.
Alaungdau, commenced 1028 A.D., reigned 75 years. Whereas the dates should have been stated thus:
Kyanzithu, commenced 1028 A.D., reigned 28 years.
Alaungdau, commenced 1056 A.D., reigned 75 years. However this may be, the correct dates
of such monarchs as Anoratā and Alaungsithū must always be of great importance, and this fact alone makes the Myâzêdi Inscription of the first value.

The actual object of this quadrilingual Inscription is to perpetuate the memory of Rājakumār, the epigraphical name or rather title—one suspects that the real everyday name was something very different—of the donor of a shrine and image of the Buddha. This Rājakumār was a son of Kyanziththu and, probably for some political reason, did not succeed his father. But the fact that the Inscription does not lend itself in any way to genealogical and dynastic statement makes its chronological references all the more trustworthy, as they are made incidentally and not ad hoc.

Apart from all this, the importance of the fact of the document being quadrilingual can hardly be overestimated from the philological point of view, as it has given the great exponent of Indo-Chinese philology, Mr. C. Otto Blagden, "the key to the reading of old Talaing and enabled him to decipher what we know of Pyu—the extinct language of a people dwelling in Burma," and speaking a tongue now known to belong to the Tibeto-Burman family. As regards the Talaing version of the document, Mr. Blagden is able to say that very few problems hitherto a puzzle as to its reading now remain unsolved, for which we may well be thankful. I would only draw attention here to a reading ticār now taken as a contraction of tirā ḏiḍhra, the lord teacher. "Both titles are appropriate to ecclesiastics and mediaeval Môn [Talaing], offering somewhat of a parallel in the title tipui, which presumably stands for tila puin [the origin of the former European word talapoin, for a Far-Eastern monk, with talapoiness for a nun]. This explanation has now been confirmed by Professor Duroiselle on the authority of a learned Môn monk. The title is appropriate to a high ecclesiastical dignitary and in my translation I have rendered it by the Venerable.'"

Mr. Blagden's transliteration and translation of the Pyu document are of course from the philological point of view the most important part of the work, and it is a piece of good fortune that the first to be deciphered and most extensive Pyu inscription as yet unearthed should have fallen into such hands as his. The transcription is not very sightly in appearance, because of the small circles of two sizes attached to the words above and below the line, and beside the words themselves, sometimes three in a vertical row. These circles are in the text and Mr. Blagden thus explains them:—"It would appear that Pyu had a wide range of tones, of which the various dots (represented in the transcript by small circles)
I hope to return to the subject of the transcription of Burmese and allied languages some day, and in the meanwhile I content myself now with suggesting that it would greatly tend to the practical value of the new Epigraphia if a translatia of the old inscriptions was given in modern Burmese and Taalng characters as well as in Roman. In making the above remarks I do not wish in any way to detract from the value of this first issue of the Epigraphia Birmanica or to express ought but the highest appreciation of the skill, care and knowledge with which it has been prepared.

R. C. Temple.


Alphabetic and numerical indices, plates 12.

Captain Creswell, whose studies of Muhammadan architecture have already produced original contributions of permanent value to the subject in this Journal, has taken advantage of being attached to the Royal Air Force in Egypt during the war to compile a work of such importance to students that I desire to draw their special attention to it. In doing so I am glad to be able to note the appointment of Captain Creswell to an important position in Egypt, which will enable him to pursue his valuable researches and publish them on a large scale to the great benefit of those who desire to learn all that is possible about a great school of Oriental Architecture.

Although the book is in the form of a chronological catalogue of the Islamic Monuments of Egypt, it is much more than a mere catalogue raisonné, as the compiler has himself minutely studied every one of the 239 monuments in the series, and has touched in his description thereof on many matters hitherto controversial, coming to definite conclusions concerning them, thanks to the fresh light which recent excavation and his own researches have enabled him to bring to bear on them. His work is therefore no mere list of monuments arranged in chronological order, but a catalogue with an account of the evidence on which the date is arrived at in each case, where there is no inscription setting the date without further argument. As 48 per cent. of the monuments described are undated, the amount of research, both literary and architectural, involved in fixing the earliest and latest examples of the architectural features, by which the limits of the
period of construction are settled, can be easily appreciated. And further, the value of the work can be well understood thereby. To my mind it is epoch making, and I recommend it to all who would seek a thorough knowledge of the genesis of Muhammadan architecture in India.

The Islamic architecture of Cairo is especially valuable for the purpose of fixing the periods of the evolution of that important art, because of the remarkable series of monuments available for study—a series close and unbroken for seven important centuries—the ninth to the fifteenth of the Christian Era. Damascus starts with the great Umayyad Mosque, but cannot approach Cairo in the number of its monuments, and its nearest rival, Delhi, only starts with the Quwwat‘ul Islam Mosque of 1197 A.D.

Nearly half the monuments mentioned in this work—say 110—are dated by Captain Creswell on the evidence he has collected without the aid of inscriptions, and the value of his statements in support to students of architecture can be seen from this consideration alone. His method is to fix the high and low limits of the structure, and as the result of the evidence he has collected, and of his own personal examination of the buildings, he has felt justified in bringing each specimen into close limits as to date.

Captain Creswell is not afraid to tackle matters of controversy and I will adduce two examples of his method. The great Aqueduct (pp. 88-92) has been a source of much dispute as to date, and Captain Creswell fixes it a A.H. 711 (1311 A.D.) by the following method, quoting him verbatim:

"A number of statements relative to aqueducts are found in Maqrizi, and the following are those which bear on the one under consideration. Together with the recent archaeological discoveries they should enable us to settle the much disputed question of its date." Maqrizi says: "In 711 al-Malik an-Nasir Muhammad ibn Qalân constructed four $a$şiyas on the Nile, from which water was transported as far as the Wall and from the Wall to the Citadel." Captain Creswell then argues out the question in the light of late discoveries, and shows why Maqrizi is right in his date and how the confusion as to dates arose in the minds of various writers, of whose works he gives a bibliography at the end of the article.

The second example that I take in two parts is the Walls of Cairo. At pp. 54-56 is a description of "part of the North Wall of Cairo," which Captain Creswell dates in 480 A.H. (1097 A.D.). Maqrizi says that Cairo was thrice endowed with walls—in 369, 480 (and 566 A.H. This statement is complicated by the action of Salâh ad-Din (Saladin) in making two of the walls into one for defensive purposes in 572 A.H. Mr. Creswell’s argument on this is that there were four walls originally, built at different periods, of which the first has admittedly long disappeared, and that there are three styles of work visible in the remains of the existing wall, of which the part he is describing is the oldest and the second in point of date (viz., that of 480 A.H). This is what he says in support of his statement: "My own archaeological examination, during which I have traversed the whole length of the Wall of Cairo, and walked, crawled or climbed into practically every tower, sometimes entering houses to do so, has revealed to me three distinct styles of work, and I maintain that portions of the work of Badr al Gamîly (480 A.H.) and of the earlier and later work of Saladin (566 and 572 A.H.) still exist." The part he is describing is Badr al Gamîly's wall. Here too he gives a bibliography and shows no timidity in controversy.

In pp. 66-69 are described at length and with the same minute personal knowledge the Wall of Fustat, the Bourg as-safaar, and parts of the North Wall of Cairo. As they must have been the late work of Saladin, they are dated 572-589 A.H. (1176-1193 A.D.).

Although the book is printed in English, the reader must beware of the fact that it is the product of a French press and that the translation is in the French form of Egyptian Arabic.

R. C. Temple

_The Indian Antiquary_ 1921

**History of Aurangzeb by Jadunath Sarkar, M.A.**


This fourth volume of Mr. Sarkar's account carries the story into Southern India up to 1689, when, as Mr. Sarkar says, Aurangzeb made himself "unrivalled lord paramount of Northern India and the Deccan alike," and then he proceeds to quote (p. 407) his own Studies in Mughal India in words that are worth reproducing: "All seemed to have been gained by Aurangzeb now; but in reality all was lost. It was the beginning of his end. The saddest and most hopeless chapter of his life now opened. The Mughal Empire had become too large to be ruled by one man or from one centre... His enemies rose on all sides; he could defeat but not crush them for ever. Lawlessness reigned in many parts of Northern and Central India. The administration grew slack and corrupt. The endless war in the Deccan exhausted his treasury. Napoleon I. used to say,
It was the Spanish ulcer which ruined me." The Deccan ulcer ruined Aurangzeb." But the parallel is closer than this, as I read history. The gigantic nature of the success in both instances hardened characteristics, and both conquerors found it more and more impossible to maintain the grandeur of their conquests. Both were on the defensive from the day of the acme of their success. Napoleon's decline in reality dates from the hour of his being crowned as Emperor, just as Aurangzeb's decline must be reckoned from the day he finally defeated the Marathas. And this though both lived to achieve many "victories."

Mr. Sarkar commences this volume with two illuminating chapters on the Keynote of Deccan History in the Seventeenth Century and the Rise of the Maratha Power, and I must say that he has put the situation where best out of the break up of the Bahmani Kingdom into the five Muhammadan powers of the Deccan, and also the position of the petty Maratha chiefs that preceded Shivaji in a clear and convincing manner, which must always make this work worth consulting by those who would grasp the very complicated stores of both Muhammadan and Hindu of that period.

Mr. Sarkar notes that 152 pages of the volume are taken from his Shivaji and his Times, on which (I have already remarked at length in this Journal ante, pp. 152-156), and this makes me repeat here that Shivaji's slaying of Azaf Khan being regarded as the result of Azaf's own treachery wants much more verification than it has yet received even at his competent and careful hands. I say this because his book is so good that it is likely to be long received as an authority on all points.

There are many—very many—pathetic stories in Indian History at all periods, but there are few more pathetic instances of the vicissitudes of life in the case of exalted personages than that of Aurangzeb's general Mires Jai Singh. His mixed Muhammadan and Hindu titles proclaimed him for what he was, as expressed in Mr. Sarkar's own words: "A man of infinite tact and patience, an adept in the ceremonious courtesy of the Mughal, a master of Turk and Persian, beside Urdu and the Rajput dialect, an ideal leader of the composite army of Afghans and Turks, Rajputs and Hindustanis that followed the crescent banner of the sovereign of Delhi." Fitted against Shivaji and then Bijapur, with inadequate means and badly served by his own subordinates and his representatives at the distant Imperial Court, he failed for the first time in his long career of 50 years of military service, hitherto invariably successful, Superseeded by his wrathful master, the now old man "bent his way to Northern India in humiliation and disappointment. His brilliant career which had been passed under two Emperors, and in which he had won laurels from Qandahar to Mumgir and Bulak to Maharashtra, was clouded by a single failure at its close. Not a pice of the krone of Rupees of his own money that he had spent in the Bijapur war would be repaid by his master. Broken-hearted with disgrace and disappointment, and labouring under disease and old age, Jai Singh sank in death on reaching Burhanpur, on 2nd July 1667. Like Walsingham of Elizabeth's Court, he died a bankrupt after serving too faithfully an exacting but thankless master."

Another instance out of very many in many lands of the soldier sacrificed to the politician. The soldier suffers for his mistakes, not so his political master for his. "Put not your trust in princes."

Mr. Sarkar tells the story very well, as indeed he does all that he has to tell.

R. C. TEMPLE.


This is by way of being a Guide Book to four of the observatories constructed by Raja Sawai Jai Singh of Jaipur, who lived from 1666 to 1743, just after Newton. The fifth observatory was at Muttra. This book is condensed from a large work in vol. XL of the Imperial series of the Archeological Survey of India. Besides the text there is a Bibliography, a short glossary of astronomical terms including Arabic, Sanskrit and vernacular, and an Index.

Mr. Kaye observes that Jai Singh's work, wonderful as it was, is now only a tradition. It has four, alas! become worse than a tradition and nothing more than a mere legend in the minds of the people. Witness the stories I gathered in my Legends of the Panjab a generation ago.

The main legend is that Jai Singh kept a private moon of his own and the hero of one of the Panjab stories made himself Jai Singh's equal by setting up an opposition moon. The story as related to me was partly in ordinary Hindustani and partly in archaic verse, and is such pure folklore and so deliciously put that I can't help repeating a portion of the prose here.

"Now Raja Jai Singh had a moon of his own, which he hung up in the sky to give light to his
people, and, of course, when Râjâ Jagdêô was in the city, it was lighted up as usual, and this made him ask about it, and he learnt that it was an artificial moon made by Râjâ Jâi Singh. As soon as he learnt this, he determined to play a practical joke, and found out where the moon-makers lived, and sent his servant to fetch them in order to make him a moon like Râjâ Jâi Singh's. The moon-makers had heard of what happened to the oilman for refusing oil (Râjâ Jagdêô had stabbed him), so they were afraid to refuse also, and accompanied the servant to Râjâ Jagdêô's house. When they arrived, he asked them how much they wanted for a moon. They replied, whatever he wished to pay, so he gave them 500 golden pieces, and ordered a moon like Jâi Singh's. Calling them quickly, spoke Râjâ Jagdêô to the moon-makers, and had a moon put up in the heavens (that burnt) without oil; all the city cried out at it, and Jâi Singh said to his minister, 'The sun hath risen!' As soon as the moon-makers had raised up a second moon, Râjâ Jâi Singh heard of it and asked who had done such a thing. His officials told him that it was by order of the man who had killed the oilman.

The whole is an instructive instance of the rapidity with which a story can arise that is entirely legendary.

In real life Jâi Singh was an Indian prince, in many ways typical of his time and mixed up in most of the troubles thereof, distinguished especially as an astute statesman with something more than a 'turn' for science and astronomy. Being a prince of high position and great authority and wealth, he was able to pursue his hobby on a very large scale, and India greatly benefited by the lavish manner in which he carried out his schemes. He commanded the best literary authorities available in his day and made the best use of them. The translations he had prepared from European works into the Indian languages were of unsurpassed value to the people he sought to enlighten. He spared no expense at all in the construction of instruments in metal, and in bricks and mortar on a large scale. He procured the active assistance of skilled astronomers, Oriental and European. In fact, he left nothing undone to attain his end—the rectification of the calendar, the calculation of eclipses and the like. Not arresting work, perhaps, but none the less valuable for its practical purpose.

It may also be said that nothing seems to have been left unexplored by Mr. Kaye in his careful and illuminating account of the tables, instruments of metal and masonry—the huge size of the latter being due to a desire for accuracy of observation—and the observatories themselves. The remarks on Ujjain, the 'Greenwich of India,' are specially interesting (p. 55). The book is continued with a short and telling review of the history of Hindu Astronomy, a subject on which Mr. Kaye is an authority. This will repay reading by all interested in such things. Still briefer accounts are next given of Muslim and European Astronomy, and a remark is made in the course of Mr. Kaye's comments which is worth reproducing:

"The Hindus, Arabs and Europeans all derived the fundamentals of their astronomical sciences from the Greeks. It was the Hindus who first profited by Greek experience, then the Arabs and lastly the Europeans (through the Arabs)."

Mr. Kaye's book is much more than a guide book: it is a valuable aide-mémoire to all who would know something of the great Indian observatories of the early 18th Century and of their remarkable builder.

R. C. Temple.

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NOTES AND QUERIES.

NOTES FROM OLD FACTORY RECORDS.

18. Mogta Silk.

17 April 1682. Letter from Matthias Vincent and Council at Hâgil to William Gifford, Governor of Fort St. George, etc. We have a sort called Mogta [mogta] Silk which we cannot so well describe but it is known to some of you very well and possibly you may obtain some Masters [samples] it having been a commodity formerly in your parts. It is made in the Osham [Assam] country and very good wares is made of it. If you please we shall send some home thereof: it hath been sold generally from 4 to 8 and sometimes 12 the Seer the lately some having had quantities on their hands it hath been bought cheaper here to our knowledge then the prime costs, but if demanded, it will come out as before noted or from 4 to 6 rupees. (Records of Fort St. George, Letters to Fort St. George, 1682, vol. II, p. 52.)

R. C. T.
The Early Course of the Ganges.

By Nundolal Dey, M.A., B.L., Calcutta.

(Continued from p. 43.)

As I have stated before, delta-building in Bengal is a slow process, which has been explained by several writers such as Sir William Hunter, Major Hirst, Director of Surveys, Bengal and Assam, whose statements are confined by the observations of Bernier who visited India in the 17th century. He says, "The great number of isles, which are found in the Gulf of Bengala at the mouth of the river Ganges, and which by lapse of time are joined to one another, and at length with the continent, put me in mind of the mouth of the Nile, where I have observed almost the same thing; so that as it is said, after Aristotle, that Egypt is the workmanship of the Nile, so it may be said, that Bengal is the work of the Ganges, only with this difference, that as the Ganges is incomparably bigger than the Nile, so he carrieth with him towards the sea a far greater quantity of earth; and so forms greater and more islands than the Nile." Kālidāsa, who lived in the fourth or fifth century A.D., also speaks of the islands within the delta of the Ganges, in which Rāghu planted his columns of victory. With regard to this, Mr. Pargiter remarks, "It is difficult to say at what rate, land has been forming in the delta; yet it is clear from this description that, apart from its extent seaward, the delta must have been different greatly from its present condition 1200 or 1500 years ago." India, it appears from its river systems in Bengal and in the Panjab, had, at a primitive period, the shape of a tortoise, as described in the Markandeya Purāṇa and the Bṛhatasthātā, high in the middle and with declivities shelving down towards the east and west; and yet in the declivity towards the east, there were large areas of level ground, as in Bengal, which had the effect of impeding and decreasing the force of the current and spreading the water over a wide expanse. It is characteristic with the Ganges to leave its large burden of silt and mud brought along with the stream from the north-western provinces at its mouth, when it mixes with the ocean-currents, which, impeded by the concussion, deposit their burden of sand which they sweep along the coast. Thus, large quantities of silt and sand combine to raise the bed at the mouth and impede the free outlet of the river, resulting in extensive swamps and vast sheets of stagnant waters—the fruitful sources of malaria and pestilence. Of course, this presupposes a sluggish stream which lacks strength to force its way through the ocean-currents. But the effect is the gradual building and extension of the delta.

The Paddā (Padmā) is now considered to be the main channel of the Ganges. Major Rennell even goes so far as to designate Padmā by the name of the Ganges. He says, "The proper name of this river (the Ganges) in the language of Hindooostan (or Indoostan) is Puddā or Paddā. It is also called Barra-Gang or the Great River, and Gaugā, the river, by way of eminence." The Padmā was never the main channel of the Ganges before the 16th century of the Christian era. No doubt the channel of the Padmā existed before the 16th century, but it was
always a spill channel, through which the superfluous waters of the Ganges were taken off at the time of some high flood or inundation. There cannot be the slightest doubt that the main stream of the Ganges originally passed through the Bhágirathí channel. I should here observe that the Ganges takes a turn to the south under the name of Bhágirathí which after its junction with the Jellinghi and Mátábhaṅgá takes the name of the Hugli till it falls into the sea at Gaṅgá-ságara.

The name of Pádmávatí or Pádmá, the modern Pádá, is not even mentioned in the Rámáyaṇa, Mahábhárata, or the eighteen Mahá-Puráṇas excepting the Brahmavimārtta Puráṇa which is admitted by eminent writers to be of recent date. Perhaps composed in the 16th century. One Upa-Puráṇa, namely the Deví-Bhágavata mentions the name of Pádmávatí, and both these Puráṇas give some account of the quarrel which took place among the three consorts of Náráyaṇa, namely Gaṅgá, Sarasvatí and Pádmávatí (Lakshmi). The Deví-Bhágavata could not have been composed earlier than the 16th century. Sarasvatí, the goddess of speech, was once in a very great huff on finding Náráyaṇa more tenderly inclined towards Gaṅgá than to her: the storm burst in the form of a severe scolding upon the devoted head of her husband, who quietly fled from the chamber. Gaṅgá rebuked Sarasvatí for her conduct, but the latter, unable to bear the words of a co-wife, was about to catch her by the hair, when Lakshmi (Pádmávatí) interfered. Sarasvatí cursed Lakshmi and said that a portion of her would be the basil plant and the remaining portion would be a river. Thus Lakshmi became a river, Gaṅgá and Sarasvatí cursed each other to be transformed into a river.

The Brihad-Dharma Puráṇa (an Upa-Puráṇa) gives a detailed account of the course of the Ganges from the Himalaya to the Ocean. It is there related that after leaving Káši (Banaras), Gaṅgá (the river Ganges) flowed towards the east and came to Jahnú’s hermitage which she flooded with her water; the Muni swallowed her up but let her out again through an incision in his thigh (Jánu), and hence she became the daughter of Jahnú. After going some distance, Bhágirathí, who was leading the way with the sound of his conch-shell, gave some rest to his horses. In the meantime, Jahnú’s daughter, Pádmávatí (Pádá), wishing to see her sister Jahnnaví (the Ganges), sounded the conch: on hearing the sound, Gaṅgá went some distance towards the south-east (Agni-Koṇa). Seeing her going astray, Bhágirathí loudly sounded his conch. Gaṅgá on hearing the sound rose up from the water: she saw the king and became enraged with Pádmávatí, and on account of her anger, Pádmávatí was turned into a river, which flowing to the east joined the Ocean. Gaṅgá also narrowed her dimensions, turned towards the south, and disuniting herself from Yamuṇá (near Triveṣí in the district of Hugli), went to the sea near Kapila’s hermitage. It will be remarked that according to the Puráṇas also, the Ganges never flowed through the channel of the Pádá, but took a southerly course.

Kritiváṣa in his Rámáyaṇa which was written in the 15th century A.D., gives the same story with some additions and alterations. He states that after giving salvation to Kâṇḍarâ Muni, Gaṅgá came near Gaṇḍá (Gaur). An ascetic named Padma was
going to the east. Gaṅgā mistaking him for Bhagiratha followed him, but Bhagiratha told her that east was not the way. She therefore followed him, and Padma Muni took away with him Padmāvatī. The Ganges cursed Padmā so that no one would get salvation from her water.

From the above accounts regarding the course of the Ganges, it should be observed that in the 15th century the Padmā (Paddā) existed as a spill channel, through which the superfluous waters of the Ganges found a passage at the time of great floods and high inundations; but the main course of the Ganges flowed southwards through the channel of the Bhagiratha from its present off-take near Shibganj, situated a little to the south of Gaur, flowing past Trivenī near Hugli where she parts from Yamuna.137 With a view to guard against the water of the Paddā being considered as holy as the water of the Ganges, on account of its connection with the latter river, and to preserve the memory of the original main course of the Ganges, it is said that the river Padmā was cursed by the Ganges. When in course of time, the area about the mouth of the Ganges became elevated, all the waters during the periodical floods were unable to find a passage through the channel of the Hugli (as the Bhāgirathī is called from its junction with the Jelinghi and Mātābhaṅgā down to the Ocean), though according to Hodges, the Bhāgirathī from Murshidabad to Suti is also a part of the river Hugli.138 The channel of the Hugli itself began to silt up. Then the eastern inundation channel, that is the channel of the Paddā, became the principal drain for the discharge of the waters of the Ganges. The Paddā emerges from the Bhāgirathī at Suti, or Mohanā Suti as it is otherwise called, Suti or Sota meaning a stream.139 This must have taken place in the 16th century of the Christian era. It is significant that in the Ain-i-Akbarī, written in the 16th century, the Padmā is mentioned as Padmāvatī, the name not being shortened or corrupted into Paddā.140 There cannot then be the slightest doubt that the main stream of the Ganges originally passed through the Bhāgirathī channel as far as Calcutta, from which it took a south-easterly course through the Ādi-Gaṅgā and joined the ocean near Sagar island.

Fredriike, who travelled in Bengal in 1570, visited Sātgāon and Buttor,—the Betaqa of the Kavikaṅka-Chaṅḍī, which is three miles south of Howrah. He says that it is “good tide’s rowing before you come to Satgaw; from hence upwards the ships do not go, because that upwards the river is shallow and has little water. The small ships go to Satgaw and there they lade.” I should here quote from Dr. Buchanan who states, “I think it not unlikely that on the junction of the Kāśi with the Ganges, the united mass of water opened the passage now called Padmā, and the old channel of the Bhāgirathī from Songti (Suti) to Nudiya was then left comparatively dry.”141 The diversion of the main stream of the Ganges from the Bhāgirathī to the east through the channel of the Padmā has no doubt led to the deterioration of the Hugli, whatever may be the cause of that diversion. The Dāmodar originally joined the Bhāgirathī (Hugli) at two places, one near Kālnā and the other near Nayāsarāi, 39 miles north of Calcutta. The first branch, which joined the Ganges near Kālnā, was in existence in the 16th century A.D., when the Manasār-Bhāṣā was composed, as the route taken by Behula shows: after journeying through the Dāmodar, she reached the Ganges near Baidypapur. That branch of the Dāmodar no longer exists: a small rill now passes through the old channel

137 Brahmadharma Purāṇa, Purva kh, ch. 6.
138 Hodges’s Travels in India (1794), p. 43.
139 Mr. Beveridge’s “Old Places in Murshidabad” in the Calcutta Review, 1893, p. 273.
140 Gladwin’s Ain-i-Akbarī, pt. 1, p. 301.
and is called the Behulā-Nādi. Evidently the flood (Manvantara) of 1276 B.C., corresponding to 1770 A.D., changed the course from this channel. At the same time, the Damodar changed also its course from Nāyāsārālī to its present mouth opposite to Falta, 35 miles south of Calcutta, and caused the Hugli above Calcutta to deteriorate; and shoals and sand banks were formed which rendered the trading settlements inaccessible to sea-going vessels. In 1794, the mouth of the Bhāgīrathī was filled up with sand extending five miles, which greatly affected its course. There can be no doubt that the Hugli has gradually been silting up since the latter end of the 18th century, so that genuine fear has been entertained that in course of time Calcutta may be land-locked and its existence as a port may come to an end. Government has been obliged for this reason to appoint committees from time to time for enquiry into the nature of the deterioration.

The Matsya Purāṇa, after mentioning the names of the tribes through whose countries the Ganges flowed just after its rise in the Himalaya, goes on to say that it passed through the countries of "Kurus, Bharatas, Pañcālas, Kauśikas, Matsyas, Magadhās, Aṅgas, Suhma-Uttaras, Vaṅgas and Tāmraliptas," and then falls into the southern ocean (Bay of Bengal).

This statement is corroborated by the names of the following principal towns which the ancient Hindu works mention as being situated on the Ganges:—Gāndāvāra (called also Haridvāra) where the Ganges bursts through the Sewalek Hills and debouches into the plains nearly two hundred miles from its source [Mbh. Vana, (P. Roy's ed.), ch. 90]. Hastinapura (Mbh., Ādi, chs. 98, 128; Vishnu P., pt. IV, ch. 21). Vāranāvata, now called Vārnava, 19 miles north-west of Miraṭ (Mbh., Ādi, chs. 143, 151). Sūkara-Kahatra now called Soraon (Agni P., ch. 137), 27 miles north-east of Itah, United Provinces, where Hiranyakṣa was slain by Viṣṇu in his incarnation as Varaḥa or Boar (Varāha P., ch. 137) Kāmpīla, modern Kampīl, the ancient capital of Southern Pañcāla, 28 miles north-east of Fathgar (Rāmāyaṇa, Ādi, ch. 33; Mbh., Ādi, ch. 138). Kanyakubja or Kanauj, which was the capital of Kuśanābha and his descendants the Kauśikas (Rāmāyaṇa, Ādi, chs. 32, 34; Mbh., Vana, ch. 115). Śriśāgavasapura, modern Singraur, 22 miles north-west of Allahabad (Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhya kh., ch. 50). Pravāga or Allahabad. The Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata and the earlier Purāṇas do not mention that the river Sarasvatī joins the Ganges and the Yamunā at this place through a subterranean passage; nor do they mention the name of Trivenī. It is only in the later Purāṇas, as the Padma Purāṇa (Uttara kh., chs. 14, 15) and the Bhavishya Purāṇa (Pūrva kh., ch. 6; Madhya kh., ch. 22) that we find the name of Trivenī and the junction of three rivers Ganga, Yamunā, and Sarasvatī at Allahabad. Vārānasi or Benares is mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa (Uttara kh., ch. 48) as the capital of Kāśī, but it does not appear whether it was then situated at the confluence of the Ganges and Gomati (Gumti) as stated in the Mahābhārata (Anuśasana P., ch. 30), or between the Varanā and Asī as stated in the Agni-Purāṇa, or between the three rivers Ganges, Varanā and Asī as stated in the Kūrma Purāṇa (Pūrva, ch. 31). It is not mentioned as a place of pilgrimage either in the Rāmāyaṇa or the Mahābhārata, though Gaya and Prayāga are referred to; (Vana P., ch. 87). It was visited by Yudhishthira when he visited the sacred places of India, as mentioned in the Vana Parva of the Mahābhārata. It is however mentioned as a place of pilgrimage in the Vana Parva, but that seems to be an interpolation. Visvāmitra-Āśrama and Kāmākṣa: Visvāmitra-Āśrama or modern

112 Rāmānī Nyāyaratna's Discourse on the Bengali Language and Literature (3rd ed.), p. 119.
113 Report on the Nadia Rivers.
114 Matsya Purāṇa, ch. 120, vs. 49-51.
Buxar in the district of Shahabad in Behar, situated on the southern bank of the Ganges (Rāmāyaṇa, Ādi, chs. 24, 26) and Kāmāśrama (Rāmāyaṇa, Ādi, ch. 23), the Madana-Tapovana of the Raghavaṇa (canto XI, v. 13) or the modern Kārūn, 8 miles to the north of Karamteji in the district of Balia, United Provinces, situated at the time of the Rāmāyaṇa at the confluence of the Sarayu and the Ganges, just opposite to Buxar (see my Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India, s. v. Kāmāśrama). Pātaliputra or Patna (Mudrākrāhasa, Act III, Milindā-Pañho, IV, I, 47). In the 4th century B.C., Pātaliputra was situated at the confluence of the Ganges and Erannoboa (Hiraśyabāhu) or Son (McClintock’s Megasthenes, p. 68). Vaiśālī or Besāhī in Tirhut, 18 miles north of Hājipur (Rāmāyaṇa, Ādi, ch. 45). The southern portion of Tirhut, including Vaiśālī, was the eastern Matsya of the Mahābhārata (Sabhā, ch. 30) conquered by Bhima. Vaiśālī is described by Huen Tsang as the country of the Monster fish (Beal’s Records of the Western Countries, Vol. II, p. 78; JASB., 1900, p. 83). Hence the Matsya Purāṇa (ch. 120) states that the Ganges flows through the country of Matsya, which does not mean the western Matsya or the territory of Jaipur. Jahnu-Āśrama (now called Jāṅkhirā in Sultanpur) on the west of Bāgaalpur (Brihad-Dharma P., Madhya Kh., ch. 22). Champā in the district of Bāgaalpur, once the capital of Aūga (Mbh., Vana, Chs. 84, 112, 306). Gauḍā (Gaur) in the district of Malda, once the capital of Bengal. It is called Vijayapura in the Pavanadūta, the capital of Lakshmana Sena, the son of Vallāla Sena, and from Lakshmanagāna, it became Lakshmanawati or Lakhmiati (Hamilton’s East India Gazetteer, s.v. Gour). Vijayapura has been identified by some with Navadvipa, but this identification is incorrect, and not even plausible, as Navadvipa was the capital of Lakshmaniya, called also Aoka Sena, the great-grandson of Vallāla Sena, and not of Lakshmana Sena, the son of Vallāla Sena, who has been referred to in the Pavanadūta by the author Dhoyi, who lived in the court of that king. Padmāvatī-saṅgama, the confluence of the Ganges and Padmā at Suti (Brihad-Dharma P., Purva, ch. 6) it is situated in Suhma-Uttara (or Uttara Rāja) of the Matsya Purāṇa. Saptagrāma, modern Sātgāon, in the district of Hugli, the Ganges of Ptolemy and the Periplus, and Triveni of the Brihad-Dharma Purāṇa (Purva, ch. 6). Tāmralipta or Tamluk was, as stated before, once situated on the Ganges. Sāgara-saṅgama, or the union of the Ganges with the ocean. It varied at different periods, but it always bore the name of Kapilāśrama; the name did not change, though the places did. It was much higher up before, but at present it is near the Sagar Island. These places, as recorded in ancient Hindu works, show the course of the Ganges from the Himalaya to the ocean. Some of the towns exist merely in name, but there are others in flourishing condition.

The āśramas or hermitages of Jahnu Muni as recorded in ancient Hindu works or by foreign writers serve as several milestones in the course of the Ganges on her way to the Ocean. So far as I am aware, there are eight places where Jahnu is said to have swallowed up the Ganges and let her out again. Jahnu, it appears, is an allegorical representation of a great change in the course of the Ganges. They are

(1) At Bhairavaghāsi below Gangotri in Garwal at the junction of the Bāgīrathī and the Jahnavi.\(^{145}\)

(2) At or near Haridvīra.\(^{146}\)

\(^{145}\) Rāmāyaṇa, Ādi, ch. 43: Fraser’s Himalaya mountains, p. 476.

At Kānyakubja or Kanauj. It was situated on the Ganges in the fifth and seventh centuries, as recorded by Fa Hian and Huen Tsiang respectively. The Ganges has since changed its course, and Kanauj now stands on the Kāli-Nādi.

(4) At Jāhnghira in Sultanganj on the west of Bhāgalpur.

(5) At Gauḍā near Malda.

(6) At Tartipur (Turtyupur of Rennell) near Gaur.

(7) At Shibganj above Rāmpur Boalia (according to local tradition).

(8) At Jāhnagar (Brahmānītalā). Four miles to the west of Nadia.

It will be remarked that the number of Jahnus in Bengal are at shorter distances from one another than in the United Provinces. These changes in Bengal took place perhaps on account of the gradual elevation and emergence of land in Mid-Bengal, which had ultimately the effect of diverting large volumes of the water of the Hugli to the former inundation channel of the Padmā. At any rate, Jahnus serve to show the main course of the Ganges down to the ocean.

The Ganges in its upper course has had the name of Bhāgirathī applied to one of the head-waters from its source at Gangotri in Garwal to its junction with the Alakānandā at Devaprayaga. In its lower course also the Ganges is likewise called Bhāgirathī from Suti in the district of Murshidabad in Bengal to its mouth near Sagar Island. I should also observe that the lower Bhāgirathī, from its junction with the Jellinghī in the district of Nadia to the ocean, is now called the Hugli, evidently when Saptagrama or Sātgōn declined as an emporium of commerce by the silting up of the Sarasvatī in the 17th century A.D., and when the town of Hugli rose into importance after it was declared a royal port in 1632 A.D. This is comparatively of recent date, and cannot at all affect the true significance of the name of the Bhāgirathī, by which the Hugli was called before. From Devaprayāga to Suti, a distance of more than one thousand miles, the river is known by the name of the Ganges.

The name of Bhāgirathī, which means the daughter of Bhagiratha who brought down the Ganges from heaven, has been applied to the river both at its upper and lower courses, evidently with a view to preserve the continuity of its course, and its sacredness from its principal source at Gangotri to its principal mouth near the Sagar Island, so that there might arise no confusion between the Ganges and its numerous ramifications.

The Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata and some of the Purāṇas have a chapter devoted to extolling the sanctity of the Ganges, which is called the Gaṅgā-Māhāmya. Gaṅgā issued from the foot of Vishnū, was held then in Brahmā’s Kamaṇḍalau or water-pot, and first descended upon the head of Mahādeva in her course from heaven upon this earth. Hence all sects combine

117 Viṣṇu-Dharmottarā Purāṇa, P. II., ch. 20; Brihad-Dharma P., Purva Khanda, ch. 6, places Jahnu’s hermitage above Allahabad and Benares.
118 Beal’s Buddhist Records of the Western Countries, Intro., p. XLIII.; vol. I., p. 206.
119 Cunningham’s Ancient Geography of India, p. 379.
120 Brihad-Dharma Purāṇa, Madhya 6h, ch. 22; Cunningham’s Arch. S. Report, vol. XV, p. 20.
121 JASB., XXXIII, p. 360.
122 Hamilton’s East Indian Gazetteer, s.v. Gour.
123 Naṣvatī-Purākramā, p. 51; Chunder’s Travels of a Hindoo, vol. I.
124 JASB., 1910, p. 800:—my Notes on the History of the District of Hugli or the Ancient Rājha.
125 Imperial Gazetteer of India, s.v. Bhāgirathī.
126 Rāmāyaṇa, Ādi, ch. 43.
128 Padma P., Śaṅkṣī Kh., ch. 54; Kārma P., ch. 37; Agni P., ch. 110; Brihad-Nāradīya P., pt. II, ch. 38.
to offer her the homage due to her sacred character, especially as she is connected with the 
Hindu Triad. She is considered to be the holiest of the holies. The benefits, which she 
confers upon agriculture by bringing fertility and moisture to the soil, upon the products of 
which the bulk of the people depend for their livelihood, and the facility she affords to 
distribute the products of the land and industries along her banks to different marts of 
the country as a trade route of upper India, in fact, the only means of communication during 
the pre-railway days, entitle her to the highest veneration.

But it is very difficult to understand why she has been represented in the ancient works 
of the Hindus as having been brought down from heaven by Bhagirathha, a descendant of Sagara of the Solar Dynasty, though perhaps, long before Bhagiratha was born, we find her existing as a river. 
She is mentioned in the Rig-Veda159 in what is called the Nadi-Stuti. Bhagiratha’s name does 
not appear in the Rig-Veda though indeed the name of “Bhagiratha Aikshvakà (‘descendant 
of Ishkvaku’)” is mentioned in the Jaiminiya Upanishad Brdhmana (IV, 6, 1, 2.),160 
yet it does not appear that he was in any way associated with the Ganges; he is mentioned 
there as an ally of the Kuru-Pashchalis. Vaivsavata Manu, the founder of the town of 
Ayodhya was a remote ancestor of Bhagiratha and was said to have brought down the Ganges 
from heaven,161 and yet we find that Gaigà (the Ganges) was existing as a river at the time 
of Vaivsavata Manu who placed the monster fish, an incarnation of Vishnu, in that river.162 
We may therefore conclude that the legend of the Ganges as related in the Râmâyana is an 
allergy, based upon an historical fact regarding the condition of the Ganges at the time 
of Sagara, king of Ayodhya. The river probably commenced to silt up during his reign, espe-
cially at the mouth, as is indicated by the story of his employing his sixty thousand sons, 
who, I think, represent the labourers employed at the time to remove the silt which had 
raised the bed there with a view to find out the stolen sacrificial horse which is an allegorical 
representation of the absorbed river. Kapilásrama indicated, as it does now, the position 
of the mouth of the Ganges, or rather of its principal outlet. We may conceive 
that at the time of Sagara, the mouth of the river had been blocked up with silts and 
sands, and that its body had shrunk, interfering with its navigability, and causing 
swamps and stagnant pools of water, in various parts of the channel. We have, at 
this distance of time, no means of ascertaining the cause which led to the deterioration 
of the river. Perhaps it had been brought about by the diversion of large volumes 
of water through irrigation channels in various parts of the country through which 
the river flowed, or perhaps some other natural causes had been at work. Whatever 
may have been the cause, it took five generations of the royal house of Ayodhya, 
from Sagara to Bhagiratha, to reclaim the silted-up river, remove the block of 
drainage and restore its navigation; and it was reserved for Bhagiratha to achieve 
full success in the end—a circumstance which bestowed upon him the proud title 
of being the second father to Gaigà Devi who was thenceforth called Bhagirathi.163

159 Rig-Veda, X, 76, 5.
161 Râmâyana, Êdi, chs. 5-6.
162 Mahabhdhrata, Vana P., ch. 187, vs. 19, 21. 
163 Râmâyana, Êdi, ch. 44.
The episode in the Rāmāyana regarding the descent of the Ganges seems to be an interpolation: it has no connection with the main story. But it should be observed that the description it contains is the offspring of a profoundly pious and fervid imagination, investing with a religious garb the real scenery at her source, the places through which she flows and the useful work she has done. The story has been amplified in the Purāṇas and perpetuated by being constantly kept up before the people by subsequent writers, who also strongly believed in the sanctity of the Ganges and its heavenly birth. Libations were offered to the manes of deceased ancestors and near relations with the water of the Ganges even at the time of the Mahābhārata. In the fourth century B.C., Megasthenes stated that the Ganges was worshipped by the Brāhmans.

The Ganges is everywhere holy: it is more so at its confluences with other rivers. The Deva-Prayāga and Prayāga, situated at the confluence of the Alakānanda and Yamunā respectively, have already been mentioned. Benares, as stated before, was once situated at the junction of the Ganges and Gomati (Gumti), but on the recession of the latter to the east, the junction of the two rivers was known as Mārkaṇḍeeya Tirtha. The hermitage of Śiva, known by the name of Kāma-āśrama, was situated at the confluence of the Sarayū and the Ganges, but the Sarayū has now receded to the east joining the Ganges at Singhi near Chapra. At the junction of the Gaṅgākṣa and the Ganges was situated Viṣāla-Chhatra, including Hajipur and Sonpur, and the latter is celebrated for its annual fair. Sonpur is reputed to be the ancient Gaṇendras-moksha Tirtha, where Viṣṇu is said to have released the elephant from the clutches of the alligator. The confluence of the Kauśikī (Kusi) and the Ganges called Kauśikī-saṅgama, on the opposite side of Bāvesvaranātha near Colgong in the district of Bhagalpur.

The prediction that the sanctity of the Ganges would disappear after the lapse of five thousand years of the Kali Yuga will never come to pass, provided she continues to fertilize the soil, pour in her nectarine water through irrigation channels to parched-up lands in places remote from her banks and save the crops from drought, keep her channel open to navigation throughout the year, distribute the products of industries and agriculture to different markets of the country, and remain one of the principal trade routes of northern India; and provided also the Hindus continue to feel that sense of gratefulness which they now evince even for trivial benefits done to them by objects, animate and inanimate. This reverence for the Ganges, call it by any name you like—superstition, idolatry, fetishism or ignorance,—displays in a strong light a peculiar trait of character of the Hindus, which is not inconsistent with the innate nobleness of their heart, and the "Goddess Gaṅgā" shall, at least for five thousand years of the Kali Yuga, remain a symbol of Hindu gratitude.

164 Mbh., Sra. Parva, ch. 27.
165 Monier Williams' Indian Wisdom, p. 281, note (Strabo quoted).
166 Padma Purāṇa, Svarga Kh., ch. 16; Mbh., Vana Parva, ch., 84; but see Anuśasana Parva, ch. 30.
167 Devi-Bhāgavata, IX, ch. 8; Brahmavaivartta Purāṇa, Krishṇa-janma kh., ch. 34.
THE HISTORY OF THE NIZĀM SHĀḤI KINGS OF AHMADNAGAR.

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL T. W. HAIG, C.S.I., C.M.G., C.B.E.

(Continued from p. 31.)

LVI.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE ACCESSION OF ĀL MU‘AYYAD MIN’AND-ILLĀH HŪSAIN NĪZĀM SHĀḤ.

When Mirān Shāh Husain’s mind had been completely freed from anxiety regarding Mirān ‘Abdul Qādir (who would not be satisfied with anything less than the throne of Ahmadnagar) and the other rebels, and when Burhān Nīzām Shāh had died, the amīrs and officers of state, and all the army and the people were unanimous in swearing allegiance to Hūsan Nīzām Shāh; and the astrologers exercised great care in selecting an auspicious hour for his ascent of the throne. When the hour had been selected, he ascended the throne and assumed the crown. He distributed largesse to all, small and great, high and low. The amīrs, vazīrs and officers of state and all the army and people appeared before him, made their obeisance to him, and acclaimed him as king. Haḵim Qāsim Beg was appointed chief minister.

It was now reported to the king that Mirān ‘Abdul Qādir had taken refuge with Daryā Imād Shāh, relying on his assistance owing to the connection by marriage that existed between them and that Mirān Shāh Haidar also, relying on his father-in-law, Makhdūm Khvāja Jahān, for help, was on the point of rising in rebellion. Naṣīr-ul-Mulk also, who had been confined, by Burhān Nīzām Shāh’s command, in the fortress of Kondānā, contrived to escape from prison, and proposed to join Mirān Shāh Haidar in his rebellion. Hūsan Nīzām Shāh resolved to attack and disperse these rebels before they could receive support from Makhdūm Khvāja Jahān. He therefore placed his tutor, Maulānā Shāh Muḥammad who had become one of his intimate courtiers, in command of a body of troops. Khūrāsāns and others, and sent him against the rebels with instructions to devote his attention chiefly to Naṣīr-ul-Mulk. Maulānā Shāh Muḥammad marched by night from Ahmadnagar and travelled with such speed that by the morning he had arrived at Naṣīr-ul-Mulk’s camp. As soon as Naṣīr-ul-Mulk heard of the approach of the royal troops, he realized that he could not withstand them and fled precipitately. Maulānā Shāh Muḥammad at once pursued him. He came up with him, and one of the royal officers slew Naṣīr-ul-Mulk with a spear and severed his head from his body. Thus the land of the Dakan was freed from the defilement of his existence. Maulānā Shāh Muḥammad then returned to court and presented the head of the rebel to the king.

Hūsan Nīzām Shāh then caused a letter to be written to Daryā Imād Shāh, with whom Mirān ‘Abdul Qādir had taken refuge, setting forth that friendship had always existed between the Nīzām Shāhī and Imād Shāhī dynasties, and that it would be a pity if it were broken. The letter went on to say that Hūsan Nīzām Shāh had heard that Mirān ‘Abdul Qādir who, although his brother, was a rebel, had taken refuge in Berar and was expecting help from Daryā Imād Shāh, and requested that he might be expelled from that country. On receipt of the letter, Daryā Imād Shāh asked Mirān ‘Abdul Qādir to leave Berar.

LVII.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE CAUSES OF MAKHDŪM KHVĀJA JAHĀN’S REBELLION AGAINST HŪSAIN NĪZĀM SHĀḤ, OF THE CONQUEST OF PARENDA, AND OF THE DOWNFALL OF KHVĀJA JAHĀN’S FAMILY.

Makhdūm Khvāja Jahān was, as has been said, the father-in-law of Mirān Shāh Haidar and held the fortress of Parenda and all its dependencies. After the death of
Burhān Niẓām Shāh, he believed that an opportunity of making himself independent of Ahmadnagar had come to him, and with this object in view, he determined to place his son-in-law on the throne of Ahmadnagar.

When Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh had disposed of his misguided brothers, all the people and the army, and the provincial governors and commandants of forts, had submitted themselves to him, and had sent him the keys of the treasuries and of the forts, and there no longer remained any cause for anxiety in any part of the kingdom. The king was thus able to devote his whole attention to crushing Makhdūm Khvāja Jahān, and summoned his counsellors in order that they might advise him in the matter. They agreed that as Makhdūm Khvāja Jahān had not made his submission and had offered neither his condolences on the death of Burhān Niẓām Shāh nor his congratulations on the accession of Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh, he had undoubtedly been guilty of acts of rebellion. They advised that an envoy should be sent to summon him to court in order that he might answer for his misdeeds, and that in the event of his failing to appear, he should be proceeded against as a rebel. The king therefore ordered that a letter of warning should be written to Makhdūm Khvāja Jahān. A letter was written in the following terms:—"God Most High has mercy on that slave who realizes his position. Now, by the grace of God, all the countries of Hindūstān, and indeed of the inhabited world, are in the possession of the slaves of Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh, and the whole earth and all the sons of Adam, its inhabitants, are subservient to his will. If Makhdūm Khvāja Jahān is a faithful subject, how is it that he still remains without the pale of faithful subjects and has hitherto performed no act of obedience or submission? If he now makes his submission as a faithful servant and asks pardon for his past faults, making reparation therefor, he will save himself from the vengeance which will otherwise be taken on him; but should he fail to do these things, he will be guilty of self-destruction. Let him therefore beware of transgressing the bounds which have been set for him, and of continuing to stretch his hand beyond the skirt of submission and obedience, lest the guilt of much innocent blood be upon his head." When this letter had been written, it was carried quickly by some of the king's wise and trusted servants to Parenda.

When the envoy reached Parenda and delivered his missive, Makhdūm Khvāja Jahān was much perplexed as to the course of action to be followed. He was still indisposed to admit the supremacy of Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh and yet dared not openly defy him, while he was resolved not to travel to court to do homage. He therefore sent a reply full of prevarication, saying that as long as he was suspected of rebellion, fear and apprehension prevented him from presenting himself at court, but that he was still, as ever, the king's faithful slave, and if the king would, for the present, excuse his personal attendance and would continue to bestow his favours upon him, he would certainly at a later date attend at court and make obeisance.

When Makhdūm Khvāja Jahān's reply was received at court, the king addressed his amirs on the subject, and said that the rebel's ill intentions were now manifest to all, not by way of suspicion, but by direct evidence, and that policy demanded that he should be instantly suppressed, as any dallying with sedition or rebellion only allowed it time to come to a head and to disorder the whole state. The amirs and officers applauded the king's decision and promised to do their utmost in carrying it out. Orders for the assembling of the army were issued, and the whole army, both Foreigners and Dakaris, mustered in strength at the capital, and the king set forth to take Parenda. He sent or an advanced
guard under one of the most experienced amirs, and the whole army followed this advanced guard by forced marches.

When Makhdum Khvaja Jahân heard of the approach of the royal army, he came forth from his fortress with his army, and, having taken up a defensible position, sent his spies into the royal camp in order that he might be informed of the king’s movements; but, on hearing at midnight, that the royal army was near him, he fled with the speed of lightning into the fort of Parenda, and then, after having taken an affecting farewell of his family and having appointed one of his relations to the command of the fort, continued his flight and took refuge with Ibrâhim ‘Adil Shâh.

The advanced guard of the royal army arrived at Parenda just after Makhdum Khvaja Jahân had left it, and at once proceeded to besiege the fortress. At sunrise the main body of the royal army arrived and encamped before the fortress. The king then ordered that the balistae should be mounted and that the trenches and breastworks should be constructed; and the fort was attacked with great determination. The garrison, relying on the great strength of the fortress, defended it bravely, and the fighting throughout the day was very fierce. The next day the royal troops again attacked the fortress, while the garrison lined the walls to defend it. This continued for some days and there was still no sign of the resolution of the defenders giving way. The king then ordered the heavy guns to be brought up to the edge of the ditch, in order that they might pound the walls from there. The walls were thus soon breached and the royal army poured in through the breaches and slew many of the garrison. The remainder then surrendered and the king granted them their lives and the lives of their wives and families, and ordered that their property should not be plundered.

The king, having captured the fortress, appointed one of his officers commandant, and ordered that its breaches should be repaired. Thus in a short time Parenda became stronger than ever it had been before. The king then returned to Ahmadnagar and, reaching the capital, bestowed large gifts on the holy men and Sayyids of the city.

LVIII.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE DISPATCH OF SOME OF THE AMIRS TO BERAR IN ORDER TO PUT DOWN THE TRAITOR TUFAL KHAN. 127

Tufal Khan was a base fellow of the kingdom of Berar who had, by some strange freak of fortune, acquired the confidence of (Daryâ) ‘Imâd Shâh and had attained to the position of Amir-ul-Umara, nay vakil and pishvâ, and thus held all power in the state. When he found that the whole kingdom, the army, and the people were subservient to him, he was filled with pride and meditated rebellion and treachery, desiring to obtain the kingdom of his master and benefactor for himself. He went so far as openly to oppose and defy Daryâ ‘Imâd Shâh, who, finding himself unable to cope with the rebel, sought help from Husain Nizâm Shâh, and Husain, who was ever ready to suppress rebellion and was specially inclined to crush this particular rebel, sent an army under some of the amirs, Farhâd Khan, Ranghâr Khan, Miyân Sâlâr, Daulat Khan, and others, to Berar, for this purpose.

When Tufal Khan heard of the approach of this army, he was overcome with terror and fled before it. The amirs pursued him and allowed him no rest in any place in Berar until at length he fled in fear to Burhânpur. When Daryâ ‘Imâd Shâh was thus

127 Finishta does not mention this expedition.
freed of his enemy, he gave the amirs leave to depart, and they returned with the army to Ahmadnagar where they were honoured for their services by Husain Niğâm Shâh.

LIX.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE CAUSES OF THE STRIFE BETWEEN IBRAHÎM 'ÂDÎL,
SHAH I. AND HUSAIN NIĞÂM I., AND OF THE VICTORY OF THE
LATTER OVER THE FORMER BEFORE SHOLAPûR.

Most of Husain Niğâm Shâh's brothers, who had deemed themselves the heirs of the kingdom and worthy of the crown, had, through fear of the king's all-subduing sword, fled and taken refuge with Ibrâhîm 'Âdîl Shâh, and in his dominions were continually plotting against the peace of the kingdom of Ahmadnagar. Some also of the most trusted amirs of Burhân Niğâm Shâh, such as Fahrâd Khân, Shuţât Khân, and Khurrshid Khân, who secretly supported Mrân 'Abdul Qâdir's claims, had only submitted to Husain Niğâm Shâh and owned him as their king as a matter of policy. These amirs now entered into an engagement with Ibrâhîm 'Âdîl Shâh I., promising that if he would lead an army into the kingdom of Ahmadnagar with the object of deposing Husain Niğâm Shâh and placing one of his brothers on the throne, they would desert Husain Niğâm Shâh and join his standard. Ibrâhîm 'Âdîl Shâh, instigated by these amirs broke the peace that had existed between Ahammadnagar and Ejlâpûr, and, regardless of the horrors of war into which his own subjects and those of Ahmadnagar would be plunged, took Mrân Shâh 'Âlî, who was his sister's son and the brother of Husain Niğâm Shâh, and invaded the kingdom of Ahmadnagar with the object of conquering it.

When Ibrâhîm 'Âdîl Shâh thus broke the bonds of friendship at the instigation of the disloyal amirs of Ahmadnagar and with the help of Saîf 'A'in-ul-Mulk who was distinguished for his bravery among the amirs of all the kingdoms of the Dakhan and had been one of the amirs of Ahmadnagar in the reign of Burhân Niğâm Shâh, and had, as has been mentioned, been instrumental in capturing the fortress of Kâliyânî, he marched to Sholâpûr with a very large army and besieged that fortress. When news of the invasion of the country by Ibrâhîm 'Âdîl Shâh was brought to Ahmadnagar, Husain Niğâm Shâh assembled a secret council of his officers. In this council Qâsim Beg, the physician, who was now vâlî and pâshâ, said that the matter of most urgent importance was that of the enemies of the state who wore the guise of friendship, the treacherous amirs, and that the king should first deal with them and afterwards consider what could be done against the invaders. The king approved of this advice and issued orders that the traitors should be immediately seized and blinded. In accordance with these orders, Fahrâd Khân, Shuţât Khân and Khurrshid Khân were thrown into prison and blinded with sharp irons, for they were the leaders of the conspiracy. Faithful servants of the king were then promoted to the positions lately held by the traitors and received their titles, lands and troops.128

The king then sent Shâh Rafî'-ud-dîn Husain, who was the eldest son of the late Shâh Tâhir, as an ambassador to Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh, in order that the treaty between the two kingdoms might be renewed and that Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh might, as formerly, join the royal standard with his troops. Unfortunately, Shâh Rafî'-ud-dîn Husain was a slave to his lusts, and instead of carrying out the mission with which he was entrusted, fell violently in love with a courtesan in Berar who had been appropriated by Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh as his mistress, and associated with her. Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh was much offended by his conduct.

128 According to Firdûsî, the attempts of Ibrâhîm 'Âdîl Shâh to seduce the amirs of Ahmadnagar from their allegiance to Husain were unsuccessful. These amirs probably belonged to the Sunni party, which favoured the pretensions of 'Abdul Qâdir. Matters were probably simplified for Husain by the number of pretenders. These were 'Abdul Qâdir, supported by the Sunni party, Shâh Hai'dar, supported by his father-in-law, Khwâja Jâhân of Sholâpûr, and Shâh 'Âlî, supported by his maternal uncle, Ibrâhîm 'Âdîl Shâh I.
and dismissed him without giving him an audience on the business on which he had come. When Husain Nizām Shāh heard of this, he was much vexed and dispatched Yasuras Rai, one of the Brahmans of the court, to set matters right. Yasuras Rai, who was an able and tactful man, fortunately succeeded in his mission, and Dārūr ʿImād Shāh marched to Ahmadnagar with his army and set out with Husain Nizām Shāh and the army of Ahmadnagar for Sholāpur. 129

Unfortunately, Husain Nizām Shāh, much to the grief of his officers and of the whole army, took seriously ill on the way to Sholāpur, and Ibrāhīm ʿAdīl Shāh, on hearing of this, thought that he saw victory already within his grasp and advanced one stage to meet the armies of Ahmadnagar and Berar. Fortunately, and to the great joy of the army, God completely and immediately restored the king’s health and he marched at once to meet Ibrāhīm ʿAdīl Shāh and encamped over against the army of Bijāpūr; and for the rest of that day and the night, the armies prepared for battle. At sunrise on the morrow the two armies were drawn up in battle array. Ibrāhīm ʿAdīl Shāh placed the advanced centre of his army under the command of Saif ʿAin-ul-Mulk 130 and his right and left wings under the command of other warlike amirs, while he himself remained with the main body of the army in the centre.

A.D. 1555. The battle then began, and as both sides displayed the utmost determination, the slaughter was great. The field of battle was a sea owing to the blood of the slain, and in the midst of it the elephants appeared as ships and the standards which they bore, as sails, and the horsemen as sea-monsters devouring men. The battle long continued thus, and such a fight had never been fought before. At length the courage of Ibrāhīm ʿAdīl Shāh’s army, the number of which was twice as great as that of the troops under Husain Nizām Shāh, began to fail, and Husain perceived that the victory was his when the banner of Bijāpūr, which had been proudly waving in the breeze throughout the day, was overthrown.

One of the marvellous events of the day, which can only be described as a special favour from heaven, was a report which reached Ibrāhīm ʿAdīl Shāh that Saif ʿAin-ul-Mulk, who was the mainstay of the fortunes of Bijāpūr in battle, had been defeated. On hearing this, Ibrāhīm ʿAdīl Shāh’s courage left him and he fled precipitately, leaving his umbrella, his standard, and his kettledrums. When ʿAin-ul-Mulk, who was in the thick of the fight, heard of the flight of Ibrāhīm ʿAdīl Shāh, he had no choice but to leave the field, and the rout of the ʿAdīl Shāh’s troops necessarily followed. 131

Husain’s army pursued the defeated Bijāpūr and slew large numbers of them. All the elephants and horses, and the insignia of royalty of Ibrāhīm ʿAdīl Shāh, fell into the hands

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129 From Firishta’s account it does not appear that Dārūr ʿImād Shāh accompanied Husain Nizām Shāh in person, but he sent 7,000 cavalry to assist him.

130 Saif ʿAin-ul-Mulk had, for some reason, become apprehensive of Husain I, and had fled, after his accession, to Berar and thence to Bijāpūr. Ibrāhīm I had welcomed him, bestowed extensive estates on him, promoted him to high office, and conferred high-sounding titles on him, partly, perhaps, to distinguish him from ʿAin-ul-Mulk Kanjādur, who was already in his service.

131 It was the custom of Saif ʿAin-ul-Mulk, when the fortune of the day seemed doubtful, to dismount from his horse and fight on foot, in order to convince his followers that he had no thought of flight. He was now fighting on foot and it appeared as though he would, with his own contingent, defeat the whole of the army of Ahmadnagar; but a coward who fled from the fight reported to Ibrāhīm that he had seen Saif ʿAin-ul-Mulk dismount in order to offer his allegiance once more to his old master, the king of Ahmadnagar. Ibrāhīm, without waiting to verify this report, began to retreat on Bijāpūr. Saif ʿAin-ul-Mulk, deserted by his master, had no choice but to follow him, and Ibrāhīm learning that he was following, concluded that he was pursuing him, and the retreat became a flight.
of the victors, who also captured all the tents and camp equipage of the defeated army and a large quantity of arms and armour. All the spoils were produced before the king. It is said that 500 elephants were taken, and the amount of the other spoils can thus be estimated ex uique lonen. Husain Niẓām Shâh retained the elephants but allowed the troops to retain all the rest of the plunder, and the slaves.

After Ibrâhîm 'Ādîl Shâh had fled from the field, leaving 'Ain-ul-Mulk in the lurch, 'Ain-ul-Mulk became suspicious of him, and instead of returning to Bîjâpûr went straight to Mârûj,132 which was his jâgir, and there employed himself in collecting and organizing an army strong enough to resist any that might be brought against him by Ibrâhîm 'Ādîl Shâh. Other amirs of Bîjâpûr, following the example of 'Ain-ul-Mulk, openly defied their master, and Ibrâhîm 'Ādîl Shâh, finding himself too weak to oppose 'Ain-ul-Mulk, appealed to Sadâshivârâya of Vijayanâgar, who sent an army to his assistance. Saif 'Ain-ul-Mulk, who was unable to withstand both Ibrâhîm 'Ādîl Shâh and Sadâshivârâya, appealed to Husain Niẓâm Shâh for a safe conduct. His coming to Ahmâdinâgar and his death will be related hereafter.

After thus defeating his enemies, Husain Niẓâm Shâh returned in triumph to Ahmâdinâgar with his spoils.

LX.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE ROYAL HUNTING EXCURSION AND OF THE CAPTURE OF THE FORTS OF GĂNA AND ANTÛR FROM THE INFIDELS.

A.D. 1555. When the king's mind was at ease regarding Ibrâhîm 'Ādîl Shâh, who had received a lesson, he rested for a while, and then set forth with his army on a sporting excursion, to hunt the beasts of the forest and the birds of the air. Game was plentiful and sport was good, and the king marched through the country enjoying the sport, until he reached the neighbourhood of the fort of Antûr.

In the latter days of the reign of Burhân Niẓâm Shâh, at the time when that king marched to assist Sadâshivârâya in besieging Râichûr Dânya Rû Râj, the commandant of Antûr had rebelled against him and had refused to recognise him as his king, and Behârjûr, following his example, had captured Gâna, one of the forts of the kingdom, from the garrison placed there by Burhân Niẓâm Shâh, and had since held it on his own account. Various circumstances had caused delay in the punishment of these two rebels. Now that the royal army approached Antûr, Dânya Rû Râj became alarmed, and leaving some of his relations and dependants in the fort with instructions to hold it as long as possible, fled.

Husain Niẓâm Shâh now desired to capture this fortress, and ordered the army to attack it. The troops surrounded the hill on which was built the fort to which the infidels trusted as a safe place of refuge, and sought everywhere for a path by which it might be ascended, but without success. At length a steep and narrow glen was discovered, which was the only path to the fortress, and was so situated that it was, in truth, little more than a narrow passage for stones which could be rolled down from the walls above it. As this,

132. When Ibrâhîm reached Bîjâpûr, he shut himself up in the citadel and refused to see Saif 'Ain-ul-Mulk. His messenger was ill-treated and Saif 'Ain-ul-Mulk was told that he was an unprofitable, if not a disloyal servant. Saif 'Ain-ul-Mulk then marched to the Mân river and began plundering the autumn crops. His nephew, Salâbât Rûm, defeated a force of 5,000 horses sent against him and Saif 'Ain-ul-Mulk himself defeated a second force, of 10,000, under Dilâvar Khân, the African, and then Ibrâhîm himself, who was forced to flee back to Bîjâpûr followed by Saif 'Ain-ul-Mulk. Saif 'Ain-ul-Mulk made a night attack on the Hindu army, commanded by Venkatâdri, brother of Sadâshivârâya but was defeated by the Hindus, who were on the alert.
however, was the only way to the fortress, the troops rushed up the narrow cleft, only to be met with showers of rocks and stones which were heaved over the wall of the fort. Many were killed by these stones and by the arrows shot by the infidels from the fortress. Husain Niğam Şâh bethought himself of his artillery, which he considered, might be of some use against this fortress, as the defences above the cleft might be breached and destroyed by guns. He therefore sent for his artillery and caused the guns to be laid on the bastions above the cleft, which was the one vulnerable spot in the defences. The guns played on the bastion until it was breached and destroyed, and the defenders, when they saw that the bastion on which all their hopes depended, was destroyed and that a way into the fort was now open, saw that submission to the king was the only thing left for them. They were granted their lives, liberty, and property. The king then made one of his officers commandant of the fort and marched thence to take vengeance on the infidels of Gâlîna. Having encamped before Gâlîna, which is an exceedingly strong fortress built of dressed stones, he laid siege to it. The garrison of Gâlîna, who had seen how Antûr had fallen after the guns had been brought against it, were alarmed when the fort was surrounded by the royal army, and sent a messenger to Bahârîjiya, who was the governor of that fort and of the mountainous district around it, to say that the royal army had arrived before the fort and was besieging it, and that as they despaired of being able to hold the fort, they were of opinion that their best course was to make their submission to the king. As Bahârîji saw nothing for it but to make his submission, he sent an envoy to the king with valuable gifts of merchandise, rich stuffs, jewels, and horses, and completely humbled himself. When the envoy arrived and, by means of the amirs, was admitted to an audience, he presented the tribute sent by Bahârîji, and immediately afterwards the garrison of Gâlîna came forth, made their submission and presented the keys of the fortress to the king. Both the envoy and the garrison were favourably received and honourably entreated, and the king then appointed one of his officers commandant of the fort, with orders to see to the necessary repairs, to hold the fort securely, and to treat the inhabitants of the district well. The king then returned to his capital.

In the third year of Husain Niğam Şâh's reign (A.H. 963—A.D. 1555-6) the royal army did not leave the capital and the year was spent by the king in ease and enjoyment. By the royal command founders broke up the guns named Shâh Qal'ah Kushâ, and Qal'ah Shikan and made from them the gun named Husain Shâh.

At this time the misguided Saif 'Ain-ul-Mulk, who had deserted Ahmadnagar for Bijâpûr and had ever since done his utmost to stir up strife between the kingdoms, sent a messenger to court to signify his desire of making his obeisance and submitting once more to the Sultan of Ahmadnagar and to ask for a safe conduct in order that he might travel without anxiety to Ahmadnagar to do homage, for by this time the friendship between him and 'Ibrâhîm 'Adil Shâh had been changed to enmity and he could find no resting place in the kingdom of Bijâpûr, as has already been mentioned.

Husain Niğam Şâh sent some of his trusted officers with a safe conduct to summon Saif 'Ain-ul-Mulk to court, for he conceived this to be the policy best suited to the time. Husain Niğam Şâh now heard that the people of Gujarât had sent letters to Saif 'Ain-ul-Mulk, offering him the throne of that kingdom, as Sultan Maḥmûd, who had been king of Gujarât, had died and had left no undoubted heir to succeed him on the throne. Since

133 "The royal fort, opener," and "the fort breaker."

134 I have not been able to discover elsewhere any mention of an offer of the throne of Gujarât to Saif 'Ain-ul-Mulk, and it is improbable that it was made.
'Ain-ul-Mulk, besides being a fomenter of strife, was also valiant and unscrupulous; his elevation to the throne of Gujarāt would have been disastrous to the peace of Ahmadnagar, and Husain Nizām Shāh therefore resolved to compass his death, for it is certain that he who has been strong enough to draw the sword in his own cause will never be the willing and faithful servant of another. The king therefore sent Hakīm Qāsim Beg to assure Saif 'Ain-ul-Mulk that he would be well received in Ahmadnagar, and so well did Qāsim Beg perform his task that 'Ain-ul-Mulk was thoroughly reassured and induced to hasten to his death.

When Saif 'Ain-ul-Mulk with his troops drew near to the capital, the king went forth with his army as though to receive him with honour, and the army was drawn up in two ranks, facing one another so as to form an avenue. 'Ain-ul-Mulk with a few attendants approached the king between the ranks of the army, and when he drew near to him, prostrated himself in the dust. When the king saw his enemy thus in his power, something whispered to him that the opportunity should not be lost. By the king's command he was instantly slain, and orders were issued that his army should be attacked and plundered. Salābāt Khan34 and a large number of the officers and bravest men of 'Ain-ul-Mulk's army were slain; and Qābul Khan, one of his amirs, with some others who escaped the avenging swords of the royal army, made his way to the kārām of 'Ain-ul-Mulk, and for the sake of gaining a name for themselves, conveyed the ladies, in spite of much opposition and with much fighting, to Telīgās. Those of Saif 'Ain-ul-Mulk's army who threw away their arms and surrendered, were kindly treated, and were enrolled in the royal army, but those who persisted in following the path of disobedience became food for ravening beasts and their arms and horses became the spoil of the royal army.

(To be continued.)

AVANTI PRAKRIT OF THE KARPURAMAṆJARI.
BY SURENDRANATH MAJUMDAR SASTRI, M.A.; PATNA.

The Karṇṭaṭṭa Māṭa is the only drama composed entirely in Prākrit, and as such, it is read by all students of Prākrit philology. It has been critically edited with a learned introduction by Dr. Sten Konow in the Harvard Oriental Series. Commenting on its Prākrits, Dr. Konow notes1 that Rājaśekhara, who calls himself sarva-bhāṣā-viśeṣakānya, has used two dialects only—the Sauraseni (in the prose portions) and the Māhāraṣṭrī (in the metrical portions), 2 that the most striking feature of Rājaśekhara's Prākrit is his abundant use of rare and provincial words, of which a list has been given by Dr. Konow;2 that Nārāyana Dikshita and Apte have pointed out that for the majority of these provincial or vernacular words, our poet seems to be largely indebted to Marāthī; and 4 that the poet confused his two dialects—Sauraseni and Māhāraṣṭrī. Dr. Konow illustrates this confusion with various examples and concludes that the linguistic skill of Rājaśekhara was not so remarkable as he would have us believe. From the fact that Rājaśekhara "who knew all languages" did not correctly distinguish the different Prākrits, Dr. Konow infers that the living knowledge of those dialects was, at that time, considerably diminished; possibly there was an obsolescence of the said dialects at that period.

134 This salābāt Khan was sister's son to Saif 'Ain-ul-Mulk. He had been severely wounded at the battle of Sholāpūr.

1 Karṇṭaṭṭa Māṭa (Harvard Oriental Series), Part III, p. 199.
2 Ibid., p. 201.
3 Ibid., pp. 201-2.
It thus follows that Rājaśekhara was, in Dr. Konow’s opinion, a braggart who boasted of his knowledge of all languages without knowing the peculiarities of any Prākrit dialect. Rājaśekhara was, indeed, much given to boasting, as is evident from his describing himself as an incarnation of Vālmiki, Bhātṛīr-Meṇḍha and Bhavabhūti. But though he had no scruples as to how paradosham iva hi evaṃ gaurān khyāpyaye katham adhvaṣṭatāśçaḥ, is it not too much to state that he had not even a rudimentary knowledge of the special features of the Prākrits in which he composed elegant dramas and that yet he styled himself as saraṇa-bhūṣad-viśakhaṇa? In his recently published work, Kāvyāmānāsā, Rājaśekhara discusses the question of the use of various dialects as the vehicle of poetry and has solved it thus:—śabdārdhau te (= kāyapuruśasya) kṣarāraḥ, Saṅgheśām muḥkṣam, Prākritvān bāhybh, jaghaṇam Apabhraṃśah, Paścāhāṁ pādau, uro Mūram. Here he mentions Sanskrit, Prākrit, Apabhraṃśa, Paścāhā, and Mīra, as different dialects or languages. His Prākrit is thus identical with the Bhāṣā and Viśaṅga of Mārkandeya. But what is this Mīra? It is evidently a mixed language like the Gāthā of the Northern Buddhists or Senart’s Mixed Sanskrit of inscriptions which is nowhere referred to in Sanskrit literature. Shall we treat him, who has thus preserved an information unknown to later Prākrit authorities, as one innocent of Prākrit dialects? Probably his Prākrit is an unknown dialect and as such it causes so much perplexity. So before charging him of using incorrect Prākrit, let us turn to the various Prākritic dialects and try to find out whether his Prākrit may be a different dialect.

Vararūchi (circa A.D. 500 A.D.) treats of the Māhārāṣṭrī, Paścāhā, Māgadhī and Saurasena. The first is characterized by the loss or change into h of all intervocal explosives (except the linguals) which are preserved and hardened in Paścāhā. The Māgadhī-Saurasen group mainly differs from it in preserving (the softened) intervocal dental explosives. Hence Rājaśekhara has confused his dialects by his loss of the dental intervocals in uḍa, mārā, pā, maa, vaṇa, etc. in the prose portion which should be written in the Saurasen Prākrit.

The later grammarians and authorities on Dramaturgy refer to a larger number of dialects—fourteen, sixteen, or eighteen. Thus Mārkandeya classifies the Prākrit dialects thus:—I. Bhāṣā—Māhārāṣṭrī, Saurasena, Prāchāya, Avanti, Māgadhī and Ardhamāgadhī. II. Viśaṅga—Śākārī, Chāḷāḷī, Sāvartī, Abhrī, Tākki (the dialect of Takka or the Punjāb), Oḍrī, Drāvidī. III. Apabhraṃśa. IV. Paścāhā. In the above list we find the mention of the Avanti dialect. According to Pāthivihara, Avanti is the dialect in which speak Viṅgaka and Chandaṇaka of the MṛkeṭhakŚaṇa. He notes tathā Sauraseny-Avantiya, Prāchāya, etāu dantyasakārataḥ. tat-Avantiya repu-vati lokokti-bahuḥ ekaḥ. [Dental s occurs in Saurasena, Avanti and Prāchāya; Avanti retains r (=i in Māgadhī) and it is full of colloquial (provincial) words]. Mārkandeya remarks Avanti syat Māhārāṣṭrī-Saurasenyas tu smakārāt. [Avanti is a mixture of Māhārāṣṭrī and Saurasena.] 8

As Avanti (Malwa) is situated midway between Māhārāṣṭra and Saurasena (Muttra), it is natural that its language should be a mixture of Māhārāṣṭrī and Saurasena, and that has been

8 Sāmvedna Karṇīnāya-骋: पुरातक-पत्र: पुरातन पुरातनानम् | सख्तलस्य खण्डकिंलकालं वर्त्ते सम्बन्धि

8 Kāvyāmānāśā (Ganakwāl Sanskrit Series), p. 6.

7 Pischel’s Prākrit Grammar, § 3.

8 Ibid., § 6.
clearly stated by Mārkaṇḍeya. Prthvīdhara has pointed out that it contains a large number of provincial words. Now this is exactly the case, as Dr. Konow has pointed out, with Rājaśekhara’s Prākrit. We thus see that Rājaśekhara was not ignorant of the characteristics of the Prākrit dialects, but that he wrote his prose portions in the Avanti dialect. The reason why he preferred the Avanti dialect is not far to seek. The Karpūramaśāi was played at the instance of Avantisundari, the wife of our poet. Rājaśekhara’s love and admiration for Avantisundari is exhibited by his quoting her opinion as an authoritative statement in his Kāvyamimāṃśa. It is thus his amour for la belle d’ Avanti that dictated him to write in the langue d’ Avanti in spite of the cictum of Dramaturgy that the prose portions should be in Sauraseni in the speech of the heroine, etc., etc.

DID PĀÑINI KNOW BUDDHIST NUNS?

BY K. V. LAKSHMAN RAO, M.A.; MADRAS.

While writing an article on Ashtādhya on the Telugu Encyclopaedia, a Sūtra in Pāñini arrested my attention. In the second Askjaka there is a Sūtra kūṭaśāraṇamāṇaḥ: [II. 1. 70].

All the commentators agree in interpreting this aphorism to mean that the word Kūṇāra enters into a Tatpurusha compound with the words in the Śramaṇa-group. The Śramaṇādīgāṇa consists of the words अन्ध, प्रारंभिक, कुलदश, मानयं, नवं, धरं, वन-वन्द, आयापक, अनन्द-पक, पंडतं, पुनः, मृतं, कुलदश, चपलं, निपुरं.⁹ We find all these words enumerated in Gaṇaratnamahā-daddhi of Vardhamāna of the twelfth century and in the Kāśikā of the seventh century. Sākapya Vyākaraṇa which may belong to the ninth century and Jainendra Vyākaraṇa which cannot be later than the fifth century A. D. have a Sūtra similar to that of Pāñini. Unfortunately the Vṛtti and the Mahābhāṣya have not thought it necessary to comment upon this Sūtra and hence we are not in a position to know Kātyāyanand’s or Patanjali’s interpretation of this aphorism.

The illustrations generally given under this aphorism are कृमार्य भाषा कुमारभाषा (Kāśikā), कृमार्य चाली भाषा च कुमारभाषा, कृमारर्भ्रितम् (Gaṇaratnamahā-daddhi).

Though we know that almost all the words we now find in the Śramaṇādīgāṇa are given in the Gaṇaratnamahā-daddhi and Kāśikā, it may be said that we cannot be sure that all the fifteen words were included in the group by Pāñini when he wrote the Sūtra. Any how it cannot be doubted that the first three or four words formed part of the group then. Thus

⁹ Chāṇḍāṇagukomolimāli
Rājaśchara-Kāṇḍa-gaṇa
Bhattachārya-Kūṁ Advatisundari
Sūtraṇāsādīcātihā—Karpūramaśāi, p. 6

"1 Of the fifteen words now found in the Śramaṇādīgāṇa the first seven are in the feminine gender and the rest are in the masculine. Kāśikā says that the word Kūṇāra enters into compound as a word of feminine gender with those words which have feminine form and as a word of both masculine and feminine gender with those which have a masculine form. "व व श्लोकुम् परस्परे अभावितार्थे कुलेः किर नवरः सत्त्वस्ते व श्लोकुम् परस्परे समस्तेन् बृहुमुक्तं अभावितार्थे ॥ निपुरं ॥ रूपरित्वस्ते सत्त्वस्ते श्लोकुम् अभावितार्थे यथा क्षुद्र।" This means that the compounds कृमार्यभाषा, कृमारर्भ्रितम्, कृमार-पक, निपुरं: cannot be allowed, though both the compounds कृमारर्भ्रितम्, कृमारभाषा: are admissible. Abhidayanand, commenting upon an analogous sūtra (II. 63) in the Jainendravekakarva (Pandit edition) explains in the same way: व श्लोकुम् अभावितार्थे व श्लोकुम् अभावितार्थे क्षुद्र अभावितार्थे रूपरित्वस्ते सत्त्वस्ते श्लोकुम् अभावितार्थे यथा क्षुद्र। The purpose of the Sūtra is clearly to show that the word Kūṇāra comes always as the first member of the compound in all these cases. Padamaśāi says कृमार कृमारयक्ष्मन्ति यूं निपुरित्वस्ते सत्त्वस्ते क्षुद्र।"
the words Śramaṇā and Praṇavijaya cannot but be taken as having been included in the gāṇa when Pāṇini wrote the Śūtra.

The word Kumārī means in Sanskrit either an unmarried girl or a very young girl. Hence the compound Kumāra-Śramaṇa or Kumāra-praṇavijaya may either mean a sanyāsini who has joined the order as a brahmachāriṇī without getting married or a Sanyāsini who has joined the order when very young. Hindu girls rarely remained unmarried, and no where was sanyāsini ordained for them. There was therefore no chance for a young Hindu girl to take orders under the Hindu Sāstrās. In the Upanishads we hear of certain brahmachāris, who remained unmarried for a long period, but we do not hear of women who have undergone the ceremony of praṇavijaya.

Now, who were these Kumāra-Śramaṇās and Kumāra-praṇavijaya—the virgin ascetics, the young nuns, the child-sanyāsīs, the girls who were admitted into the sisterhood of praṇavijaya (Pali—Pabbajitās) when they were very young? Who could they be except the Buddhist nuns? Hinduism does not recognize Sānyāsinī to women and Śūdrās. It is Buddhā who first founded the system of Sāmyāsa for women and consequently references to bikkhuṇis, samanis, pabbajitās and nunnerys are found in Buddhist literature from the Tripitakas down to the writings of the modern times. We also find these terms applied to nuns in the inscriptions of Nāsik, Kārle and Amarāvati. We find in Buddhist writings that even boys and girls of seven years, with the consent of their parents, were taken as Śramaṇerdas; and Śramaṇerīs, i.e., as young novices to be trained up as a Śramaṇa and Śramaṇi (Manual of Buddhism by H. Kern, p. 77). It is no wonder then that these young female ascetics were called Kumāra-Śramaṇās which necessitated a separate rule in Pāṇini.

Here I may take into consideration some possible objections to my statement that Hinduism did not recognize female śramaṇī and praṇavijaya. The word śramaṇa even in its masculine form has been monopolized by Buddhists and it now practically means a Buddhist monk. But I am aware of its use, though very rarely, in the general sense of a Sānyāsī in the Hindu religious literature, perhaps prior to Buddhist. Sathapathā Brāhmaṇa (XIV, 6, 122) has तस्य साम्यासिन : अलस्यासिन, श्रामणिः: अलस्यासिन, श्रामणिः: अलस्यासिन. Brihadāraṇyaka has a similar sentence (IV, 3, 22). Taittiriya Aranyaka also mentions विषयीयम् / न अग्रमन्यम् अनेन दक्षिणी-रणिः. Even as to the meaning of the word Śramaṇa (in its masculine form) in the above passages, there may be some who may suggest that it refers to the Buddhist Śramaṇās before the word was degraded in its significance in the eyes of the Hindus. I may here remind the readers that the late Prof. Goldstuecker was of opinion that the Aranyakas were unknown to Pāṇini and came into existence during the period intervening between Pāṇini and Kātyāyana. But the word Śramaṇā or Śramaṇī (i.e., in its feminine form) is unknown to the Hindu literature of the pre-Buddhist period.

We know of a passage in Rāmāyaṇa where a certain śramaṇi is mentioned (Araṇya Kānda, Sarga 73). There she is called भृत्वमृत्वमन्त्र, नवयात्रानः, वर्षी, सिद्धि, विलुप्तमन्त्र. She is represented to have come from the low caste of Sabarās. Her caste clearly indicates that the word Śramaṇi is not used here in the technical sense of a high caste woman entering into an order of Sānyāsinīs. Even those who may argue that in ancient times Hinduism allowed women to become Sānyāsinīs or praṇavijaya cannot go to the extent of asserting that women who were outside the pale of Hinduism could become Sānyāsinīs, śramaṇās, praṇavijaya, tāpasī in the technical sense, when even men belonging to the Śūdra caste were denied that privilege. I think I need not quote any authorities for this statement; the story of Sambūka from the Rāmāyaṇa itself will illustrate my point. Hence if a woman of a wild tribe is honoured as śramaṇi and tāpasī, it must be through the influence of Buddhism.
Besides we are not sure about the date of Rāmāyaṇa. The original text may be very old, certainly pre-Buddhistic. But there are many interpolations in it, which we know are certainly post-Buddhistic. The very name of Buddha—the Tathāgata and the Nāstika—is mentioned in it (Ayodhya, 109, 34). There are similar interpolations in the Mahābhārata also.

We find the word pravrajita (female ascetic) in Manusmṛti (VIII, 363), Vātśyayana's Kāmasūtra (V, p. 69, XXI, p. 234, XXVII, p. 260), Arthāśāstra of Kautilya (I, 10; I, 12). But in all these places it is clear, from the contemptuous way in which the female ascetics are referred to, that they are the much hated Buddhist pravrajitās. These are generally mentioned along with women of bad character for purposes of espionage and as go-betweens. It is certain that the Hindus began to hate these Buddhist Nuns, as the institution was unknown to them, and as these nuns, at least some of them, must have led a life of doubtful morality. It is natural that they should have hence fallen very low in the estimation of the Hindus. Gradually the word Śramaṇa connoted the sense of a beggar-woman, an unchaste woman, a beautiful woman without character. These are some of the meanings given to the word Śramaṇa in various Sanskrit lexicons.

I therefore consider the Śramaṇa and pravrajita mentioned in the Śūtra and Gāgāpātha of Pāṇini as referring to the Buddhist Śramaṇas and Pabbajitās.

SPECIMENS OF NEPALI.

By R. L. Turner.

The following examples of Nepali are taken from a collection of stories which were written down at the time of hearing in phonetic script. The narrators were men of the 2/3rd Q.A.O. Gurkha Rifles, and their stories describe the campaigns in France and Palestine in which that battalion shared. I have chosen extracts only from stories told by men whose native tongue was Nepali (Khaskurā) and not a Mongolian language.

In preparing them for publication and annotation I have (with considerable reluctance) changed the phonetic script of the Société phonétique internationale to the Roman script for Indian languages adopted by the Royal Asiatic Society. In order however to preserve the more important differences of sound, I have had to use a few additional symbols. The chief points to notice are:

- a denotes the a in Hindi makkhan.
- a is a shortened ā and must be distinguished from ā.
- Ω the neutral vowel a heard in H. kartā citra.
- ¨e¨ the short e in English set.
- o the short close vowel corresponding to the long ō.
- o the short open vowel of the English hot.
- o the long open vowel of the English way.
- o a diphthong like that of English boy.
- ai au are diphthongs: ai au two separate vowels.
- a is a sound between English a and ah.
- c ch j jh represent ta th dz dzh with a very slight palatalisation of the s element.

The aspirates are pronounced with much feebler aspiration than in Hindi. It will be noticed that Middle Indian intervocalic -h- has practically disappeared.

1 Manus does not consider the offence of a man who secretly converses with a parvarajitā to be very serious. He punishes, along with the offence of conversing with a female slave. These offences are to be punished with a small fine. [VIII, 363.] In commenting upon the word parvarajitā all the commentators explain it to mean a Buddhist nun. Vātśyayana proposes the use of parvarajitā to seduce chaste women. Though Vātśyayana points them in this ugly light, we know from the Mulāk Māthavam of Bhavabhūti the noble and self-less pair which these Bhikkhunis played in bringing together true, noble and virtuous lovers. Kautilya makes use of these Pravrajitās as spies for political purposes.
Intervocalic breathed stops tend to be slightly voiced; while final voiced stops lose their voice.

There is considerably less difference between dentals and labials than in Hindi. For the dentals the tongue strikes slightly further back, and for the labials the tip appears not to be turned over backwards so far.

The accent, which is a moderately strong stress, is on the first syllable of the word, except where otherwise shown by the sign'.

I.

THE RETREATING TURKS DESTROY THE WELLS.

TOLD BY A THAKUR OF THE MALLA CLAN.


Translation.

We advanced from Gaza. At that time we had been placed behind everyone in reserve. As we advanced, the Turks having thrown away anyhow all higgledy-piggledy many boxes containing shells and rifle ammunition have fled. Marching all that day we became tired and exhausted; and getting no water to drink, our mouths and throats becoming as dry as dry leaves, we were ready to die. In the evening at five o'clock we halted in a garden. There is actually a Turkish well of water. There when our soldiers go to draw water, the machinery for getting out the water has been quite broken. As they went in a crowd saying 'We will drink', they had never seen machinery so broken. Then such anger arose in their minds because not only had they got no water to drink, but in addition the Turk had gone after breaking the machinery. If we had caught that Turk, we should have killed him and drunk his blood like water and so assuaged our thirst. Such rage rose in everyone's heart. Again, in a little while through the arrangement of our noble Government, an engineer was sent for to get out the water from the well, and he repaired the machinery. When he had repaired it, seeing that the machinery had been quite repaired, we rejoiced exceedingly in our hearts, saying: 'Now we will get water to drink.' But the engineer, having got the water out and distributing it, still did not give each man one water-bottle full. So great was our thirst and there was only one water-bottle of water; and in addition the order came, saying: 'On account of marching to-night you must not drink even that water without orders. When we reach the end of the march, then an order to drink will be received.'
Notes.

hamiheru: the plural affix haru usually becomes heru.

bāji < bātai emphatic of bāta 'from -ai > -ei -i according to sprachtempo.

agari < agāri: -r. regularly becomes -r.

baryā < barhyā.

bhanna < bhandā 'in comparison with ' -nd- often > -nn-: cf. hunno < hundo below, jānna < jāndaina.

rākheka thi = had been placed; the active rākhya and passive rākhiyo have generally fallen together.

kālne: verbal adjective = holding. -ne < -nyā. Is this an extension of the verbal noun representing a type *rakṣanika > rākhne? -e (< -yā) is used very frequently for the formation of adjectives from nouns.

tise < tisai tesi 'thus, anyhow.'

phālers: past conjunctive participle, formed from the past tense in -yo plur. -e plus ra 'and'.

gae chan: perfect without ko. There seems to be now no difference in meaning between perfects with or without -ko -kā. Both forms are used with transitive as well as intransitive verbs. Possibly gae chan is the phonetic development of gēkā chan in rapid speech and not an originally ko-less form. On the other hand the original division may have been into ko-forms with transitive and ko-less forms with intransitive verbs. There are not yet sufficient data collected to make a decision.

hindā < hīrdai.

rāko < rāhyāko. -ayā in perfect participles before -ko often becomes -ā: cf. bhāko gāko < bhāyāko gāyāko. Forms retaining -ae, e.g., bhaeko gaeko, are probably later formations after types like gare phāle kāye, etc, < garyā phālyā kāyā etc. The perfect participle is frequently, as here, used in narrative as a main verb without an auxiliary.

khāna: the infinitive has the following forms:—

(1) -nu, which appears whenever the infinitive is used (a) as a subject: e.g., with parcha 'it is necessary': maile garnu parcha lit. = the doing by me is necessary; dinu na dinu āphnu khusi cha: (b) as an imperative; (c) with the auxiliary ho to express necessity: negative chaina.

(2) -na (>-na in these texts), which is used generally as an object (a) with verbs like lāgmun 'begin' pāunu 'be allowed to' khojnu 'try' dinu 'allow' saknu 'be able': (b) when dependent on adjectives: e.g. testo sunna pani ayoyga kurā. (c) To express purpose: e.g., ke bhanna āya? = To say what have you come?; (d) Rarely with postpositions: e.g., jā? khāna mā bhulne mānis = a man who goes wrong in drinking spirits; (e) With tā as an esseverative: e.g., bēna tā bēne hō: mōl tā sughā āphai garcha = 'As for selling, it is for sale: but . . . . . . . . . .' It appears then to be an oblique case. Does it represent a phonetic development of -nā?

(3) -nā (>-na in these texts) which is regularly used with postpositions. It is possible then that in this position before enclitics (if No. 2 na is derived from -nā) the length of the syllable was maintained.

(4) -nē < -nyā used with ho to express necessity: e.g., mai lee jānē hō = I must go. This appears the same in form as the verbal adjective in -nē (see above). Possibly the starting-point of the construction is a sentence like tyo garne hō lit. = 'he is a doer,' whence tes le garne hō (after tes le garcha); then mai le garne hō (instead of mā garne hō) after the analogy tes le garnu cha: tes le garne hō = mai le garnu cha: mai le garne hō.
One form tends to become generalised for all uses at the expense of the others. This is most usually—nu, occasionally -na.

Paṭpaṭi sukera: lit. = becoming so dry as to make the sound ‘paṭpaṭi’.

Marne perhaps < marnai emphatic of marna.

Paś < pāc.

Yoja < yevā yēvāt < ēka + eṣṭiti. -otā is then generalised for all numerals: e.g.
cāro/a pācō/a etc. beside cāro/a pācō/a etc.

tēa < tyahā 'there.'

tuvāera < tuvaera.

rēcha < rahecha, perfect of rahana, in the sense of an emphatic cha 'is'.

dēkina: either singular for plural dēkinan with sipaiheru as subject or passive with kal as subject: < dēkhiyena 'had not been seen.'

uβja < uppyo, past of upjana 'be produced.'

uθya < uθyā: the existence of forms with -yā beside more regular -e (< -yā) is perhaps due to new formations after the nominative in -yo which remains unchanged: e.g. choro: chōra or upjo: upjā (< upjana: upjyō) produces uθyō: uθyā (in place of uθe < older uθyā).

būdūr < bahādur.

bhoio < bhayo, but bhu < bhaye: cf. goio: gae, moryo: mare.

śāre < sāηai.

hinna < hīrni.

wā < wahā.

II.

THE ROAD DURING THE PURSUIT OF THE TURKS.

Told by a Thākur of the Malla clan.

Tyō rāt mā tēi bās bāsyū. Bhōli paṭo biāna hukum bhāio ḍhēre tāra jānu cha:
kamjari manche jō hinu sakdena uslai chātera yā chora bhāune hukum bhāio. Jō hinu
sakdena thiū sabe lai āpna āpna kampani bāti chātera tēi choryū. Taā bāti pās bājo
biāne hinna ko hukum bhāio, re hindra hindra bāto mā Turki ka gōleriheru bombheru bāto ko
daine baiyā phālī rākhesa: koī koī ḍhānī mā pherkera phair gāre chañ: khāli kārtusheru
thupra ko thupri dēkhyo. Alli aghi gaiero Turki ka bhēra ko bathān bhētio. Lau tyō bhēra
lai khānu pārso bhāni hamro dāktar sāb gaiero tyō bathān bāto ādha dāberi leyo. Tes
mā koī saatar asī bhēra hunno hō. Taā bāto Alli aghi gaiero bāto ko daine tiro sāno sāno
khālto rēcha. Tyō khālto bhari marēka Turkiheru dēkhyū. Gaiero bākule nāk
phutalla bhānae jasto bhāio. Tyō bāto bhari Turkiheru le āpna ghora khācār bhāsi
haiheru āpe le gōli hēnera māerī phāli chāreka. Bāto bhari gaiero tyō gandha le
kapal samīt dūkhāyo. Alli aghi gaiero yōta Turki bāta ka daine pāṭti sāna dāra ka ghec mā
jiunde rēcha. Hērē jāda te ādha āu utbāune ādha hālla nē calla bhai rāko rēcha,
Hamra mējor sāab le āpna mād mā tithaiero istēcar mā bōkera leāya.

Translation.

That night we remained there. The next day early an order came which said: 'There
is a long way to go: choose out any weak man who cannot march and leave him here,'
Choosing out from our own companies all the men who could not march, we left them there.
The order came to march from there at five o'clock in the morning. And as we marched
along the road, the Turks had thrown away their ammunition and bombs right and left of
the road. In some places they had turned and fired: heap on heap of empty cartridges
were seen. Going a little further forward a flock of Turkish sheep was met with. Then our Doctor Sahib saying: ‘Hullo, we must eat those sheep’, went and cut off half of the flock and brought it back. In it there would be seventy or eighty sheep. Going a little forward from there, on the right of the road there was a small hollow. The hollow we saw was full of dead Turks. They stank so that it was just as if our noses were going quite to burst. All over the road the Turks had shot and killed and thrown and scattered their horses and mules and buffaloes and cows. And all over the road they stank so that our heads and all ached with the stink. Going a little forward, a Turk on the slope of a small hill to the right of the road still remains alive. When we go to see, he is able to raise half his body, but half he cannot move. Our Major Sahib taking pity on him in his heart carried him back on a stretcher.

**Notes.**

tyō : direct for oblique, as generally when the pronoun is used adjectively. Contrast the oblique in tes mā below.

tēi ‘there,’ emphatic of teā (< tyahā) : < tyahāi or tyahā.

bhāna < bhihāna oblique case.

sakde na < sakdai na. The negative of the present is formed from the emphatic of the pres. part. in -dai plus na.

bhāne lit: = ‘an order which says:………’

teā ‘there’ beside teā (< tyahā) is probably due to the influence of wād (< wāhā);

similarly another form tiā is due to yīā (< yahā).

hindā= ‘while going’ does not necessarily refer to the subject of the sentence. In origin it is probably an absolute case, taking the place of the locative. It has become practically a verbal noun as shown by the extension: gardā mā ‘in doing, while doing,’ gordākheri lit. = ‘at the time of doing.’

porsa < parcha: cf. khōlsa < kholcā.

sāb < sāhab

tēyo < tiyo.

sātār < sāhattar. Double consonants in loanwords become single normally: cf. asi

< assi below. Double consonants exist however in emphatics: e.g. alli katti sabhai beside ali kati sabai; and in paradigms: e.g. mīlā: milnu, khānna ‘dig.’

hunno hō < hundo. Singular for plural
ganaierna < ganhāiera.

III.

**THE STORMING OF MACHINE GUN HILL.**

**TOLD BY A KHAS OF THE BISHT CLAN.**

Early in the morning on the twelfth, A and B companies went to give protection to the guns. A company, having taken the village, went and halted in a wadi in front; B company halted in a wadi behind the village. All day long the shells and machine-gun bullets kept banging away. From that time till four in the afternoon we stayed there. At that time from our left a British regiment called the Scots (4th Royal Scots) made an advance; and we saw beautifully. On them the Turks rained shells and bullets. From the smoke of the guns in a moment it became as though dark. From there, not heeding fear, they reached the hill, and our guns gave them much help. But because their reinforcements did not reach them, all the men were killed. Again the Turk took the hill. Then in the evening came an order saying: 'The 2/3 Gurkhas must take that hill.' Then the Commanding Officer Sahib announced that B and D companies would be firing line. A and C companies support. For half the way no shells or bullets were fired. But after reaching the place they had marked, in a twinkling they rained down both shells and machine-gun bullets like hail. It was very difficult for us to advance. One platoon gave covering fire, while one platoon ran forward. Advancing in this way (there was a wadi near the enemy's hill) as soon as we reached that wadi, we took count of our men. After having reached the wadi we got news first that B company Sahib was wounded; a little later that he was killed. After that we said to the Lewis gunners: 'Wherever there is a position for an enemy's machine-gun, at that place take good aim and shoot fast and thick.' From there again we advanced. We went shooting as we moved. The Lewis gunners resting their Lewis guns on the shoulders of their comrades fired at the enemy's position as they advanced. And we took the enemy's strong position. What was it like on the hill? Many enemy had been killed by our shells. In some places their bodies had caught fire. Many wounded men also they had left. Of our British soldiers also very many had been killed. I saw one British serjeant very horribly killed. In his cheek, in his forehead, in many places he had been pierced by bayonets, and his foot and ankle bones had been broken.
and were sticking out. At that time darkness fell. In every place the wounded were crying out. But to us came the order saying: 'It is necessary to dig trenches quickly; the enemy will come again to take the hill.'

Notes.

tārik < tārikh. Final aspirates lose their aspiration.

bāje : loan from H. bājā.

pugya : particularly when followed by a postposition the oblique of the past participle retains the older -yā instead of changing to -ē.

bīni : unemphatic form of pāni. For the voicing of the breathed stop of garnu (kardā).

dugera < dugerā : dugranu.

jā < jahā.

rāmgori < rāmgori.

sēṣ from English sword.

IV.

THE BATTLE OF MESMIYEH.

TOLD BY A THÄKUR OF THE MALLA CLAN.

Tyō thaū bāta tēra mail mā Turki ko rēl hinne bāto thiu aru thulo rēl arine jānk-

Thir. Hamihern tyō rēl hinne bāto lina lai pās hāje bīnao cā pāni biskut bhailo hityū.

Teš bāti ēk mail ngud te Turki le tōp le hānno lágyo. Tyō din dūsā mā larai bhāko

thiu. Tyō din mā hamro pūro dibisān agari bhāyakā thiu. Jago kasto thiu bhane
dēkhi : bīkule samma thiu. Sabē paltāñheru ka hate ko cāl anēk rit ko
kāda gareko. Tese māthi Turki le àsina jasto tōp ka gōla barseako,

māśingā ka gōla pāni. Istō ramāilo mānīnthi larai jasto kasele

māndeno thiu. Morne manche marde thie ; ghaile ghaile humde thie. Jō lai kēi

humde thiu us le khēl ramāsa jasto ramāilo gari āpas mā bācēt gari hinde thie. Kapāl

kapāl mā Turki kā gōla pūtaun anthie : ṭēkheri sabē mancheheru jas ka thāu

mā gōla pūtaun āyo wahi sutī jānthiū. Ali chin mā phērī āsēra uthyo. Phērī uñ

mancheheru jama bhākāna hāsi thaṭṭā garde Turki ka gōla ko thāt garde dhānnī

māre ko thie : Turki ka gōla le allī katti birāyo bhanera Turki ka gōla ko hāsi thaṭṭā
garde agari bāryū.

Translation.

Thirteen miles from that place there was the Turkish railway and a big junction where

the railway stopped. Then at five o'clock in the morning, having eaten our tea and biscuits,

we set out to take the railway. Before we had gone a mile from there the Turk began to

shoot with his guns. That day the fighting was in the daytime. On that day our whole

division advanced. What was the place like? It was quite flat. All the battalions made

their own way of advancing in different fashion. On them the Turk rained shells from his

guns just like hail, and machine gun bullets too. It seemed so very beautiful that none

thought it was like fighting. Those to be killed were killed; those to be wounded were

wounded; those to whom nothing happened advanced talking among themselves as

happily as though at an entertainment. The Turkish shells came bursting over their

heads; and as one came, all the men in the place where the shell came to burst lay down.

Then in a little they got up laughing. Again the men collecting together were laughing

and making jokes. They jeered at the Turkish shells, crying out: 'Well done!' We laughed

and jeered at the shells, saying: 'That shell missed by ever so little!' and so we advanced.
Notes.

V.
WHAT HAPPENED TO THE SHEEP.
Told by a Thākur of the Malla Clan.

Agho bhōli pā INFORMATION ON THE MALLA CLAN. This order came from the Brigade the order of our great Sahib (i.e. the General), saying; 'Twenty-five sheep have fallen to the lot of the 2/3rd regiment: take your sheep.' This order came. Thereupon B Company Commander Sahib gave the order to me, saying: 'Jemadar Dalbir shall take twenty-five men to the Brigade, and shall kill and bring back the sheep.' Having received this order, Dalbir took the working-party to kill the sheep and went. They reached the Brigade. From the Brigade the order was received: 'Kill twenty-five sheep out of the flock, take off their skins and bury them, and take away the flesh.' This order we received. Jemadar Dalbir had the order to kill twenty-five sheep, but he had killed twenty-six by mistake. After having finished killing the sheep,
we were skinning them; an order came from our battalion: 'Do you, the working party, to kill the sheep, come quickly to your battalion; the battalion has been ordered to advance.' Such an order was heard, and making haste we tore off the skins from the sheep. Each man putting one sheep on his shoulders and running, we reached the place where our battalion had been halted, but the battalion had gone. Only the headquarters section are waiting for us there. Arriving there, I handed over the sheep very correctly to the Jemadar Adjutant. He loaded them on a camel and took them away to where the battalion was. Then the Jemadar Adjutant Sahib called Dalbir who had killed the sheep and brought them back. And they counted them. Twenty-six sheep they found all right; but not seeing the lumps of fat on the hindquarters of the sheep he asks the Jemadar Adjutant: 'These lumps of fat, where have they gone and who has eaten them?' The other gives answer: 'Till I loaded them on the camel, it was all right; but coming here, it was a little dark. I unloaded them from the camel and piled them in one place. Having piled them up, while going to seek for you, in the time before I came back, who indeed has cut them off and taken them away, I have no information.' Saying 'Never mind!', we two separated the portions for all the companies and the officers and distributed the sheep. On that day it seemed to our minds as though our great festival in the Rains is coming. So it seemed. On other days we had not got even water to drink: on this day we got both water in plenty and we got meat. So cooking and eating all this, each man also drank two water-bottles full of tea. Indeed it seemed like Dasahra. All night it was very beautiful. Then in the early morning came the order: 'An attack will be made.' On that the men say: 'Yesterday night as we were eating meat and tea, all night long it seemed like Dasahra. That strength must be driven out.' So on the twelfth day we attacked the Turks.

Notes.

thyō bākhra: thyō singular for plural tī.
pītī < Engl. satiety.
sōdchan < sōdchān.
jucāp < H. jawāb.

TATU MARKS IN BURMA.

BY RAI BAHADUR B. A. GUPTA, F.Z.S.; CALCUTTA.

While travelling in Burma on duty in 1902, I collected some notes on the tatu marks of the people of that country. One curious feature of the practice I noted was that in Burma tatuing is confined to the male sex, while in India females alone bear these marks. Another most conspicuous feature consists in the fact that in Burma the thickest lines and the boldest designs are selected. Even when they are linear, each line is sometimes as thick as the little finger, and each of the figures drawn occupies a space as much as would cover the palm. So copious and so thickly set are these bold designs that they completely cover nearly the whole of the body between the umbilicus and the knees below. Above the umbilicus the chest and even the upper limbs are also subjected to the operation. The difference lies only in the pigment selected, red being used for the upper, and blue for the lower part of the body. So painful was the operation, that in olden days, instances of death were not rare. The British Government stopped this torture. Nowadays, enlightened people do not tatu their sons.
Compared with tatu marks in the different provinces of India, the thick and heavy designs in use in Burma suggest a gradation. They can thus be classified in the following manner:

Those in the Indo-Aryan tract of Kashmir, Punjab and Rajputana are drawn in thin delicate dotted lines. Similar delicate delineation is in vogue in Gujarat and Kathiawar. In Bombay, and along the Western coast of India, the lines used for producing tatus are either dotted or linear and are as thick as a pin. In the Deccan these lines increase in thickness to that of a sparrow’s quill. The Deccan, it may be noted, belongs to Risley’s Scytho-Dravidian tract. Further south, and south-east, that is in Risley’s Dravidian tract, the thickness of the lines used for producing tatu marks ranges from that of a sparrow’s quill to that of a crow’s. In Bengal tatuing is not practised in the cities. Instances are met with in the interior, particularly in the south-east.

These facts lead me to believe that the delicacy of the lineament of the tatu marks has some relation to the civilization and culture of the different races using them. The design drawn by the lower classes or castes are very clumsy and often extremely primitive.

Ethnologically, the tatu marks of Burma furnish a link of the ancient connection of the people with China. Some of the designs are copies of the astronomical figures of the Chinese zodiac. I believe I accidentally discovered this connection when I visited the Sagaing pagoda. I found there some paper flags exposed for sale (plate 1, flag A). I bought a number of them and took them to a Burmese astrologer. I asked him to explain what they signified, because many of them resembled the figures of the tatu marks I have collected. The following is the explanation of the flag:

The figure at the top, is a pagoda or the abode of the gods. The next figure is a *garud*—the half-bird-half-man celestial charger of Vishnu of the Hindus. In Burma it is called *Kalon*. The *Kalon* represents Sunday in the Burmese calendar. The second animal next to *Kalon*, is a tiger called *hsu* in Burma. It represents Monday. The third is a lion (bar-sangh)u). It stands for Tuesday. The fourth is an elephant with or without tusks. The former represents the first half and the latter the second half (noon to midnight) of Wednesday. It is curious that this elephant is called Rahu, the name of one of the *grahas* of India—the ascending node. The fifth figure is a rat, Burmese *mu*, representing Thursday. The sixth is an ox, Burmese *wo* which stands for Friday, and the seventh is a sea dragon, Burmese *topai*. It represents Saturday. The introduction of Rahu, the headless monster of the Hindu mythology, is noteworthy. In addition to these similarities, I found that these animals represent the eight cardinal points of the compass. Then there is a curious folklore about them as regards their being well ‘matched’. The selection of a wife, a husband, a friend, or a partner in business, has to be regulated with the help of these symbolic animals. The animal represented by the birthday of a man or woman has to be matched with the animal representing the day on which the other party was born. Thus Sunday, Thursday, and Friday make one well-matched group; Monday and Wednesday make up another group; Tuesday agrees with Saturday; and Thursday has to meet Rahu—the first or second half of Wednesday. First, when the elephant has tusks, and second when it has none. The inauspicious matches of the days of the week are (a) Sunday and Friday, (b) Tuesday and Thursday, (c) Monday and Saturday, and (d) Tuesday and Rahu. Finally, the ill-matched days are (1) Sunday and Tuesday, (2) Monday and Thursday, (3) Friday
and Saturday, and (4) Wednesday and Rahu. It was clear to me from this astrological information that these very symbols influence the selection of tatu marks in Burma. I felt so interested in my astrologer that I told him I was born on a Tuesday. He said that in addition to the lion—the symbol of that day—I should tatu a garud and an elephant with tusks on my body. That, he said, would surely bring me good luck. This advice clearly disclosed the motives of the selection of these marks. I asked if he had any more advice to give me, and he added that I must not allow a tiger, a rat, a hare, or an elephant without tusks to be drawn on my body. They are unlucky for me. Outside the flag, I may select a cobra, if I undertake to drink milk every day!

I could get no explanation of the celestial duck tatuied in Burma, either at the top of the eternal notch or at a point below the navel where the designs on the thighs meet. To these are added certain cabalistic geometrical designs (plate 1, flag B) with curious legends to account for each. The taturer in Burma is credited with the knowledge of certain potent drugs which he puts in the punctures to ensure invulnerability from bullets, swords, or scythes. Belief in sympathetic magic can be traced in the selection of scorpions or snakes as tatu marks.

I am assured by an Anglo-Burmese traveller holding an important position under Government, a Christian by birth, that he can vouch for the protection afforded by the concoction of certain poisons inserted into these tatu punctures! He proudly showed me his own tatu marks, adding that when he was stung by a scorpion, he felt no pain beyond that produced by a mosquito bite. He attempted a "scientific" explanation on the inoculation theory! The distribution of the designs thus selected, is also regulated in a certain manner. The tiger and the cat are always tatued on the thighs and arms because, I am told, they infuse into man the prominent powers of these animals in jumping. Like the birthday animals of the flag, there are birthday trees in Burma. Sunday for instance is represented by gangau, Monday by nega, Tuesday by maya, Wednesday by thambaye, Thursday by thi, Friday by dhan, and Saturday by onynun. Each of these tree-symbols proves lucky to those whose birthday it represents.

I said above that women do not get themselves tatuied in Burma, but I found an exception among the Chins.

Curved lines, radiating from the nose and the centre of the forehead, are drawn close to, and parallel to, each other in so delicate a manner as to represent a mask. It is said that the practice originated from the fact of the Chin women being more beautiful than the Burmese and that the rulers of the latter tribe forcibly carried away girls from among them. I found that married women alone are disfigured and maidsens whose youth should naturally have formed the strongest temptation, are left blooming. This shows that the practice possibly owes its origin to sexual jealousy.

Tatuing is a sign of marriage among many Dravidian tribes in India and it may mean the same thing among the Chins.

The conclusion is that (1) sympathetic magic, (2) necromancy, (3) astrology, and (4) marriage custom govern the selection of the designs. The acquisition of the agility of the tiger and cat, the animistic belief in the power of cabalistic diagrams and legends, (5) the influence of the planets on the birthday of individuals, and (6) the indelible sign of ownership by marriage involving disfigurement out of jealous motives, form the basis. One incident deserves mention here. I met a Burman carrying a full-grown cat in a bamboo
basket and asked him what he wanted to do with it. "For my house," "for my house," was the only reply; but I told him that no grown-up cat will ever remain in a new house. It is sure to return to its original haunts. My interpreter, a convert of the half patriotic half-Heathenism type, would not open his lips. He thought it derogatory to talk of idolatrous faiths, but luckily for me I met a communicative Burman who spoke Hindi, and who to my great astonishment explained that the flesh of the cat is much prized because it produces cat-like agility in the limbs! Here we are—from actual flesh-eating to symbolical representations producing "like from like."

It is interesting to compare the figures on the paper-flags with the signs in the Chinese zodiac. The following list is taken from Kemfer as quoted by W. Brennand in his *Hindu Astronomy* at page 15:


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**AURTHI—GHYRETTE, GHIRETI:**

**A CORRECTED IDENTIFICATION.**

In my article, *Side-Lights on Omichund* (ante, vol. XLVII, pp. 265 ff.), I surmised for reasons therein given (p. 279) that Gaulathi, the Armenian form of the name of the place from which Omichund wrote his important letter to Khwaja Petros, was a corruption of *chauftri* and indicated a pavilion near Plassey in the camp of Rā Durlabh.

Mr. S. Charles Hill has since pointed out that there is strong evidence for identifying Gaulathi with Ghyretti (Ghireti) where the French Gardens near Chandernagore (Chandannagar) were situated. After a careful re-examination of the dates of the occurrences connected with Omichund's letter, I am of opinion that I was in error and that Mr. Hill is right in his conclusions. The mistake arose from the assumption that Clive was at Calcutta when he wrote to Watts on the 5th June (p. 269), whereas he was really at the French Gardens (Ghireti) from the 18th May until the 12th June 1757.

Admitting the error, I now take it that the sequence of events was as follows. Omichund's suspicions of the false treaty were roused during his interview with Rā Durlabh at Plassey on the night of the 30th-31st May. He rejoined Scrafton in the early hours of the 31st and proceeded with him to the French Gardens, and not to Calcutta as stated on p. 269. Here, in the neighbourhood of the former French Settlement he found many opponents of the English, and those no doubt furnished him with further confirmation of the fact that he was no longer trusted by Clive.

As Clive's letter, written on the 5th June (pp. 269-270) reached Watts in time for him to reply on the 8th, the journey between Murshidabad and Ghireti must have been covered by runner (ghirid) in about 2½ days. Therefore, assuming Omichund's letter to be dated from the French Gardens, it would have been written about the 3rd or 4th June (not during the night of the 30th-31st May as stated in the former article, p. 273) and would have reached Petros on the 6th or 7th.

Mr. Hill has also drawn my attention to a sentence in the second paragraph of Omichund's letter:—"He says that they have written to Wäch from here so long as we do not write no one is to come," obviously referring to Clive's letter to Watts, dated French Gardens, 2nd June 1757, which contains also the following instructions:—"Having settled a plan of operations and the articles being sent to me by Mirzâ Omar Beg (Mirza 'Umar Beg), you will please to await my appointing the time for you to secure yourself and the gentlemen of Cossimbuzar." The same letter adds—"Mr. Scrafton is just arrived." Therefore, if Omichund remained in Scrafton's company after rejoining him on the 31st May, it is clear that he reached the French Gardens on the 2nd June. Details of Clive's letter to Watts were undoubtedly communicated to Omichund on his arrival by his agents, some of whom were probably among Clive's clerks.

Mr. Hill has further pointed out to me that the fact that Watts did not mention the letter to Petros until the 8th June (p. 270) seems to show that he had only just received it. Had it come to his hands earlier, he would assuredly have forwarded it at once to Clive as evidence of the

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1 *Bengal Select Committee Consultations*, 1757.

correctness of his opinion and conclusive proof of Omichund’s infidelity.

The above conclusions put an entirely different complexion on Omichund’s interview with Rāi Durlabh on the night of the 30th-31st May from that given in the former article (p. 273) and make it appear that Rāi Durlabh had nothing to do with the concocting of Omichund’s letter to Watts.

They would also assume that Grigor Aratoon (Gorgin Khān) who was aware of the letter (pp. 268, 273), was with Clive at Ghorist when it was written, which is likely enough, as he was the general of Clive’s protégé Mr Kāsim (afterwards the second Nawāb Nazīm of Bengāl). But it is not clear why Grigor should not have informed Clive of the fact as soon as he knew of it.

R. G. Temple.

BOOK NOTICES.


This honest and valuable book is compiled on the now familiar lines of Mr. Nariman’s work. There are 160 pp. of Text, 133 pp. of Appendices and 60 pp. of Notes, besides 41 pp. of Index. The plan is an historical account, with many quotations from, and appreciations of, authorities interspersed, followed by translations of the Ṛtusūma verses of such authorities as Sylvain Levi, Wintermute, Lüder, Hāber, Jolly and Bermondt, together with original researches by the author of the text himself, while the Notes contain contributions to the subject from a great number of well-known writers of all nationalities. There is no doubt that Mr. Nariman has thoroughly searched his authorities. One very interesting feature of the book is the reference to the discovery of Buddhist MSS. in Jain Libraries and other unlikely places.

Mr. Nariman explains that Buddhism, as contained in Pali Literature, has been extensively studied because it is to be found in a compact form, whereas the Buddhism contained in Sanskrit Literature has suffered from being procurable only in scattered forms difficult to bring together into one view. He then goes on to say: "However extraordinarily rich and extensive the Pali Literature of India, Ceylon and Burma may be, still it represents only the literature of one sect of the Buddhists." And herein lies the object, and I may say the value, of this work, which aims at collecting as many of the scattered fragments as the author can get hold of. It is, of course, in this way only that the views of the sects, (and they are of great importance) represented in the Sanskrit Literature can be studied in the comprehensive manner they deserve. Roughly, the Pali writings relate to the Hinayāna Schools and the Sanskrit to the Mahāyāna Schools. This fact alone places the latter on a level with the former in the matter of interest and importance.

At the end of most of his chapters, and elsewhere throughout the book, Mr. Nariman has notes on his conclusions and appreciations. Some of these are worth detailing here. He thus explains that the Mahāyāna purports to be a Hinayāna work, "although it has assimilated some of the Mahāyāna features," and he then points out that in the Tattvarthaśāstra, one of the most sacred of the Mahāyāna texts, "we have preserved both the very old tradition, and accounts younger by centuries, of the legend of the Buddha," wherein Buddha gradually "develops the features of a god above all the gods." Here we see the inevitable effect on Buddhism of the surrounding Hindu philosophy and thought in the centuries about the Christian Era. Mr. Nariman next discusses the Āraddhas or stories of achievements on the borderland between Hinayāna and Mahāyāna Buddhism, with their allusion to the Bodhisattvas. These Mr. Nariman describes as having "one foot in the Hinayāna and the other in the Mahāyāna Literature." He then passes to the Mahāyāna sūtras themselves, "which stand decidedly on the Mahāyāna soil .... The Buddha is, properly speaking, now higher than a god, above all the divinities, an immeasurably exalted Being, who has lived since countless ages and who will live for all eternity." Do we not see here the ideas that led to the latter-day Paramēśvara, the Supreme of the Hindus? Indeed, there is very much of Hinduism in the Abhuddha who is the Svayambhu or Self-being, in Avalokiteśvara, the Redeemer, in Manjūrī the Helper, and the Bodhisattvas generally, who are now fully developed. In fact, the rise of the Yogācāra School (how Hindu the term sounds!) explores "the tenets of the Sāṃkhya, Vaishēsika, Pāippattas and other philosophical schools and religious denominations of Brahmanic origin." Then we come to the exponent of the views of the sects, Nāgarjuna and the Middle Doctrine, Asanga and the Yogācāra (Doctrine of Discipline), and the like. Of some of these Mr. Nariman pertinently remarks: "It seems to be the curse of Indian mentality that whenever it sears too high it lands itself in absurdity."

The decadence of Mahāyāna Buddhism is now reached by the influence of the Hindu doctrine of
Sakti or Female Energy, and Tārā, the Saviour, becomes the female counterpart of Avalokiteśvara, giving rise to the stotras or hymns "in no way differentiated from those which are devoted to the veneration of Viṣṇu or Śiva" to the dhūрана "intended to present in a nut-shell" various doctrines, but descending to mere unintelligible holy formulas, that is, mantras: so to the tantras, books of rites "worth consideration as a testimony of the complete mental decadence in Buddhism." All this is Sectarian Hinduism, and Mr. Nariman throws out the useful hint that the tantras were used "as the best means of amalgamating [Mahāyāna] Buddhism with the analogous creed of wizards," to which many is added that in India they were equally useful in creating a liaison between philosophic Hinduism and the prevalent phallic worship, and Animism of the public.

Following on his discussion of Buddhism in decadence, Mr. Nariman has a useful chapter on the mutual borrowings of Buddhism and Christianity, after a review of his authorities. This is well worth the perusal of those who wish to study the development of the religious ideas of the general "Aryan" variety of mankind. Then he gives us an equally interesting chapter on Indian Literature in general and its influence on the thought of the world, especially on the European thought. In this matter may not a suggestion I would throw out be worth following up? Namely, that after all said and done, the European and the "Aryan" Persian and Indian are their selves the result of the physical as well as the mental development of one and the same fundamental variety of mankind. And does not this fact account for much that Mr. Nariman has observed?

After some remarks on the study of Indian Literature in recent years, Mr. Nariman winds up his useful volume with a discussion of its chronology. He does not appear to think that we have gone far towards settling this contentious matter. I am not sure that I altogether agree with him here. Every day the study is advancing, as the pages of this Journal, for one among many, afford evidence.

I have thus briefly gone through this valuable book, but I think I have said enough to show how valuable it is, and I can do no better than express a hope that it will receive the attention it deserves from the Indian Universities.

R. C. Temple


This is a translation into English of a well-known work of Professor Jouveau-Dubreuil by his colleague, Professor Śwaminādana Dikshitar, who is himself favourably known for his works on Architecture and Iconography. There is no index, unfortunately, but from the Contents list one sees that the book takes us from Asoka, Kharavela and the Śatavāhana Kings, through Śākas and Pallavas, to the Dynasties of the Central, Western and Eastern Deccan, and those of the Kanara districts. So it is comprehensive enough and embraces many controversial points. The period covered is between Asoka and Pulikērin II, i.e. from 261 B.C. to A.D. 610, and I am glad to see that Ancient India is looked upon as ending with the seventh century A.D., because I have myself, in a work dealing with the outlines of history in India as a whole, looked on the middle of the eighth century as the limit of ancient history, making the Medieval period to extend from that time to the commencement of the sixteenth century. I note this, because I observe that even well known writers are inclined to call the fourteenth century "Ancient History" in India. The position of the Deccan between the North and South right across the Peninsula makes the study of its annals always important.

Adverting to the fact that Asoka's only expedition into the Deccan was that to Kalinga, the very pertinent question is asked: how did Asoka then come to be in possession of the whole Deccan? This is answered by two suppositions. Either it was already in the possession of the Mauryas, or it submitted quietly on hearing of the doings in Kalinga, which in his recollection were so horrible that the memory of them affected Asoka all his life.

With regard to the important king Kharavela of Kalinga, the date 170 B.C. is fixed for the commencement of his reign on grounds that carry much weight.

The early Śatavāhana Kings are taken to have existed from the time of Kharavela to about 60 B.C. These dates are important and throw light on the difficult chronology of this ancient period.

Of the Śākas there are some most interesting remarks on Nahapāna, or rather "the Nahapānas," and the coinage bearing that name. The remark that coinage bore that name long after Nahapāna or the Nahapānas had ceased to exist is in consonance with much that has happened in
India to modern times. Witness the name of Shah Alam on the coinage of the East India Company.

There is a long section on Chalukyana the Mahakshatrapa, "founder of the Saka Era," which is well worth close study. Professor Dubreuil is quite sure that he was the founder, and on that presumption dates his accession in A.D. 79—a most important consideration as regards general Indian history. This leads him to a tentative chronology of the late Sâtvâvanas from Gautamiputra to Vijayaditya and Vijaya Satakarni as between A.D. 68 and A.D. 180, rather earlier than usual.

Professor Dubreuil then boldly tackles the question of the Pallava Mystery, frequently referring to his former book, *The Pallava*. He dismisses the theory that they were Pahlavas (Parthians) who strayed into the Eastern Deccan in the third century, and is of opinion that they were a really local family that rose to eminence in 225 A.D. on the break up of the power of the Sâtvâvanas. This is argued at considerable length, and there is much to say for such a theory, no doubt. After some original observations on the raid of Samudra Gupta into the Deccan, which he places in A.D. 325-340 the Professor goes on to the story of those arch disturbers of the peace of the South, the Pahlavas, from 340 to 610, which brings him to the limit of his general history.

Turning to the Central Deccan, one finds the Vâkâtakas classed as a Deccan Dynasty for the whole of the fifth century, when it is claimed that: "In the history of the Deccan the fifth century is the century of the Vâkâtakas." All this is practically new.

In the Western Deccan the first to come under discussion are the Abhiras of the third century, and then the Traikûtas of the fifth century, who are differentiated from the well known Kalachuris of Chedi of the sixth century, who in turn had disappeared by 610 before Mangalodasa, the Chalukya.

In the Eastern Deccan are taken in succession the Ikshvaku of the third century; the Bhrapalâkshyas of Kudra, which leads the Professor to some interesting identifications of Ptolemaic Geography; the Sâlankiyanas of Vengi in the fourth and fifth centuries; the Vishnukundinas who succeeded them; and the Kings of Kalings from A.D. 310 until they were wiped out in 699 by Pulikeshin II, the Chalukya.

Of the important Kanarese Dynasties, there is a genealogy of the Kadambas from 340 to 565 onwards. There is also a discussion of that of the Ganga and as to who they were, with a chronology from 480 to 788 and onwards; and a history down to 665-640. At p. 110 is an important synchronisation of the Dynasties of the Deccan from 425-530. The volume winds up with a chronology of the Western Chalukyas until Pulikeshin II became master of the whole Deccan in 610, to fall himself in the end in battle in 642.

Professor Dubreuil has produced an arresting book and one that all students of East Indian history should study, even if they be experts.

R. C. TEMPLE.


The publication of this book marks an epoch in the historical study of the modern Indian languages. It is the first full account of the evolution of an Indo-aryan language to be written by a professed student of linguistics. Dr. Bloch has the authority of belonging to the Paris School of linguistic science, which owes so much to the genius of M. Meillet. In England, though we may perhaps claim it as the original home of the science, linguistics has been so neglected at all our universities that few of the works on modern Indian languages written in English display a thorough knowledge of linguistic principles. The same holds good of India and Indian universities: it is true however, that at Calcutta a determined attempt is being made to found a school of linguistic science, from which much may be hoped in the future for the study of Indian languages.

In this fact lies the great value of Dr. Bloch's introduction, which proposes generally the chief problems of Indian linguistic history. It is the book to which for the present all students must turn for instruction, the more readily because the development of all the Indo-aryan languages has run on the same general lines. As Dr. Bloch himself says: 'Faire l'histoire de l'une quelconque d'entre elles, le marâthe, par exemple, revient donc essentiellement à montrer comment les altérations subies au cours de l'histoire par le système linguistique du sanskrit ont abouti à la constitution des divers dialectes du moyen-indien d'abord, et ensuite de cette langue moderne elle-même.'

The introduction is followed by a detailed exposition of the development of the Middle Indian (Prâkrit) sounds from the Primitive Indian (Sanskrit), and of the Marâthi from the Middle Indian (pp. 43-176). Pages 177-262 deal with the history of the forms, and pages 263-274 with the
construction of the sentence. In these departments more than in any other further immediate research is required. The general outlines of Indian phonology are now known, and can be clearly grasped from Dr. Bloch's book; but the history of many of the forms still remains dark. Only from study of the early medieval literature of India can we hope to gain more certain knowledge of the many new forms, e.g., the postpositions, the use of which has so profoundly modified the appearance of the Indian languages. In this connection a great loss has been sustained through the untimely death of Dr. Tessitori: for his researches into the early literature of Rajputana were just such as Dr. Bloch himself shows to be so necessary.

Lastly comes the index (pp. 285-430). This is indeed a first etymological dictionary of Marāthi and of the other modern Indo-aryan languages, despite Dr. Bloch's modest disclaimer that it has only the appearance of being such. It may be true that a real etymological dictionary would require much more minute and careful philological research; but this is a fine beginning, to which all Indian linguists will have continual resort. Under each Marāthi word are given first the connected forms and words in other Indo-aryan languages, including Singhalese, Gipsy and the Dardic languages; then, if traceable, the Prākrit, Pāli or Sanskrit forms.

It is greatly to be hoped that Dr. Bloch will see his way to publishing an English translation of his book. Without that it would seem impossible for it to attain the wide circulation in India that it should: for the Indian student has already to face the difficulties of learning one foreign language. The University of Calcutta might well undertake such a publication as a sign of its real interest in linguistic science: for at present the teacher of Indian linguistics, however good his intentions or his qualifications, has no books to which he can refer the Indian student unable to read French or German.

There are of course some points in Dr. Bloch's account of the history both of sounds and of forms with which all cannot agree, most notably perhaps the question as to what part accent has played in the development of the sounds. Dr. Bloch denies any action of a stress accent, either initial or penultimate, and refers all difference in treatment of vowels to their position in the word independent of any question of accent. But Dr. Bloch himself presses most urgently the need for more and more research into the individual languages and dialects before an accurate picture of the evolution of the whole can be given. I venture here a few observations, which chiefly a small knowledge of Nepālī enables me to make.

P. 19 1.2 ab infra. Nepālī may be added to Bengāli and Oriya as a language in which the sibilant is not e.

P. 27 1.6 ab infra. The ə ə resulting from Middle Indian ai au, in Gujarātī at least, are open sounds clearly distinguishable from the corresponding close vowels resulting from Sanskrit ə ai, ə au. The same open simple vowel in place of the diphthong is heard in the Hindīstānī of the Delhi District: e.g., hā beṭhā from hai baṭhā. See Sir Ashutosh Mookerji, Memorial Volumes Orientalia. Turner, e and o vowels in Gujarātī and the literature there quoted.

P. 33 1.20 ab infra. Nepālī shows the same tendency to pronounce initial ə ə as yē and wē or wē: e.g., yēk or ēk 'one' yēfā or ēfā 'one' < yēfā (ēk), varīlā or ērīlāu 'descend' I have heard, the name Oghio regularly repeated as Wogalī by Gurkhas.

P. 54 1.20 (as corrected). It seems to me doubtful whether Dr. Bloch is right in adding Nepālī to the languages in which final vowels have not disappeared. On the contrary it would seem as a whole to have gone further than other Indo-aryan languages in reducing the quantity of final longs derived from Mid. Indian diphthongs or vowel groups. Hence forms which appear to retain Mid. Indian final vowels, such as the infinitive in -nu or -na beside -nā, or words like āju (ādya) taba etc., are in reality cases of further shortening of a Modern Indian long vowel. na < nā < -nakā: cf. ta 'then' kata 'whither', bhānā 'early' beside tā kata bīrṇā; nu < *-nā < nakam; āju < *ājō cf. ājō 'yesterday'; taba < *tabā cf. kata utā itā. Normally Mid. Indian final vowels disappear: e.g., hāt < hattā bij < vidyut.

P. 132 1.11. Is Dr. Bloch right in saying that the hōh bāte (upāviti) represents the stage *upāviti with apocope of u- occurring before the next stage *upāviti (attested by Pāli viṇiṭha-< *upiṇiṭha- and Armenian Gipsy see-) was reached? The normal development of *pu- in this

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1 I should like to take this opportunity of apologising for the premature appearance of my article The Indo-germanic accent in Marāthi, JRAS., 1916, in which Dr. Bloch's theory is criticised. Dr. Bloch was kind enough to send me in advance a copy of the first part of this book, which appeared under the form of a thesis in 1914. The confusion and interference with mails due to active service during the war led me to suppose wrongly that his book had already been published when my article appeared in 1916. I had no idea I was referring to a work most unfortunately destined not to appear till 1920!
position seems to be v. upānāh—M. vahā; vupari M. var; upasthāna—M. vsthā; upashkara—Guj. vathā, furniture; upaijana—Guj. sāgū marriage feast. For M. vahār Gujar. vahār upāsāra—seems to be a better derivation than upashkara—suggested by Dr. Bloch. These forms with v-are paralleled by forms with b- in the b-languages. Hindi bāthān ‘nut’ N. bāthān ‘rock,’ Beng. bāek. It appears to me more likely that p- in this position became uniformly v- before the loss of the preceding vowel brought into the initial position; and that this v- remained in the languages, but in common with originally initial v- became b- in the b-languages. In that case M. bāsā G. bāsā. Sin. bīhār, P. bāsā. Eur. Gipsh. bāsā v must be considered as common Indian loan words of a period subsequent to the change v- b- in the b-languages. Armenian Gipsh is the only language which preserves v-in this word. Does this represent upāsāra or vāsārī? In Nepāli bārā (vāsā) has completely ousted the derivatives of upāsāra in the sense ‘to sit’; cf. also the contamination in M. bāsā bāsā vāsā. A similar explanation must be given of M. Guj. bē (apē) beside H. bē Gipsh vē.

P. 184 1. 8. Dr. Bloch is wrong in saying that Nepāli differentiates the sing. oblique from the direct case: e.g. bāt : bāt le. In the plural however there is differentiation when the plural affix haru is not used: e.g., dūi bāt ‘two hands’ : dūi kātā le.

P. 188 1. 9. The history of the nominative masculine in- in Nepāli suggests the possibility though perhaps not the probability, of another explanation of M. -ā, which Dr. Bloch considers as a contraction of -au < -ā. In Nepāli this -ā < -ā regularly becomes -ā. But the -ā nominative is in fact in process of being displaced by -ā, taken over from the oblique -ā (-ē akāya) or from the very frequent use of the honorific plural -ā (-ākā). In the very common adjectival ending -ā < -yā this substitution has regularly been taken place, -yā < -ā because never being now found except in the case of the past participle serving as a finite verb.

P. 200 1. 15 ab infra. The N. that ‘to, at’ used with persons should be added to the M. the.

P. 202. 1. 12 ab infra. Ask N. lāgi, ko ‘for, on account of’ beside lāi ‘to, for’.

P. 205. 1. 12. If it is supposed that the past participle nīta- was used as a substantive and not as an adjective, the fact that its Marāthī descendant appears as a postposition in different cases makes no difficulty; since then nīta—would be the equivalent of nīya-. In Nepāli the past participle appears to have become a substantive. This explains the regular form of the past participle in which lo is added to the original participle: e.g., gare pahelo = having done or having been done, lit.—belonging to or having (lo) something done (gare < garyā) and the use of the participle in phrases like yas yas garyā le—by having done thus, On p. 261 Dr. Bloch draws attention to the same use in Marāthī. It may be further noticed that in the Dvāvimātaya vādānakathā, a Sanskrit Buddhist text from Nepal, the past participle is frequently employed as a substantive.

P. 208 1. 9 ab infra. Add N. yō ‘that’ obl. tē or tī to M. tā and Guj. tē. Tyō owes its y to the influence of yō ‘this’.

P. 212 1. 17 ab infra. N. mā ‘I’ though written so, is invariably pronounced with nasalisation [mA]. It is derived either as an unaccented word from mā (< *māgya) or was formed afresh on the analogy of the emphatics like bāhāna: bāhāna = mā: mā. Or, lastly, it may represent directly Skt. mām. Similarly tā ‘ thou’ beside emphatic tō.

P. 217 1. 1. The reduction of Mid. Indian -ti- to -y- or zero seems to have been most common in Ardhamāgadhī (Pischel § 87); and it must be noticed that it is in Oriya we find traces of the development now: e.g., pud ‘son’ H. pāt (putra). It would appear to be the same process which has reduced Mid. Indian thā to Pāli thā, as seen in a few modern Indian words like kōd kōry ‘pros’ < Pāli kōḍha-Pāli kōṭha (kauṭha).

P. 235. 1. 5. The Nepāli ending of the 3rd plur. pres. -an can be explained regularly as -ānti > -añi > -aan (without compensatory lengthening as the syllable is unaccented). Cf. cān beside cā (condra), amā beside āp (āma) — āmā beside āp (ānā). The 3rd plur. imperative -an is probably from -ān (ā regularly becomes u before a nasal) with ā instead of a after the 3rd sing. -ā where ā seems to be from -āu < -anu (the final s is obscure).

P. 238 1. 15 ab infra. N. -an is only used in the imperative.

P. 241 1. 17. It should be noted that the so-called future in -ā of Nepāli is not used as a simple future, but almost always as implying necessity or will. The simple future is the tense formed by the infinitive in -e plus cha or its contracted form. E.g. gare cha or garecha—he will do; garā—he shall do.

R. L. TURNER;
THE HISTORY OF THE NIZĀM SHAHI KINGS OF AHMADNAGAR.

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL T. W. HAIG, C.S.I., C.M.G., C.B.E.

(Continued from p. 72.)

LXI.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE TREATY BETWEEN IBRĀHĪM QUTH SHAH AND HUSAIN NIGĀM SHAH REGARDING THE CAPTURE OF GULBARGA AND BIDAR.

A.D. 1558. When the fame of Husain Nigām Shāh’s conquests and the account of his mighty army were spread abroad, Ibrāhīm Quth Shāh conceived the desire of entering into an alliance with him and sent Mustafā Kān, one of his chief amirs, who had no equal in the Dākan as a diplomat and politician, to Ahmadnagar, to conclude a treaty. Mustafā Kān arrived at Ahmadnagar and was received by the king, and in a short time succeeded in concluding a treaty, by the terms of which Ibrāhīm Quth Shāh was to meet Husain Nigām Shāh and the two kings were then to capture both Gulbarga and Bīdar. Gulbarga was to be attacked first, and the fortress and all the districts dependent on it were to be handed over to Husain Nigām Shāh, and the two kings were next to attack Bīdar which, with its dependencies, was to be handed over to Ibrāhīm Quth Shāh. After the conclusion of this treaty, Qāsim Beg was sent with Mustafā Kān to Ibrāhīm Quth Shāh, and it was agreed that the two kings should march from their capitals and should meet before Gulbarga. Husain Nigām Shāh then assembled his army and marched on Gulbarga. Ibrāhīm Quth Shāh also marched with his army from his capital and met Husain Nigām Shāh and the army of Ahmadnagar before Gulbarga, which fortress the two armies then surrounded and besieged.

The fort of Gulbarga, although built on the plain, is yet very strong, and is surrounded by a deep and broad ditch full of water. It is so constructed that the walls cannot be damaged by artillery, for the ground at the top of the counterscarp of the ditch rises so high that all shot fly above the walls, while the depth of the ditch and the fact that it is always full of water prevent running.

Husain Nigām Shāh, having encamped before the fortress, directed his attention to the best means of capturing it. He ordered Rūmī Kān and Mādho Rām, who were in charge of the artillery, to push the heavy siege guns forward to the edge of the ditch and batter the walls, in order that a practicable breach might be made for the attacking force. Rūmī Kān and Mādho Rām carried out these orders and the rest of the army pushed forward the trenches to the edge of the ditch. The garrison, who had great confidence in the strength of the fortress, were in no way daunted, and showed a most determined front to the besiegers, fighting most obstinately.

While these events were taking place, the king ordered the Sayyid Shāh Ḥasan ‘Injū, who was one of the most famous amirs of the army, Ghazanfar Kān, Daulat Kān, Nizām Kān, Miyan Makhdūm and others to attack the fortress, and, after capturing it, to hand it over to the officers of Ibrāhīm Quth Shāh. These amirs, with the whole army which they led, besieged Gulbarga for a month, during which period the defence was most steadfastly maintained and the siege most vigorously pressed. The walls were, however, at length breached, and the troops advanced to storm the place. They were met by the defenders, and a most determined and bloody fight took place, in which Farang Kān, Ashraf Kān, and Khurshid Kān were slain. The fighting before the fortress and in the breaches continued not only throughout the day, but for a whole month more. At length the garrison were reduced to great straits and, having no more strength to fight, sent a messenger to ‘Ādil Shāh setting forth their desperate circumstances. Ibrāhīm ‘Adil Shāh was himself unable to contend with Husain Nigām Shāh and sent to Rām Rāj, ruler of
Vijayanagar, explaining that he was hard pressed by Husain Nigam Shâh and Ibrahim Qub Shâh, who were besieging Gulbarga, and asking for help. Sadâshivârâya, relying on the claim which his early protection of Ibrahim Qub Shâh had given him on Ibrahim's gratitude, wrote a letter to him enjoining him to desert his alliance with Husain Nigam Shâh, and to desist from harassing Ibrahim 'Adil Shâh, and then set out from his capital, with his army, for Gulbarga. The letter and the news of Sadâshivârâya's approach reached Ibrahim Qub Shâh at the same time, and he at once violated the solemn treaty with Husain Nigam Shâh and left Gulbarga for Telingâna in the middle of the night. The news of his flight was brought to Husain Nigam Shâh in the morning, and Husain in his wrath, chose to believe that Qâsim Beg, who had been the agent who had brought about the treaty, was also concerned in Ibrahim Qub Shâh's violation of it. After closely questioning Qasim Beg, he openly blamed him for Ibrahim's defection and ordered that he was to be imprisoned in Parenda. Maulâna Inâyatullah Nâyati, a learned and accomplished man, who had been introduced at court by Qâsim Beg, took fright at his patron's imprisonment and fled to the court of Ibrahim Qub Shâh. Maulâna 'All Mâzandarâni, who was distinguished in all branches of learning, but particularly in rhetoric, was appointed vakil, and Bhopal Râj, who had formerly been in the service of Malik Barid and had entered the service of Ahmadnagar at the suggestion of his late majesty, as already described, was appointed muizzir.36

When Ibrahim Qub Shâh had left Gulbarga for his capital, Husain Nigam Shâh perceived that it would be unwise to tarry any longer and marched to Ahmadnagar. On his arrival there, he summoned Qasim Beg before him and compelled him to retire to his own lands, but after a short while he again bestowed his favour upon him and reappointed him to the post of vakil and pishâl. At the same time Maulâna Inâyatullah, relying on a safe conduct sent him by the king, returned from Telingâna to Ahmadnagar and was again admitted to the royal service.

LXII.—An account of the marriage between Daulat Shâh Begum, daughter of Daryâ 'Imad Shâh, and Husain Nigam Shâh.

A.D. 1559. When Husain Nigam Shâh, for the reasons already given, had abandoned his project of capturing Gulbarga and was again seated on his throne at Ahmadnagar, it occurred to him that it would be sound policy to cement and renew the alliance which had

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136 This account of the siege of Gulbarga does not differ materially from those given by Firuzhta and the author of the Târîkh: Muhammad Qub Shâh, except that Sayyid 'Ali represents Ibrahim 'Adil Shâh I as still reigning in Bijâpûr, whereas he had died before the siege opened, and it is probable that it was his death that encouraged the allies to attack Bijâpûr, for the accession of his elder son, Ali, who was a Shi'ah, led to disturbances. 'Ali appealed for aid to Sadâshivârâya of Vijayanagar and, according to the T.M.Q.S., went to Vijayanagar himself to seek it. Sadâshivârâya responded to his appeal and actually marched from his capital to relieve Gulbarga, sending a message to Ibrahim Qub Shâh to the effect that he would do well to abandon his alliance with Husain Nigam Shâh and retire to his capital. Ibrahim Qub Shâh had two good reasons for giving ear to the advice of Sadâshivârâya; first, he was under an obligation to him for the protection afforded to him before he ascended the throne, and secondly, his southern frontier marched with the dominions of Vijayanagar and was open to attacks throughout its length. According to the T.M.Q.S., he had heard that Tirumala, younger brother of Sadâshivârâya, had already invaded his kingdom and was laying waste the Pângul district.

The T.M.Q.S. differs from all other authorities in stating that Ibrahim Qub Shâh did not suddenly desert his ally, but at his request met Sadâshivârâya and 'Ali 'Adil Shâh I in the bed of the Krishna and arranged the terms of peace, but this account is belied by Husain Nigam Shâh's subsequent treatment of Qasim Beg and by the apprehensions which led Inâyatullah Nâyati to flee to Golconda,
existed between himself and Daryā 'Imād Shāh by a marriage. He therefore summoned his advisers and took counsel with them in this matter. They applauded the proposal, and Maulānā All Māzandarānī was sent as an ambassador, with numerous and costly gifts, to Daryā 'Imād Shāh. He succeeded in arranging an alliance between Husain Niẓām Shāh and Daulat Shāh Begum, daughter of Daryā 'Imād Shāh, and it was agreed that the parties should meet at the town of Sonpet, which was afterwards called 'Ishratābād.

A.D. 1559. Daryā 'Imād Shāh and Husain Niẓām Shāh marched to the appointed place of meeting; they encamped on the two banks of the river of victory and river Biyūr, and the marriage festivities began. There was much drinking, feasting and merriment, and at length, in an auspicious hour, the marriage was celebrated according to the rites of the holy law, and the amirs scattered largesse and offered congratulations. After the consummation of the marriage, the two kings met once more and then each returned with great pomp to his capital.

LXIII.—ATTEMPT OF THE PORTUGUESE TO BUILD A FORT ABOVE CHAUL, OR REVANDA.

A.D. 1558. In the fifth year of the king’s reign, an absurd and impossible idea entered the hearts of the Farangis of Revanda and they purposed to build a fort on the summit of the hill of Karlah, on which the lord of the fortunate conjunction, Burhān Niẓām Shāh II has now built a fort, which he has named Burhān Drug, as will be related. They also purposed to build another fortress in the plain below that hill.

When this was reported to Husain Niẓām Shāh, he was wroth and purposed to undertake a holy war against the polytheists and idolaters, in accordance with the Quranic command; and it is evident that if kings warred not thus against idolaters and polytheists, the faith of the prophet would soon be destroyed, and would entirely disappear.

Husain Niẓām Shāh, with a view to rooting out and entirely annihilating the Farangis, sent Rūmī Khān and Maulānā Shāh Muhammad Ustad, with a well-appointed and zealous army and several heavy guns, towards Revanda.

When the Portuguese heard of the approach of this army and of the artillery, they repented them of their design and, excusing themselves, sought forgiveness. They sent an envoy to the king to express, through the agency of the amirs, their repentance and contrition, and to promise that they would never again be guilty of such presumption, but would be faithful servants of the king. When Husain Niẓām Shāh was thus apprized of the repentance and submission of the Farangis, he took pity on them and ordered his army to return to Ahmadnagar. In the same year 'Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh I. departed this life and, in

127 Sonpet is on the Wān, in 10° 2′ N. and 70° 29′ E. The closer alliance with Berar was a reply to the alliance between Bijāpūr and Vijayanagar.

128 This heading is not in the original MS. The account here given is in substantial agreement with that of Firīsheh (ii, 243) but differs considerably from the Portuguese version. “The governor, desiring to secure the promontory of Chaul, asked leave of king Niẓām Shāh (Niẓām Shāh) to build a fort there. The king not only refused to grant his request but seized the governor’s messenger, and sent 30,000 men to the spot to erect an impregnable fortress at that place. The governor, Francisco Barreto, sent Alvaro Pere de Soutsenayor with some ships to blockade the port till he arrived, which was soon after. On the arrival of the governor, with an army of 4,000 Portuguese soldiers, besides a number of natives, the enemy thought better of it and sued for peace, which was concluded on condition that the work of the fort should not proceed.”—Davies, i, 510.

129 This event is misdated. 'Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh I had died late in 1557 or early in 1558, before the siege of Gulbarga. His son 'All did not succeed him without opposition, for 'Ibrāhīm had been a Sunni and had filled the army with Sunnis, expelling the Shi'ahs and most of the foreigners. The army was, therefore, generally opposed to his succession. See note 126.
accordance with his will and with the concurrence of the army, 'Ali 'Adil Shāh ascended the throne.

Immediately after this, according to some accounts, Daryā 'Imād Shāh obeyed the summons of God, and Tufāl Khan, one of his amīr, who was more powerful than all the rest owing to the strength of his army and his high position, became all powerful in the kingdom of Berar, as will be related hereafter.

LXIV.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE QUARREL BETWEEN ḤUSAIN NĪẓĀM SHĀH AND SADĀSHIVARĀYA.41

A.D. 1560. There had long been quarrels between Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh I and Sadāshivarāya, and Ibrāhīm's territories had suffered from the inroads both of Ahmadnagar and of Vijayanagar, many of the forts of Bijāpūr being destroyed by the army of Ahmadnagar. Now that 'Ali 'Adil Shāh had ascended the throne of Bijāpūr, he began to court the friendship of Sadāshivarāya and sent him valuable gifts as tribute, so that Sadāshivarāya began to ignore and violate the treaties into which he had entered with the Nizām Shāhi.

40 This unusual name is written Ṭuğqul ('augury' or 'divination') throughout the MS. Tufağ, as it is usually written, means 'spittle.' The form in the MS. is probably correct, but I have adopted the more usual form, partly for typographical reasons. Daryā 'Imād Shāh died in A.D. 1560.

41 In this account of the invasion of the Ahmād nāgar kingdom by Sadāshivarāya, 'Ali 'Adil Shāh I, and Ibrāhīm Qūṭ Shāh, Sayyid 'Ali conceals much that is to the discredit of Ḥusain Nīẓām Shāh I, especially his bitter humiliation before the 'īnīdel' Sadāshivarāya. It was to avenge the capture of Sholapur and Kāliyānī by Burhān I that 'Ali 'Adil Shāh entered into an alliance with Sadāshivarāya. Ibrāhīm Qūṭ Shāh was compelled to join it for the reasons already given in note 36. Husain's advisers strongly urged him to attempt to purchase peace by the retrocession of Kāliyānī, but he obstinately refused to listen to the suggestion. The statement that 'the accursed Bhopāl Rāj' had surrendered aliyānī is not true. The retrocession of Kāliyānī was the least humiliating of the three conditions which Husain was eventually forced to accept. Daryā 'Imād Shāh was not yet dead and Husain believed that he would be able to persuade him, Mubārak II of Hāneish, and 'Ali Barid Shāh of Bidar to come to his assistance. Maqāshāh, brother of 'Ali Barid, was now in the service of Daryā in Berar. He was under the influence of 'Ali 'Adil Shāh, and not only dissuaded Daryā from assisting Husain but invaded the latter's dominions with 5,000 horse and foot from Berar. Being utterly defeated by Mūllā Muhammad of Nāhābūr, he was afraid to return to Daryā 'Imād Shāh and entered the service of 'Ali 'Adil Shāh. Daryā now made Jahāngir Khān, the Dārkhānī, his minister, and sent him with an army to the assistance of Husain. He marched to the borders of Bijāpūr and did good service in cutting off the supplies of the powerful allies. Meanwhile, Ibrāhīm Qūṭ Shāh began to repent of having joined the confederacy, for he feared that if Bijāpūr swallowed Ahmadnagar he would be the next victim, and the conduct of the Hindus in destroying and defiling mosques and ravishing Muhammadan women was scandalizing all Muslims. He opened communications with the garrison of Ahmadnagar and assisted them greatly by allowing supplies to pass through his lines to the fort. At length he served his new allies as he had served Husain before Gulbarga, and retired in the night to his own kingdom, leaving his camp standing. The besiegers were now short of supplies, owing to the activity of Jahāngir Khān, and retired to Aṣhā, sending an army to reduce Farenda; but Husain was in great distress and was forced to sue for peace, which Sadāshivarāya, who was, in fact, the leader of the confederacy against him, granted on three conditions, the restoration of Kāliyānī to 'Ali 'Adil, the execution of the valiant Jahāngir Khān, and Husain's personal submission before him. Husain accepted these terms, and basely put to death a valiant ally, the servant of a friendly sovereign, to save himself and his kingdom. Sadāshivarāya was seated on his throne when Husain appeared before him and gave Husain his hand to kiss. Husain humiliated himself, but foolishly insulted the Hindu by calling for water and ostentatiously washing his hands. Sadāshivarāya said, in Canarese, 'If he were not my guest, the largest part of him that would be left would be the tips of his fingers.' Peace was, however, made between them, and Husain delivered the keys of Kāliyānī to Sadāshivarāya who gave them to 'Ali 'Adil Shāh. See F. ii., 67, 335, B.S.; 84; and T. M.Q.S.
dynasty and to show hostility to Aḥmadnagar, which line of conduct tended of necessity
to the ruin of his kingdom.

‘Ali ‘Aḍil Shāh in person entered the territory of Vijayanagar and led Sadāšhivarāya
astray by means of costly gifts, and he and Sadāšhivarāya then entered the kingdom of
Aḥmadnagar with an army more numerous than the raindrops, and sent a message to
Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh, urging him to join them. He was already beholden to Sadāšhivarāya
for the protection afforded to him by the latter in the reign of Jamshīd Quṭb Shāh, and
therefore considered that he was not at liberty to oppose him. He marched to Telīngāna
with his army and joined ‘Ali ‘Aḍil Shāh and Sadāšhivarāya. The three armies then marched
through the kingdom of Aḥmadnagar and the army of Vijayanagar plundered and devastat-
ed the whole country through which it passed. When the news of the approach of these
armies was brought to Ḥusain Niḍām Shāh by the fugitives from the districts through
which they had passed, the king summoned his advisers and took counsel with them regarding
the plan to be adopted. They advised the king, as the army of the enemy largely out-
numbered that of Aḥmadnagar and was too strong to be successfully withstood, to abandon
the capital with his army and to remain in the country where he was not likely to be overt-
taken, owing to the slowness of the enemy’s movements, and where he could amuse himself
with hunting. They said that this policy should be continued until the rainy season, when,
owing to the rain and the mud, and to the impossibility of obtaining supplies, the enemy
would not be able to remain in the country and would either flee or sue for peace.

The king, following this advice, placed a garrison of picked men, well provided with
artillery and other munitions of war, in the fort of Aḥmadnagar, and then, with the rest of
his army, crossed the Godāvāri and made Paithān his headquarters. Immediately after
his departure, Sadāšhivarāya arrived at Aḥmadnagar with the army of Vijayanagar and
encamped before the fortress, and the Hindūs began to plunder the country, to overthrow
the dwellings of the people, and to persecute the poor among the Muslims. Sadāšhivarāya,
‘Ali ‘Aḍil Shāh, and Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh remained thus for some time at Aḥmadnagar,
laying waste all the country round about; and then the rains broke with great violence.
The mud and mire were so deep that the troops could not move and the elephants began
to die for want of fodder. Meanwhile, the army of Aḥmadnagar began to harass the
enemy by attacking the outskirts of the camp and slaying all whom they found, until none
dare venture forth. Sadāšhivarāya then ordered Sadāshiva Nāik, one of the chief
officers of the army of Vijayanagar, to take his troops and harry the country as far as the
Godāvari, slaying all whom he met; but spies brought information of this design to the
king. The king sent an army of ‘Iraḍī and Khurāṣānī horsemen under Māvāli Khān, Sanjar
Khān, Da-ulat Khān, Daṣṭūr Khān, Vazīr Khān and Sātya to intercept the Hindūs, and free
the earth from their foul existence. This force came upon the Hindūs near the town of
Jāmgaon and, after a determined battle, defeated them. The infidels had much difficulty
in saving their lives by flight, and many horses, arms and standards fell into the hands of
the army of Islam, who encamped on the battlefield. At this time Mīr Ḥusain, brother of
Yuɣrīsh Khān, arrived and brought news that the accursed Bhōpāl Rāj, who had been
appointed by the king to the command of the fortress of Kaliyān, had surrendered that
fortress to the enemy. When this news was brought to the king, he decided, in accordance
with the advice of his counsellors, to make peace with Sadāšhivarāya, and sent Maulānā
‘Ali Māzandarānī to Kaliyān in order that he might secure the property of all the king’s
servants and surrender the fort. He also returned to Sadāšhivarāya the horses and arms
which had been captured at Jangaoon and recalled the troops from Jangaoon to the royal camp. Kaliyana was surrendered to the officers of Ali Aul Shâh and Sadâshivaraaya, then retired from the neighbourhood of Ahmadnagar and Husain Nân Shâh returned thereto, and repaired the damage which had been done by the infidels. And at this time the king devoted special attention to the strengthening of the fortress of Ahmadnagar, which was known as Bagh-i-Nizâm, and had been built of brick in mud, and he rebuilt the fortress of hard stone, and strengthened it so that it was superior to any fort on earth.

(To be continued.)

TOPAZ-TOPASS.
BY SIR R. C. TEMPLE.

A discussion on this interesting term took place in the pages of the Ceylon Antiquary in 1916, and the subject has been revived in the April number (vol. v, pt. iv) of that journal last year (1920). Several suggestions have from time to time been put forth as to the origin of the word, but only two of these have found acceptance with scholars, among whom there is still a difference of opinion regarding its derivation.

With the object of settling this vexed question, I have collected, in chronological order, as many references to, and definitions of, the term Topaz as appear in such authorities as Yule’s Hobson-Jobson and the Oxford English Dictionary, together with additional quotations cited in the Ceylon Antiquary and my own notes from original records and old travellers. The whole makes an informing series and, to my mind, solves the difficulty of the origin of the term.

There can be little doubt that the word is an early Portuguese corruption, through a form topâsh in Malayalam (the first Indian language the Portuguese learnt) of the Indian dubbâsh (Skr. dvibbâsh), one with two languages, i.e., a half-breed servant of Europeans; thence a soldier, especially a gunner, and among sailors, a ship’s servant, a lavatory or bathroom attendant, and incidentally, on occasion, an interpreter. In the form topaz, topass, the term became differentiated from dubbâsh (in the mouths of Europeans, dubash), a superior native interpreter, and meant always a low-class half-breed. It has no relation to top a gun, or to top, a hat.

1549. Father Anriquez, writing from Puricail on the 21st November, says that he was engaged for some time in making correct translations previously made by the Topazes. These Topazes had, moreover, a bad reputation and were excluded from the Jesuit College of Goa. Derivation of Tuppahi by S. G. P. (who quotes the original Portuguese) in Ceylon Antiquary, vol. II, pt. i, p. 62.

1602. The 12th ditto we saw to seaward another Champaigne (Sampan) wherein were 20 men, Mestics and Topaz. Van Spilbergen’s Voyage, p. 34 (pub. 1648). (Quoted in Hobson-Jobson, a. e. Topaz.)

1672. Madraspatam otherwise Chinnepatan, where the English have the Fort of St. George, garrison’d with Topazes and Mesticoes. Baldus, Beschryvinge van Malabar en Choromandel, quoted by Love, Vestiges of Old Madras, I, 278.

1673. To the Fort then belonged 300 English, and 400 Topazes, or Portugal Firemen. Fryer, ed. 1698, p. 66. In his glossarial Index Fryer has Topazes, Musketeers. (In Hobson-Jobson.)
1680. It is resolved and ordered to entertain about 100 Topasses, or Black Portuguese, into pay. Wheeler, Madras in the Olden Time, I, 121. (In Hobson-Jobson.)

1681. The Dutch at Pollock taking in all the Topasses and Peons they can get to serve them. Pringle, Diary and Consultation Book of Fort St. George, p. 11.

1686. It is resolved as soon as English soldiers can be provided sufficient for the garrison, that all Topasses be disbanded, and no more entertained, since there is little dependence on them. Wheeler, op. cit., p. 159. (In Hobson-Jobson.)

1695. Ordered that . . . six soldiers Europeans, and six Topasses and twenty Peons go for a guard [with the present to the Nawab’s camp]. Consultation at Fort St. George (Madras Records).

1697. You doe very well in looking after the [concernes] of Manuell de Monte deceased or any other Topasses. Letters from Fort St. George (Madras Records).


1699. The garrison [at Fort St. George] consists of no more than three Companies of fourscore or a hundred men each, and one-third of these Topazes or Portuguese Indians, Salmon’s description of Madras, quoted by Love, Vestiges of Old Madras, II, 75.

1705. Topasses, qui sont des gens du pays qu’on élève et qu’on habilbe à la Françoise, lesquels ont été instruits dans la Religion Catholique par quelques uns de nos Missionaires. Luillier, Voyage aux Grandes Indes, pp. 45-46. (In Hobson Jobson.)

1711. The Garrison consists of about 250 Soldiers, at 91 Fanhams, or 1l. 2s. 9d. per month, and 200 Topasses, or black Mungrel Portuguese, at 50, or 52 Fanhams per month. Lockyer, Trade in India, p. 14. (In Hobson-Jobson.)

1717. Midford and his English Serjeant, Hill, were desperately wounded and made prisoners, together with five Europeans and forty-seven Topasses . . . The unfortunate Topasses who had their noses cut off were [afterwards, 22nd January 1718] formed into a company of marines, and had their pay augmented to Rs. 5 a month. In this odd way the Bombay Marine Battalion appears to have had its origin. Biddulph, Pirates of Malabar, pp. 93, 99.

1720. Expedition against Gheriah . . . Many of the casualties were caused by the bursting of a gun on board the Phraum. The explosion fired the gun on the opposite side of the deck, which was loaded with grape, and pointing over a boat full of Topasses. Biddulph, op. cit., p. 147.

1727. Some Portuguese [are] called Topasses . . . will be served by none but Portuguese Priests because they indulge them more in their villany. A Hamilton, A new Account of the East Indies, ed. 1748, I. 326.

1740. Number of men thought necessary for the Gunroom Crew—1 Gunner, 4 Gunner’s Mates, 10 Quarter Gunners, 35 Europeans, 100 Topasses, 1 Syrang, 2 Tindalls, and 35 Lascars. Consultation at Fort St. George, 30th May. Love, Vestiges of Old Madras, II, 295.
1743. There are a certain Christian people to be found in this country of Malabar, and throughout the extensive coasts of India, called Topasses, who cannot be reckoned as belonging exactly either to the Europeans or the natives, but from (sic) a third class. They are a mixed race: some are sprung from Portuguese settlers and slaves, whose children have inter-married with the blacks: but the greater part are the offspring of enfranchised Portuguese slaves. With these we must also reckon freed slaves of all races; including Christian slaves who are chiefly of the Romish persuasion.

The name Topas is curious. It is supposed to be derived from two Portuguese words ("thou boy") because the Portuguese in early times, having taught their language to the slaves born in their house made use of them as interpreters in dealing with the natives, and were in the habit of saying Tu Pai falla aquel or 'you boy, say so and so.' There seems to be a glimpse of truth in this account, for they still call the oldest and most respected slaves 'Pai'.

Others refer this word [to] koepaj [? in English, kupaj], which in the Malabar language signifies a coat; for they wear coat, shirt, and breaches (sic), like the Europeans, as likewise a hat, in sign of their freedom, and the more wealthy among them wear shoes and stockings, though more generally they go barefoot. But in my opinion the origin of this name must not be ascribed to koepaj ("coat") but rather to Toepay ("interpreter"); because the race served as interpreters between the people of Malabar and Christians; and to this day the same office is exercised by many of them and is esteemed a very honourable profession.


1747. The Officers . . . report their people . . . could not do more . . . against the force the enemy had, being . . . one thousand Europeans, besides Topasses, Coffrees, and Seapoys. Consultation at Fort St. David, 1st March (India Office Records).

1748. William Barwell to Admiral Boscawen. I have already taken into pay all the Topasses and other People I could possibly procure. C. R. Wilson, Old Fort William, I, 213.

1749. 600 effective Europeans would not have cost more than that Crew of useless Topasses and Peons of which the Major Part of our Military has of late been composed.

The Topasses . . . a black, degenerate, wretched Race of the antient Portuguese, as proud and bigotted as their Ancestors, lazy, idle, and vicious withal, and for the most Part as weak and feeble in Body as base in mind, not one in ten possessed of any of the necessary Requisites for a Soldier. A Letter to a Proprietor of the E. I. Company, pp. 57, 103. (In Hobson-Jobson.)
1750. When our people arrived, they found English Topasses and peons holding Villupuram fort, on behalf of 'Abd-Allah. Sergeant Saint-Marc, ten Europeans with twenty Topasses and fifty sepoys returned. Nāsir Jang Nizām is encamped with 200 English soldiers, 100 mestices, 200 Topasses, 400 sepoys and 600 Carnatic peons. *Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai*, vol. VI., ed. Dodwell, pp. 387, 417, 431.


1756. In this plight I sustained the weight of a. Topaz bearing on my right. Holwell, *Narrative of the Black Hole*. (In Hobson-Jobson.)

1758. There is a distinction said to be made by you, which, in our opinion, does no way square with rules of justice and equity, and that is the exclusion of Portuguese topasses, and other Christian natives, from any share of the money granted by the Nawab. Court’s Letter, quoted in Long’s *Selections*, p. 133. (In Hobson-Jobson.)


1766. Topasses, a tawny race of foot soldiers distinct from Portuguese marine natives, and called Topasses because they wear hats. J. H. Grose, *Voyage to the East Indies*, (2d. ed.) I, xiv. (Glossary). (In O. E. D.)

1785. Topasses, black foot soldiers, descended from the Portuguese marrying natives, called Topasses, because they wear hats. Caraccioli, *Life of Lord Clive*, IV, 554. (In Hobson-Jobson.)

1787. I have also recommended the corps of Topasses or descendants of Europeans, who retain the characteristic qualities of their progenitors. Fullarton, *View of English Interests in India*, p. 222. (In Hobson-Jobson.)

1789. Topasses are the sons of Europeans and black women, or low Portuguese who are trained to arms. Munro, *Narrative of Military Operations against the French*, p. 321. (In Hobson-Jobson.)


[Topazes or Deobāshī, on the Coromandel Coast, Dobāchī, according to the etymology of their name, interpreters, or versed in two languages, the one Indian, the other European.]

Colà essi chiamansi Mundociareri, gente di veste bianca, per distinguend dalli Tupasi, che parlano Malabar e Portoghese, e portano capello e calzoni senza calzette e senza scarpe. Fra Paolino, *Viaggio alle Indie Orientali*, p. 144. [In that place (Cochin) they (Christians) are called Mundocáraer, men of the white robe, to distinguish them from the Tupasis, who speak Malabar (Tamil) and Portuguese, and wear a hat and trousers without stockings and without shoes]
In a footnote, Fra Paolino explains the origin of the term Tupasi. The following is a translation of his remarks: The name Tupasi comes from the Sanskrit Duibhāshi, dui=two, and bhāshi=one who speaks two languages, interpreter, which all Tupasis are, for they speak their native vernacular and a European language, English, French, Dutch, or Portuguese. In Cochin they are called ‘gente de chapeu,’ that is, hat men, for they wear a topi or hat, whilst the other Indians, who are not descendants of the Europeans, wear the Romāli, that is to say, a white turban or muslin of the finest cotton. Note on Tuppahi by S. G. P. in Ceylon Antiquary, vol. II, pt. iv, p. 282, where the extract from Fra Paolino given above, also occurs.

1809. Topaz: A word used by the Portuguese in India to designate a Christian who has father and mother of different countries. A Vieyra, A Dict. of the Portuguese and English Languages (quoted by A. Mendis Gunasekara Mudaliar in Ceylon Antiquary, vol. II, pt. 1, p. 63.

1817. Topasses, or persons whom we may denominate Indo-Portuguese, either the mixed products of Portuguese and Indian parents, or converts to the Portuguese from the Indian faith. J. Mill, Hist. of British India. (In Hobson-Jobson.)


1855. Topas (Port. Topaz, perhaps from the H. topi, a hat). A native Christian sprung from a Portuguese father and Indian mother in the south of India: in the early history of the Company these people were extensively enlisted as soldiers; hence the term came to be applied to the Company's native soldiery generally in the Peninsula: it is now obsolete. H. H. Wilson Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms.


1862. The East Indian community which is here [Visscher's Letters from Malabar, 1743, supra] alluded to has undoubtedly undergone a great change since the days of our author . . . The term Topass has fallen into disuse, but it is singular enough that, to the present day, the Europeans in India invariably call ‘Boy’ whenever they require a servant, East Indian or native. Footnote by Major Heber Drury to his translation of Visscher’s Letters from Malabar, quoted in Ceylon Antiquary, vol. V, pt. iv, p. 204.

1885. Thirty ‘topasses’ on board the deserted ship launched a boat and got to Port Canning. Daily Telegraph, 24 October. In O. E. D., s. v. Topaz.

1871. Topaz (in India), a Christian that has father and mother of different countries. D. J. de Lacerda, Portuguese-English Dictionary.

1885. **Topass**, from *tōpā*, Hind., a hat, a person wearing a hat; a Christian of mixed descent, chiefly of Portuguese origin, employed on shipboard as a **sweeper**. Dr. E. Balfour, *Cyclopaedia of India*.

1886. **Topaz, Topass**, etc. A name used in the 17th and 18th centuries for dark-skinned or half-caste claimants of Portuguese descent, and Christian profession. Its application is generally, though not universally, to soldiers of this class, and it is possible that it was originally a corruption of the Pers. (from Turkish) *top-chī*, a gunner. Various other etymologies have however been given. That from *topā* a 'hat' has a good deal of plausibility, and even if the former etymology be the true **origin**, it is probable that this one was often in the minds of those using the term as its true connotation. It may have some corroboration not only in the fact that Europeans are to this day often spoken of by the natives (with a shade of disparagement) as *Topā-udīs* or 'Hat-men,' but also in the pride commonly taken by all persons claiming European blood in wearing a hat; indeed Fra Paolini tells us that this class called themselves *gente dechapeco*. Possibly, however, this was merely a misrendering of *topaz* from the assumed etymology. The same Fra Paolini, with his usual fertility in error, propounds in another passage that *topaz* is a corruption of *do-bhāshiya*, 'two-tongued' (in fact is another form of dubash), *viz.*, using Portuguese and a debased vernacular, The **Topaz** on board ship is the sweeper, who is at sea frequently of this class. Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. Topaz.

1886. **Topaz**. A bath-room attendant. Probably from the Portuguese. H. A. Giles, *A Glossary of Reference on subjects connected with the Far East*. 2nd ed. [He is still the bath-room and lavatory attendant on board ships carrying passengers to and from the East.—R. C. T.]


1892. **Topass, topaz**. Anglo-Indian name of any dark-skinned half-caste of Portuguese descent; the sweeper (who is often such a half-breed) on board ship. C. A. M. Fennell, *The Stanford, Dict. of anglicised words and phrases*.

1893. **Topass**. Applied to half-castes of Portuguese origin. The word now only survives on board steamers of the merchant service. A. T. Pringle, *Diary and Consultation Book of the Agent and Governor of Fort St. George* (Note on p. 11 of 1681).


1913. **Topaz**. E. Indies. Also **topaz**. Adapted from Portuguese *topaz*. A man of two languages, interpreter, in which capacity these men of mixed descent were employed. A fancied derivation from Hindi *tōpā*, hat, making
the term = tōpt-wāla, 'hat-man,' European, has been current since the middle of the 18th century. A dark-skinned half-breed of Portuguese descent; often applied to a soldier, or a ship's scavenger or bath-attendant who is of this class. Oxford English Dict., s. v. Topass.

1916. Topasses was the name given by the Portuguese to Eurasians, and occurs frequently in the letters of old-time missionaries. Both [the Sinhalese] Tappahi and [Tamil] Tuppāsi evidently come from this Topass, which is probably the Hindi word referred to by Winslow [supra, 1862]. It has the two significations given by Clough [supra, 1821]. The word Topass is said to be derived from Hind. tōpi. It would be a curious piece of "learned lumber" to know whether Tuppahi came into use in Sinhalese from the Tamil Tupāsi, or from Topass so frequently used by the Portuguese. The authority of the learned scholar, Mudaliyar Gunasēkara, is for its introduction from the Tamil. The Carmelite friar Paolino a S. Bartolomaeus was the first to propound the derivation of Topaz and Dubash from Dvibhāshi. But Yule very thoughtlessly ridicules the derivation. Topaz is not pure Portuguese, but a word Lusitanised from Hindi. Is the Hindi word tōpi or dobāshi (dubhāshia, Skt. dvibhāshi). The Turkish etymology suggested by Yule may well be neglected. That Eurasians came to be called "hat-men" is not strange. I think the use of Tappahi in Sinhalese literature of the 16th and 17th centuries will bear out the statement that it was first used to discriminate Eurasians. [The writer is unable to verify this statement, which is suggested by the occurrence of the word in this sense in the translations of the Parangi Hatana]. Its use in the sense of "interpreter" is of much later date, and probably came in because Eurasians often served this purpose. It would be interesting to know the date of the earliest use of the word in the sense of "interpreter." (Father Anriquez uses Topaz in this sense in 1549, which is the earliest in India.) There seems to have been a different word for "interpreter" in Ceylon, i.e., Banaca. Notes on the Derivation of Tappahi by S. G. P. in Ceylon Antiquary, vol. II, pt. i, pp. 62, 124-126, 282.

1916. The Tamil tuppāsi (of which tuppāsi is a modification) is evidently derived from the Hindi dvibhāshi, which literally means 'one who speaks two languages.' It is not genuine Portuguese. The Portuguese Topaz is either a corruption of dvibhāshi, or of its Tamil equivalent tuppāsi. The latter is more probable, owing to the words "South India" in Whitworth [supra, 1885]. The word cannot be connected with the Hindi tōpt, hat, for the reason that s (ch) in tuppāsi or s in Topaz is unaccountable, and because it is inconceivable that only a small and insignificant section of the people who wore hats came to be called tuppāsi to the exclusion of the genuine Europeans who always wore hats. The Sinhalese Tappahi (a modification of tuppāsi) may be from the Tamil or from the Portuguese, which, as shown above, adopted the word from the Tamil. Note by A. Mendis Gunasēkara Mudaliyar, in Ceylon Antiquary, vol. II, pt. i, p. 63.
1916. The word *tuppahi* is used by the Sinhalese to signify "interpreter." The Sanskrit word *dvibhāsi* signifying one who speaks two languages, has taken the form *tupāsi* in Tamil, and the Tamil ‘Tupāsi’ has become ‘Tuppahi’ in Sinhalese. The word is also used by the Sinhalese to indicate a Portuguese descendant. Note by Simon de Silva, Gate Mudaliyar on the *Derivation of Tuppahi*, in *Ceylon Antiquary*, vol. II, pt. i, p. 63.

1916. In the early intercourse of the Europeans with India, a man who was able to interpret between the European and the native, was called *dvibhāsi*, a man of two languages. In Portuguese this *dvibhāsi* became dubach, which is the word applied now to a ship-chandler, while in court it kept its form purer and passed into Tamil as *tupāsi*, and into Sinhalese as *tuppahi*. In the latter language it means, in addition to interpreter, also a Portuguese descendant of the mechanic class. This class is of mixed Portuguese and Sinhalese descent, and speaks two languages. Hence the designation. Note by W. F. Gunawardhana Mudaliyar on the *Derivation of Tuppahi*, in *Ceylon Antiquary*, vol. II, pt. i, p. 63.

1916. Inland-tombos *toepas* (*tuppahi*) means a person belonging to that class, but when followed by the word *moedianse* means interpreter (*tuppahi moedianse* = interpreter mudaliyar). So that a *tuppahi moedianse* is not necessarily a *toepas*. A person of mixed European and native descent (mestiço) was necessarily bi-lingual (*toepas*), and hence employed in Portuguese times as an interpreter. In process of time, the word which had reference to interpreter was used to designate a class, i.e., the lower order of mestiço and native Christians. The Dutch called the interpreter-Mudaliyar "tolk modiljar." The *topi-wallah* or hat-man theory is, I think, rather far fetched. If such had been the case, one would have expected *topikarayah*, not *toepas*.


1918. In a note on a passage in the *Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai* (supra, 1750), with reference to "100 mestices, 200 Topasses," Mr. H. Dodwell remarks (p. 431n.), "Mestice merely means half caste. I cannot suggest why these people should apparently be differentiated from Topasses."

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**THE WOMEN POETS OF THE RIG-VEDA—A STUDY.**

BY KRISHNAKANTA HANDIQUI, M.A.; JORHAT.

The first noteworthy poetress whom we meet with in the *Rig-Veda* is Viśvavārā Ātreya (R.-V. 5. 28) who has composed a hymn to Agni in five verses couched in four different metres. Viśvavārā’s hymn is one of the easiest and simplest that we find in the *Rig-Veda*. Here is a translation of the fourth verse: "Thy splendour, O Agni, kindled and brilliant as thou art, I do adore. Showerer (of gifts) and possessed of wealth, thou art kindled in sacrifices." From the first verse of the hymn we gather that there were women "worshipping the gods with oblations," as there were men. In the third verse Viśvavārā prays: "(Agni!) Do thou make the conjugal relation well-regulated mutually." The last two verses of Viśvavārā’s hymn were included in the Sāmīndrīyus verses, recited in kindling the sacred fire, in the New and Full Moon sacrifices (*Darṣa-pauṇḍramā)." Then comes Apālā Ātreya (R.-V. 8. 91). The hymn is based on a story in which Apālā herself is the chief figure. She seems to have been abandoned by her husband owing to her disease, but subsequently healed by the grace of Indra, for whom the forlorn lady could not
afford to press out the Soma juice with the grāvans or stones of the regular Soma ritual, but only with her teeth. She prays to Indra: "Thou who goest shining, a hero, to every house, drink this (Soma) pressed with (my) teeth, mixed with grains and curds, with cakes and songs" (8.80.2). She thus expresses the hope of women, wronged by their husbands, like herself—"May he (Indra) acquire strength enough, achieve enough, enrich us enough; may we, wronged by (our) husbands, unite ourselves with Indra well enough" (8.80.4).

Apālā’s verses are simple and direct like those of Viśvavāra. The repetition of the word कुन्तु "much" or "enough," adds force to the fourth verse of the hymn, which we have just translated. There is no fixed sacrificial application of this hymn.

We should now turn to Ghoṣā Kākṣhīvāti (R.-V. 10. 39 and 40), who has two hymns of fourteen verses each. She is the most important of the lady poets of the Rig-Veda.

Ghoṣā belongs to a family that has produced a generation of Vedic poets. Her genealogy is

Uchathya (R.-V. 9. 50 etc.).
Dirghatamas (R.-V. 1. 140 etc.).
Kakṣhīvān (R.-V. 1. 116 etc.).
Ghoṣā (R.-V. 10. 39 and 40).
Savastya (R.-V. 10. 41. Mentioned also as Ghoṣā in 1.120. 5 according to Sayana).

Uchathya has only a few hymns in the ninth Maṇḍala, but his descendant, Dirghatamas who calls himself Aucathya ("son of Uchathya") and Kakṣhīvān, rank high among the seers of the Rig-Veda. Ghoṣā has only two hymns and her son Savastya only one. Both Ghoṣā and her son offer their prayers to the Agvins. In direct contrast with the hymns of Viśvavāra and Apālā, Ghoṣā’s verses, besides being allusive, are grave and difficult; and in fact, Prof. Grassmann styles as obscure the last five verses of one of the hymns of Ghoṣā (10. 40). Ghoṣā has drawn almost all her allusions from the hymns to the Agvins composed by her father Kakṣhīvān in the first Maṇḍala (1.116, 117, 118 particularly) as well as to a slight extent from Hymn 1.112, also addressed to the Agvins by the sage Kutsa, to whom she refers in 10. 40. 6, and has, in some cases, reproduced in new connections the very words of Kakṣhīvān and Kutsa. For example,

GhOṣā—

काक्षिवान—

उचात्य अधिवान मनस: जयाबान रथः
सुदृढ़ अवधिवा रथः, 10. 39. 1.
बुध भिन्ने मनवे 10. 39. 10
मनुष्यां भिन्ने 10. 39. 9.

श: भव: अवधिवा मनस: जयाबान रथः 1.117. 2.
 findAll: श: भव: मनसः, 1.117. 15.

अवधिवान वृक्षाय चित वेष्टितां: भास्मात्र: दुवं
एते बुधः 10. 39. 8.
अद्वेषे अोमत्वां 10. 39. 9.

कुत्सा—

वास्तवं प्रतिष्ठात अधुऽध्वनिः 1.112. 8.
एते बुधः 1.112. 8.
अोम्बरस्निः अद्वेषे 1 112 7.
These striking resemblances between hymns of Mandalas I and 10, added and supplemented, have to be taken into consideration in fixing the relative age of the Rig-Veda Mandalas.

Then, the allusions found in Ghosha’s hymns, e.g., the rejuvenating by the Aevins of the sage Chyavana and of Kali, the rescue of Taugrya from a watery grave, Vandana from a well, Rebha from a cave, Atri from fire, and the references to Saptavadhri, Pedu, Bhuju and several others are far more fully treated, especially in the two long hymns of twenty-five verses each, by her father Kakshivân (1.116, 117) in the earlier Mandala. But while her indebtedness to Kakshivân is clear, Ghosha’s originality, apart from her independent verses, is manifest in her condensing the selected allusions and giving them a new background to a considerable extent. The following is a translation of one of her verses: “Where, among what people are the Aevins, destroyers of foes, lords of beauty, delighted to-day? Who has detained them? To what sages or what sacrificer’s abode are they gone?” (10.40.14).

A few personal facts about Ghosha are available. We find in Kakshivan’s hymn, 1.117.7, also indicated in verses of Ghosha herself, that she remained unmarried to an advanced age in her father’s house till she was favoured with a husband by the Aevins, and from 1.122.5 we gather that he was Arjuna. We need not take Arjuna as a common noun to mean, after Sayana, a white skin, for the word Arjuneva in 1.112.23 and 4.26.1 is used as a proper noun to mean “a descendant of Arjuna.” In one of her hymns (10.40.5) Ghosha calls herself a princess, so that Kakshivan may have been a royal sage. In 10.40.3 she refers to the twin gods Aevins as like “two sons of a king.”

Ghosha’s reference to a widow becoming the wife of her late husband’s brother is important (10.40.2); so also the word Kapä, “the panegyric of a king by his bard.” Ghosha’s hymns are recited in the Prataranuvaka of the Soma sacrifice and in the Aevina-Castra of the Atiratra form of the same.

Couched in the Jagati metre, like Ghosha’s hymns, are ten sweet and well-balanced verses in the ninth Mandala (9.86.11-20), composed jointly by two other female poets, Sikata and Nivavari. The verses form part of a hymn addressed to Soma, by various authors. Here is a translation of one of their verses:—“Clad in an armour (of lustre) that touches the heaven, worthy of sacred rites and filling up the sky, fixed in the worlds; and knowing the heaven, he (Soma) comes on with rains and worship heaven’s ancient lord.” (9.86.14.)

Then we have to mention a hymn to Indra in the tenth Mandala (10.134), of which six verses are by the sage Mandhatri, but the seventh and last verse is by a lady named Godha. This is the only verse of Godha that we come across in the Rig-Veda. It runs thus:—“Never do we offend, Ye Gods, never do we neglect; we act as revealed by the Mantras and celebrate here (the sacred rites) with might and main.”

The six preceding verses of the hymn by Mandhatri are distinguished from Godha’s verse by a refrain repeated in each of them. There are other similar hymns in the Rig-Veda where the refrain is repeated in all but the last verse, e.g., the hymns 1.105, 106 by the sage Kutsa.

1 “अष्टुण्यस्य नंदि” “for gaining Arjuna” as the husband. The word नंदि is to be taken in this sense, as sayana himself has explained elsewhere. (Sayana on 1.122.12.)

2 The exact literary version of the corresponding Vedic phrase would be “with the sides and the region below the arm-pits.”
There is similarly a verse by another lady, the sister of the sage Agastya, in the first half of a heterogenous hymn of twelve verses in the tenth Maṇḍala (10. 60). The first half is a panegyric of a king named Asamāti and the last verse of it (sixth in the whole hymn) is by Agastya’s sister, the mother of Bandhu and others, who are the seers of this hymn along with their mother. She prays to the king thus:—“Thou dost yoke two ruddy steeds for (the defence of) Agastya’s seions. Thou, O King, didst rout the niggardly Panis—all of them.” The verse points to women taking part in celebrating glories of kings.

The Anukramanī ascribes another verse in a hymn of various authors (8. 1. 34) to a lady named Cāvyati, but it seems to be rather composed by others about her. Similarly, the Anukramanī ascribes hymn 10. 109 to a lady named Juhū or the sage Urchanābha, but in reality it appears to be a story composed by the latter about Juhū and her husband Brahaspati. So, putting aside the ladies Juhū and Cāvyati, as not being actual verse-writers, we should like to refer to two characteristic verses on love by Lopāmudrā (1. 179. 1-2): addressed to her husband Agastya, who replies in two other verses, after which a disciple of the latter brings the hymn to a close with two more verses. It is not therefore a hymn addressed to any particular deity. Lopāmudrā speaks to her ascetic husband:—“Those of old, who were defenders of the eternal Law and declared laws with the gods, abided by them, (but) did not attain the end: (so) will (now) wives be united with their husbands?” With this verse and another Lopāmudrā tries to turn her ascetic lord into a loving husband. Agastya’s reply is in the same spirit.

There is a similar but indelicate conversation between king Bhāvavayava and his wife Romaçā, being two verses added, without any apparent connection, to hymn 1. 126, composed by the sage Kakshivān about the generosity of the king. They are in a different metre from the preceding verses and might very well be a fragment of a popular song, as Griffith has suggested.

So much for hymns by women. In the tenth Maṇḍala there are two simple incantations (10. 145, 159), supposed to be by Indrāṇi and Çachi respectively, the subject being the overpowering of rival co-wives. Both Indrāṇi and Çachi are mythical names, but Çachi means “action” according to the Nirukta and it had probably a historical background. Here is a verse by Çachi: “My sons are destroyers of enemies, and my daughter supreme and I too victorious. Mine is the highest esteem with my husband.” (10. 159. 3). Rivalry of co-wives is a matter of every day experience and it is not surprising to have a poem on the subject by the victorious party like that of Çachi. Çachi’s tone is exultant indeed—“There rises the Sun, there my Fortune is up.” (10. 159. 1).

Then we must note of some doubtful names. In the hymns concerned the seer is mentioned as the deity as well, in the Anukramanī. Of the poem on Cādaghā “faith” (10. 151), Çradchā is the traditional composer. In the Anukramanī, the invocation of Rātrī “Night” (10. 127) is however ascribed to Rātrī or the sage Kujika, and the poem on Daksinā, “Sacrificial gift” (10. 107) to Daksinā or the sage Divya. The latter names are the real authors in these cases. Sārparājñi is another doubtful name with which hymn 10. 189 is associated. The deity of the hymn is said to be Sārparājñi herself or the Sun. In the Aiḍareya Brahmana (5 2 4. 4) the word Sārparājñi is explained as “sarpato rājñi,” “the queen of all that moves,” or the earth. This bespeaks the legendary character of the name. Sūryā (10. 85), Indramātara, “Mothers of Indra,” and Yami (10. 153, 154) are three other such names.
The philosophical hymn addressed to Vāch (10. 125) presents similar doubts. Vāch is treated as speech personified in a foregoing hymn (10. 71) and it is in fact the usual word for speech in the Veda. Another consideration is that the hymn runs in the first person and the two other hymns of this nature (10. 119, 48)—all three being placed in the same category in the Nirukta (Daivatākāṇḍa)—are ascribed to a god (Indra), not to a human being, showing probably that the present hymn also is really ascribed to a goddess—Vāgdevī. At any rate the authorship is doubtful and if we suppose that by ascribing the authorship of hymn 10. 119 to Indra assuming the form of the sage Lava, it is really ascribed to the latter, the hymn ascribed to Vāch can similarly be concluded to be by the sage Ambhīṇa, whose daughter Vāch is said to be in the Anukramani.

Thus, even after putting aside the legendary and doubtful names we have not less than eight historical figures as the first women poets of India. Though women, their hymns were admitted freely into the Vedic sacrificial system and it was in a later age that they were debarred from sacred precincts of the Veda.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE STUDY OF THE ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY OF INDIA.

BY SURENDRANATH MAJUMDAR SASTRI, M. A.; PATNA.

(Continued from Vol. XLVIII, 1919, p. 23.)

(3) A critical estimate of indigenous sources.

I.—LITERARY.

Though the ancient Indians did not pay much attention to history, there are ample geographical materials.

Expansion of geographical knowledge is due to (1) military expedition and colonizing spirit, (2) commercial relations, (3) religious activity, (and, in the modern age, (4) scientific exploration). Alexander’s Historians and Alberuni’s knowledge of India was due to the first cause. Pliny and the author of the Periplus utilized materials accumulated by commercial enterprisers. The Chinese pilgrims’ visit to India was actuated by religion. Similar also is the case with the ancient Indians. Their foreign conquest and colonization are made known to us by a series of Sanskrit Inscriptions discovered in Further India and the Indian Archipelago. A fourth century a.d. Pillar Inscription of the Buddhist sea-captain Mahānāvika Buddhagupta of Raktamāntikā (mod. Rāgāmāti in Murshidabad district, Bengal) has been discovered 2 in the Wellesley district of the Malay Peninsula. A series of inscriptions3 proves clearly that there ruled, in Further India, from the second century A.D. up to the seventh century at least, a line of Śaiva Hindu kings (Dharma-mahārājās) claiming descent from Aśvatthāmā son of Drona. Four Yūpa inscriptions4 of king Mālavarman, in the fourth or fifth century a.d., in Pallava characters, discovered in 1879-80 at Koetse in East Borneo, show the existence of a powerful Hindu royal dynasty at that place. As for the Brahman colony in Fahnien’s Ye-po-ti (Java, or perhaps, Sumatra) and the extensive Buddhist ruins in Java, they are too well-known to call for any remark.

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3 Bergaigne’s Insr. SANSK. du Camp et Cambodge (1893); Bul. Ecole F.E.O., II, p. 185, III, 206-11; IV, p. 918; XI, p. 264; XII, No. 8, pp. 15-16; XV, No. 2, pp. 3-5; Barth’s Insr. Sk. du Cambodge.
4 Dr. Vogel in Overdruck zit de Bijdragen tot de Taal-en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië Deel 74, Aflevering 1-2, 1918.
Recent discoveries in Central Asia exhibit political and diplomatic relations of India with Central Asian states (so often referred to in Indian literature).

As for commercial intercourse, Von Hering (in his *Prehistoric Indo-Europeans*) and J. Kennedy (in *JRAS.*, 1898, pp. 241-88) have shown the activity of the early Indians in trading with the Persian Gulf tribes. A couple of Kanarese sentences found embodied in the Greek farce in the Papyrus of Oxyrhynchus in the first or second century A.D. indicates commercial relations of an intimate nature between Egypt and the Kanarese-speaking Dravidians of Southern India. Cornelius Nepos (who died in the reign of Emperor Augustus, 14 B.C.—A.D. 14) had mentioned Indian commercial activity even in Germany. There are clear statements in Tamil literature supporting Fahien’s mention of early Indians’ voyage to Java, Sumatra and China.

As for religious activity in this direction, Asoka’s sending Buddhist Missionaries to Syria, Egypt and Macedonia is known to all students of History. The recent discoveries in Central Asia exhibit the great influence of Buddhist Missionaries in that region. India’s connection with Tibet, China and Manchuria does not require any comment. Even such a distant place as Lord North’s Island in Micronesia was indebted to Buddhist Missionaries for its religious instruction.

We thus see that the political, commercial, and religious activities of early Indians made them acquainted with the greater part of the then known countries of the world. And this acquaintance certainly broadened their knowledge of the geography of foreign lands. And though, owing to their so-called want of historical faculty or to their want of vanity, they left no autobiographies or private memoirs, peripli or itineraries like those of Fahien or Yuanchwang to perpetuate their names, yet, the stock of knowledge thus accumulated was not completely lost. It has been preserved in a corrupted form in the epic and Puranic conception of the world as containing seven concentric islands—Jambu, Śīka, Kuṣa, Sālmala, Kramcha, Gomeda (Gomanda or Plaksha), and Pushkara—encircled by seven samudras. Though this conception is childish, we ought not to compare it with that of the twentieth century and stigmatize it as ridiculous. If we compare this fourth or third century B.C. conception of the earth with even the tenth or eleventh century Christian conception as depicted in the maps reproduced in Keane’s *Evolution of Geography* (Edward Stanford, London, 1899), it would not certainly appear to be more ridiculous. The true conception of the earth is a thing of modern times—it was formed after the first circumnavigation. Ancient nations had strange notions. The conception of the different parts of

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4 *JRAS.*, 1904, pp. 399-405. 6 McCrindle’s Anc. Ind., p. 110.
5 Aiyangar’s *Beginnings of South Indian Hist.*, pp. 113-4.
9 The order varies in different sources.
the earth as so many islands was maintained also by the Greeks, and is referred to by Teopompos in Eliano, by Erastosthenes, and by Strabo. As for the Indian theory of concentric islands, its origin may be explained thus:—(1) the change of meanings of the words ḍvipa and samudra; ḍvipa (derived by Pāṇini as ḍvi+ap; and thus etymologically connected with ḍvaḥ) meant, primarily, land having water (and not sea) on two (and not all) of its sides. The original meaning of samudra is a collection of water. These words lost their original meanings and came to mean island and sea respectively. (2) Now when the Epic and Puranic writers (who had not the slightest personal knowledge of foreign lands) attempted the difficult task of arranging the traditional accounts of the different parts of the then known world handed down from those who actually visited them, they harmonized (?) the different accounts by reducing them to this system. But though their system is wrong and though there is plenty of the fabulous in Hindu Geography, their accounts of the different parts of the world were based on facts. Mr. Wilford collected an account of the River Nile and of its source and reconstructed a map out of the Purāṇas. H. H. Wilson called him an "injudicious writer." Cunningham remarked that his essay is a "wild speculation." St. Martin stated him to be the first victim of the "imposture" geographical literature of the Hindus. But Lient. J. H. Speke, in his Discovery of the Source of the Nile, chaps. I, V, X) unhesitatingly states that when planning his discovery of the source of the Nile, he secured his best information from Wilford's map and testifies to the substantial correctness of the Puranic account. Is it not enough to repay the labours of the Purāṇa-writers that it is they (and not Ptolemy, the great geographer of Greek Egypt) who helped the nineteenth century explorer with their accurate knowledge of that part of the country? As the subject of our study is the ancient geography of India and not the geographical theories of ancient Indians, we dismiss the theory of seven ḍvipas with these remarks and return to the sources describing India only.

The indigenous geography of India is, like every other Indian Science, chiefly dependent on religion. India is a land of ṛtaḥus—every crag, every spring, every river, and every holy tree is sacred. As it is a duty of every pious Indian—Hindu, Jaina, or Buddhist—to make pilgrimages, pilgrims travelled far and wide to pay their respects to the objects of their veneration. This expanded their knowledge which has been embalmed in the sacred literature—Orthodox (Hindu) or Heterodox (Jaina and Buddhist). Thus, though disregard to the historical order of things, owing to their peculiar religious idea that worldly existence is a misery, has caused the want of historical accounts, yet it is that same peculiar religion which did much to preserve the materials of geography. And though there is plenty of the fabulous in Indian geography of outlandish regions, the allusions to purely Indian topography are generally sober. The main features of the country were adequately known in very early times.

Let us now examine the different branches of Indian literature as geographical sources. The Vedas are our only source of the geography of Vedic India. Vivien de St. Martin

12 St. Martin's Geographie du Vedà, p. 62
13 Asiatick Researches, vol. III.
16 St. Martin's Etat actual des études sur l'Inde ancienne, p. xiii.
17 Schott's Periplus, pp. 87 and 230.
first handled the subject. It was also taken up by Zimmer in his *Alt-Indische Leben*. Hillebrandt, Pischel, Roth and other Vedic scholars also have touched on the subject. Brunhofer has attempted, in his *Iran und Turan*, to locate various Vedic rivers in regions outside India.

The Rigveda *Sāmahitā* generally mentions tribes and rivers only. Names of countries occur seldom. In the mention of the following rivers, there is, as Sir A. Stein¹⁸ has pointed out, a strict geographical order:—Gangā, Yamunā, (and the following tributaries of the Indus) Sarasvāti, Sududri (Satadru, Satlēj), Paruśu (Ravi), Asikñi (Akesines, Chenab), Marudvīdhdhā¹⁹ Vītastā (Jhelum), Ḫṛjikīyā and Sushomā (Sohān). As we find in this list (*Rigveda*, X, 75, 5) a strict geographical order in the mention of the eastern tributaries of the Indus, we ought to take the same order to guide us in identifying the western tributaries mentioned in the next verse—Tristāmā, Susartu, Śvetā, Gomātī (Gomal), Krumu (Kurram), Kuhā (Kabul) and Mehanū. In the next two verses (X, 75, 7-8) are named some rivers. As *Rigveda* X. 64, 8 mentions *trisaptā sas̄rā nadyaḥ*, three sevensister rivers, we ought to find the names of seven rivers in X, 75. 7-8. Sāyaña was ignorant of the geography of the North-Western Frontier, and therefore explained these words as adjectives. But these words are to be taken as proper names—urtlesvatī, Sīlamāvatī, Ṛṣikītī, Endi, Chitrā, Hiraṁatī and Rushati—seven tributaries of the Indus to be located to the north-west. The last five (and Āfjāst, Aśumati, Aśmanmati, Kuśā, and Virapatni) have not been mentioned in Macdonell and Keith’s *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*. But those five are to be taken as proper names, and geographical order will be a guide in the attempt to locate them.

The Indus and its tributaries are seldom mentioned in the *Yajurveda*, for the Aryans then lived in the territory of Kuru-Pānchāla (Thaneswar and Rohilkhand), the old capital of which, Kāmpa, is mentioned. The *Sātapatra Brāhmaṇa* (I, 4, 1, 10-18) records the Aryan migration to Videha (Tirhut); while the *Atharvaveda-Sāhita* shows that the Aryans were then acquainted with Aiga and Magadha (which might have been known in Rigvedic age as Kīṃcala, a country of the non-Aryans, whose leader was *Pra-maganda* whose name may have some connection with Magadha). The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* mentions the Aryan Vaidarbhass and the non-Aryan Andhras, Puḍras, Śabaras, Pulindas and Mātisatas. The Vaṅgas seem to be mentioned in the *Aitareya Aranyaka* (ii. 1, 1) as a non-Aryan tribe.

This gradual expansion of the Aryans can also be gathered from the *Dharmasūtras* and *Dharmaśastras*. The Śūstras (*Vasiṣṭha*, I, 8; *Baudhāyana*, I, 1, 2. 9, etc.) state that the country of the Aryans—Āryāvarta lies to east of the region where the (Sarasvati) dissappears, to the west of *Black forest* (*Kālakavaṇa*²⁰), to the north of Pārīpātra and to the south of the Himālayas. It is strange to note that this definition of Āryāvarta excludes the greater portion of the land of the Rigvedic Aryans. [A famous episode (Kāraṇa-Sālya-sāvyāda) in the Kaṇaparvan of the Mahābhārata also clearly states the impurity of the Punjab tribes during the Epic age.]

¹⁸ *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume.*
¹⁹ Stein has identified it with the Marwardwan which flows from north to south through the Maru valley of the Kashmir Jammu state and joins the Chenab at Kistwar.
²⁰ I propose to identify *Kālakavaṇa*, the eastern boundary of Āryāvarta of the Śūtras, with Prayāga, the eastern boundary of Manu’s Madhyadesa, which is identical with the Āryāvarta of the Śūtras. As the other three boundaries are the same (Pārīpātra being a portion of the Vindhyas), the eastern limits also ought to be identical. In the later age there flourished a city (Prayāga) and a country there, where the earlier literature locates a forest. Ayodhyākāṃja (LIV and LV) of the Rāmāyaṇa states that Prayāga was then a clearing in a forest.
Various explanations may be suggested. (1) Dr. Bühler's \textsuperscript{21} theory was that the reading of Vasiṣṭha presupposes a reading Adārśa, \textsuperscript{22} which was corrupted into Adārśana (= disappearance) and was then paraphrased as "Vinasana" [of the Sarasvatī]. Ingenious as this theory is, it is not a good solution. Though some of the Sūtras and Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya (II, 4, 10) actually give the Western boundary to be Adārśa, we gain little by this reading. Adārśa cannot be located in the N.-W. Frontier so as to include the whole of the Panjab in this Āryāvarta of the Sūtras. (2) Recent study of the modern Indian Aryan dialects indicates, in the opinion of Sir George Grierson, at least two waves of Aryan migration into India. There arose a conflict between the Brahmanical later immigrants (now represented by the speakers of Panjabi, Rājasthāni, Gujarati and Western Hindi) and the anti-Brahmanical earlier immigrants (now represented by the speakers of Kāshmirī, Marathi, Bengali and Oriya). This conflict between the two waves of Aryan migrants might have caused the inhabitants of the Middle land to stigmatize the later immigrants as not truly Aryan and their country as outside the pale of Aryan culture. (3) The country to the West of the Sarasvatī was occupied in the later epic age by non-Aryan (Turanian) immigrants—the Takkas. They are now to be found in Jammu, Kistawar and other places. \textsuperscript{21} They claim their descent from Takshaka Nāga.\textsuperscript{24} The biting of King Parikṣhit by Takshaka Nāga probably symbolizes the destruction of the Aryan power owing to the inroad of the Takkas. Their name seems to have some connection with Takshasaṅkhā; for in connection with the serpent sacrifice performed by king Janamejaya to chastise the Nāgas, mention is made of his invasion and conquest of Takshasaṅkhā (Mbh, Ādi P., III, 683-3; 832-4; XL—XLIV; XXIX, 1954; L, 1991). As the Panjab was thus occupied by a non-Aryan race or races, it was outside the boundary of Āryāvarta.

The Dharmāśāstra of Manu, however, calls the Āryāvarta of the Sūtras to be the Madhyadeśa or Middle country (Himavat-Vindhyayor-madhyā yat prāk vinasanād-api, prayag-eva Prayagyācheṣa Madhyadeṣāḥ... ) and greatly extends the boundary of its Āryāvarta by defining it as a Samudrāt tu vai Pārvatā a Samudrācheṣa Pradhānātha, tayor-eva'nāvan gīyetor-Āryaveṣṭataṃ vidur-budhāḥ.

The Middle country of the Buddhist literature expanded to the East. Its boundaries as mentioned in Mahāvagga, V, 13, 12 [and Divyāvadāna] are:—E., Kajangala \textsuperscript{25} [or Punja-vardhana acc. to Div.]; S, E., River Salalavatī [Sarasvatī]; S., the town of Satakaparika (v. i. set....); W., the Brahman district (or village) of Thuna \textsuperscript{26} [Sāvā]; N., Uṣrādhāja.\textsuperscript{27}

\textsuperscript{21} S.B.E., vol. XIV, p. 2.
\textsuperscript{22} Adārśa, the western boundary of the Āryāvarta, has not been located by any scholar. As इन्द्रवधन्त यह XIV, 25, mentions Adārśa with the sources of the Yamuna, Trigarta etc., it is to be placed not far from the ancient kingdom of Srughna and Trigarta (Kangra). Varāhamihira's mention makes it clear that it cannot be located in the N.-W. Frontier.
\textsuperscript{24} Tod's Rajasthan, I, p. 9.
\textsuperscript{25} It is the Ka-cha-wen-ki-lo of Y. ch. who located it at a distance of above 400 li E. from Champa (Bhagapalpore). It was thus somewhere in Rajmahal district. It is the Kayangala mentioned in the comm. on Rāmac [pāla] Charita (II, 6). The ya lor ja is to be explained as due to Prakrit influence—intervocal explosive elided and y inserted to avoid hiatus—the ya-truti of Jaina Prakrit.
\textsuperscript{26} Thuna has not been identified by any scholar. As Y. ch.'s account makes Thaneswar the western most country of the Buddhist Middle country, I propose to identify Thuna (or Sāvā of Divyadidda) with Sāvāvāvara. Sāvā and Sāvā seem to be different forms of the same word; such metathesis of vowels being found in Pali and Prakrit. Īśvara, the second part of Sāvāvāvara (Mod. Thaneswar) is redundant, it being identical in meaning with Sāvā (= Sīva).
\textsuperscript{27} Uṣarādhāja is probably Uṣira-giri, a mountain to the North of [Kankhal (Hardwar).—H. iltsch in Ind., Ant., 1905, p. 179.
The middle country is in length 300 yojanas, in breadth 250 yojanas, in circuit 900 yojanas. The sixteen great countries mentioned in the Pali literature are:—


The next stage of the expansion of the Aryans is to be inferred from Pâñini and his commentators. [Sir R. G. Bhandarkar’s Early H. Dekk. pp. 5-6.] Pâñini (700 B.C.), an inhabitant of the extreme N.-W. of India, has mentioned many place-names of N. India and specially of the Panjab and Afghanistan. But of S. India, he has mentioned only Kachchhâ (IV. 2. 133), Avanti (IV. 1. 176), Kosala (IV. 1. 171), Kuru and Kalinga (IV. 1. 178). Thus it appears that S. India was probably unknown in his time. Kâtyâyana (400 B.C.), however, knows even Chola, Mâhishmat and Nâsikya. In Patanjali’s time (150 B.C.) the whole of India was known. [Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar’s Carmichael Lecture I. deals with the subject fully.]

The Epics. Both the Râmâyana and the Mahâbhârata have (i) chapters (the importance of which has been somewhat impaired by the corruptness of the texts) directly dealing with the geography of India. Kishkindhâ Kânda (XI.—XLIV) describes the various countries of the four quarters (of India) where the “Vânara” chiefs were sent in quest of Sîtâ. In the ninth chapter of the Bhishma Parvan of the Mahâbhârata, Sañjâya gives a general description of India—long lists of countries, nations, mountains and rivers. Again there are (ii) descriptions of certain routes which are invaluable; for though the distance is hardly ever mentioned, the direction and the mention of known places enable one to locate approximately the unknown. The Râmâyana describes three routes:—(1) Râma’s journey, in company of Viswâmitra, from Ayodhyâ to Mithilâ; (2) Bharata’s return from Kekaya to Ayodhyâ; (3) Râma’s exile. [N. Dass, Geography of Asia based on the Râmâyana. Pargiter’s Geography of Râma’s exile in JRAS., 1894, p. 231.] The Mahâbhârata mentions (1) [Adiparvan] the twelve years’ sojourn of Arjuna; (2) [Sabhâparvan] the conquest of the four quarters by the four brothers of Yudhishtîra; (3) [Vanâparvan] an account of the “Tirthas” and the Pâñjâyas’ pilgrimage; (perhaps a later interpolation—but the geographical knowledge is certainly based on actual travels of Pilgrims). (4) Karna’s digvijaya; (5) [Aśvamedhamparvan] Arjuna’s expedition through various countries. The Udâyogîparvan and the paravans describing the war mention almost all the Indian nations siding with the one party or the other. [Pargiter, On the Nations at the time of the Great War in JRAS., 1908.] There are also (iii) numerous incidental references, [Sorensen’s Index of the Mahâbhârata]. Another important section is the chapters of the Sabhâparvan dealing with the presents made by different kings to Yudhishtîra, and as such describing the natural and commercial products of the different districts of India.
The Purāṇas reserve (i) a section on Geography—Bhuvanaakośa—giving lists of rivers, mountains, countries and tribes. They also deal with (ii) Topographia sacra and contain (iii) many incidental references. [Bhuvanaakośa of Mārkaṇḍya Purāṇa with notes in Pargiter’s translation of the Purāṇa published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Geographical names in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa in I. A. XXVIII, p. 1.]

The Māhaṭmyas (of various śṛṅgas) also deal with Topographia sacra. These works (claiming to be sections or portions extracted from Purāṇas or Samhitās) set forth the legendary origin of śṛṅgas, the rites to be performed there, etc. Their importance may be illustrated thus:—A long and laborious but fruitless search was made for the site of Vātāpi, the capital of the early Chāhukyasa. Now the Māhaṭmya of Mahākāta, a śṛṅga close to Bādami (15° 55’ N. Lat. and 75° 41’ E. Long.) in Bijepore district localised there the story of the brothers Vātāpi and Ivala vanquished by the sage Agastya. This localisation of the story of Vātāpi showed that Bādami, close to the śṛṅga, is the city of Vātāpi. (I. A., VIII, p. 238.) Dr Bühler, in his Kashmir Report, pointed out the great geographical importance of the Māhaṭmyas and Dr. Stein has discovered many long forgotten sites with their aid. [Stein’s Topography of Kashmir in his Chronicles of Kashmir, Vol. II.] The Māhaṭmya literature is very vast.

There are also a few works professing to deal with geography. Mr. Wilford has long ago pointed out (Asiatick Researches, XIV, pp. 374-380), the existence of the following:—(1) Muṇja-pratidēsā-vyavasthā, (2) Bhaja-pratidēsā-vyavasthā (a revised edition of 1). (3) Bhuvana-Sāgara, (4) A Geography at the command of Būkakāra, (5) A commentary on the Geography of the Mahābhārata written by order of the Raja of Paulastya (? Paurastya ?) by a Pandit in the time of Hussein Shah (1489)—a voluminous work. A MS. acquired by Mr. Wilford once formed a part of the Library of Fort William College; it is now in the Government Sanskrit College Library, Calcutta. A detailed description,32 of this MS. has been given by M. M. H. P. Sāstri in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society (1919). Prof. Pullé has mentioned (in pp. 13-15 of his Studi Italiani di Filologia Indo-Iranica, vol. IV) the existence of the following geographical works in the Library of the Nazionale centrale di Firenze (Italy) — (5) Lokaprajāśa of Kshemendra (the celebrated Kashmirian writer); the MS. consists of 782 pages and it is profusely illustrated. Prof. Pullé has reproduced two of its figures in his Studi. (6) Three MSS. of Kṣetra Samāsa, a Jaina work—with two different commentaries. (7) A MS. of Kṣetra Samāsa Prakaraṇa. (8) Four MSS. of Saṅghyānta of Chandrasūri with two commentaries; one of the MSS. is illustrated. (9) A Laghu-Saṅghyānta. He has also pointed out the mention of Kṣetra Samāsa of Jina Bhadra (1457-517) in Kielhorn’s Report (1880-1), of (10) Laghu Kṣetra Samāsa of Rataṇaśekhara in Weber’s Cat. (N. 1942), of (11) Trailokyā dīpiṣkā and (12) Trailokyā Darpana quoted by Wilford. Besides the above, (13) a Jaina Śṛṅga Kappa, and (14) Śṛṅgaśāstra dealing with the topography of Prayāga are also known.

St. Martin34 characterized the works mentioned by Wilford to be “imposture literature” without sufficiently examining them. Be they “imposture” or not, they have not yet been sufficiently examined.

Certain works on Poetics, e.g., Rājaśekhara’s Kavyamāṇḍosā (Gaekwad Oriental Series) Vāgbhaṭa’s and Hemchandra’s works (printed in the Kavyamāla Series), contain a section on Geography, in order to acquaint a poet with the flora and fauna etc., of the various

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32 Gazetteer literature in Sanskrit.
34 État actual des études sur l’Inde ancienne, p. xii.
districts, so that his description of them may be faithful. The *Nātyaśāstra* of Bharata (Kāvyamāla Series) also gives details as to the colours with which to paint actors personifying the various tribes of India and its borders. It thus gives geographical and ethnological data. [ASB, 1909, pp., 359-60.]

The Vātsyāyana *Kāma Sutra* and its commentary by Yaśodhara [ed. by the late M. M. Durgāprasaḍa] are also valuable. The Sutra refers to various countries and the commentary indicates their location.

The Rājastaraugala and the historical poems—the Charita Kavyas—Harshacharita, Gaḍa vaho, Navasāhasānskacharita, Vikramāṅkadeva-charita, Dvīśrayakāvya, Kumārapāla-charita, Rāma(pāla)-charita, Prithvirāja-vijaya, Kirtiakumudi, Vasantavilāsa, Vallāla-charita, Hammira-mardana, Vemabhūpala-charita, Achyutarāyabhhyudaya, etc. Though these works have many shortcomings as a source to history, they are "invaluable" (as Sir A. Stein says of the R. T.) "for the study of historical geography."

Even the ordinary literary works sometimes incidentally introduce geography. The plots of some of the plays, the classical poems, and the collection of imaginative stories and fables (e.g., Jātakas, Pañcatantra, Kathāsaritsāgara) were woven round geographical names. And such allusions can, to a certain extent, be put to a practical use. Thus the statement of the Daśakumāracharita that Tāmālīpti (Mod. Tamālīk) was in the Suhma country settled the location Suhma (which was formerly identified by H. H. Wilson with Arakan and Tipperah). Similar incidental references are to be met with in every department of literature. The Arthashastra of Kautilya and various Ratnasāstras and medical works referring to the natural products of the various countries also throw some light on this subject.

Astronomical works. Astronomers discarded the theory of a circular earth (Parimandala) with Mt. Meru in the middle, and proved that the earth is an immovable globe suspended in space. They knew the dimensions and indicated the poles and the equator. They calculated deśāntara (longitude) and prepared globes. The Kūrmavibhāga of the Brhaśparuṣa (Sūtra, XIV) of Varahamihira is very important for geographical study. Here Kūrma means the earth, because it resembles a tortoise, being round, surrounded by the water, and having a globular convexity on its surface (Alberuni). Its special object is to provide an arrangement from which it may be determined what countries and peoples would suffer calamity when particular nakṣatras are vexed by planets. The 27 nakṣatras are divided into nine groups and so is the earth (i.e., India). Dr. Fleet first examined the list (Ind. Ant., XXII, p. 169 ff.). Prof. Mario Longhena did the same, giving references to passages of the epics which mention the same nations, etc. The com. of Utpala on the Brhaśparuṣa (Vitānagaram Sanskrit Series, Benares) gives quotations from the Purāṇa-tantra on the same subject which has also been treated in chap. LVIII of the Markapadeya Purāṇa. Comparing these three lists, we find a number of various readings and the original reading can be reconstructed in some cases.

The third chapter of Bhāskarāchārya's work and the 12th chapter of Sāryasiddhānta are also important.

The introductions and colophons of MSS. sometimes incidentally give historical and geographical notices. The place of composition or copying is mentioned in some MSS. with details.

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35 Thibaut in his Astronomie (Grundriss), pp. 21, 30, 37. 36 Pullé's Studi Italiani, vol. IV.
II.—TRADITIONAL.

Local traditions, when properly sifted and corroborated by other sources, give some geographical information. Thus Dr. Fleet’s identification of Śākala with Sialkot is due to the local tradition recorded in Cunningham’s ASR., XIV, pp. 44-46, that it was founded by Śalyna and that it was originally called Śākala.

But tradition sometimes turns out to be wrong. Thus Gaibandhā (Rangpur district) claims to be the country of the Matsyas; Badnagar (Patna district) to be Kundinapura (the capital of Vidarbha): but the Epics show otherwise. Hence uncorroborated tradition has little value. The literary sources also sometimes mention names which cannot be located. Again tribes die out and disappear; towns decay and are deserted; seaside emporia sometimes shift; “the names of countries” [cities, etc.] “change” [Bhaṭottapala’s Commentary on the Brhatasthāpati] though the places themselves survive. All these facts make identifications of sites mentioned in foreign and indigenous literary sources difficult. Hence we have to turn to

III.—ARCHAEOLOGY

with its three branches (i) Monumental, (ii) Numismatic, and (iii) Epigraphical.

(i) The monumental remains of a place enables one to compare its present ruins with those described in a foreign or indigenous source. Thus Mahābāna was long taken as the site of Aornos; but Dr. Stein’s survey has proved beyond all question that the natural features of that mountain are totally dissimilar from those of Aornos as described by the historians of Alexander. [Ann. Rep. of A. S. I., 1904-5, p. 42.] The existence of a double-chambered cave answering to the description of Sudatta’s proves the identification of Po-lu-sha with Shabbaqarib. (Cunningham’s ASR., V., 9-15.)

(ii) The discovery of coins sometimes enables one to locate a particular nation or tribe. Thus at Nāgarī, a small town 11 miles north of Chitor, have been found seven copper coins (found nowhere else) with the legend “Majhamikāya ś(j)bijanapadasa” showing that the Madhyamikas should be located there. (Cun. ASR., VI., pp. 196 205.) But coins pass from one country to another and so identifications based on their places of discovery may be wrong. Monuments themselves cannot enable us to indicate the real site, unless (a) an ancient description of the monument is found or (b) it speaks through an inscription. Hence for ancient geography, as for everything else connected with the past of India, we are really dependent on the (iii) Epigraphic records which regulate everything that we can learn from tradition, literature, coins, architecture or any other source. Thus when find a we pillar in situ bearing the inscription that “here was born the Sākya sage” we make an identification of which there can be no doubt.

Dr. Fleet classified the epigraphic records according to their topics thus:—

A. Records making a plain statement of events: the Hathigumpha inscription, the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta and a few other are due to an historical instinct.

B. Records due to Religious motives: the Piprawa relic vase; the Rock and Pillar edicts of Asoka, etc. To these are to be added a new group:—

C. Records of Religious endowment: Barabar cave inscription of Asoka, Bhitari Pillar, etc.

D. Records of Secular donation. To these are to be added a new group:—

E. Literary inscriptions (to preserve Kāvyas and Nātakas).]
The DONATIVE RECORDS (C. D.) are by far the most numerous of all. These are title-deeds of real property and of certificates of the right to duties, taxes, fees, and other privileges. The essential part of all these records was the specification of the details of the donor, donee and donation. As donation consisted in most cases of lands, these deeds specified the village, the territory wherein it was located, its boundaries, etc. Hence these records are valuable as a source of geography. Thus, not with the express object of preserving the history (and geography), but in order to intensify the importance of everything connected with religion and to secure grantees in the possession of properties conveyed to them, there was gradually accumulated almost the whole of the great mass of epigraphic records on which the Indian Archasologists chiefly depend. 

ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM OF SHIVAJI.

BY SURENDRANATH SEN, M. A. CALCUTTA.

(Continued from p. 58.)

CHAPTER II.

CENTRAL GOVERNMENT—Ashita Pradhan Council.

"Shivaji Raja was famous for his forts," says Lokahitavadi. He had captured and built no less than two hundred and fifty forts and strongholds. He prized them highly and large sums were usually granted for their upkeep and repairs. The importance of these forts in a defensive war had been amply demonstrated in his lifelong struggle amongst the Moghuls; yet no one will concede for a moment that the fortification of inaccessible hills and submerged rocks formed Shivaji’s best claim to the reverence of posterity. His greatness as a military leader has never been contested but his greatness as a Civil Administrator is perhaps still more undoubted. The Maratha has been well-known for his military prowess from time immemorial. The old “Rastrika,” his ancestor, was a soldier of no mean reputation. They fought under the banner of the Chalukya Prince Pulakeshin and they beat back the victorious army of the great Harhavardhan. Ferishta tells us how difficult the Bahamani Kings found it to tackle the mountain chiefs of Maharastra. They again won fresh laurels under the celebrated Malik Amber, when the Moghul forces of the great Akbar had to beat an ignominous retreat before them. Shivaji therefore found the materials for an efficient army ready made. The rocks and hills, the mountain passes of his native land, offered suitable sites for impregnable forts. But neither the nature of the country, nor the character of the inhabitants was favourable to the establishment of an orderly government.

Shivaji had to evolve order out of chaos. The Nizam Shahi dynasty had been overthrown by the Moghul arms while Shivaji was still a little child. The Bijapur government was not strong enough to maintain peace and order. The country was devastated by war and even the neighbourhood of Poona was depopulated. Dadaji Konddev was forced to offer rewards for killing wolves that infested the uncultivated fields and deserted homesteads; and the people who lived in the Mawal valleys were in many respects worse than the beasts of their native wilds. Blood feud was the order of the day, and plunder and rapine formed the normal state of things. Almost every Watan had two or more claimants and they

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1 Lokahitavadi, Astihasik Goshti P.
4 See Bombay Gazetteer.
fought to the bitter end. In his blind fury and rage the Maratha Watandar felt no pity for the widow and the orphans of his rivals. But even the apparent destruction of the family would not bring the feud to an end. The loyalty of the old adherents would often conceal a pregnant lady or an infant heir in some village or mountain fortress far away from their native hamlet. The child would never be allowed to forget the wrongs of his family. When arrived to manhood, he was sure to return to his village and to avenge his dead relations, and plundered houses.\footnote{He would often seek the assistance of a powerful neighbour. (झाड़ौर भाग्य) generally at the price of a portion of the disputed Waton, and this man would take up the quarrel as if it was his own. See Rajwade M.I.S., vol. XV, pp 17-118}

The anarchy of the time has left its bloody marks on the family papers of the old Deshmukhs, and nowhere do we get a more faithful account of these feuds in all their horrors and bloodshed than in the papers of the Jagdales of Masur and the Jedhis of Rohid Khore. The Jagdales could not even count on the fidelity of their own servants. Their family history runs as follows:—

The Desai of Karhad was Jagda Rao Rajgardal Desmukh. He had two wives. They had four sons. Babaji Rao was the son of the first wife. The sons of the second were three—the eldest Ramaji Rao, the second Vithoj Rau and the youngest Dayaji Rao. Such were the four (sons). Then the father became old, and they began to quarrel. The father said: “You should not quarrel. I shall divide among you what is yours.” So he said. Then he gave to the eldest Babaji Rao the Patilship and the Deshmukhi of Masur and the villages under its jurisdiction. To Ramaji Rao (and others) he gave four villages, Karhad, Aud, and two other villages under the jurisdiction of Karhad. Then Ramaji Rao stationed two barbers of Aud as his agents at Karhad and two clerks, Raghunath Pant and another, for the work of management. . . . At that time the barber, the clerk and the Mokasi had united. Then these three decided to murder the three brothers Ramaji Rao, Vithoj Rau and Dayaji Rao. They shut the two brothers Ramaji and Dayaji Rau in a room and murdered (them). Then the remaining brother Vithoj Rau fled and came to Masur . . . . At that time the Patilship of Targav also was ours. Then a Brahman was stationed as Agent there. The Brahman engaged two servants, Kalgade and Khochre, and he and his son proceeded to Benares. On the way they were murdered by Kolgada and Khochre. Then these two began to quarrel about the Patilship . . . . And Babaji Rao became very old. He had two sons, the elder Vithoj and the younger Kumaji. A māl (gardener) was in his service. Every day five mounds of flowers were strewn on his bedstead, for Babaji Rao’s enjoyment. Then he became very old and the Mujavar (sweepers of the mosque) waxed strong in the village. The sons of his old age (being very young) were 4 and 1½ years of age. So he engaged the Mali for the management of his household, and for the management of the fields was engaged a Dhangar, who tended (his) sheep. Mangi Dhangrin was his mother. The Mujavar, the Mali and the Dhangarin made common cause and decided to murder Babaji Rao and his children. . . . And then the murderers came. (They) wrapped the younger son in a rug and threw him below the cot, and murdered Babaji Rao in his bed. Then the eldest son said: “I have recognised you. You are sweepers of the village
(mosque) and you have murdered my father." Thus he spoke, and they murdered him Babaji's wife had concealed herself in a corner. She fled to Chitly with the younger son Kumaji. The Mughals however did not escape unpunished. Young Kumaji wreaked a bloody vengeance and decapitated three of them. These are by no means the only murders in the bloody annals of the Jagdale family. Shahaji, father of Shivaji took the Pataleshwar of Musur with the life of its owner, an uncle of Mahadji Jagdale Deshmukh. The revenge of these irreconcilable spirits knew no awe or respect for power, and the Jagdales sought a strong enough ally, to assert their claim against Shahaji's son Shivaji. But their connection with the Mughal brought fresh disasters on them, and at length these turbulent Deshmukhs were compelled to lower their pride and seek Shivaji's protection and patronage.

If the Jagdale annal is a bloody one, no less is that of the Jedhes. One of the two Jedhe brothers while returning from the Adilshaahi capital with a firman of their Watan, was waylaid and murdered by one Khopre a rival claimant. The surviving brother Baji fled to the sea-coast, assembled a few adherents, purchased the assistance of twelve good swordsmen at the cost of a portion of his ancestral property, and calmly waited for a suitable opportunity. Such an opportunity came when Khopre was off his guard while celebrating his marriage. Hardly were the nuptials over, when Baji Jedhe with his followers fell upon Khopre and murdered him with sixty of his attendants. Kanhoji, a descendant of Baji, became so
powerful that he defied the authority of the Adilshahi king. He left seven sons, the youngest of whom, Naikji, however, was won over by the Sultan; two of his elder brothers killed him in their anger and were in their turn murdered by Naikji's men. The watan passed to Ansaba, Naikji's widow, who afterwards gave birth to a posthumous son. Her infuriated brother-in-law, however, had no mercy either for the widow or her baby. Ansaba was soon after murdered, but the devotion of a nurse saved the child, who took shelter with Baji Pasalka. Hardly was the family quarrel settled, when Kanboji, son of Naikji entered into a contest with the Bandal Deshmukh and a bloody battle was fought. Their difference was, however, settled when Kanboji entered the service of Shivaji. The Khopres, although humbled, had not been rendered altogether harmless. They joined Afzal Khan against their rivals' master, Shivaji. Such were the men with whom Shivaji had to deal and the times in which he had to work.

He was further handicapped in his work of re-organising the civil administration of his country by lack of willing co-operation from some of his officers. Lack of willing co-operation.

The art of fighting as a source of honour and emolument appealed to them more than the art of peace. If they had been allowed to follow their individual inclination, they would gladly have renounced, the work of consolidation for a campaign of conquest. No less a man than Nilopaut Majmudar had earnestly prayed to be relieved of his civil duties so that he might "render military service like other men and capture forts when necessary." Nor was he reconciled to his duties until Shivaji had assured him that his services in his civil capacity were as important as that of a commanding officer, and would be appreciated in the same manner as the military exploits of the Peshwa.

17 Rajwade M.I.S., vol. VIII, pp. 8-9. The document is so important that it will bear quotation in extenso, an English translation is not necessary as the sense has been given above.
But Shivaji never tried to achieve the impossible. A practical statesman, he wisely rejected all unworkable ideals. In fact no Maratha statesman before or after him has yearned for theoretical perfection. He knew that the difficulties in his way were great, but he also knew that without an orderly government his kingdom would not be worth a moment’s purchase, and that so long as private war and blood feuds continued, he would not be able to introduce into his infant army that strict discipline which was essentially necessary for its very existence. Peace and order were therefore absolutely necessary. But unless he could unite under his banner the numerous chiefs who exercised petty sovereignty in Maharashtra, a strong orderly government would be an idle dream. Once his aim was defined, he refused to be hampered by ordinary scruples. Policy required that he should try conciliation first and he did so. He was frequently successful, but whenever conciliation failed, he did not hesitate to employ treachery. And, one by one, the Deshmukhs of Mawal did submit to his authority and a considerable portion of the Bijapur territory was conquered. It was now that Shivaji had to frame a working scheme of Government. Here, however, he was confronted with a very difficult problem. He had to decide how far the old system should be continued and to what extent reformed. Wholesale conservation and wholesale reform were equally out of question. The first would grant a fresh lease of life to feudalism with its concomitant evils of private war, blood feud, anarchy and oppression. A keen observer, he did not fail to notice the evil effects of the feud system in the tottering kingdoms of Bijapur and Golkonda. But the total abolition of feudalism would alienate most of his countrymen, some of whom had submitted to him but reluctantly. He knew that the great defect of the Maratha character was its selfish individualism. The Maratha watanadar thought of his watan first and of his country afterwards. Shivaji therefore to strike a mean between the two extremes that would at the same time reconcile the watanadars and ensure comparative order and peace.

The village communities in Southern India flourished from the dawn of history. When these democratic institutions first originated no one knows. But in the absence of a highly developed central government, such as we now have, they served the needs of the time admirably. Shivaji decided to leave them undisturbed in their internal organisation. In fact, the village republics exercised almost the same powers, enjoyed the same privileges and underwent the same responsibilities from the time of their origin down to the establishment of the British Government of India, when many of their immunities and privileges were found incompatible with a modern Government. Over a group of these self-contained units had formerly been placed the Deshmukhs and the Deshpandes. Originally appointed for revenue collection, they had gradually made their office hereditary and had assumed and exercised almost sovereign authority. The circumstances of the time helped this feudal evolution. But Shivaji could not allow this state of things to go on uninterrupted. Feudalism was incompatible with a strong monarchy. Shivaji therefore appointed his own Revenue officers but the Deshmukhs and the Deshpandes were left in the enjoyment of their old rights and perquisites. They were, however, on no account to exercise their tyranny. Royats were given to understand that henceforth they would have nothing to do with the Desais and Deshmukhs. To render them

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18 The Maratha Village system has been fully described in my Administrative System of the Peshwas. There was only one difference. Shivaji did not allow the Patil to act as a Revenue Collector.
altogether harmless, Shivaji further prohibited them from building any walled or bastioned castle; and, like Henry II of England, he demolished some of the strongholds of these local tyrants. In the provinces, Sabhasad says, the Rayats were not to be subjected to the jurisdiction and regulations of the zemindars, the Deshmukh or the Dessai. If they offer to plunder the rayats, by assuming authority over them, it does not lie in their power. The Adilshahi, the Nizamshahi and the Mughlai Desh was conquered by (Shivaji); in the Desh all the rayats used to be under the Patil and the Kulkarni of those places, and the Deshkukhs. They used to make the collection and to pay an unspecified sum as tribute. For a village where the Mirasdar took one to two thousand (Hons or Rupees ?), (they) used to render two hundred to three hundred as quit-rent. Therefore the Mirasdar grew wealthy and strengthened (himself) by building bastions, castles and strongholds in the village and enlisting footmen and musketeers. They did not care to wait on the revenue-officers. If the revenue-officers said that they could pay more revenue, (the Mirasdar) stood up to quarrel with them. In this way (they grew) unruly and forcibly misappropriated the (lands in the) Desh. On this account did the Raja demolish the bastions, the castles and the strongholds. After conquering the Desh, where there were important forts, he placed his garrison. And nothing was left in the hands of Mirasmars. This done, (he) prohibited all that the Mirasolars used to take at their sweet will, by Inam (right) or revenue farming, and fixed the rates of the dues in cash and grains for Zamindars, as well as the rights and the perquisites of the Deshmukh, the Desukkarni, and the Patil, and the Kulakarni, according to the yield of the village. The Zamindars were forbidden to build bastioned castles. (They were to) build houses (and) live (therein). Such were the regulations framed for the provinces. In this manner the danger of feudal anarchy was to some extent averted.

Like the Kamavisars and the Subadars of the Peshwa period, the Karkuns, Taraf-dars, Havaldars and Subadars of Shivaji had to look after all branches of Civil administration. At the head of the Government was the king himself, assisted by a council of state or the Rajmandal. It is also known as the Ashta Pradhan council, as eight ministers had seats in it. These were:

1. The Peshwa or the Mukhya Pradhan.
2. The Mazumdar or the Amaty.
3. The Wakhnis or the Mantri.
4. The Dabir or the Sumanta.
5. The Surnis or the Sachiva.
6. The Pandit Ravi or the Royal priest.
7. The Senapati or the Commander-in-chief.
8. The Nyayadhish or the Chief Justice.

19 Sabhasad, pp. 32-33.
When this council was first organised, we do not precisely know. At the time of the Coronation, the eight 'Pradhans' (ministers) had stood on either side of the throne to pour holy water from gold and silver jars and basins, over the king's head. Malher Ram Rao Chitnis tells us that it was at this time that the Council came into being. These offices, however, were by no means new. Though the Mukhya Pradhan, the Amatya, the Mantri, the Sumanta, the Sachira and the Senapati were unknown, people were quite familiar with the Peshwa, the Muzumdar, the Waknis, the Dabir, the Surnis, and the Sarnohat. What Shivaji did was to retain the old posts with new Sanskrit designations. But whether these new designations meant any new power or new responsibilities is not certain. It is, however, significant that an official paper (Kanu Janta) was drawn up in the first year of the Abhishaka era, to enumerate the duties of the eight cabinet ministers (Pradhans) and other heads of departments. But it is quite possible that the paper was drawn up simply to enforce a stricter method in the existing organisation. Sahbasad tells us that the following officers had enjoyed the privilege of taking part in the coronation ceremony as cabinet ministers:

(1) Moro Pant, son of Trimbak Pant as Mukhya Pradhan.
(2) Naro Nikkantha and Ram Chandra Nikkantha as joint Amatya.
(3) The son of Raghunath Rav as Pandit Rav.
(4) Hambramao Mohite as Senapati.
(5) Dattaji Trimbak as Mantri.
(6) Ram Chandra Pant, son of Trimbakji Sondev Dabir as Sumant.
(7) Annaji Pant (Datto) as Sachiv.
(8) Nirajv Ramji as Nyayadhish.

These men had already held these offices for some time. Sahbasad, while describing the coronation, refers simply to their new Sanskrit designation but does not say that these posts were newly created. (चे याने मानव स्थान नान्द देवीते.) It is quite possible that Chitnis had also in his mind the introduction of Sanskrit designations when he wrote of the Raja's decision of appointing a council of eight. Both Sahbasad and Chitnis make frequent mention of past incumbents of these offices.

Sahbasad, for example, says that one Shanirav Nikkantha was Moro Trimbak Pingle's predecessor in the Peshwaship. Shivaji's first Sarnobat was one Tukoji Chor Maratha. He was succeeded by Mankoji Dahatonde. We do not know why

20 Sahbasad, p. 82; Chitnis, p. 162.
21 Chitnis, p. 161.
22 Chitnis, p. 161.
23 Sahbasad, p. 83.
24 Ibid., pp. 7, 8 and 11; Peshwas' Diaries, vol. 1, p. 41.
25 Ibid., p. 9.
Tukoji or Manjori lost their master's confidence, but after the conquest of Jawli, the chief command of the army was conferred on Netaji Palkar, destined to be famous as the second Shivaji. Netaji was dismissed for his failure to succour Panhala and an enterprising cavalry officer, Kadtaji Gujar, obtained the Sarnobatship with the title of Pratap Rav. Finally, after Pratap Rav's heroic death in a hard fought-battle, his lieutenant Hasaji Mahite was promoted to the command in Chief. It was this Hasaji or Hambir Rav, the fifth, or according to another account the sixth, Sarnobhat, who stood with a silver jar, filled with milk, at the time of the ceremonial bath, during Shivaji’s coronation. Similarly, Nilo Sondev and Gangaji Mangaji had served as Surnis and Waknis respectively, before Annaji Datto and Dattaji Trimbak. It is also certain, that before and after his coronation, Shivaji frequently held council with these and other officers. To cite only one instance, when Aftzal Khan invaded his infant kingdom, Shivaji called a council of his principal ministers, among whom figured not only Moro Pant, Nilo Pant, Annaji Pant, Sonaaji Pant, Gangaji, Mangaji, Netaji Palkar and Raghu Nath Ballal, (most of them afterwards held seats in the Ashta Pradan Council) but also men like Gomaji Naik, Krishnaji Naik and Subhaji Naik. It does not appear therefore that the council was first organised at the time of the coronation. Nor can it be maintained that the Ashta Pradhan Council owed its origin to the creative genius of Shivaji. The Persian designation of such officers as the Dabir, the Surnis, the Waknis, and the Mazumdar clearly shows that analogous offices did exist under the Muhammadan Government of the South. Mention has also been made of such Councils in old Hindu works on polity. In Sukraniti, for example, we find that the chief priest and the Chief Justice should have seats in the cabinet, and this was a special feature of Shivaji’s Rajmandal. When the Peshwas rose to power, most of these offices had become hereditary, but in Shivaji’s time the Pradhans, or cabinet ministers, were not appointed for life. They were liable to be dismissed at the king’s pleasure and could not transmit their office to their sons or brothers. In the Peshwa period great officers generally became founders of new families. This was impossible in Shivaji’s time. First, because he took good care to keep all offices, both high and low, free from a hereditary character. We have seen how six commanders-in-chief had been in succession appointed by Shivaji, but not in a single case had he selected for the post a near relative of the last incumbent. Suryaji Malher was no doubt appointed Subadar of the Mawli forces, after the death of his brother Tanaji, but in this case the officer in question had rendered such distinguished service as fully deserved public recognition; secondly, because Shivaji made it a rule not to assign any Jagir to any officer, civil or military. It was strictly laid down that no soldier or military officer should have anything to do with the revenue collection of the country, and there was, in those days of anarchy and war, hardly any officer who was not required to take up arms sometime or other. In Sabhasad’s account we find that the balance of their dues (was paid by) ‘varads’ (orders) either on the Huzur (Central Government) or on the District (establishments). In this manner were their annual accounts punctually settled. Mokashe Mahals or villages with absolute rights should

27 Sabhasad, p. 11. 28 Ibid, p. 59. 29 Ibid, p. 79.
30 J. N. Sarkar says (Modern Review) that according to Narain Shenvi Anand Rav succeeded Pratap Rav Gujar.
31 Chitnis, p. 162. 32 Sabhasad, p. 11. 33 Ibid, p. 14
34 A more detailed discussion is reserved for a subsequent thesis.
35 Sabhasad, p. 66.
on no account be granted to the (men in the) army, the militia and the fort establishment. Every payment should be made by *vratas* or with cash from the treasury. None but the Karkuns had any authority over the lands. All payments to the army, the militia, and the fort establishment, were to be made by the Karkuns. These wise regulations had their desired effect and arrested for the time being the growth of Feudalism in Maharastra. In the words of Ranade, "None of the great men, who distinguished themselves in Shivaji's time, were able to hand over to their descendants large landed estates. Neither Moropant Pingle, nor Abaji Sonderv, nor Ragho Ballal, nor Datto Amnaji or Niraji Raoji, among the Brahmans, nor the Malusaars or Kanks, or Pratapro Gujar, Netaji Palkor, Hambirrao Mohite or the Maratha Sardars, were able to found ancient families such as Shahu's ministers in the early part of the eighteenth century succeeded in doing." 37

Though we do not know precisely when the Ashta Pradhan Council came into being, yet we have fairly accurate knowledge of what was expected from the Pradhans. In a paper, 38 already referred to, their duties have been clearly defined. From this and other state papers, it does not appear that Shivaji aimed at a bureaucratic form of Government. A great Maharasthra Scholar, the late Justice Ranade, however throws out clear hints that the Ashta Pradhan Council, in its essential characteristics, bore a striking resemblance to the Viceroy's Council. Says the great Savant, "The Peshwa was Prime Minister, next to the King, and was at the head of both the civil and the military administration and sat first on the right hand below the throne. The Senapati was in charge of the military administration, and sat first on the left side. Amatya and Sachiv sat next to the Peshwa, while the Mantris sat next below the Sachiv and was in charge of the king's private affairs. The Sumant was foreign secretary and sat below the Senapati on the left. Next came Pandit Rao, who had charge of the ecclesiastical department and below him on the left side sat the Chief Justice. It will be seen from these details that the Ashta Pradhan System has its counterpart in the present constitution of the Government of India. The Governor-General and Viceroy occupies the place of the Peshwa. Next comes the Commander-in-chief of the army. The Finance and Foreign Ministers come next. In the Government of India, the Executive Council makes no room for the head of the ecclesiastical department or for the Chief Justice on one side and the Private Secretary on the other, and in their place sit the member in charge of the Home Department, the Legal Member and the Public Works Minister. These variations are due to the difference of circumstances, but the conception which lies at the bottom of both the systems is the same, that of having a Council of the highest officers of the State—sitting together to assist the king the proper discharge of his duties." 39

Although there seems to be some apparent resemblance between the Ashtopradhan Council of Shivaji and the Executive Council of the Viceroy and Governor-General of India, the principle underlying the two are by no means identical. The Government of India is widely known to be a bureaucracy. The subordinate officers are responsible to the heads of their depart-

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36 Sabhasad, p. 30.  
39 Sane, Patro Yadi Bagoire, p. 367.
ments, and these departmental heads are mainly responsible for initiating the policy in their particular branch of administration. Although they can and do deliberate upon grave questions affecting departments other than their own, there is a clear cut division of duties. The Law Member is never called upon to lead a military expedition, nor is the Commander-in-Chief required to hear a Title Suit. But six out of the eight members of Shivaji's Council had to perform military duties whenever necessary, and all the eight had, as occasion arose, to attend a Hazir Majalasi to hear appeals in both civil suits and criminal cases. The first Pandit Rav 40 had to render diplomatic service when he was sent on an embassy to Jai Singh. But no one to-day would ever think of sending the Lord Bishop of Calcutta or the Bishop of Lahore on an embassy to the Amir of Afghanistan. This is, however, not the only difference. The Viceroy, though he can in theory override the decisions of his Executive Council, is in practice expected to be guided by them. But neither his subjects nor his officers ever expected that Shivaji should always be guided by the wisdom of the Rajmandal. He was not bound to call them unless he left inclined to do so. The ministers were frequently absent on distant expeditions, and some of them were further encumbered with the heavy work of a provincial government. Shivaji's ministers cannot therefore be regarded as Heads of Departments and his Government was by no means a Bureaucracy. It was, if anything, an Autocracy. But the Autocrat, fortunately for his people, was a good statesman and acted as a "Benevolent Despot." His ministers were his assistants in the widest sense of the word, and his government had more resemblance to those of his Hindu and Muhammadan predecessors than to the British Indian Government to-day. Of European institutions, Napoleon's great council perhaps came nearest to it.

The detailed statement of the duties of the eight Pradhans will further confirm the above conclusion. And nothing will serve our purpose better than the Kanu Jabta (Memorandum) drawn up in the first year of the Coronation (Abhisheka) Era and published by Rao Bahadur Kashinath Narayan Sane. All that is required here is to reproduce the paper in full with a fairly intelligible translation:—The Kanu Jabta of the year 1 of the Coronation Era, the Sambatsar being Ananda by name, Tuesday the thirteenth day of Jaisthya.

The Mukhya Pradhan should perform all works of the administration. He should put his seal on official letters and documents. He should make expeditions and wage war with the army and make necessary arrangements for the preservation of the Districts that may come into (our) possession and act according to the orders (of the king). All military officers should go with him and he should proceed with them all in this manner (should be work). (Seal) (item 1).

The Senapati should maintain the army and make war and expeditions. He should preserve the territories (newly) acquired, render an account of (the spoils) and act according to the orders (of the king). He should make known (to the king) what the men, viz., the army, have to say. All military officers should go with him. (Seal) (item 1).

The Amatya should look after the account of income and expenditure of the whole kingdom. The Daftardar and the Fadnis should be under him. He should carefully estimate the writing work (to be done ?) He should put his sign manual (or seal) on the letters from the Fadnis' and the Chitnis' office. He should render military service in (times of) war. He should look after the Districts and be guided by (our) orders. (Seal) (item 1).

40 Sabhasad, p. 41.
The Sachiv should carefully look into the royal letters and make (necessary) correction of the contents, whenever there is a letter in excess or whenever a letter is omitted. He should serve in war, preserve the (newly) acquired Districts, and behave according to (our) orders. On royal letters (and official documents) he should put his seal as a sign of his approval. (Seal) (item 1).

The Pandit Ray should have jurisdiction over all religious questions. He should punish (all offences) after judging what is right and what is wrong. He should put his sign of approval on all papers relating to custom, (आचार) conduct, (स्वाभाविक) and penance (मार्गित). He should receive Scholars of reputation. He should perform, when occasion arises, charity (श्रद्धा) and Shanti (performances to appease offended deities) and celebrate other religious performance. (Seal) (item 1). 41

The Nyayadhish should have jurisdiction over all suits in the kingdom and try them righteously. After finding out what is right and what is wrong, on the judgment paper, he should put his sign of approval. (Seal) (item 1).

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

THE DATE OF SARVAJÑATMA AND ŚAṆKARĀCHĀRYA.

In Vol. XLIII of this Journal there is a note on Sarvajñatma by Mr. Venkatesvaran, wherein he indentifies the Manukuladiyya mentioned by the former in his work Samkhapadārārika with Aditya I, the Chola king, after refuting Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar's identification of the same with the Chalukya Vimaladiyya. Herein, he makes Aditya the personal name of the king and not the component part of a compound name. But we meet with the name Manukuladiyyan in a Travancore inscription. There is a Vatteshuttu inscription from Tirumulikulam dated the year opposite to the 48th year of king Bhūskararavari Varman, a king of Kerala, which is published in the Travancore Archaeological Series, Vol. II, pt. I, pp. 45-46. In it there is mentioned a grant of some Cherical lands (lands on the slopes of hills) by a king named Manukuladiyyan, and the inscription deals with the resolution of the townsmen of Tirumulikulam regarding their management. From the terms of the inscription it would appear that the grant had been made some time before the date of the inscription. Now Tirumulikulam is in North Travancore near Kaladi the birthplace of Śaṅkarāchārya. The occurrence of the name Manukuladiyyan as the personal name of a ruler of the district wherein the great Achārya was born and the fact that the principal Maṭha of his sect is in Śringeri in the west, make one doubt the correctness of splitting up the name and interpreting it as Aditya of the Manu family, and thus identifying him with a king of the East Coast. As regards the objection that the verse of Sarvajñatma depicts Manukuladiyyan as a powerful sovereign, “as commanding the world,” it may be suggested that a petty king might loom large in the eyes of his subjects, and also that such adulatory epithets are not uncommon in Indian poetical works.

Now, as to the date of Sarvajñatman and Manukuladiyyan, the following facts may offer some solution. From the astronomical data furnished by a copper-plate of one Bhūskararavari Varma, dated 2nd-4th-35th year of the reign, Dewan Baha-Dur Swamikannu Pillai has fixed his accession at 978 A.D. But there are others with the same name but with single dates (Vide Travancore Archaeological Series, vol. II, pt. II), and Mr. Pillai suggests 41 The late justice Telang summarised the duties of the Pandit-Ray in the following manner:—

“It states that the Pandit-Ray's duties are to exercise all the ecclesiastical powers of the State, and to order punishment to be inflicted after investigating into what is and is not in accordance with religious law. He is to receive learned persons on behalf of the state and countersign all documents that may be issued from the sovereign relating to Achara, Vyavahara, and Prayaachita, that is to say rules of conduct, civil and criminal law, and penances, the three branches of Dharmashastra. He is also to look after the performance of Shantis and other ceremonial, and the distribution of royal bounty.” (R.M.P.), p. 261.
BOOK-NOTICE

that there may be two different kings having the same name Bhāskaraṇa, viz., one whose years are dated opposite to the second year and another without it. Now the Tirumulikulam inscription belongs to the latter class, while the famous Cochin plates of Bhāskaraṇa belong to the former. Though a superficial comparison of the two inscriptions just mentioned does not disclose any difference in their palaeographical characteristics, yet a closer examination shows that the single dated inscriptions belong to a king slightly earlier in date. For instance, compare the Grantha Swa. And since the Bhāskaraṇa with the double or treble dates lived towards the close of the tenth century, we might place the Bhāskaraṇa with the single date in the early part of the same century approximately. Hence Manukulādīya and Sarvaśajātma must have flourished about 900 A.D. And since Satkara-chārya was the Guru's Guru of Sarvaśajātma, the former must have lived about the middle of the ninth century A.D.

A. Balakrishna Pillai.

BOOK-NOTICES.


The blind poet, philosopher and Arabic scholar, whose fame has come down to the present generation by his title of Abūl-ālā, was a Syrian, and lived from 974 to 1055 A.D. He was a great teacher of the philosophic doctrines and professed creed of his day, as current among the learned and thoughtful, and also a great poet. In consequence, he was a real power in the realm of Islamic thought. His home was an obscure village—Ma'arrah—in Syria, south of Aleppo; but despite his misfortune, the result of smallpox in his early childhood, he travelled as far as Baghdad in one direction and as far as Tripoli in another, and came in touch with the learned world of his time. After his illness he could never see well; he gradually became totally blind in his mature age, and lived to be 82. He was never a sycophant or time server; on the contrary he was always boldly outspoken, and that in his day involved a life of poverty. So he lived and died a poor man. The illness that so injured his sight destroyed also his personal appearance, and he never married or mixed himself up with the other sex. All these things affected his verse and the philosophic views contained therein, and it will be seen also that he was essentially a product of his time and surroundings.

Abūl-ālā just preceded the astronomer-poet of Persia, whom the English poet Fitzgerald has taught the European and Christian world to call Omar Khayyam on paper with a whole-world variety of pronunciation. Omar Khayyam was imbued, as was Abūl-ālā, with the philosophy of his time as coloured by the Islam they both professed. But otherwise their lives and surroundings were as poles apart. In him we find a great mathematician (though Abūl-ālā was that also) with a high official position and influential connections—a man of the world who had done great practical things and had taken to expressing his philosophy in his retirement in the style of verse current in his day and country, chiefly apparently for his own private satisfaction—no conscious general teacher of his kind and no great poet in the estimation of his contemporaries and countrymen. Fitzgerald has made him that by his rendering of the philosophy he expressed in Persian quatrains for an English speaking and reading public to whom, in its unacquaintance therewith, it was a revelation.

The object of the work under review is, I take it, mainly to bring home the Islamic philosophy of the 10th and 11th centuries A.D. to the English reading public, and incidentally to show how much Omar Khayyam is indebted to Abūl-ālā. In all probability he was indebted to a certain degree. A man so placed, and with such opportunities of access to the great literature of his time and faith as Omar Khayyam, could hardly have been unacquainted with the works of Abūl-ālā. But as to whether he was indebted for his actual expressions to such a degree as Mr. Ameen Rihani hints, is open to considerable doubt. The fact appears to be that both authors were in the first place brought up under Islam, were both well acquainted with the Greek and Sufi philosophies as developed by their time, were well read men and knew therefore something—perhaps a great deal—of mediæval Christianity and Hinduism, at any rate from the philosophic standpoint. In their day, the educated professors of Islam had developed those esoteric heterodox opinions which have invariably risen in every known form of religion that the world has ever adopted, and of which in their surroundings
the Sufis were the chief exponents. Abu'l-álá, from the social and physical condition which governed his life, expounded the ideas generally afloat in the philosophic air about him in a way that was his own, and detached himself from the usual method favoured by the Sufis of presenting his philosophy in esoteric terms adopted from erotic poetry, where it expresses human and carnal love. Omar Khayyám, living in very different conditions, followed the fashion of the writers about him. It may be objected, however, that Abu'l-álá was not a Sufi:—probably not, but he knew the doctrine and the method. He did not quite escape it. Witness Mr. Ameen Rihani's first two quatrains:—why I say Mr. Rihani's quatrains will presently appear:—

The sable wings of night pursuing day
Across the opalescent hills, display
The wondrous star-gems which the fiery suns
Are scattering upon their fiery way.

O my companion, Night is passing fair,
Fairer than aught the dawn and sundown wear;
And fairer too than all the gilded days
Of blond illusion and its golden snare.

On the whole, it will, I think, be safest to say that there is no proof that Omar Khayyám consciously followed Abu'l-álá, but that both, each in his individual way, were influenced by the learning of the centuries in which they existed in the respective lands of their birth.

I have spoken above of Mr. Ameen Rihani's quatrains. His selections from Abu'l-álá are given in a form which is a direct challenge to Fitzgerald's version of Omar Khayyám's Rubá'íyat. As Fitzgerald infused himself into Omar Khayyám, so has Mr. Rihani infused himself into Abu'l-álá. Neither work is a translation, but both are adaptations, intending, and no doubt honestly, to give the real sense of the original in the verse of a foreign tongue. As Fitzgerald has been successful with Omar Khayyám, so in my personal judgment has Mr. Rihani been with Abu'l-álá. His quatrains are all extraordinarily smooth, and they read like the production of an Oriental mind and convey the Near Eastern manner of composing captivating verse. Mr. Rihani is no mean poet, as is shown by his lines to Abu'l-álá with which his book opens, and he has the advantage of a training, for all his fine command of English, which is apparently Near Eastern. He is also honest with his author, for Abu'l-álá lashed out at all whom he thought were humbugs—Christian, Muhammadan, See-

tarian—great and small, and Mr. Rihani does not hide his invective at all:—

Muhammad or Messiah! Hear thou me,
The truth entire nor here nor there can be:

How should our God, who made the sun
And moon,

Give all his light to one, I cannot see.

Abu'l-álá was accused of infidelity and of leanings towards Hinduism. He was a vegetarian and a great opponent of wine-drinking, and exhibited extraordinary tenderness towards animals. All this is brought out, and some of it echoes Indian philosophic ideas:—

The life with guiltless life-blood do not stain—
Hunt not the children of the wood, in vain
Thou'lt try one day to wash thy bloody hand:
Nor hunter here nor hunted long remain.

His verse was also full of the doubt that was then so much the fashion:—

The way of vice is open as the sky,
The way of virtue's like the needle's eye;
But whether here or there the eager soul
Has only two companions—Whence and Why.

His infirmities and his poetry affected all his life and are reflected in his verse, and the last quatrains given by Mr. Rihani are specially pathetic, as they show that behind his despair of the world and his cynicism he held on to the hopes inculcated by the faith in which he was brought up:—

But I, the thrice imprisoned, try to troll
Strains of the song of night, which fill with dole
My blindness, my confinement and my flesh—

The sordid habitation of my soul.
Howbeit, my inner vision hear shall be
To the increasing flames of mystery,
Which may illumine yet my prison's cell,
And crown the ever living hope of me.

Mr. Rihani has produced a great book which deserves to be well and widely read by those who would understand something of the perennial Oriental mind.

R. C. Temple.

EARLY HISTORY OF VAISHNAVISM IN SOUTH INDIA
by Professor S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar.
This little book is the outcome of a suggestion from Sir George Grierson that Vaishnava Literature should be made better known to the European public, and in effect is a critical examination of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's Vaishnavism, Saivism and Minor Religions, conducted in the
spirit, not of mere controversy, but of assistance towards the knowledge of the truth of the facts. There is a good index.

The first lecture deals with the definition and general explanation of Vaishnavism, and I may say at once, that all the lectures being given by a Hindu to a Hindu audience, a general knowledge of Hinduism is presupposed. The author sums up the "fundamental idea of Vaishnavism" thus:—"It is contained in one verse of Tirumalaisai Alwár which may be freely rendered: 'Let thy grace be for me today; let it come tomorrow; let it wait still longer and come sometime after; Thy grace I am sure is mine, I am certain, O Nárâyana, I am not without Thee, nor art Thou without me.'" Here speaks true philosophic Hinduism.

The Professor holds Vaishnavism to be the direct offspring of the doctrine of Bhaktl or Devotional Faith and agrees with Professor Bhandarkar that it is traceable to "the age of Buddhism and Jainism," i.e. to the earliest historical times. He holds also that the doctrine originated in the North, was elaborated in the South and "sent back in a more realistic reflex wave which swept over the whole land of India." The Vaishnava teachers were firstly the Alwars, the popular poet-saints (as distinguished from the Nayanmars of the Saivas), and secondly the Acharyas or professional propagandists. The former are placed between the 5th and 12th centuries A.D.

As the history of Vaishnavism in the South is necessarily the story of the Twelve Alwars, the remaining lectures are naturally devoted to a critical examination of them. The crucial names for historical purposes among the Alwars are those of the Alwá Kulaśékhara and Nam Alwár, and the second and third lectures are respectively devoted to these two names. The usual date for Kulaśékhara is the 12th or even 13th century A.D., but Professor Krishnaswami Aiyangar argues that the true period is more likely to be the 10th century. Some space is given to his identification, a matter obviously bearing on his date, and finally he is placed 7th in the chronological order of the Alwars.

More legend has grown around the name of Nam Alwár (really a nickname arising out of his popularity and the reverence felt for him, and meaning 'Our Alwár') than round that of any other, and for several reasons of belief he is popularly placed last of all. This position the book strongly controverts, taking up the arguments in support of it one by one and critically examining them. The old authority, Vedánta Désika, places him 5th, which would put him before Kulaśékhara, probably in the 8th century A.D. or even earlier. To this view the Professor inclines.

The last lecture deals with P oyasi, Bhutesattiv and Pásy, the earliest of the Alwars in general estimation, the fourth being Tirumalaisai. The first three are placed in the 2nd century A.D., and the traditional order is adopted as probable.

This question of the dates of the Vaishnava Alwars has a far greater importance to history than would at first appear, for on it depends the wider question of the respective dates for the rise and development of the two great varieties of philosophic Hinduism—the Saiva and the Vaishnava. Professor Krishnaswami Aiyangar's book is a valuable contribution towards the solution of this important matter of history.

R.C. Temple.


This is the sixth volume of the 'Gadkari's Oriental Series,' for the publication of which lovers of Sanskrit literature are indebted to His Highness the Maharaja of Baroda. The present work is a small book of 30 pages on the genders of Sanskrit nouns. An incorrect edition of it was published by Prof. Peterson in his third report in search of Sanskrit MSS. The present volume gives a critical edition of the text. As for the commentary, now published for the first time, there are many lacunae.

Discussing the date of the author, the learned editor has come to the following conclusions:—(1) That Vāmana, the author of the present work, which quotes Māgha and Pāṇabhaṭṭa, is most probably identical with the author of the Kārikā and with the author of Kārīkasāvatāravṛtti which quotes verses from the works of Māgha, Bhavabhūti, and Bhaṭṭārka and which was quoted by Anandavardhana (about 857-84 A.D.). (2) That this Jain or Buddhist Kashmirian scholar was identical with the Vāmana who, according to Kalhaṇa, was one of the learned ministers of king Jayāpīḷa of Kashmir (776-807 A.D.). (3) That he left Kashmir, most probably on account of the oppression of the king (as described in the Rājatarangini IV. 634-7) and went to the court of Jagattūgā (the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Govinda III. 794-813 A.D), for he gives Jagattūgā-sabha as an example in the 9th Kārikā of the present work and mentions the name of a village Śrībhavana, which occurs also in the Vani Dindori and Radhanpur plates of the same king.
NOTES FROM OLD FACTORY RECORDS.

19. Toddy Horse.

11 July 1682. Translate a letter from our Bramine Chandra Sheeriah [Brakman agent, Chandra Sivdahariya] and Madama from Cuddalore [Kadalar], to the Right Worshipful William Gifford Esg., Governor of Fort St. George. I am going to Porto Novo, the Toddy [coloured, i.e., brown] horse is troubled with a pain in his breast and the Staggers, and the black horse is hipt [lame], for which reason no body would ride upon him, and they are both in a bad condition, concerning which it may please your Worship to order as you shall thinkfitt. (Records of Fort St. George, Letters to Fort St. George, 1682, vol. II, p. 50.)

R. C. T.

20. The Company's premises at Cuddalore.

11 August 1682. Letter from Robert Freeman and Council at Cuddalore [Cuddalore, Kadalar] to William Gifford at Fort St. George. . . We shall now give you a short account of the Commodityness of our house, which is the best in Towne next Seir Caumee [Sher Khan] but miscarfitt for our business, built by [for] an Idolyous Jentue [Hindus] house and fitt only to worship the Devil in. It has been for many years Tenented by batts, and pity they should have been disturbed, for they have left such a smelling savour behind them enough to [kill] Christians. The rooms are small and darke, and the doores low and narrow to[o] little to get a bul in, so that we must be forced to house the Company's goods in the Bankesall Godownes [warehouses at the wharf], which will be noe small Charge, besides the inconveniency, if we continue here, shall alter it the best way we can to make it of some use, which will be Chargeable, though done with frugality. . . . . (Records of Fort St. George, Letters to Fort St. George, 1682, vol. II, pp. 69-70.)

R. C. T.

ISLAM AS UNDERSTOOD IN THE MALAY STATES.

The following extract from p. 17 of the Annual Report of the British Agent, Trengganu, for 1918, is illuminating and interesting as vouching for the existence of a Muhammadan guru, perhaps from a misunderstanding of the term 'guru'.

"Death of Ungku Said."

"37. Ungku Said of Paloh, head of the Trengganu Arab community and theological schools, died on September 6th, a few hours after the arrival of the Commission from Singapore. He age was reputed to be 100; his descendants (who include great-great-grandchildren) certainly exceed that number."

"For the last forty years Ungku Said possessed, throughout the length of the East Coast, the reputation of a 'Saint' with semi-miraculous powers (particularly in the healing of disease); his home was an object of pilgrimage for Muhammadans from Patani to Pahang; and his family acquired great wealth from the offerings of the pious. He was religious teacher (Guru) to the late Sultan." 

R. C. T.

JAN BADSHAH—JIMMY BRADSHAW.

The accompanying cutting from the Times, June 2nd, 1919, discloses an excellent "Hobson-Jobson" and reminds one of the Theobald and Sophia of the Third Burmese War (1885-1889) which was the soldiers' rendering of Thibaw and Suphaya ila the names of the last king and queen of Burmah.

"Peshawar, May 20 (delayed._The storm-petrel, Mullah Mir Sahib Jan Badshah, whom the troops call Jimmy Bradshaw, has appeared at Bajaur, but was forced to leave. In 1915 he induced a combined force of Mohmands and Swais to try and throw over the Government with disastrous results. He recently visited the Mohmands, but the latter, who were busy dividing the loot obtained at Dalka, dismissed him._Reuter."

R. C. TEMPLER.
THE HISTORY OF THE NIZĀM SHĀH KINGDOMS OF AḤMADNAGAR.

By Lieut.-Colonel T. W. Haig, C.S.I., C.M.G., C.B.E.

(Continued from p. 106.)


A.D. 1561. It has already been mentioned that ‘Allī ‘Ādil Shāh had succeeded, with the assistance of Sadāshivarāya, in recovering possession of the fortress of Kaliyānī from the officers of Ḥusain Nizām Shāh, and Ḥusain Nizām Shāh was constantly revolting plans for the capture of the fortress. Qāsim Beg and Maulānā ‘Ināyāt-ullāh now considered that it would be wise to renew the alliance with Ibrāhīm Qūb Shāh and to cement it by bestowing one of Ḥusain’s daughters on him in marriage; and they tendered this advice to the king. Ḥusain Nizām Shāh, having regard to the exigencies of the situation, agreed to the proposal, and an ambassador was sent to open negotiations with Ibrāhīm Qūb Shāh. It was agreed that both parties should meet before the fortress of Kaliyānī and should first celebrate the marriage and then lay siege to the fortress, and capture it. After the settlement of the terms of the treaty, the two kings met at Kaliyānī, where the marriage was celebrated, and then laid siege to the fortress (A.D. 1562).

When ‘Allī ‘Ādil Shāh heard that Ḥusain Nizām Shāh and Ibrāhīm Qūb Shāh were besieging Kaliyānī, he was much perturbed and could devise no remedy but a second appeal to Sadāshivarāya. He therefore had recourse to him, and that accursed infidel marched with a mighty army towards Kaliyānī. When ‘Allī Barid Shāh heard that Sadāshivarāya was marching on Kaliyānī, he also collected his forces and marched from Bīdar and joined him, and when Ibrāhīm Qūb Shāh heard of the approach of the army of Vijayanagar, he disregarded the bond which bound him to Ḥusain Nizām Shāh and, following his former practice, broke faith and left Ḥusain Nizām Shāh and joined the army of Vijayanagar. Ḥusain Nizām Shāh was now much perturbed, and perceiving that he could not possibly, with his small army, withstand the great hosts of the enemy, retreated to Aḥmadnagar. When the news of his retreat reached Sadāshivarāya he, with ‘Allī ‘Ādil Shāh, Ibrāhīm Qūb Shāh and ‘Allī Barid Shāh marched on Aḥmadnagar. Ḥusain Nizām Shāh despaired of being able to offer a successful resistance in Aḥmadnagar and, after leaving a picked garrison in the fort, retired to Jummār. The allies then encamped before Aḥmadnagar and again did

142 Maulānā ‘Ināyāt-ullāh had returned to the service of Ḥusain Nizām Shāh while the allies were besieging Aḥmadnagar, and had been the principal channel of communication between Ibrāhīm Qūb Shāh and the garrison. It was he that inspired this foolishly provocative policy. It was in the beginning of A.H. 970 (September or October, 1562) that Ḥusain and Ibrāhīm met at Kaliyānī, and Jamāl Bībī, daughter of the former, was married to the latter. Sayyid ‘Allī fails to mention Ḥusain’s misfortunes before his retreat on Aḥmadnagar and Jummār and slanders Ibrāhīm Qūb Shāh. When Ḥusain heard of the approach of ‘Allī ‘Ādil Shāh, who had been joined by Būḥān ‘Imād Shāh or rather Tūfāl Khān (who resented the murder of Jāhāngīr Shāh), and ‘Allī Barid Shāh and Sadāshivarāya, he and Ibrāhīm Qūb Shāh marched to attack them. Ḥusain found himself opposed to the Hindus while Ibrāhīm was opposed to the Muhammadan allies, and apparently retreated before them. Ḥusain lost most of his artillery, on which he chiefly relied, in the deep mire, and it was captured by the Hindus. Ibrāhīm Qūb Shāh’s camp was attacked, but was saved by the exertions of his minister, Mushāf Shāh Ardistanī. Ḥusain and Ibrāhīm then retreated towards Aḥmadnagar. At Jānu, Ibrāhīm left Ḥusain and returned to Golconda, while Ḥusain continued his march to Aḥmadnagar and thence to Jummār.—F. ii. 245.
the infidels and accursed polytheists stretch forth their hands to vex the unfortunate Mus-lims and plundered all that they could find in and around the city. When the Muslims had endured the oppression of the infidels for a time and were reduced to the utmost straits, Malika-yi-Jahān, Malik-i-Humāyūn Bibi Amāna, the king's mother, who was then in the fortress of Ahmādnagar, sent a message to Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh, to say that the whole of the land of Islām was groaning under the oppression of the idolaters and that it ill became Muhammadan sovereigns to instigate idolators to persecute Muslims. This message took effect on Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh and stimulated his religious zeal and his jealousy for the faith, so that he resolved to retreat and to be no longer a party to the oppression of Muslims. He therefore went to Sadashivaraṇya and complained of the disorganization of his army and of the great delay in the siege of Ahmādnagar, saying that it was impossible to foresee what the end of the campaign would be, or when it would come, seeing that Husayn Nigām Shāh would not meet them in the field, but that he feared that the army might become disorganized and suffer a defeat. He then recommended that one of three courses should be followed (1) that the expedition should be abandoned for that year and that each of the allies should withdraw to his own country, returning in the following year to attain the object which they had in view, (2) that he himself should be allowed to withdraw to his own kingdom in order that he might reorganize his army and rejoin the allies when he had completed this task, or (3) if it was desired to press the siege that Ādil Shāh, on whose behalf the expedition had been undertaken, should make loans to the allies to enable them to reorganize their armies. Sadashivaraṇya and his brother Eltamraj approved of these proposals, and what Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh had said was communicated to 'Ali Ādil Shāh. 'Ali Ādil Shāh was strongly in favour of the continuance of the siege, but his avarice prevented him from accepting the third proposal and he therefore returned no definite answer.

A.D. 1563. At sunrise on the following day, Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh marched with his army on his return to Golconda, and when Sadashivaraṇya, who also was weary of the interminable siege, heard of his departure, he too retired with the army of Vijayanagar to his own dominions, and 'Ali Ādil Shāh was compelled to retire without having attained his object.144

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143 Sayyid 'Ali seems to have confounded the two different invasions of the Ahmādnagar kingdom by the Hindus. Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh was now with neither army, having retired to Golconda. After fruitlessly besieging Ahmādnagar for a short time, the allies followed Husain towards Jumār, but were so harassed by Husain's light troops and so apprehensive of being overtaken by the rainy season (May, 1563) that they retired to Ahmādnagar. Here Sadashivaraṇya's army encamped in the bed of the Sina. The rains broke and the river came down in flood, carrying down with it 300 of Sadashivaraṇya's elephants and 12,000 of his cavalry. After this disaster he and 'Ali Ādil Shāh retired to their own kingdom.—F. ii, 68, 335; B.S. 86; T.M.Q.S.

144 Burhān Nīrām Shāh I, had first set the example of calling upon Vijayanagar to intervene in the quarrels of the Muḥammadan Kings of the Dakān, when, in 1552, he formed an alliance with the Hindu state against Ibrāhīm Ādil Shāh I, and he could not, therefore, justly complain of 'Ali Ādil Shāh for following the same disastrous policy; but the behaviour of the Hindus during the two invasions of Ahmādnagar scandalized all Muslims. They lodged, worshipped their idols, and played their music in the mosques, and ravished Muḥammadan women. Sadashivaraṇya behaved as though he were the overlord of all the Muḥammadan kings, and the Hindu soldiers openly scoffed at them as his vassals. On his way back to Vijayanagar, he compelled 'Ali Ādil Shāh to cede the districts of Hippargi and Akalkot, and Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh to surrender the forts and districts of Kovilakonda, Pāngul, and Ghānpūra. Ever since his first alliance with 'Ali Ādil Shāh he had treated the envoys of the Sultans as the agents of vassals, refusing them seats at court and making them run beside his horse.—F. ii. 69.
Thus the country was relieved of the oppression of the infidels by means of the wisdom and wise policy of the Malikayi-Jahān, and the Muslims again breathed freely after their intolerable sufferings at the hands of the idolators.

When Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh was relieved of his anxiety with regard to the infidels, he returned to his capital and devoted all his attention to making reparation for the suffering which they had caused and to devising plans which would prevent their repeating their insolence.

LXVI.—An account of the causes of the uprooting and overthrow of Sadāshivarāya, the chief of the infidels, by God’s predestination, and by means of Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh.

A.D. 1564. When Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh had rested from settling the affairs of his kingdom and restoring peace and plenty to all his subjects, he bethought himself that both merit and profit were to be gained by the inauguration of a holy war against the infidels of Vijayanagar, and he devoted all his attention to preparations for the conflict.

Sadāshivarāya was distinguished above all the kings of Vijayanagar for the strength of his army and for his power and was puffed up with pride owing to the extent of his dominions. He possessed the whole of the kingdom of Vijayanagar with its sixty sea-ports. Its length was near 600 leagues and its revenue 120,000,000 hūns and that accursed infidel had reigned over this kingdom for a long time. From the time of the prophet, no Muḥammadan king had attempted to subdue this kingdom, but all had sought the friendship of its kings and had treated them with courtesy. But Sadāshivarāya, in the pride of his power, had broken the treaties which he and his predecessors had made with the sovereigns of Islām, and had invaded the territories of Islam and deluged them in blood, and had destroyed the dwellings of Muslims and slain large numbers of them. Now, therefore, Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh determined to be avenged on him and took counsel with his advisers as to the best means of overcoming the enemies of religion and of the faith. His counsellors, chief among whom were Qāsim Beg and Maulāna I’Inayatullah, applauded the king’s intention, but said that it was impossible to attack Sadāshivarāya with any hope of success so long as an alliance existed between him and ‘Alī ‘Ādil Shāh, and advised the king to open negotiations with ‘Alī ‘Ādil Shāh. The king then, by the advice of the counsellors, first approached Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh on the subject of an alliance of the Muḥammadan sovereigns, and Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh, who was delighted with the idea, sent Sayyid Muṣṭafā Khān, one of his chief amirs, to Ahmadnagar to carry on negotiations. Sayyid Muṣṭafā Khān went on from Ahmadnagar to Bijāpur and there set himself to induce ‘Alī ‘Ādil Shāh to join the league. He said that it was common knowledge that the Dakan, even when it was subject to the rule of one powerful king, always suffered from the inroads of the idolators, and that now that the

146 This misstatement is so palpable as to be ridiculous. The author has himself chronicled the numerous wars between the Bahmani kingdom and the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar. No Bahmani King had been able to subdue Vijayanagar, and fortune was not constant, but the balance of success was largely in favour of the Muhammadan Kingdom.

Historians naturally disagree in the assignment of the honour of being the prime mover in the confederacy against the infidels.” Firishta, the historian of Bijāpur, assigns it to ‘Alī ‘Ādil Shāh, but the author of the T. M. Q. S. agrees with Sayyid ‘Alī in assigning it to Husain Niẓām Shāh. Sayyid ‘Alī naturally omits to mention that it was ‘Alī ‘Ādil Shāh who threw down the gauntlet to Sadāshivarāya by sending an envoy to Vijayanagar to demand the retrocession of the Rāichūr Dūhā and the districts of Hippargi and Akalkot. The envoy was received with gross discourtesy and expelled from the city, whereupon ‘Alī ‘Ādil Shāh declared war on Vijayanagar.”
country was divided between three kings it was evident that the lives and property of Muslims, would be always at the mercy of infidels—a state of affairs which was neither pleasing to God, nor acceptable to His people. He said further that rulers should earnestly consider how they would answer to God for neglect of their duty in protecting His people, and that it now behooved the princes of Islam to sheathe the sword of intestine strife and to form an alliance among themselves and cement it by intermarriage, in order that they might act as one against the infidels.

These arguments took effect on Ali 'Adil Shâh, and his anxiety regarding Husain Nigâm Shâh was removed. It was agreed that the alliance between Bijâpûr and A'hmadnagar should be cemented by intermarriage, and that Chand Bibi (daughter of Husain Nigâm Shâh) should be given in marriage to 'Ali 'Adil Shâh, and Falâh Bibi Hadya Sultan, sister of 'Ali 'Adil Shâh, to Shâhzâda Murtaza, afterwards Murtaza Nigâm Shâh I. These marriages were celebrated amidst general rejoicings, the people regarding them as an earnest of future peace and prosperity. When the festivities had come to an end, Husain Nigâm Shâh bestowed the fortress of Sholâpûr on Chand Bibi as dowry, and delivered the keys of the fortress to 'Ali 'Adil Shâh. It was then agreed that the three kings should meet with their armies at Sholâpûr in the following year and should march against the infidels. They then separated and employed the interval in collecting and strengthening their forces.

In the following year, 'Ali 'Adil Shâh and Ibrâhîm Qub Shâh, having collected very large armies, met at Sholâpûr, and Husain Nigâm Shâh, as soon as he heard of their meeting at Sholâpûr, set forth from A'hmadnagar at the head of a numerous army to join them. On his arrival at Sholâpûr, on Jumâdâ-ul-aâwâl 8, he gave audiences to 'Ali 'Adil Shâh and Ibrâhîm Qub Shâh, and on the 20th of the same month, the three kings marched from Sholâpûr towards the kingdom of Vijayanagar. They marched to the village of Tâlikota, situated near the Krishna river, and, when they arrived there, found that the passage of the river, which was wider than two arrow-flights and was very deep, would be most difficult.

When the Râya of Vijayanagar heard of the meeting of the Sultan and of their march towards his kingdom, he resolved to march to meet them. He sent his youngest brother, Venkatâdri, with 20,000 horse, 1,000 elephants, and 100,000 foot as an advanced guard, to the Krishna, to hold the fords and prevent the passage of the Muslims, and he sent his other brother, Eltamraj, following him, with 12,000 horse, 1,000 elephants, and 200,000 foot, and he himself followed Eltamraj with a great host; and the three Hindu armies met on

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146 This sensible arrangement might have been expected to terminate the perennial dispute regarding this fortress, but it only put it to rest for a time. Chand Bibi bore no sons to 'Ali 'Adil Shâh, who was succeeded by his nephew, Ibrâhîm II.; and when she ultimately returned to A'hmadnagar, the return of her dowry, that is to say the restoration of Sholâpûr, was demanded. The demand was justified by the Islamic law, but not by sound policy.

147 The year H. 972. Jumâdâ-ul-aâwâl 8 and 20 of this year corresponded to Dec. 12 and 24, A.D. 1564. Firishta does not mention the meeting at Sholâpûr on the earlier date, but says that the allies met near Bijâpûr on the later. The T.M.Q.S. agrees with him.

148 The strength and distribution of the Hindu army at Tâlikota are thus given by Firishta (ii. 250). (1) Right, under Tirumala, here called Eltamraj, and by Firishta Tiroraj, consisting of 20,000 horse, 200,000 foot, and 500 elephants: (2) centre, under Sadâshivârâya himself, consisting of 37,000 horse, 500,000 foot, and 1,000 (elsewhere 2,000) elephants: (3) left, under Venkatadri, consisting of 25,000 horse, 200,000 foot, and 500 elephants; in all 82,000 horse, 900,000 foot, and 2,000 (or 3,000) elephants. Sayyid 'Ali says that Venkatadri commanded the Hindu right, and on this point the T.M.Q.S. agrees with him.
the banks of the Krishna, and encamped by a village opposite to the ford apt for the passage of the Muslims. They occupied posts opposite to all the fords and thus prevented the passage of the Muslims.

When the Sultans of the Dakkan learnt that all the fords were guarded, they sent a reconnaissance patrol of sharp-witted and experienced men to discover another ford; but this patrol, after a careful reconnaissance, reported that there were but three fords, and that the best and shallowest of these was that which lay immediately before the allied armies, but that all three were carefully and strongly guarded by the infidels, who had thrown up entrenchments and batteries over against them. Husain Niẓām Shāh then desired his advisers to devise a plan for the passage of the river, but they were unable to do so, and counselled a retreat. Husain Niẓām Shāh himself then said that it was best that the allied armies should march along the bank of the river to search for another ford. Accordingly, on the next day the armies marched a day’s march along the bank and on the following day marched again along the bank. The infidels, fearing lest the allies should thus discover another ford, marched abreast of them along the other bank, and deserted the main ford.

LXVII.—An Account of the Passage of the River by the Allies and of the Battle with the Infidels.

As it had been decreed by God that the armies of Islām should be victorious over the infidels, it followed that when the Muslims, by the direction of Husain Niẓām Shāh, marched along the river bank, the infidels deserted the best and most practicable ford over the river, the only ford by which the Muslims could hope to cross in safety. A body of troops from the allied army was sent back to the deserted ford, and traversed the distance with such speed that they did three days' march in one day. With them was Husain Niẓām Shāh, who, on his arrival at the deserted ford, immediately crossed the river with the force accompanying him and was followed by the whole army of Islām.149

When Sadāshivarāya heard of the passage of the river by the Muslims, which seemed to be a presage of their success, he was much perturbed and alarmed; but it occurred to him that as the three kings had marched with such speed, a large part of their armies and of their baggage must have been left behind, and that if he marched immediately against those who had crossed the river, he would have a good chance of success.

When Husain Niẓām Shāh heard of the approach of the infidels, he was overjoyed at the prospect of encountering them and drew up the allied armies in battle array. ‘Ali ʿAdil Shāh commanded the right and Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh the left, while Husain Niẓām Shāh in person commanded the centre.150

When Sadāshivarāya and the Hindu army became aware of the readiness and zeal of the warlike armies of Islām, they were terrified and decided not to fight on that day but to make the most of their last day of dominion and power. They therefore withdrew from the

149 According to Firishta and the other authorities (T.M.Q.S., B.S., and H.A.), the allies marched along the river bank for three days, and then, suddenly turning back, returned by one day's forced march to their starting point. Their advanced guard crossed the river, unopposed in, the evening, and the rest of the army during the night. Before the morning they had advanced towards Sadāshivarāya's camp, about ten miles from the river.

150 All authorities agree as to the positions occupied by the three kings, and from Husain Niẓām Shāh's commanding the centre, the post of honour, it is evident that he was regarded as the leader of the allies. Sayyid 'Ali has omitted to mention that 'Ali Barid Shāh was with Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh on the left. According to the B.S., Burbān 'Imād Shāh had been invited to join the confederacy but refused, owing to his resentment of the murder of Jahāṅgir Khān by Husain Niẓām Shāh. It was, of course, Tufāf Khān, and not Burbān himself, who refused.
field, and Husain Nizām Shāh and the other two Sultans took advantage of their unwillingness to fight to allow the armies of Islam time for repose, and rested that night in anticipation of the morrow’s battle.

On the following day, which was Friday, Jamādi-ul-sānī 2, Husain Nizām Shāh again drew up the allied armies, at sunrise, in battle array. The right, as before, was commanded by ‘Ali ‘Ādil Shāh, the left by Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh, and the centre by Husain Nizām Shāh himself. Ikhlās Khān, one of the chief amirs of Ahmadnagar, was posted, with a force of mounted Khurāsānī archers, in advance of the centre. The elephants with their banners were drawn up at intervals in the main line of battle, their tusks being armed with sharp sword blades.

The allied armies, full of spirit, then began to move against the hosts of the enemy. Sadākshivarāya had placed the wings of his army under the command of his two brothers and commanded the centre in person. He now summoned his brothers and his chief officers and encouraged them to make a resolute stand against the Muslims, saying that he had attained the age of eighty years without having disgraced himself and that he did not wish to be disgraced by cowardice at the end of his life. He said that anybody who was overcome by fear was free to depart while there was yet time, and to save his life. The Rāya’s brothers and their 30,000 horsemen swore that they would fight to the death.

The armies met at midday. Ikhlās Khān first charged the enemy with his Khurāsānī horse and slew large numbers of the infidels.

(To be continued.)

A SHORT NOTE ON POLYANDRY IN THE JUBBAL STATE (SIMLA).

BY HEM CHANDRA DAS-GUPTA, M.A., F.G.S.

From a study of the Hindu epic Mahābhārata, it is quite clear that the polyandrous form of marriage was allowable even in the higher strata of the ancient Indian Society. This custom, though completely absent among the cultured peoples of modern India, has not altogether disappeared from the country, and in some parts of the Himalayas and of Southern India, it is the prevailing form of marriage even now. In his work dealing with the history of human marriages, Westermarck has given an account of the system of polyandry found in different parts of India.

1 Jan. 7, 1565. Firishta does not give the exact date of the battle, but according to the T.M.Q.S. and the H.A. it was fought on Jamadi ul-sani 20 (Jan. 23, 1565).

2 This account of Sadākshivarāya’s attitude differs widely from that given by Firishta (ii., 74), who says that he was carried into the field in a litter and replied to his advisers, who suggested that it would be more seemly to mount a horse, that he saw no occasion to mount a horse for such child’s play, as the enemy would certainly flee at once. He also issued orders (F., ii, 250) that ‘Ali ‘Ādil Shāh and Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh should be taken alive, that he might imprison them for life, but that he required the head of Hussain Nizām Shāh. After the battle had begun he descended from his litter and took his seat on a splendid throne which had been set up for him, and caused piles of gold and silver money and jewels to be spread before him, announcing that the successful valour of his troops should be rewarded on the spot.

1 Westermarck: The history of human marriage, pp. 452-457. Westermarck’s statement, in some cases, requires modification. He has noted the existence of polyandry among the Khasis (op. cit. p. 452). According to Fischer, on whom Westermarck depended for this information, polyandry is very rarely practised among the Khasis (Jour. As. Soc., Bengal, Vol. IX, pt. ii, p. 834), but the evidence of Fischer is not reliable, according to Colonel Gurdon, ‘There is no evidence to show that polyandry ever existed among the Khasis’ (The Khasis, p. 77). According to Man, the authority quoted by Westermarck for polyandry among the Sonthals (op. cit., p. 453) ‘When the elder brother dies, the next younger inherits the widow, children, and all the property.’—(Sonthalia and the Sonthals : p. 100.)
while Mr. Iyer has also published short notes regarding this form of marriage in parts of Southern India.²

It has been stated by Westermarck that polyandry is apparently unknown in the hills of the Simla Superintendency³, but later investigations have shown that the above statement is not correct. Thus we find it mentioned that, so far as the Punjab is concerned, the system of polyandry is in vogue in the Kulu Sub-Division, the Bashar, Nahar, Mandi and Suket states, though the custom has completely died out amongst the Jats.⁴ The existence of polyandry among the Jats is to be traced to the writing of Kirkpatrick,⁵ but it appears from a careful study of his paper that the custom referred to by Kirkpatrick is not a marriage but a sort of licensed cohabitation with the husband’s brothers. In the Punjab hill-states, a polyandrous form of marriage does not seem to be confined to the lower castes only, but such marriages are also found among the Brahmans.⁶

A study of the census report of 1911 shows that the information that has been recorded regarding the polyandrous form of marriage as it prevails in the Simla hill-states is of a very general nature without any reference to the peculiar customs which may be found in the different areas. During the summer of 1919, in the course of a trip that I took from Simla to the Chorpeak, I had an opportunity of coming across polyandrous people, and the detailed information gathered from some of them regarding the type of polyandry in vogue in the Jubbul State, is published below. It will appear from the sequel that the polyandry practised there is of the usual fraternal type.

There is now a growing tendency in different parts of India, both in the North and in the South, against this form of marriage. My chief aim in publishing this short note is to draw the attention of the public to the prevalence of polyandry in certain parts of India, so that during the census of 1921, the census officers may do their level best to gather all information regarding the different types of polyandrous marriage, as it prevails in different parts of India.

In the Jubbul State polyandry is the prevailing form of marriage among the Kanets. The marriage is not attended with any religious ceremony. After the selection of the bride, a dowry is paid to the father or, in case the father is not living, to the guardian of the girl, who becomes the joint-wife of all the brothers who may be living at the time of the marriage, and a brother who may not be born at the time of the marriage of his elder brothers has no claim to be the husband of a wife already wedded by his elder brothers. The wife is usually escorted to her new house by the eldest or the elder brother, as the case may be, and she is usually accompanied by a few relatives including a brother, if possible. At the house of the husbands some ceremony takes place, including a feast in which the friends and relatives of the husbands are entertained. It is necessary that at this time all the brothers who are going to be the husbands of a common

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² The Cochin tribes and castes : Vol. I, pp. 161 (Mannans), 173 (Panans), 182 (Vilkurpus), 209 (Kaniyans and Panikkans), 301 (Thandans) and 346 (Kammalans).
² A similar expression also occurs in Balfour’s Cyclopaedia of India, Eastern and Southern Asia, 2nd ed., Vol. IV, p. 620.
⁴ Census of India, Vol. XIV; Punjab, pt. 1; Report, 1911, pp. 287-289.
⁵ Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p. 86.
⁶ The Census figures of 1901 record the occurrence of 103 polyandrous marriages among the Brahmans of the Bashar State, though the largest number is to be found among the Kanets (Punjab District Gazette, Vol. VIII; Simla Hill States, 1911; Bashar State, p. 15).
wife must be present at the house, otherwise the marriage cannot take place. It is also necessary that the bride should be selected by all the brothers and if there is a difference of opinion regarding the selection, it may lead to an eventual division among the brothers. The wife usually goes to her husband in turn, e.g., with the eldest brother for the first night, with the second brother for the second night and so on. The children are assigned to their fathers according to seniority. Thus, if there are four husbands and four children are born, the fathership of the first will be assigned to the eldest husband, that of the second to the second husband, and so on. If the number of children exceeds four, then the assignment will again begin in the order in which it started, namely the fifth child will be assigned to the first husband, the sixth to the second and so on, and this assignment takes place irrespective of whether the child is a boy or a girl. It may be noted that among the polyandrous people of Sirmur a similar custom prevails, while among the Kulus the custom regarding the fatherhood of the child is also similar, though there is some difference regarding the period of the partnership of the bed between the husband and the wife. There is sometimes jealousy among brothers or groups of brothers regarding the love of their joint-wife and this often leads to a separation among the brothers. When the brothers live in the joint possession of a common wife, they live in a joint family and all the earnings come to the eldest brother who manages the whole family. A brother cannot claim to be the joint owner of a wife with other brothers and at the same time have a second wife all to himself. He must either share the second wife with all other brothers or must live separate from his other brothers and in possession of the second wife.

THE ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM OF SHIVAJI.

BY SURENDRANATH SEN, M.A., CALCUTTA.

(Continued from p. 136.)

The Mantri should carefully conduct the political and diplomatic affairs of the kingdom. The invitation (आयोजन) and the intelligence departments are under him. He should look after the Districts and serve in war. He should put his sign of approval on official documents. (Seal) (item 1).

The Sumant should have charge of foreign affairs. He should receive and entertain ambassadors from other kingdoms when they come. He should serve in war and put his sign of approval on state documents and letters. (Seal) (item 1).

8 In the course of a discussion which followed the reading of the paper of De Uijfaly, Un Voyage dans l'Himalaya occidental (le Koulou, le Cachmir et le petit Thibet), the author made the following remarks regarding the polyandry among the Kulus:

Les parents, par exemple, vendent leur fille à six frères. Le premier mois, elle appartient au frère aîné, le second, au frère cadet, etc. Le premier enfant est répété avoir pour père le premier mari, le frère aîné. (Bull. Soc. d'Anthrop., 3rd Ser., V., p. 227, 1882.) In some parts of India a different custom prevails. Thus, among the Vilkurpas, the children born of a polyandrous union call all the brothers fathers without any distinction (Iyer: op. cit., Vol. I, p. 182).

42 अत्य जाप्ता राजा वाराणिक शके २ आनंद नाम संस्करण व्यज्ञ व्यक्ति संस्करण नोवारसंग व स्वाभाविक कारकी व छात्त्वा, जाप्ता वाराणिक विश्व विश्व अणुवी व्रणों. संस्करण ब्रह्मसंग व स्वाभाविक कारकी व छात्त्वा तरानिक विश्व विश्व अणुवी व्रणों. संस्करण सत्ता [वारण] अर्जुनशास्त्र ब्राह्म परमेस्वर संस्करण चारावी रंग संस्करण ब्राह्मण तरानिक गायन २
Besides the duties enumerated above, some of the eight Pradhans were in charge of extensive provinces. When they were away from the metropolis, their agents resided at the court. Sabhasad says that this apparently clumsy arrangement was made in response to the demand for good government. “The kingdom was extended on four sides. How to carry on the governance of the kingdom?” Then in Moropant Peshwa’s charge was placed the country from Kalyan and Bhivnadi, including Kolawan up to Saleri, the country above the ghats and Konkan. Lohagod and Junnar with the twelve Mawals from the pass of Haralya (was) placed under the Peshwa. Konkan from Chaul to Kopal, including Dabhol, Rajapur, Kudal, Bande, and Fonda, was placed under Annaji Datto. The Warghat (country above the ghats) from Wai to Kopal on the Tungabhadra (was) the province placed under Datta Pant Wakhnis. Datta Pant was stationed at Panhala. In this manner was the kingdom placed under three Sarkarkuns. Besides these, a few (five to seven) Bramhan Subadars were stationed in the Moghul provinces. They were kept under the order of the Peshwa. The Sarkarkuns were to enquire into the needs and welfare of the forts and strongholds. But if Killedar and Karkuns were to be appointed, the Raje himself should appoint, after personal scrutiny. If the Sarkarkuns found any serviceable soldier they should enlist him in excess of the fixed number of the quota (tainat). The agents of the Sarkarkuns should remain with the Raje. The Sarkarkuns should come to see the Raje (once!) every year with the accounts and the revenue of their province.”

43 Sabhasad, pp. 77-78. 

मोदह शांतीस्वरे ध्वेषते. भगवान आहोष कैसा होई? लें हां शरीरपत्र नेपालभवना सुधारण मेधाक्षण कृपाय करून सारणी परिण वर्षात व कॉइक्य श्वार्थाने स्वरूप ती कृपाय के लें. लोहाकोट व कुजर बेखिलार बारा माफ़ भारतीय तालाबपात्र मंडल उड़ान. अन्यायी व शरीरांना ध्वेषकरण क्षणाने देशभर भारत देशात भारतीय अंगनेय परिण होत बारेर हेलम प्रावत बाझीस मुख्य तलाब, देश भूसन भारतीय बाधाने बाधाने कृपाय के लें.

43 Sabhasad, pp. 77-78. 

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मोदह शांतीस्वरे ध्वेषते. भगवान आहोष कैसा होई? लें हां शरीरपत्र नेपालभवना सुधारण मेधाक्षण कृपाय करून सारणी परिण वर्षात व कॉइक्य श्वार्थाने स्वरूप ती कृपाय के लें. लोहाकोट व कुजर बेखिलार बारा माफ़ भारतीय तालाबपात्र मंडल उड़ान. अन्यायी व शरीरांना ध्वेषकरण क्षणाने देशभर भारत देशात भारतीय अंगनेय परिण होत बारेर हेलम प्रावत बाझीस मुख्य तलाब, देश भूसन भारतीय बाधाने बाधाने कृपाय के लें.
When Shivaji made this division of his territories and placed them under three of his principal agents, we do not know, for Sabhasad does not give any date. But that the Pradhans had still some districts under their charge and had to leave their agents or Mutiliks at court during their absence in their respective provinces or on a distant expedition, even after the coronation, when the council had a better status than before, can be proved by the following entry in the memorandum already quoted—“The Darakhdars for going on an expedition (and the management of) Districts and market cities under the eight Pradhans, should all work in the name of the Hazur and carry on their correspondence in the same manner (as the Pradhans). When they would go on an expedition, the Mutiliks appointed for them should continue all their work. They should stay at the court. (Seal) (item 1).”

It should be noted here, before we take leave of the eight Pradhans, that they could not select their own subordinates. These were invariably appointed, as in the Peshwa period, by the supreme head of the state. Even the Mutiliks who were apparently expected to act on behalf and in the interests of an absent minister, were not appointed by him, but by the king. We do not know whether on such occasions, the approval of the officer affected was sought or not. This practice however was evidently borrowed from the Muhammadans. The Muhammadan rulers of Delhi required the provincial governors and generals on active service to leave their agents or Wakils at the imperial court during their absence on duty. These agents acted in the same manner, as the Mutiliks of Shivaji’s Pradhans, but they generally considered it their first duty to safeguard the interests of their immediate masters.

We may be permitted to state here that the number of cabinet ministers was by no means fixed. From Sabhasad’s list, already quoted, it appears that there were nine of them at the time of the coronation; as the Amatya’s office was jointly held by two brothers, Naro and Ramchandra. Sambhaji dismissed, decapitated and imprisoned many of his father’s old servants. The vacancies caused by death and dismissal were not, in all cases filled up. The number of cabinet ministers was therefore considerably reduced. To speak more accurately Sambhaji had no council at all. He ruled as he liked, and did not care to consult any one except his notorious favourite Kavi Kalush or Kavji, a Kanojia Brahman. He has been styled Chhandogyamatya in the papers of those times. The Pandit Rav in Shivaji’s time was entitled to the additional designation of Chhandogyamatya. It has been however suggested that Kavikalush was not Sambhaji’s Pandit Rav. Kalush enjoyed so much influence and had so much power that he was for all practical purposes the prime minister of Sambhaji. When however the Rajmandal was revived under Raja-ram, a new member was added, who superseded all others, both in status and pay. Pralhad had

अन्तः प्रधान योगिक के पेड़ व नातुङ्क व त्यारेस जाणे त्यास कलाकार तथाइ हृदयश्रद्धा गांव त्यांचा नावलीय यज्ञबलार करत्या. त्यारेस जाणे त्यास नालीक धृतन हिंदे स्त्री तथे त्याद्वारा नाल्कण्वा. हृदय शही.  

44 b) Hirani Ithas Sanshidhak Mandal—Varshik Itivarita (1837), p 111. Mr. G. S. Sardeesal however does not accept this view.
Niraji was appointed Pratinidhi or the king's vicegerent, at Janji, during the struggle for national existence. Henceforth the Pratinidhi always held the first seat in the cabinet, until the rise of the Peshwas revolutionised the constitution of the Maratha empire.

Outside the cabinet but in no way inferior to the eight cabinet ministers, was the Chitnis or Secretary. Just below the Pradhans had stood Bal Prabhu Chitnis and Nil Prabhu Parasnis,18 at the time of Shivaji's coronation. The private secretary of an autocratic king naturally enjoys great influence and is a power behind the throne. Balaji Avji, Shivaji's Chitnis, was a man of exceptional ability. Not only did he perform the ordinary duties of his office, but he had been further entrusted with the exceedingly delicate task of taking down the behests of the great goddess Bhavani, communicated through Shivaji's mouth.47 It is said that Shivaji had actually offered him a seat in the Rajmandal, but the modesty of the great Prabhu statesman stood in his way.18 The duties of his office are thus enumerated by Malhar Ramrav Chitnis—'

"The Chitnis Patralekhak will write all royal letters and diplomatic correspondence. Divining what is in the king's heart, he should at once cleverly put it into writing, discussing the various aspects of the case. He should write in such a manner that what is generally accomplished by war and great exertions should be achieved by means of letters only. He should write answer to the letters that may come."49 In the memorandum published by Rao Bahadur Sane, we come across the following entry under Chitnis. "He should write all official letters and papers of the state. He should write answers to diplomatic letters. Sanads, grants, deeds and other orders, to be issued (to the officers in the) Districts should be written according to the separate regulations framed for the Fadnis papers. On hand notes and papers of special importance there should be a seal or (the king's own?) signature only and no seal of the other officers. The Chitnis alone should put his sign." (Seal) (item 1).50 Such were the duties that the Chitnis had to perform.

Although in the above regulations the Chitnis is required to write all correspondence and draw up all state documents, in practice he was to a considerable extent relieved by others. Chitravati tells us that the Fadnis alone and no other official could issue deeds of Royal grant. All letters to the Provincial and District officers were written by the Chitnis, while answers to the letters from commanders of forts had to be written by an officer called Gadnis.

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18 Sabhasad, p. 84. Chitnis, p. 102.
17 Sabhasad Chitnis, Chitravati and all old chronicles tell us that whenever Shivaji had to face any exceptional difficulty, the goddess Bhavani used to take possession of his body and tell him what he should do. As the king lay unconscious all the time, the behest of the deity was taken down by Balaji Avji. See also, History of the Maratha people by Kincaid and Parasnis, Raywidychachi Gagabhatti, published by K. T. Gupte and Thakre's Kodandicha Tanatkar. 2. Chitnis, p. 170.
45 वाचकों आर्यम् वाचक तृप्ति बन्धू मित्रेण ज्ञातों व राजवर्गे इवसं संपर्यं वहति जाले शासन
अध्यायं हरिणी बोधजन कर्जन:।

46 Chitnis, p. 168. विश्वमित्रण मोदक्यम् दांनो राजवर्गे व्याससीय र वाचकपरमे व्यासाशी
राजायं हेदिस जानियो स्वकर्जन नामाचलाचर्यं कल्प कर्जन संपर्यं लेखन करायं जे वहति कर्जन आवासं
कर्जन करायं हेदिस ते प्राप्तेऽर्जन नाम पानीता कर्जन हेदिस अतसीं। ऐसे लेखन करायं।

49 Sane p. y. B. p. 358. विष्णुप्रीति बाणीं सच्च सवन वाचकर्जन निहरीं। राजवर्गपरमे उधरे निहरीं।

50 Sane p. y. B. p. 358. विश्वमित्रण मोदक्यम् दांनो राजवर्गे व्याससीय र वाचकपरमे व्यासाशी
राजायं हेदिस जानियो स्वकर्जन नामाचलाचर्यं कल्प कर्जन संपर्यं लेखन करायं जे वहति कर्जन आवासं
कर्जन करायं हेदिस ते प्राप्तेऽर्जन नाम पानीता कर्जन हेदिस अतसीं। ऐसे लेखन करायं।

सनसं दांनो जानियो स्वकर्जन नामाचलाचर्यं कल्प कर्जन संपर्यं लेखन करायं जे वहति कर्जन आवासं
कर्जन करायं हेदिस ते प्राप्तेऽर्जन नाम पानीता कर्जन हेदिस अतसीं। ऐसे लेखन करायं।
Letters to Foreign courts were sent from the Dabir's office, while the Parasnis had to write the letters to be addressed to the Emperor of Delhi, his Wajir and Muhammadan Potentates.  

Chitrargupta however was not a contemporary of Shivaji. Mr. V. K. Rajwade has described his work merely as an elaboration of Sabhasad's Bakhar, Chitnis' duties. Nor do we get a complete list of the Chitnis's official duties in Chitrargupta. This want however has fortunately been removed by a Jabta of the first year of the coronation era. Here the Chitnis's and the Fadnis's duties have been enumerated side by side. The document runs as follows:—

A memorandum (enumerating) the writing work of the Chitnis; of Keshatriya Kulavtans Shri Raja Shivachhattrapati, dated the first of Jaiśtha, of the year I, of the coronation era, the Sambatsar being Ānanda by name, of the letters and grant deeds to be issued when a new Šāta is granted to any one:—

Letters to the Talukdars.
Do. to the Subhas and Mamla officers present and future. Should be written by the Chitnis.
Do. to the Deshmukh, Deshpande and Zemidars. Should be written by the Chitnis.

Of the letters to be issued when a village in Moksha or lands as a stipend are granted to any one.

Letters to the Mokdams.
Do. to the Talukdars. Should be written by the Fadnis.
Do. to the Kamavisdars. Should be written by the Chitnis.
Do. to the Zemindars. Should be written by the Chitnis.

Excepting the above all letters of grants to any one should be written by the Chitnis. All answers, orders or diplomatic letters should be written by the Chitnis. The Chitnis should also write reminders or notes about—

1. Saramjams.
2. Sanads relating to lands.
3. Professional Rights.
4. Inams.
5. Assignments (Varats).

The rules about the Chitnis's work and a memorandum about them all, including these relating to customs duties:—

All kowls to be issued about lands to villages and provinces should be written by the Chitnis. The Fadnis should write the kowls or agreements about the

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31 Chitrargupta's Bakhar (in the Kavivīharīan Saungrāha), pp. 104-105.

कवीविहारी विषयी विषयी कायम तथा अन्यधिक पंच लिखिती—वेंचियराय का कोण एकास गांव व अन्यधिक हमार विक्रेता नाटी कित्या कवीविहारी महाप्रभुमान मध्ये लिखित साधनी सत्यांगां नागी कविप्रभुमानी कविताची. येथे पुढे नीले नाचे, देवाथिकारी व नारायणाराय संबंधात तथा प्राणायापाहिं निधनाची वाक्यक्रम खालीलांच्यां आकाशाने कविप्रभुमानी निहारणे. तत्राचतुर परवर्ती प्राणायापाहिं शेष निर्मिती निहारणे. एकत्र निधनाची शरीर निधनाची शरीरांची निधनाची शरीरांची. तत्राचतुर परवर्ती प्राणायापाहिं शेष निर्मिती निहारणे. तत्राचतुर परवर्ती प्राणायापाहिं शेष निर्मिती निहारणे. तत्राचतुर परवर्ती प्राणायापाहिं शेष निर्मिती निहारणे. हवालार व कारखानीस व सबराखी ने विवाह निधनाची नामधेकर आहेत शास्त्रेचे वचन व निधनसंगठनकडून.
contribution fixed (by the proper authorities) to be levied (in a foreign country). Of the Sanads of new officers, Kamavis, etc.—

Those addressed to the officer should be written by the Fadnis.

Those addressed to the Zemindars and others should be written by the Chitnis.

All notes to be issued about Ghasdana, with notes about Fadfarmas, should be written by the Chitnis.

Letters about revenue and fruit of the richest flavour for marriage ceremonies (in the Raja’s house) should be written by the Chitnis. Of these, if the Chitnis has written letters about sanads for recovery of revenue from the Mahals, the Fadnis should mention in his letters that the said sanad has been recorded. If the balance of revenue considered unrecoverable has been realised, letters referred thereto should be addressed by the Chitnis and the remittance transfer of the shortage should be granted by the Fadnis.

All notes of remission (with regard to the following) should be written by the Chitnis:

1. Of Land (revenue).
2. When a remission of the dues (balance) is granted.
3. When revenue is (conditionally) remitted for failure of crops, the revenue will be realised after inspection.

All letters of (warning) or about the rights of possession of old Inams, Vatans, and Varahasans, that may be in force in Svarajya and foreign territories should be written by the Chitnis, enumerating the village and the name of the parties (interested). When Vatan is confirmed after due inquiries about (the proprietorship of) an old Vatan; all letters about it, whether addressed to the Vatandar or Jihedars and Subadars should be written by the Chitnis. (He) should (however) write after leaving space for any Harki or Sherni, that may have been promised.

These gaps should be filled up by the Fadnis with his own hand, stating the amount. If a new Vatan or Inam is granted to anyone, the letter addressed to the name of the grantee should be written by the Fadnis, stating the sum (of Rupees) taken. All other letters (in this connection) should be written by the Chitnis.

When a Prayashchitta is prescribed, or a man is to be (re) admitted into his caste, orders to the Joshis and letters to the Upadhyyayas and Brahmins or Shudras, or to any body else, should be written by the Chitnis. Harki and Shera should be taken by the government for the Prayashchitta. The Fadnis should make an entry that so much has been realised (specifying the sum). All letters, if the transaction is to be made without any stipulation about money, should be the Chitnis’s business; the Fadnis will have nothing to do with them. If parties after quarrelling with each other, come for decision to the court, all letters according to the decision (of the court) about the Harki to be paid by the winning and Gunhegari to be paid by the losing party should be written by the Chitnis. The total of Harki and Gunhegari alone should be stated by the Fadnis. Letters about contribution, fines, Harkis and incomes (arising from) adultery cases should be written by the Chitnis.

If an assignment of Varat is made in any one’s favour, and there is any delay in making it good, the Chitnis should write reminders, (requesting the officers concerned) to realise the money in accordance with the terms of the assignment. If an assignment is made of one hundred rupees and there is shortage of money in the Mahal (concerned), and a fresh assignment of fifty rupees, out of the entire sum, has to be made, it will be done by the Fadnis. And if an assignment of one hundred rupees is once made, and it is returned, and a fresh
grant has to be made, the document is to be drawn up by the Chitnis. If however any
correction is to be made about the sum (literally if the sum is either more or less), the letter
will be written by the Fadnis.

All passports for travelling and permission for establishing warehouses should be written
by the Chitnis. Summons should be written by the Chitnis. Memoranda enumerating
regulations for Watani Mahals Ports, and Forts, etc., should be written by the Chitnis.
Letters about ammunition and clothes to be sent each year to the forts, strongholds or military
outposts, or to be brought to the head-quarters from those places, should be written by the
Chitnis. If any objection is to be raised about these works, it is to be raised by the Fadnis.

The Chitnis is to open the envelopes and read (to the king?) the letters that may come.
and to enclose and despatch letters.

The memorandum of rules for regulating the price of things should be drawn by the
Chitnis.

If officers are sent from the head-quarters to villages, or stores, or Parganas, all letters
to the District officer should be written by the Chitnis.

All orders of confiscation of any one’s property, or restoration of property to its owner,
should be written by the Chitnis.

Letters for conferring (the command of) forts and strongholds, etc., for settling a bound-
dary, for imprisoning or releasing any one, should be written by the Chitnis.

Letters of diplomatic intelligence should be written by the Chitnis.

All letters in which the royal signature is to be inserted, handnotes and documents with
seals, should be written by the Chitnis. All letters about the appointment to the command
of forts and strongholds, grants of Saranjam Inam or Vatans, or communication about any
assignment, accompanied by the customary clothes of honour, should be written by the Chit-
nis, as well as letters specifying contribution, fine, Harki or subscription, and Nazar (to be
paid by the addressor). He should also frame a list of these and send it to the Daftar. The
officers there will accordingly make their accounts of income and expenditure. Closed
letters and handnotes should be written by the Chitnis; no one except the Chitnis should
put his sign in the handnotes.

Kowlas for settling (new inhabitants in any place) or authorising (any one to do a specified
act) should be drawn up by the Chitnis.

Letters for attaching or conferring a house, or homestead, fuel, or rice lands, should be
written by the Chitnis.52

Besides the duties enumerated above, the Chitnis was in charge of the Abdar Khana
and Saraf Khana also.53

In the document quoted above, the Fadnis is also mentioned with the
Chitnis in their official relations. A subordinate Secretariat officer
of no great importance in Shivaji’s time, the Fadnis rose to great
power and authority during the Peshwa régime. The Potnus was
responsible for the account of income and expenditure of the metropolitan treasury, while
the Potdar was only an assay officer.

52. Sanads and letters edited by Mawjee and Parasnis, pp. 127 to 130.
53. Ibid., p. 125.
The eight Pradhans had under them, besides their staff, the officers in charge of the eighteen Karkhanas and the twelve Mahals. What precisely their duties were we do not know. The eighteen Karkhanas and the twelve Mahals were as follows:—

The eighteen Karkhanas.

5. Topkhana. Artillery-stores.
6. Daftarkhana. Record Department.
7. Jamdarkhana. Public treasury containing all sorts of coins, etc.
13. Pilkhana. Elephant shed, etc.

The twelve Mahals.

1. Pote. The treasury.
5. Imarat. Building.
12. Sabina. Guards.54

It is clear from the name of their departments that most of these officers were more concerned with the king's household than with any duties of imperial or public interest. A few of them, on the other hand, like those in charge of the artillery, the mint, and the public treasury, fall under a different category. Shivaji's division of his government and household affairs into eighteen Karkhanas and twelve Mahals was therefore by no means scientific. But we cannot expect from a man surrounded on all sides by enemies,

54 Sabbathad, pp. 94 to 95.
and ever engaged in a war of defence as well as of conquest, a scientific division of
departments on modern lines. He had evidently copied from the existing system and
found little leisure in his eventful career to improve upon it.

The staff of the
Pradhans.

In their departmental duties each of eight Pradhans was
assisted by a staff of eight clerks. They were:—

1. The Dewan.
2. The Mazumdar or Auditor and Accountant.
3. The Fadnis or Deputy Auditor.
4. The Sabin or the Daftardar.
5. The Karkhanis or Commissary.
6. The Chitnis or Correspondence clerk.
7. The Jamdar or Treasurer.
8. The Potnis or Cashkeeper.55

The king formed the great pivot on which rested this stupendous structure. His was
the hand that worked this gigantic, but by no means easy machine. Not only the officers in charge of the eighteen Karkhanas and the
twelve Mahals, not only such secretariat officers as the Fadnis, Sabin
and Potnis, but also their official superiors, the eight Pradhans and the Chitnis, formed a vast
array of clerks and military commanders, to carry out the orders of the king and to execute
his great designs. They were but so many machines, not inanimate it is true, not uncon-
scious of the great part they were playing, but at the same time hardly having any independent
existence. Even the Pandit Rav, the officer in charge of the ecclesiastical branch of
the administration, whose Brahman birth and learning might have given him some advan-
tage over his non-Brahman master, could hardly take any step without the cognisance and
sanction of the king. Even Kalush, the all powerful minister of Sambhaji, deemed it necessary
to consult the king’s pleasure before he could authorise the re-admission of a repentant
renegade into his former caste after the necessary penance.56 Everything therefore depended
on the personal ability and qualities of the sovereign. There was nothing to check him
except his own good sense, and of course the constant fear of a formidable Muhammadan
invasion. It was for this reason alone that Sambhaji found it so easy to subvert his father’s
system, the day after his accession to the throne. It is this very reason again that impelled
Rajaram, while sorely pressed by the victorious Imperial army, to revive the old institu-
tions his father had found so useful. The system required a strong and good ruler. After
Shahu, there were none among Shivaji’s descendants who possessed the requisite qualities;
and that is why the Peshwas found it so easy to do away with the Central Government.
The Ashta Pradhans still continued, but the hereditary incumbents found themselves in
an anomalous situation. They enjoyed great fiefs but were never in practice called upon
to perform their civil duties. The Peshwa, in theory their equal, became in reality their
superior. The king their master was a state prisoner. The Peshwa’s Fadnis, originally
an officer of no importance, gradually rose to very great power; and the central government,
no longer its former self, was transferred from Satara to Poona. But through all these

56 The Rajwade, M.I.S., Vol. III.
changes and revolutions, both bloody and bloodless, the village communities survived unaffected, and the Peshwa also found it convenient to continue the Provincial governments as they existed in Shivaji's time.

It may not be out of place to notice here, that during the short century that intervened between the rise of Shivaji and the death of Shahu, the Maratha empire had seen no less than four capitals. Shivaji, the hardy mountain rat, was enthroned in the impregnable hill fort of Raigar. His worthless son found the pleasure house near modern Mahabaleshwar more suited to his tastes. Rajaram driven from his paternal hills, had to take shelter in the southern strong-hold of Jinji; his descendants continued their feeble rule at Kolhapur, even after the fall of the Peshwas. Sahu reigned at Satara, and a small principality was subsequently carried out for his lineal successor Pratap Singh, when the British government pensioned off Baji Rao II. Satara was the last capital of the Bhonslas, but a new act in the great drama opened with the transfer of the central government to Poona, destined to be the capital of a vast Hindu Empire for no less than four generations.

(To be continued.)

TRANS–HIMALAYAN REMINISCENCES IN PARI LITERATURE.

BY D. N. SEN, M. A.

While studying the sūlta literature, I was much struck by two words which I came across. One of them is शीर्षक and the other रचस्मू.

1 शीर्षक means 'long time,' शीर्ष शीर्ष = long, and रचस्मू = रचस्मू = night = time. The word भू or भूस्मू is used here as a synonym for 'time.' Why are 'night' and 'time' held as synonymous?

Similarly, the word रचस्मू is compounded of रचन and मू, the two together meaning a 'man of experience.' Literally, रचस्मू means a 'knower of time.' Here also it is significant that 'night' and 'time' have been used in the same sense. There is perhaps a long history behind the transformation of the word भू into a synonym for 'time.' Does it carry us back to a period when 'night' could stand for 'time,' the nights being more prominent than the days? In Pali as well as in Vedic Sanskrit, the word 'night' often precedes the word 'day' in the compounds made of them, e.g., रचितिहि in Pali, रचितिह in Sanskrit. Could it mean that the people using the Pali language came from a country of long twilight and that this memory is preserved in words like शीर्षक रचस्मू and रचितिह? The Vedic-Aryans speak of शतां शतिः (hundred winters), using the word शतां as a synonym for years. This takes us back to a period of their history when they lived in colder climes. In the same way रचस्मू and शीर्षक would take us back to a period of the history of the Pali-speaking people when they lived in regions where nights were more prominent than days.

It would, however, be rash to draw such a large conclusion on grounds which appear at first to be rather slight. We shall, therefore, scrutinise such geographical evidence as can be found in Pali literature to see if the conclusion is supported by it.

In looking for the geographical data, I came across some names which refer undeniably to a region beyond the Himalayas. I will examine these names one by one:

(a) उत्तरकु—The references to उत्तरकु are copious in the suttas. It is often mentioned in terms which would make it a legendary land, but it is also sometimes spoken of in a way which leaves no shadow of a doubt that उत्तरकु was a real country.

1 Cf. फैल भूस्मू—Jatakas, VI, p. 92.

2 रचितिहि विविध भूस्मू—भूमिकापूजन, नक्षिद्वारिकाब, Vol. I., p. 13, P. T. S.
In Mahāyāna of the विनय पिक्सक,8 the following passage occurs:

"अथ को उपवेश राज्यपाल अतिस्वरूप पवनस्वरूप अवसुपि: एवं नित्यतब: अथवा महापुरुषों विशेष केवलकणा मानवमया प्रत्येक साधनीय भाषाय अविनयिकप्रायत्न ग्राहयं तत्त्वात् शार्मिन नौलिनिय भाषाय अविनयिकप्रायत्निषेध सत्य साधनमयो। न भाषाय अविनयिकप्रायत्न इत्यस्य विकारवाक्य तत्त्वात् शार्मिन नौलिनिय भाषाय अविनयिकप्रायत्न अविनयिकप्रायत्निषेध सत्य साधनमयो। अथ वृन्दावन अस्मात्य नित्यतब: विद्वानेऽन्तः केवलकण्याय अविनयिकप्रायत्न ग्राहयं तत्त्वात् शार्मिन नौलिनिय भाषाय अविनयिकप्रायत्न अविनयिकप्रायत्निषेध सत्य साधनमयो।"

[Uruvela-Kassapa, (who was celebrating a great vedic sacrifice), the man with matted hair, thought like this: 'My great sacrifice is going to be performed, and all the people from Anga and Magadha are coming with large quantities of food of various kinds. If the great सम्पत्ति (Buddha) shows them miracles, he will rise in their esteem and great also will be his gain, and, correspondingly, I shall lose their esteem and fail to receive offerings from them. So the great सम्पत्ति should not certainly come here tomorrow.' In the meanwhile, the Lord came to know the working of the mind of Uruvela-Kassapa through his own mind and repaired to Uttara-Kuru where he received alms-offerings, took his food by the side of Anotata-daha and passed the day there.]

Buddha's passage to Uttara-Kuru in the course of a night was, of course, a miracle, and so was his return to Uruvela. Such miraculous translation to Uttara-kuru is mentioned about Buddha's disciples as well: 8 निक्षकाचार्यविदयाये केवल उत्तरकुर्ष निक्षकाचार्यविदयाये केवल उत्तरकुर्ष निक्षकाचार्यविदयाये केवल उत्तरकुर्ष निक्षकाचार्यविदयाये केवल उत्तरकुर्ष. [Some of them would go to उत्तरकुर्ष during the time of alms-begging.]

In the मिलीस्वरूप 8 the royal city of सागर is described as comparable to उत्तरकुर्ष (उत्तरकुर्ष संकायचा वेयकर्त्स) in its fertile fields.

In the विक्रम परिवर्तनानात, we find the following passage: पुरो विक्रमेऽपल्ल गौतमविद्या ध पवर्ण्यो रूपसे जामुडप्रस्त अविनयिक पश्चिम विषयिकं।

The note which follows explains, "विक्रमेऽपल्ल गौतमविद्या ध पवर्ण्यो रूपसे जामुडप्रस्त अविनयिक पश्चिम विषयिकं।"

From the way in which the relative positions of उत्तरकुर्ष and जामुडप्रस्त are mentioned, it is clear that the latter was supposed to be situated to the south of the former.

It should also be noted that the word उत्तरकुर्ष is used here in the plural and so is also the word जामुडप्रस्त. It was usual to call the countries after the people who lived in them. उत्तरकुर्ष means the land of the Uttara-Kurus, and जामुडप्रस्त, the land of the Kurus.

In a passage which I am quoting below, the inhabitants of उत्तरकुर्ष are mentioned as मनुष्य or men:

6 नदिकारणां नीलासिरह उत्तरकुर्षका मनुष्यो शेषे न नानासिरह अभिद्वयिनिः अन्न तथापि च मनुष्येऽः

केतिरह नदिकारणां?

अन्न तथापि अविनयिका नवरात्रायुक्त विषयिकपुयानुी।

[ There are three things in which the men of Uttara-Kuru and the gods of नानासिरह excel the men of Jambudipa.

What are the three?

They are free from attachment, take no gifts, live eternally and feed on special food.]

We can safely conclude from the passages quoted above that उत्तरकुर्ष, though rapidly growing legendary, was yet known as a Janapada or country, lying to the north of जामुडप्रस्त, and inhabited by men far superior to the people of जामुडप्रस्त, morally as well as physically.

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4 जानपाद (Fausboll), V, 316.
6 भौतिकस्थिति, Burn., p. 2.
The following passage occurs in the ऐतरेय ऋण.

"अध्ययनमुश्ल्यां दिशा विरेण्यां: पञ्चविंशोऽर्थीमार्गिणः विविधकलेवें: स शृङ्गेश्वर च वन्यवनानिध्

[Then the निर्धारित performed his inauguration ceremony in the north for six-and-twenty-five days with these three रिक verses, with Yajua and with Vyāhyātis, for kingless rule. For this reason, in this northern region, countries on the other side of the Himalayas, such as Uttara-Kurus and Uttara-Madras, are without kings and are called kingless.]

Closely following the passage quoted above the same ऋण mentions the names of kuru and Pañchāla in a compound, and as situated in the middle region, this being the securest part of the country. Messrs. Keith and Macdonald support this view:

"The Uttarakurus, who play a mythical part in the epic and later literature, are still a historical people in the ऐतरेय ऋण, where they are located beyond the Himalaya (परेण हिमवन्)

In another passage, however, the country of the Uttara-kurus is stated by Vasishtha Satyahavya to be a land of the gods (निवेदत), but जानति अस्मिन्ति was anxious to conquer it so that it is still not wholly mythical." 8

"The territory of the कुर-पाल्ल is declared in the ऐतरेय ऋण to be the Middle country (मध्याक्ष). A group of the Kuru people still remained further north—the Uttara Kurus beyond the Himalaya. 11 It appears from a passage of the ऋण that the speech of the Northerners—that is, presumably, the Northern Kuras—and of the कुर-पाल्ल was similar, and regarded as specially pure. There seems little doubt that the Brahmical culture was developed in the country of the कुर-पाल्ल and that it spread thence east, south and west. 9"

Uttara-Kuru in the Mahabharata: The Mahābhārata tells us, in connection with the invasion of the northern countries by Arjuna, that the Pāṇḍava hero conquered and exacted tributes from the Kimpururas, the Hātakas, the people of the country round the Mansarwar, and entered the country of Harivarsha where the Uttara-Kuru used to live:

Uttara-Kuru in the Puranas: In the Vāyupurāṇa we have the following verses describing the countries included in Jambudvīpa:

"इवेष्ट धर्मस्तूऽधिक भारत नाम विभाषितम्।
हेमकुटे परें तस्मानाति धिमूहय र्वतिम्।
नेयपं हेमकुटे परें नाम व्रतशभच्।
हरिवधर्ष्य परें नेष्मन तस्महः।
इलावतिपरें नालिन रवतः नाम विभाषितम्।
रवतालापरें नारेन नाम वर्थायमां।
हिरण्यवाणपरे वाचिपुस्तकं कुस्तिं सप्तम्।"

[ This Himalayan country is well-known as Bhārata.
Hemakūta is next to it and the land is known as Kīmpurusha,
Naishadhā follows next and the land is called Harivarsha.
After Harivarsha and Meru follows the country known as Ilāvṛita,
After Ilāvṛita is Nila and the country is known as Ramyaka.
After Ramyaka comes Śvetā, and this country is known as Hiraṁmaya,
Śṛṅgavān follows Hiraṁmaya, and the country is to be remembered as Kuru.]

Jambu-dvīpa is here described as consisting of seven countries separated by six mountain ranges. These were believed to have stretched west to east, from sea to sea. The first country mentioned is Bhārata-varsha, and it is described as “Haimavata” or Himalayan, thus indicating that भारतवर्ष consists of the Himalayan mountains and the cīs-Himalayan regions. The next Varsha lay between Haimavata and Hemakūta and was called the country of the Kīmpurushas. The third Varsha is described as Harivarsha and it lay between Hemakūta and Nishadha mountains. The fourth was Ilāvṛita, and it lay to the north of Nishadhā and south of the Nila ranges, and surrounded the Meru or Sumeru. North of the Nila and south of the Śvetā lay the land known as Ramyaka. Between Śvetā and Śṛṅgavān was Hiraṁmaya, and to the north of Śṛṅgavān lay the home of the Kuru. So the northernmost country included in Jambu-dvīpa was Kuru.

The following verse in the Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa places the land of the Kuru to the south of the North Sea and adjacent to its shores:

उत्तरध्व तदुपरद्व संतस्तर व शर्यते॥
कुर्वरस्तप दूरविच प्रयति नियोऽपि सतम्॥

10 Mahābhārata, Sabhāparva.
[On the shores of the North Sea and to the south of it,  
There live the Kurus in their holy land, the home of the perfect ones.]  

It is clear, therefore, that the accounts preserved in the Vāyu and the Brahmapanda-Pūrāṇas take us back to a period when Jambudvīpa included almost the whole of the inhabited portion of Central Asia from the south of the Himālaya to the shores of the North Sea.  

There is, however, evidence in the Pūrāṇas that the Kurus had moved from their old home. The following verses occur in the Padma-pūrāṇa:  

"उन्द्रेश्वरं दुधरां सुदकृतं स्वदेशाकां हिंसातः ।  
वर्धन्तर्वश नाम तस्मादहलाकृतं परस्॥  
व न तब सर्वसंगीतं मृत्युपावति च मानवः ।  
विवेशां तन्नतमां व्यविपन्न हवाहकः॥"  

[To the north of the Śrīṅgavān mountain and where the sea ends, oh best of the twice born,  
Is the country named Airāvata (country of the Mammoths) next to Śrīṅgavān.  
The sun does not go there and men never become old,  
And also the moon, with the stars which are luminous, is, as it were, covered.]

The northernmost country is no longer the country of the Kurus, but is known as the Mammoth country, a land where the sun and the moon cannot reach. Both the account, in the Brahmapanda-pūrāṇa and the Padma-pūrāṇa place the northernmost country close to the shores of the North Sea, and possibly within the arctic circle, far away from the limits of the sun's and moon's movements.  

The Padma-pūrāṇa locates the Uttara-Kurus south of the Nīla range and north of the Meru and in the close vicinity of the latter:  

विक्रमेन तु भूतस्य मंदिराः ।  
पर्यथे तद्यथाने ।  
उत्तरतः कुर्षो विभा गुण्या  
सिद्धविपिवन्ताः॥  

[South of the Nīla and by the side of the Meru and to the north of it,  
Are the Uttara-Kurus, inhabited by the wise and the saintly.]  

The land of the Kurus, it will be noted, is designated in the Padma-pūrāṇa as Uttara-Kuru, which undoubtedly points to the fact that a branch of this race had already separated from the main stock and migrated southwards. In the Mahābhārata the city of the Uttara-Kurus is placed in Harivarsha which, according to Pauranic geography, lay to the south of Nishadhā and far to the south of the Meru.11  

In the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa,12 the Uttara-Kurus are a trans-Himalayan people in the north, and Kuru-Pañchālās, on this side of the Himālayas and forming the middle country. I take this to mean that the former lay on the other side of the Himālayas and directly north of the Kuru-Pañchāla country. And as we have elsewhere a mention of Uttara-Pañchāla13 also, we may take it as certain that the allied Kurus were a branch of the Uttara-Kurus and had emigrated to India along the valleys of some of the Himalayan rivers.  

6 अनात्तच महासर—The Pali suttas are full of references to अनात्तच महासर. They speak of the seven great inland seas from which the Mahānādis rise, viz.:14 अनात्तच, तिरुहपप्पलान,  
रध्याक, कुण्डुकुंड, कुण्डल, ठोक्कत, मथवाङ्की. The Mahānādis all issue out of the Himālayas

11 See supra.  
12 See supra.  
and debouch into the plains below, taking a south or south-eastern course. These Māhāndrāis are the following: — गंगा, मुसा, अंबावर्ती, सर्पु, and महर. सर्पु is perhaps the same as ससु, and महर is now an unimportant stream in North Bihar which meet the Gandak near its confluence with the Ganges. अंबावर्ती is the same as the modern Rapti. It is the great peculiarity of most of the Himalayan rivers that they have their sources on the other side of the range and cut their way through the mountain wall until they reach the plains. अंबावर्ती was presumably one of the lakes to the north of the विनाकर्ण, and, possibly, it is the same as is now known as महरसरावर. There is no other lake in the Trans-Himalaya which is more sacred to the Indians than the महरसरावर, and even now, notwithstanding the severe climatic conditions, and the risks and hardships of the journey, pilgrimage to this16 famous lake is kept up. Any one visiting the lake during the rains will see groups of devout pilgrims going round it and bathing in its limpid waters. The महरसरावर16 is claimed as sacred even by the Buddhists, and pilgrims from China and Tibet come to it annually for acquiring religious merit. In the Jātakas, the following lines occur:—Vol. V, 392 (21), Fausboll.

वर्तमान अभास, चाला, चाँदी, चाली, चाली, चाली, चाली, चाली, चाली, चाली, चाली, चाली, चाली, चाली, चाली, चाली, चाली, चाली, चाली.

[At that time, अभिषेक (Hope), चाली (Reverence), चाली (Beauty) and चाली (Modesty) were the four daughters of Sakka (Indra). They adorned themselves profusely with fragrant celestial flowers and went to the अभिषेक for sporting in its waters and, after finishing their pastime, sat on the चाली (red-arsenic rock).]

अभिषेक literally means अभिषेक — not-heated or pleasantly cool. This lake, in accordance with the tradition in the sutras, was in Uttarā-Kuru, as we find it frequently mentioned that Buddha and Bodhisattvas used to beg alms in Uttarā-Kuru, bring them to the shores of the अभिषेक, take their meals there and pass the day on the rocky uplands of red-arsenic. In the Altārya Brāhmaṇa, the Uttarā-Kuru and Uttarā-Madras are mentioned as living on the other side of the Himālaya (अधिन-हिमाला), to the north of the Kuru-Pañcālas, the Madhyadesa of those days. I think it would be safe to hold that at the time of the Altārya Brāhmaṇa, the Uttarā-kuru had migrated further down from Hari-Varsha18 and were occupying Kānpurushavarsha, or the country immediately to the north of the Himālayas. Mansarover is situated immediately to the north of the Himālaya mountains. This region appears to be the same as the Kīṃpurusha Varsha of the Purāṇas, and the Uttarā-Kuru of Buddhist tradition. The famous Anotatta-daha must, therefore, be identified with the Mansarover lake.

16 अभिषेक (Fausboll), Vol. III, p. 461.
16 Sven Hedin thus reflects on the subject:—'How can Mansarover and Kailas be the objects of divine honours from so different as Hinduism and Lamaism, unless it is that their overpowering beauty has appealed to and deeply impressed the human mind, and that they seemed to belong rather to heaven than to earth? Even the first view from the hills on the shore caused us to burst into tears of joy at the wonderful, magnificent land and its surpassing beauty. The oval lake somewhat narrower in the south than the north, and with a diameter of about 154 miles, lies like an enormous turquoise embedded between two of the finest and the most famous mountain giants of the world, the Kailas in the north and Gurla Mandotta in the south, and between huge ranges, above which the two mountains uplift their crowns of bright white eternal snow.'— Trans-Himalaya, Vol. II, p. 113.
17 Sven Hedin speaks of 'a cinnamon-red' hill lying, on the north side of a slightly indented bay of the western shore.— Trans-Himalaya, Vol. II, p. 123.
18 Mañabhārata, Sabhaparva.
(c) केलासकृङ्क—In the छल्ल्कल्क, there are some references to केलासकृङ्क—

(i) अर्थां तथ्यनिदिहरो द्वियमयरो महेन्द्रा केलासकृङ्करो नजरोन्ना विण वहनेस्न।

(ii) सरस नवन्न गम्बहरसस्य जतायमसरस्य सोल्यमस्य महाने अभिव्यक्तियके केलासकृङ्के विण कुय्यः श्रव्य मुख्यजोश्नेषु बाह्येपम अन्तो पहलिप्यक्या कुय्यान्ती सकभूषण वधकृतम् अन्तिमुख्यय पद्येष्म।

[i] At that time two young elephants got hold, with their trunks, of roots of Usāra plant and, as if they were rubbing the Kailāsa peak, went on bathing.

[ii] At that time the hunter trampling upon his silver-white trunk, mounted his head as one would climb the peak of Kailāsa, struck with his thighs the flesh of the fore-part of the mouth and thrust it inside, then getting down from the head inserted a saw into his mouth.

There is also a reference to Kailāsa in Jātaka, Vol. VI, p. 267:—

“तेन्तु केलासकृङ्करम्।
[White like Kelaśa.]

‘KAILASA’ IN THE PURANAS:

19 सम्व हिमालय: पाये केलासी नाम पर्वतस् |
तिमन्त्र जीर्णे प्राणात्मक: सह रामसी॥

[To the left-hand side of the Himavān is the mountain named Kailāsa.

In it lives the wealthy Kubera with the Rākshasas.]

For finding precisely the position of the mountain, the following verses from the same Purāṇa a few lines below will be of great help:

20 केलासकृङ्करापर्वतस्य विश्वात्मकृषि गिरिम् |
गामसिनार्यं विपये दियमोकुड़ु मयं प्रति॥

लोहिरित्र उपयुक्तकुड़ु मिरित्र: दुर्योधनो महाश |
तास्य पान्त द्वारमेव सूर्यो महानु: तस्यसर:॥

सरसोऽपि वनविश्वत लोहिरित्र: रा गदिः महास्॥

[To the south-east of Kailāsa towards the mountain with beneficial and heavenly animals and herbs,

Which is full of red-arsenic and is known as Pīsaṅgga mountain,

Stands the great Lohita mountain with a golden peak and bright as the sun.

At its foot there is a great heavenly lake named Lohita;

From this rises the great and holy river of the name of Lohitya.]

The Lohitya is the name of the Brahmaputra during its course along the northern slopes of the Himālaya, and Lohita is the lake which is the reputed source of the great river. Kailāsa, according to this account, is to the north-west of the source of the Brahmaputra.

केलासकृङ्करो पार्वते कुरस्थिष्ठो गिरिम् |
कृषि मिहरित्रेषु महाशानहस्तर्य प्रति॥

चर्चानविश्वस्त बुधस्यान्तं गिरिम्
तास्य पार्वते स्वयं मानसी स्वस्थिष्ठस्त॥

[On the right side (south) of Kailāsa, towards a mountain full of malignant herbs and animals sprung from the body of Vrittra, named Aśījana, and with three peaks,

There is a very large mountain full of all kinds of metals and with electric properties;

At the foot of this mountain is situated the Mānasā lake which is resorted to by saints.]

19 Vayu Purāṇa, Chap. 47. 20 Ibid.
Mount Kailâsa, as shown in modern maps, lies to the N. W. of the sources of the Brahmaputâ or Lohitya, as it is called in this part of its course, and directly north of the Mânasa lake which lies at the foot of the Gûrâ Mandhata, the highest peak of which is about 25,000 feet above sea level.

Here is a beautiful description of this region from the pen of Sven Hedin: "Only an inspired pencil and magic colours could depict the scene that met my eyes when the whole country lay in shadow, and only the highest peaks of Gûrâ Mandhata caught the first gleam of the rising sun. In the growing light of dawn, the mountain, with its snow-fields and glaciers, had shone silvery white and cold; but now! In a moment the extreme points of the summit began to glow with purple like liquid gold. And the brilliant illumination crept slowly like a mantle down the flanks of the mountain, and the thin white morning clouds, which hovered over the lower slopes and formed a girdle round a well-defined zone, floated freely like Saturn's ring, and like it throwing a shadow on the fields of eternal snow, these two assumed a tinge of gold and purple, such as no mortal can describe. The colours, at first as light and fleeting as those of a young maiden in her ball dress, became more pronounced; light concentrated itself on the eastern mountains, and over their sharp outlines a sheaf of bright rays fell from the upper limb of the sun upon the lake. And now day has won the victory, and I try dreamily to decide which spectacle has made the greater impression on me, the quiet moon light, or the sun-rise with its warm, rose-glow on the eternal snow." 21

"Phenomena like these are fleeting guests on the earth; they come and go in the early morning hours; they are only seen once in a life time; they are like a greeting from a better world, a flush from the island of the phoenix. Thousands and thousands of pilgrims have wandered round the lake in the course of centuries, and have seen the dawn and sunset, but have never witnessed the display which we gazed upon from the middle of the holy lake on this memorable night. But soon the magical effects of light and colour, which have quickly followed one another and held me entranced, fade away. The country assumes its usual aspect, and is over-shadowed by dense clouds. Kailâsa and Gûrâ Mandhata vanish entirely, and only a snowy crest, far away to the north-west, is still dyed a deep carmine, only yonder a sheaf of sunbeams penetrates through an opening in the clouds. In that direction the mirror of the lake is tinged blue, but to the south, green. The wild-geese have waked up and they are heard cackling on their joyous flights, and, now and then, a gull or tern screams. Bundles of sea-weed float about. The sky is threatening but the air is calm, and only gentle swells, smooth as polished metals, disturb the water, which looks like the clearest ceraçaö."

**SUMERU**—सुमेरु is often mentioned as pûnjâra 24, or king of mountains, and the dwelling place of the Sûrya, or Sun-god. 25. We hear in the Jaânak 26 also about sands of precious stone at the foot of Sûrya (सूर्य निवासित सूर्यशहस्रनामिक आसारस्), of seven hills 27 surrounding the mountain (सिनेह षष्ठिणी रजसपत्यनाशस्य स्वातत्स्वनिर्भरस्य ॰जसपत्यनाशस्य वनमारस्य हरे), of serpents living at the foot of Sûrya (सिनेह सरडायान्त्यस्य सरडायान्त्याणां सरडायान्त्याणां वनेरुस्य गुरुस्य प्रवत्तिः); of picking up sands of gold from the foot of the mountain (Sûryapâdâto दवानामस्य गुरुस्य प्रवत्तिः);

23 _Jàñaka_, Vid, VI, p. 314. 24 _Ibid., VI_, p. 125.
25 _Ibid., VI_, p. 165. 26 _Ibid., VI_, p. 128.
27 _Jàñaka, VI_, p. 278. 28 _Ibid., VI_, p. 362.
uddharanto viya). In the accounts preserved in Buddhist literature, and specially the Jātakas, विनेत or Sumeru is a mountain round which there is a thick and luxuriant growth of myth and legend. But still it is a mountain to the north of the हिमवन्त, the abode of the gods of the नातिनिश्चित heaven and an object of devout aspirations.

The mountain is mentioned as महामेघ, mountain in the नैसिनिग्री भाष्य—

“केरवधेः। स महामेघे न ज्ञाति।”

“माहिति वहकुमा महामेघे मन्त्रे।”

“अखल महामेघे।”

[“Kasyapa is the eighth (sun). He does not leave the Mahāmeru.”

“We cannot go to the Mahameru.”

“Go to the Mahameru.”]

‘महामेघे’ is explained as ‘महृणयत्’ by साध्य—स केलमे नेत्रयं न कपालिनि परिसमयसि, मेदिनेनमेव देवेन प्रकाशं करिति।

महामेघे is the Pali equivalent of महामेघ, as in the word ‘Mahāneru-nidassanam’ in Pālasaśajātaka.

SUMERU IN THE PURĀNAS: The Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa tells us:

“पञ्चाश्रयोऽथ केलमे हिमवत्याधि सदनम्।”

“देवतेः वेष्यारिता हुतकुद्रत्र परवेत्रमानाः।”

“वेदान्ती श्रवणे षुष्णाय निरंतरविवशसः।”

“विष्णुवर्तनि (five hills), केलास, and हिमवत्य, the best of the mountains,

These are heavenly in nature, undoubtedly the foremost and the best of the mountains;

They are said to lie in the south of the Meru which shines with an eternal light.”

केलास is then to the north of हिमवत्य and हिमवत्य.

Let us see if we can glean any further information about केलास or हिमवत्य from the Purāṇas. We have quoted above, from विष्णुपुराण, the verses giving the relative positions of the seven countries included in जन्मृतीय. They are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>North</th>
<th>South</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>कुच</td>
<td>भारतवर्ष</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>हिमवत्य</td>
<td>किन्युमुख</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>रथयक</td>
<td>हरि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>इत्तुत</td>
<td>किमपुष्प</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>निर्घन</td>
<td>हिमवत्य</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With the mountain-ranges the arrangement will be like this,—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>कुरुवर्ण</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>शुक्लवर्ण</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>हिरण्यतप्त</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>हेतु</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>रम्भकर्ष</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>नील</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>इलावतनर्थ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>नेवण</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>हरिवर्ष</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>हेमकुट</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>किम्बुर्षनर्थ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>हिमवर्ण</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>भारत र्य</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Meru is the third range to the north of हिमवर्ण, and the country round नेवण is called इलावत.

We have seen above that Meru is situated to the north of Kailâsa and the Himâlayas. The first of the Varshas to the north of हिमवर्ण was किम्बुर्ष. Next to Kimpurushavarsha was Harivarsha. To the north of this valley we should look for इलावतनर्थ, which was situated between the Naishadha and the Meru on the south and the Nila and the Meru on the north.

*(To be continued.)*
JAIMINI AND BĀDARĀYANA.

By K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRY, M. A.; CHIDAMBARAM.

One of the earliest things that struck me when I began my study of the Mimāṃsā system, after having acquired some knowledge of the Vedānta, was that the Jaiminiyadārśana must be an earlier production than the Sūtras of Bādaruṇa, seeing that it represents an undoubtedly earlier phase of the religious and philosophical development of India. The chief difficulties in the way of accepting such a conclusion have so far been: (1) the presence of a traditional belief in India that makes Jaimini and Bādaruṇa contemporaries and one that has been recorded in some late productions; and (2) the occurrence of the names of both Bādaruṇa and Jaimini in both the Mimāṃsā and Vedānta Darśanas, a fact that prima facie can be explained only by following the traditional belief of India. Having bestowed some time and thought on this question, I think it is just possible that the tradition itself had its origin in a superficial attempt to explain the relation between the two systems of philosophy, in the light of the fact that the authors are apparently quoting each other. At any rate, whatever the origin of the tradition may be, it is the object of this paper to show that the assumption that the two authors lived in the same period is not the only or perhaps even the correct explanation of the facts of the case, and that the date arrived at for Jaimini on this assumed basis, namely 200 to 450 A.D., by H. Jacobi, will accordingly have to be revised. For the present I shall have to leave the task of fixing the absolute date of Jaimini to more competent hands than mine, while I confine myself to proving that Jaimini was not the contemporary of Bādaruṇa, so far as the matter is susceptible of proof just now.

A few words may be said on the traditional belief of Indian writers before entering on the more vital part of the discussion. In the Bhāgavata, in the course of an account of Vyāsa’s labours on the Vedas and the steps he took to ensure their subsequent study, we read 1:

पालकानां संगमिता संगमिता विनं
अष्टरूपों महाबोध वेगेच च पुनर्विभति


मातिं च चतुर्विद्ध विद्यावृत्ति
वैस्कां संस्कृतं यात्रेण वीरं विदु


माति जैतुस्येके प्राह न च मनोरंगसंहिताम

This account is undoubtedly based on much older Puranic accounts as given in the Ṛgveda, Vishnu and other Purāṇas. 2 But before Sri-Vedānta Deśika’s time, the tradition has been carried much further than in the Purāṇas, and we find that he uses it as a canon of criticism in determining the relations between the Mimāṃsā and Vedānta, and says in his Mimāṃsā pāduka 3:

शिष्यार्यां विरहितं न ह सतमधुना सात्तांति प्रसिद्धां

And from this statement he arrives at the conclusion that the two systems could never be held to conflict with each other. He says this with special reference to the atheistic tendency in the Mimāṃsā, and his Sesvara-Mimāṃsā is an attempt to make good his statement quoted above. Further, Vallabhāchārya in his Ānubhāṣya often mentions that Bādaruṇa was the teacher of Jaimini 4. It appears, however, from the foregoing that the

1 See Bhāg., XII, Chap. 6, verses 49-55.
2 See Jaimini in Wilson’s Vishnu Purāṇa Index, Hall’s Edn.
3 Verse 9.
4 E.g., in III, 4, 19——ब्राह्मण भाषावृत्ती जैमिनेपि ग्रह: | etc.
particular phase of the tradition in question—namely that which makes the author of the Mimāṃsā Sūtras the pupil of the author of the Vedānta Sūtras—with which we are most concerned is comparatively late in origin, and also that it presumes the author of the Vedānta Sūtras to have been the same as the famous "Arranger" of the Vedas whose pupil Jaimini is said to be in the Purāṇas. It is also to be noticed that there is a further presumption in it that the Jaimini that received the Sāma Veda from Vyāsa is the same as the author of the Mimāṃsā Sūtras. Here we may observe that although there is a Jaiminiya recension of the Sāma Veda, there is no evidence in the Mimāṃsā Sūtras of any special connection between their author and the Sāma Veda in particular. If all this is borne in mind, it will be readily granted that there is no difficulty in setting aside this tradition as untrustworthy if it can be proved from well-established facts that it does not fit in with the probabilities of the case.

Personal references to thinkers and authors are more numerous in the Vedānta Sūtras than in the Mimāṃsā Sūtras. The former are less than a fifth of the latter in bulk, judged by the number of Sūtras in each; but they contain 32 such references as against 26 in the Mimāṃsā Sūtras. Again, the bulk of the references in the former are to Jaimini, who is referred to no less than 11 times, and to Bādarāyaṇa, who is referred to 9 times; while the Mimāṃsā Sūtras refer only 5 times each to Jaimini and to Bādarāyaṇa. There are thus 30 references in all to be discussed before arriving at any thing like a final conclusion. These may now be noted in order, and the Sūtras concerned written out and numbered serially, for facility of quotation in the course of the discussion.

(Group A): References to Bādarāyaṇa in the Vedānta Sūtras:

I, 3, 26 नत्तरुच्छति बाबराज्ञ: सम्बन्धः ||
3, 33 नायव तु बाबराज्ञः धर्मिनिः ||

III, 2, 41 युवायु तु बाबराज्ञः हृदयविवेच्यः ||
4, 1 दुर्योध्यातः दश्यार्थम् बाबराज्ञः ||
4, 8 अधिकोपेक्षार्थेन बाबराज्ञमस्य स्वयं नहींः ||
4, 19 असुधेष्वंदनावर्त्तकं आयामस्य पश्चातः ||

IV, 3, 15 अन्यमेव बाबराज्ञा नन्नर्थिति बाबराज्ञु उपयोगांशीपल्लीकुण्डः ||
4, 7 एवमेव उपयोगाः पूर्वमेव बाबराज्ञोऽर्थेन बाबराज्ञः ||
4, 12 श्रावासाधुरितं नवितेन बाबराज्ञः ||

(Group B): References to Jaimini in the Vedānta Sūtras:

I, 2, 28 साश्वास्यविरोधे जैमिनि: ||
2, 31 संप्रेक्षातिः जैमिनिस्तिथिः कि वर्णयितः ||
3, 31 सम्भवाभिन्नान्वालोकितां जैमिनि: ||
4, 18 अवथाय मे जैमिनि: प्रभावसादनात्मानमात्रे वै नयेके ||

III, 2, 40 तर्कान्त जैमिनिशत् एव ||
4, 2 श्रावासाधुपरणवि श्लोकेँ श्लोकेऽवित्तमृ जैमिनि: ||
4, 18 परार्थी जैमिनिशरीवान् बाबराज्ञः ||
4, 40 नृत्तमय तु नलन्धः जैमिनिशरीव नृत्तमयं तद्हि ||

IV, 3, 12 परे जैमिनिशक्तवत ||
4, 5 शाक्तिः जैमिनिशुपपपार्थाहिः ||
4, 11 नाब जैमिनिशिक्षिणाननात ||

[May, 1921]
(Group C) References to Bādarāyaṇa in the Mīmāṃsā Sūtras:

I, 1, 5 भावार्थसिद्धवान भाष्यसिद्धवान संवेदनसिद्धवान ज्ञानपरिवेशसिद्धवान | (21)

II, 2, 19 अतः तु बालश्चिन्तामनि पाणिनचरोरस | (22)

VI, 1, 8 ज्ञातिस्तु बालश्चिन्तामनि अद्वैतत्विययति तस्यात्विक प्रविभेति | (23)

X, 8, 44 विविष तु बालश्चितनि: | (24)

XI, 1, 63 विविषि दर्शनशिनि: उस्मां बालश्चितनि: | (25)

(Group D) References to Jaimini in the Mīmāṃsā Sūtras:

III, 1, 4 कम्यात्मकिः जैमिनिः फलवेवकात | (26)

VI, 3, 4 कम्यात्मकिः तु जैमिनिः प्रकाशवेवकात सत्यार्थसिद्धानिष्ठति | (27)

VIII, 3, 7 तस्यात्मकिः तु जैमिनिः नाभासनवेवकात | (28)

IX, 2, 39 अभिवेद न लेखनम न जैमिनिः स्वतंत्रत्वसिद्धानिष्ठति | (29)

XII, 1, 8 जैमिनिः परस्त्रश्वपनेषु स्वतंत्र श्रीमान्यार्थानि | (30)

Of these four groups, the first, concerning references to Bādarāyaṇa in the Vedānta Sūtras calls, for the least comment. They are all cases in which the author is undoubtedly referring to himself in the third person and have been set out principally for the sake of completeness of the argument. But all the other groups require careful discussion, for, as will be seen presently, they cause a number of difficulties, without a correct appreciation of which it is not possible to settle the question of the relation between the authors of the two sets of Sūtras under discussion. Each case will be treated separately, the results of the discussion summed up when each group has been traversed, and the general conclusion on the question stated at the end of this pretty tedious but necessary examination of all the individual cases to be discussed.

(10) and (11) Both these Sūtras, in which Jaimini is referred to, form part of a rather lengthy discussion of a text from the Chhāndogyya Upanishad. The discussion is whether the word Vaisrāna in the context denotes the Vedantic Absolute or not. And Jaimini is quoted as agreeing with Bādarāyaṇa. There is, and in fact can be, no such discussion in the Mīmāṃsā Darśana.

(12) Here Jaimini is said to rule out the prerogative of the gods in Madhu Vidya and other Upāsanās. It is however doubtful if the discussion here is purely on Upanishad texts or not. Śaṅkara makes it a discussion of a general Mīmāṃsā position, especially in his comment on the next Sūtra which which is interpreted differently from him by both Śrīkaṭṭa and Rāmānuja. It would appear that the latter is the more natural interpretation of the Śūtra of Bādarāyaṇa, especially as an earlier Ģūtra, विवेयं रामाधुर्यत्—etc. in the same section may be taken to have disposed of the general Mīmāṃsā position on the whole matter. However that may be, we have only to notice that if Śrīkaṭṭa and Rāmānuja are correct, the discussion is purely Upanishadic and has nothing corresponding to it in the Mīmāṃsā Darśana. If, on the other hand, we follow Śaṅkara’s lead, even then, the Mīmāṃsā position that is stated by him is only inferred from the system as a whole and does not correspond to any particular section or Śūtra of the Mīmāṃsā Darśana. And in either case Jaimini is holding a position against Bādarāyaṇa.

(13) Jaimini is in this place in agreement with Bādarāyaṇa on a discussion of a Vedantic character having no place in the Mīmāṃsā system.
(14) and (15) go respectively with (3) and (4), and in either case Jaimini is the opponent against whom Bādarāyaṇa argues. It must be noticed that these are the vital points of difference between Vedānta and Mīmāṃsā, the former accepting the existence of a Deity who grades rewards and punishments according to merit and the attainments of bliss by knowledge (moksha) as the highest end of human endeavour, the latter denying both. No. (14) finds a parallel in Jaimini X, 1, 6 ff. while No. (15) is a natural inference from the general position of Jaimini as I have shown in my paper on "THE MIMAMSA DOCTRINE OF WORKS" (about to be published in the I. A.).

(16) This again seems to be a natural inference from the general point of view of the Mīmāṃsā, in whose eyes Vidhis are more important than Arthavādās. The text regarding the fourth Āśrama must be considered an Arthavāda by the Mīmāṃśāists, as it directly contradicts the Vidhi regarding Agnibhota which is ज्ञातोज्जनविवेकविभावि i.e., enjoined by the Veda for all life-time. See Jaimini, II, 4, 1 ff.

(17) This is an instance to which rather great interest attaches on account of the api in the Sūtra. In No. (16) Jaimini is shown to be of a different view regarding the fourth Āśrama, i.e., Jaimini holds that it is not enjoined as part of duty while Bādarāyaṇa holds that it is. Now the question is whether one who has chosen the fourth Āśrama may revert to an earlier one for any reason. Bādarāyaṇa holds that this could not be done and takes care to add that, even according to Jaimini, this is so. That is to say, Jaimini does not, as it is, recognise the fourth Āśrama, but if he did, he would not permit a reversion to an earlier one. And Saṅkara's comment makes it clear that what we have here is an inference from the general Mīmāṃsā position regarding Dharma.

(18) and (19) are instances of Jaimini being of an opposite view to that of Bādarāyaṇa on points of Vedantic interest and consequently have no parallels direct or remote in the Mīmāṃsā Dārsana.

(20) is another such Vedantic point on which Bādarāyaṇa allows that Jaimini as well as another writer may both be accepted as correct.

To sum up, (10), (11), (13), (18), (19) and (20) are cases in which Jaimini and Bādarāyaṇa agree or differ on points of undoubtedly Vedantic character. No. (12) is doubtful, as the commentators on the Sūtra differ. (14), (15), (16) and (17) are undoubtedly points of opposition between the Mīmāṃsā and Vedantic positions—(14) and (15) on questions of Theism and Moksha, (16) on Vedic exegesis, and great interest attaches to (17), as Jaimini is referred to there in a manner that shows clearly that Bādarāyaṇa had great respect for Jaimini and cared a good deal for any support his views might derive from the Mīmāṃsāists. It is thus clear that the author of the Mīmāṃsā Dārsana—and no other—is referred to in our instances (14), (15), (16) and (17). It may also be pointed out that Vedānta Sūtra विरोधांकपनीति etc. (1, 3, 27) furnishes another instance where Bādarāyaṇa takes special care to show that his positions do not militate against the general position of the Mīmāṃsā system. This and No. (17) above go, at least so it seems to me, to show that the founder of the Mīmāṃsā system commands such respect in the eyes of the author of the Vedānta Sūtras as only an old teacher whose system had become an accepted creed for a long time could do, and that the former could not have been the contemporary, much less the pupil, of the latter. It will be shown in the sequel that the Bādarāyaṇa referred to in the Mīmāṃsā Sūtras could not possibly be the author of the Vedānta Sūtras. It may be stated here that nowhere in the Sūtras of the Mīmāṃsā system do we see any anxiety on the part of its author to make a compromise with the Vedānta; it has been shown that, on the other hand, the Vedānta Sūtrakāra is anxious not to contradict the general Mīmāṃsāist position, except so far as is
absolutely necessary in order to maintain the Vedantic positions regarding Īśvara and Moksha. As regards (10), (11), (13), (18), (19) and (20), it is clear that the Jaimini referred to here was a Vedantist. At any rate, there is nothing in the Māṁśā Sūtras that even remotely bears on the views here ascribed to Jaimini. There are two alternatives. The simpler is to assume that the Jaimini referred to here is another writer, different from the great Mīmāṁśik. In fact, there would be no other alternative except for the reason that there are other writers referred to alike in the Māṁśā and Vedānta Sūtras, Bādari being the most famous of them, judging from the number of times he is mentioned, and Kāraṇādhyātini and Atreyā furnishing other instances. If in all these instances the same name is to be taken to represent the same individual, we have to conclude that each of these writers was both a Mīmāṁśik and a Vedantist. We have instances of such authors in later times. But it is more than doubtful if the same may be postulated of the periods when these systems were in the making. It will be shown later on that there was a lesser celebrity also of the name of Jaimini, referred to by the author of the Māṁśā Darśana. It seems to me that these names Jaimini, Bādari, Bādārāvara, etc., are to be understood as Gotra names and that the same name must be taken to refer, if necessary, to different individuals. If this is correct, Jaimini the Vedantist is different from Jaimini the great Mīmāṁśik, and the Jaimini referred to in No. (12) above is either the Vedantist or the Mīmāṁśik, according as we follow Śrīkaṇṭha and Rāmānuja on the one hand, or Śaṅkara on the other in interpreting the Sūtra.

We may now take up GROUP C for discussion. There are five references to a Bādārāvara in the Mīmāṁśā Sūtras. These are Nos. (21) to (25) given above. Of these, No. (22) is part of a discussion of the order of Ṣaṁhitās in Nakṣatra Iṣṭī; No. 23 is part of a discussion as to whether men alone or women also may sacrifice; No. (24) is a discussion as to whether a particular statement in the Dārśapūrṇamāsa-prakāraṇa is a Vidhi or not; and No. (25) is a discussion regarding a single performance of a religious act for securing two different ends. In all, except No. (24), Bādārāvara agrees with Jaimini. It is clear that there is nothing corresponding to these discussions or even remotely bearing on them in the Vedānta Sūtras. No. (21) is a case that requires a little more consideration: for here Jaimini claims that Bādārāvara and himself are at one on the question of the Eternity and Infallibility of the WORD. It might therefore appear at first sight that at least the Bādārāvara referred to here must be the same as the author of the Vedānta Sūtras, who also maintains the Eternity and Infallibility of the Veda. But closer scrutiny shows that here again we are dealing with one of the most vital points of difference between Mīmāṁśa and Vedānta. In the view of the former, the Veda’s Eternity is innate and absolute, and not dependent on any god or deity, personal or otherwise; the Vedantist view is that the Eternity of Veda is only a relative quality and dependent upon lāvara. Hence we find that the reason assigned by the Mīmāṁśik for his position is अनपेत्यावत while the reasons assigned by Bādārāvara in Vedānta Sūtra I, 3, 28, are अत: प्रतिवासववेच्छादनवत्या, and it is to be particularly noticed that Śaṅkara repeats parts of the Sūtra of Jaimini, No. (21) above, गृहस्थादाय etc., in the Pārvapaksha. In his comment on the Vedānta Sūtra just referred to, Śaṅkara must surely have noticed that a Bādārāvara is referred to as taking Jaimini’s view in the गृहस्थादाय Sūtra, and if he believed for a moment that it was his own Sūtrakāra that was so mentioned, it is not in the least likely that he would have treated the very Sūtra of Jaimini as the Pārvapaksha view to be refuted by him. On

5 See Tabular Appendix at the end.
the contrary, we should find Śaṅkara attempting somehow a reconciliation between the contrary of Bādaraṅga, the one mentioned by Jaimini and the other stated in the Vedānta Sūtra. To my mind, this fact, taken along with the other, that in the remaining four instances where Bādaraṅga is referred to by Jaimini there is nothing to suggest an identity with the author of the Vedānta Sūtras, is conclusive proof that the Bādaraṅga referred to by Jaimini is anterior to him, and is a Mīmāṃsāist different from the author of the Vedānta Sūtras.

Passing on to GROUP D (26 to 30) consisting of references to Jaimini in the Mīmāṃsā Sūtras, we have only to notice that all of them, except No. (27), undoubtedly refer to the author of the Mīmāṃsā Sūtras, while No. (27) must be taken to be a less known predecessor of the same name as the Sūtrakāra, because he happens to hold the Pūrva-pakṣa view against which the Siddhānta is propounded. It is clear that Śabaravāmi understood the matter like this. This lesser Jaimini is named only once in the Sūtra, while Śabara names him twice in his commentary, on VI, 3, 1 and on VI, 3, 4, and on both occasions he refers to him simply as Jaimini, omitting the honorific Āchārya which he generally uses when he mentions by name either the Sūtrakāra or his predecessors like Bādari. The discreet omission of the title Āchārya could only mean that Śabara distinguished the two Jaiminis, reserving the ‘Āchārya’ title only for his Sūtrakāra.

The conclusions emerging from the foregoing discussion may now be stated to be the following:

1. Bādaraṅga refers to Jaimini, the author of the Mīmāṃsā Darśana, in a manner that leads us to infer that the latter was an old Āchārya of established repute and that he was not a pupil of Bādaraṅga, as Indian tradition of a late origin would have us believe;

2. Bādaraṅga also refers to a Jaimini who seems to have been a Vedāntist different from the Mīmāṃsāist Jaimini;

3. Jaimini refers to a Bādaraṅga, but he is not the author of the Vedānta Sūtras;

4. Jaimini refers to another Jaimini, besides himself, who appears to have been a Mīmāṃsāist; and lastly,

5. There were probably at least two Bādaraṅgas and three Jaiminis.

It must be observed that the last conclusion does not contain such a hopeless case as might at first sight appear. We know that there were at least more than one Vasishṭha and more than one Vyāsa—if Vyāsa himself is not altogether fabulous. It has been suggested above that in all these cases we are perhaps dealing with Gotra-names that were borne by men of different generations in the same gene. The explanation of the late Indian tradition now becomes an easy affair. It is simply the result of a chaos due to this recurrence of the same names in different connections. It may be noted here that the Kūrmapurāṇa, probably a later production than the Bhāgavatam, mentions (Ch. 52) no less than 25 incarnations of Vyāsa in the current Manvāntara and repeats the story of Jaimini receiving the Sāma Veda from the last of these Vyāsas. Again, there has always been some confusion between Bādaraṅga the author of the Vedānta Sūtras, and Vyāsa, arranger of the Vedas and

6 See Pargiter on Viśeṣāntara, Vasishṭha, etc, in the JRAS., January, 1917.

7 Viśe Note 2. A Jaimini was also a Rātvik at Janamejaya’s Snake Sacrifice. Again, a Jaimini is a Yogi, Rājamantrika, XVIII-33, cf. Viṣh. P., 4. 4. and Wilson thereon, also Bhāg. IX, 12. 3. Surely we are dealing with more Jaiminis than one in the Jaimini cycle of legends.
author of the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas, according to tradition; and Śrīkaṇṭha actually refers to the Vedānta Sūtrakāra as Vyāsa, while Anandatīrtha in the opening of his commentary identifies Veda Vyāsa with his author and quotes the Skandapurāṇa in support. Śaṅkara however observes a distinction between Bādarāyaṇa and Veda Vyāsa, as he calls the author of the Mahābhārata. 

Undoubtedly the oldest evidence that I have been able to lay my hands on reverses the order of the Vidyāvaṃsa, and while it agrees with and perhaps furnishes the basis of the Bhāgavata text quoted in the beginning of this paper, and similar, though earlier, Puranic accounts making Jaimini the pupil of Vyāsa, the son of Parāśara and Satyavatī, it makes a Bādarāyaṇa the pupil of Jaimini in the third generation. This evidence is in the text of the Śaṅkha Vidhāna Brāhmaṇa at its close. It runs thus:

"सो ॐ प्राणायमः स्वपरांशितमेव यज्ञां परांशितमेव यज्ञां

श्रवणं भवाय युज्यते करुङ्गवत्य मन्त्रसुवर्णीय

आश्रयं परांशितमेव युज्यते करुङ्गवत्य मन्त्रसुवर्णीय

हनुमानवत्य वालसरः वालसरः वालसरः वालसरः

" etc.

Burnell was inclined to fix the date of this Brāhmaṇa with the greatest latitude some where between the 5th century B. C. and the 7th century A. D. But for various reasons it is probable that the real date of the work is nearer the first than the second of these dates. At any rate, this is the oldest text on the question, and it is clear that while it makes Jaimini the pupil of Vyāsa, the son of Parāśara, it makes him (Vyāsa) different from Bādarāyaṇa and places Bādarāyaṇa in the third generation from Jaimini. And the matter must rest there for the present.

In conclusion, I must point out that I have argued the whole question on the assumption that the Mimāṃsā and Vedānta Sūtras are the productions of single authors and not reductions of the teachings of the schools concerned, and I have attempted to show that on this assumption there is nothing to prove that Jaimini and Bādarāyaṇa were contemporaries but that the evidence goes to show that Jaimini must have preceded Bādarāyaṇa, though it is not possible for me to say by what length of time. If the evidence of the Śaṅkha Vidhāna Brāhmaṇa means anything, it must be about a century, not more. In any case, the absolute date of Jaimini requires much further investigation. It may however be noticed that there is a Jaimini of well-known fame in the late Vedic period, in whose name we have a Jaiminiya recension of the Śaṅkha Veda and a Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa, while the earliest reference to Bādarāyaṇa seems to be that in the Śaṅkha Vidhāna Brāhmaṇa text quoted above. It is just a possibility—for it cannot be stated as anything more at present—that this famous Jaimini was the Sūtrakāra of the Mimāṃsā system and the pupil of Vyāsa, and the tradition of his being the disciple of the Vedanta Sūtrakāra which gained currency in the middle ages was surely due to a confusion between the latter and the great Vedavyāsa.

5 See for example his commentary on I. 3. 29—नेत्रवासम् वर्मिनि स्मारमित्रम्

6 See Macdonell's Vedic Index under "Jaimini "and "Bādarāyaṇa."

7 Wilson in one place (see his Vījñāna Purāṇa Index, "Bādarāyaṇa") identifies Bādarāyaṇa and Vyāsa, the son of Parāśara, but mentions no authority.
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NOTES ON THE NIRUKTA.

In the original text, the sentence शिर्षमानित्वम् N. I. 1. forms a part of the first section, and is immediately followed by the second. It introduces a controversy, i.e. whether words are permanent or impermanent,—a controversy, which in its character, differs altogether from the subject-matter of the first section. To begin the second section with this sentence would have been therefore a more logical division of the sections, and more in harmony with the modern conception of what constitutes a paragraph. That a section of the Nirukta more or less corresponds to a paragraph is indicated by the evidence of older MSS. which place the full stop, i.e. दान्या, at the end of, and never within the section itself, excepting the commencement and the conclusion of a quotation. This is further supported by the fact, in most cases, one section is devoted to the explanation of one Vedic stanza only. Hence it is argued that the division of the text of the Nirukta into sections, as constituted at present, is illogical and arbitrary. It is therefore proposed to discard, in this respect, the authority of the MSS., which has been hitherto strictly followed, and to make sections according to the most natural division. 2 Faithfulness says Gane, is indeed a merit, but it should not be overdone, at least not where reason says otherwise. 3 The suggestion is rather a bold one and, I think, contrary to the canons of the modern editorship. The suggested improvements can very well be shown in footnotes but the wisdom of re-arranging the text itself in opposition to the evidence of the MSS. is doubtful. Besides, there are practical difficulties in accepting this suggestion. Re-division of sections would involve the transference of a considerable number of passages to new sections, and would thereby reduce the utility of various books of reference, as far as those passages are concerned. Further, if the sections of the Nirukta do not harmonise with the modern conception of what constitutes a paragraph, does it necessarily follow that they are illogical? Is this, by itself, a conclusive proof of their arbitrary character? To my mind, the answer is in the negative, for the Ancients may have had a different conception of the constitution of a paragraph. As far as our author is concerned, a careful examination of all the sections of the Nirukta indicates that Yāska proceeds methodically in his division of the text into sections, which division is based on a general principle. This may be called the stanza-principle. By the time of Yāska very great weight was attached to the Vedas, especially by that scholar himself as is evident from Chapter I, particularly from his rejoinder to the adverse criticism of Kaṇṭha. To him, a Vedic stanza was of the utmost importance, and accordingly formed a very suitable beginning for a new section. There are 400 sections altogether in the first 12 chapters of the Nirukta, distributed among those chapters as follows:

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329 sections out of the total 400 begin with a Vedic stanza. The sections which do not so begin, and which in many cases could not so begin, as for instance those in the introductory remarks and discussions of the 1st, and the 7th chapters, are shown in the following list:

Chapter I. 1, 2*, 3*, 4, 5*, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17.

" II. 1, 2*, 3*, 4, 5, 10, 13, 14, 15, 18, 23.

" III. 1, 7, 13, 18, 19, 20, 21.

" IV. 1, 17, 22.

" V. 4, 6, 13, 20.

" VI. 5, 17, 23.

" VII. 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7*, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13*, 14, 19, 21.

" VIII. 1, 4, 16.

" IX. 1, 11*, 22, 35.

" X. 1, 14, 25, 38.

" XI. 1, 13, 22, 35.

" XII. 1, 12, 20, 35.

The total number of these sections is 71, of which eight only, marked with an asterisk, a be regarded as arbitrarily divided, when judged by the modern conception. One explanation of this arbitrary division is the following. In beginning a section with a Vedic stanza or verse, it became necessary to place its short introductory note at the end of the previous section, e.g. Athāpi Prathama bahuvacon. 4 It appears that this method of putting a short sentence

2 loc. cit.
3 loc. cit.
4 N. 1, 15. The reference in I.A. loc. cit. of this passage to p. 43 in Roth’s edition is wrong; 43 being a misprint in Roth for 34.
of a section at the end of a previous section—which was a necessity in the case of sections beginning with Vedic stanzas—has been mechanically extended to the eight sections mentioned above. From what has gone before, it will be clear that the sections in the Nirukta, except the eight marked with an asterisk, are not illogically nor arbitrarily divided, but are based on a general principle adopted by Yāska. Gune's suggestion to re-arrange the sections and to discard the authority of the MSS. is therefore unacceptable.

The sentence तपयः स्त्राः . . . . भुः हस्तानि N. I. 12, which is somewhat difficult, is differently interpreted by various writers. The crux lies in the word san-vijñāda. Durga paraphrases this word as follows: samāna vijñāda aika-mat yena vijñāda 'discriminated unanimoously, i.e. discriminated with absolute agreement.' Max Müller translates it by 'intelligible,' Roth by 'arbitrarily named.' Roth's translation seems to be based on Durga's second explanation of the same term, which is as follows: san-vijñāna-pada-viśva śāstra vārhi-kāla-yogāyaṃ sañjāda.

"In this (branch of) knowledge, the term san-vijñāna is a technical expression used for a conventional word." Durga resorts to the Comparative Method and quotes: tāṇyapace samānamānanti . . . . san-vijñāna-bhūtaṃ syāt, in support of his explanation. He is further corroborated by a comparison of all the passages of the Nirukta, in which the word san-vijñāna, or (with the omission of the prep. vi) san-viṣa occurs. We may therefore take the word to signify 'a conventional term.'

The next problem in the sentence is the punctuation. Max Müller takes san-vijñāda tāni etc. as the principal clause to complete the relative clause tadyatra . . . syātāṃ and translates as follows: "For first, if the accent and formation were regular in all nouns and agreed entirely with the appellative power (of the root), nouns such as go (cow), śaṇa (horse), puruṣa (man) would be in themselves intelligible." He succeeds in thus construing the sentence by translating yatra by 'if', leaving out tāni, and by attributing to san-vijñāda a meaning not borne out by the comparison of passages. Roth divides the sentence by placing a semicolon after syātāṃ and takes san-vijñāda etc. as a co-ordinate clause; but in order to connect the two clauses, he supplies the word dasyan. Durga offers two interpretations. Firstly, he places a full-stop after tāni and takes the words yathā gaurasāvaka etc. as a co-ordinate clause, supplying however the words na punah; the translation of the sentence according to this interpretation would be the following: "The words whose accent and grammatical formation are regular and which are accompanied with an explanatory radical element are unanimously recognised to have been derived from the roots; but not words like 'cow', 'horse', 'man', 'elephant' etc."

Secondly, he places a full-stop after syātāṃ and takes san-vijñāda tāni etc. as an independent sentence. According to this division, the first sentence would consist of one single relative clause, without any principal clause. To meet this difficulty he remarks: tadāhkyāya-jāvyu gaurakṣaṇam pratiśma iti viśva-kṣaṇa. "We think that the words, that is derived from a verb, must be supplied as a supplementary clause." The translation according to this interpretation is the following: "Those words, whose accent and grammatical formation are regular and which are accompanied with an explanatory radical element, are derived from roots. Words like 'cow', 'horse', 'man', 'elephant' are conventional terms."

Gune does not seem to be aware of this interpretation of Durga and independently arrives at a conclusion, identical with that of Durga, and suggests the adoption of the supplementary words: sarvaḥ tat-prādeśikam. These words occur in Yāska's rejoinder in Section 14. His argument is that, in his rejoinder, Yāska always first repeats the words of his opponent and then answers the objection. According to Gune, the sentence placed within the words yathā etat and iti exactly represents the original statement of the critic. The sentence placed within these words in Yāska's rejoinder in Section 14 contains the supplementary clause sarvaḥ tat-prādeśikam, which, being thus assigned to the critic by Yāska himself, must have formed a part of the sentence under discussion. He remarks, "And we are also sure, comparing the initial passage [i.e. in the Pārṣada] with its counterpart in Yāska's reply at R. 36. 10, that सबच तन्त प्रापेक्षथकम must have been there. Its omission is strange and unaccountable. Perhaps it is the Scribe's mistake . . . ."

In other words, Gune thinks that the passage in Yāska's rejoinder could be used as MS. (archetype), furnishing evidence which cannot be challenged.
for the critical edition of the original passage of the critic in Sec. 12. A closer examination however does not support this theory, for a comparison of the statements of the critic with those ascribed to him by Yāska, in his rejoinder, shows that Yāska repeats, and puts within yatho etat and iti, only so many words of his opponent as are necessary for the controversy. He does not repeat them in toto. It is evident, if one compares Sec. 13 and Sec. 14.

Pārśuropakaṣa.

1-13. अधरीर म दोषं; उपद्वाच चापि ध्वनिः; चापि वर्तायां, स्तुत्वापाति: संस्कृतं व्याकरणालिनमर्यादायेऽः।

1-14. वर्तीय एवप्रयायः। न्यायशास्त्रोऽभ्यासमार्यादायेऽः।

Yāska’s rejoinder.

In both these cases, Yāska repeats only a part of his opponent’s statements. Gume’s assertion is therefore unfounded: his suggestion as regards the adoption of a supplementary clause cannot be accepted.

The sentence can however be explained without having recourse to an assumed interpolation.

The difficulty will disappear, if a full stop be placed after यथाव एव दोषान् and the passage: ना सारवत्ति... यथाव एव दोषान् be construed as one sentence. I would then translate: ‘Not all the words’, say Giriya and some other grammarians, ‘but only those, the accent and grammatical form of which is regular and which are accompanied by an explanatory radical element. Those such as ‘cow,’ ‘horse,’ ‘man,’ ‘elephant’ etc. are conventional terms.’

Durga has the following theory about nouns:

“There is a threefold order of nouns; i.e., (1) those whose roots are apparent; (2) those whose roots can be inferred; (3) and those whose roots are non-existent. With reference to this, the nouns whose roots are apparent are such as ‘doer,’ ‘bringer’ etc. Nouns whose roots can be inferred are such as ‘cow,’ ‘horse,’ etc. Nouns whose roots are non-existent are such as gīthā, dāvitthā, aravinda and sarvinda etc.”

It is quite evident that Yāska, a follower of the school of etymologists—whose fundamental doctrine is that all nouns are derived from roots—could not have recognised the third category of his commentator, who thus appears to be a follower of the School of Giriya.

LAKSHMANA SARUP.


The period of these two great pioneers of modern Imperial Government in India must always have a fascination for the student of history, and there must be always also a thirst for any details that will show the tremendous issues of the time in their true bearings and tell us what manner of men they really were that faced them.

The time is not even yet perhaps when a true judgment can be formed and in the process of procuring and sifting the evidence available, many obiter dicta are bound to occur that may prove to be ill found and many a reasoned judgment even may in the end have to be reversed. Any book therefore, such as this, that uncovers original sources of information is welcome, and any writer like Mr. Dodwell, who uses his opportunities of getting at the true facts—in his case, as Curator of the Madras Record Office, able to secure the co-operation of those in charge of the Records at Calcutta and at the India Office—is to be encouraged, however imperfect his judgments may eventually prove to be.

The book is a well of detailed information, and contains many arresting comments on men and events, based on the evidence collected, and puts straight many erroneous ideas hitherto accepted as true. Perhaps one of the most remarkable is the judgment on Dufleix’s career (p. 83):—

“The facts thus indicate that Dufleix was not the victim of neglect, that Godeheu was not the betrayer of French interests in India, but rather that both Companies were exhausted by the struggle in which they had been engaged, and both urgently felt the need of a breathing-space in which to recover themselves. It is noteworthy that when the war in the Carnatic was renewed, it was renewed with all the advantage of the English of the superior sea-power which in the period we have been considering had been imporative, and then was conducted mainly by Royal troops and Royal officers—in part because the Companies were unable to continue such a struggle unaided, in part because its objects had become evidently of national importance.” Notable words these, if one takes into consideration what is, one may call, the accepted view.
Not less remarkable is the statement (p. 84) as to Bussy's career—a man whom I have always looked on (erroneously perhaps—who knows?) as a greater forerunner of modern administration than Dupleix:—"It has been a commonplace of historians that in conquering India the English but adopted the methods of the French, applying them in more fortunate circumstances. There is much truth in this—so much that Bussy's career in the Deccan offers numerous parallels with Clive's career in Bengal. Alike in the advantage which these two men enjoyed, in the difficulties which they had to encounter, and in the policy which they adopted, we find a marked similarity, which arose naturally enough out of situations at bottom identical, and characters with much in common in spite of superficial differences."

On p. 113 is another judgment on Dupleix worth extracting:—"It appears then that a considerable proportion of the French Company's funds were absorbed by Dupleix; and that he succeeded no better than did the English then or later in making war in the Carnatic pay for itself. Like the Deccan, it was too poor. Dupleix's schemes and policy demanded a wealthier province than either the Carnatic or the Deccan for their realisation."

Clive's political policy calls forth the following very pertinent remark:—"In few great revolutions have circumstances more completely overruled and directed the wills of the actors. Neither Clive nor a single man who sailed with him from Madras in 1756 dreamed of the destiny to which fortune was impelling them." Of such are often the greatest names in history: "time and chance happeneth to them all."

Mr. Dodwell's political criticism does not however blind him to Clive's overwhelming merits as an administrator (p. 272):—"His second government may indeed be claimed as a miracle of insight, vigour, prudence and honesty. Who else of his generation could have done as much in something over eighteen months? How many of those who at Westminster daily prostituted public interests would have thought his salutary reforms possible or desirable at the certain cost of opprobrious clamour? If in his earlier career Clive often enough acted like the majority of his contemporaries, in his second government he rose far above the political and moral standards of his age. Of those who have encountered similar extremes of praise and blame, few have better merited the first and less deserved the second, few have rendered more enduring and meritorious service to their country." One could go on quoting from this remarkable book with increasing light on the greatest period of the earlier history of the British in India, but I have I think given enough of it to show that none who would know the story of British endeavours in the latter half of the eighteenth century can afford to leave it out of their purview.

R. C. Temple.

**IRANIAN INFLUENCE ON MOSLEM LITERATURE,** Part I. Translated from the Russian of M. Inostrannzev with supplementary Appendices from Arabic sources. By G. K. Nariman Bombay: 1918.

This remarkable book is noteworthy from two points of view. Firstly, it is a translation from the Russian and it contains the results of original research by a Parsi scholar. Secondly, the value of the whole to Parsis can be gauged by the opening statement of the translator's preface:

"The facile notion is still prevalent, even among Musalmans of learning, that the past of Iran is beyond recall, that the period of its history preceding the extinction of the House of Sasan cannot be adequately investigated, and that the still anterior dynasties which ruled vaster areas have left no traces in stone or parchment in sufficient quantity for a tolerable record reflecting the story of Iran from the Iranian's standpoint. This fallacy is particularly hugged by the Parsis, to whom it was originally lent by fanaticism to indolent ignorance. It has been credited with uncritical acclivity, congenial to self-complacency, that the Arabs so utterly and ruthlessly annihilated the civilization of Iran in its mental and material aspects that no source whatever is left from which to wring reliable information about Zoroastrian Iran. The following limited pages are devoted to a disproof of this age-long error."

One has only to consider how complete is the information about the ancient Persians and their religion and how much the Parsis of India are the living representatives of both race and creed, to wonder at the existence of such an attitude as that described by one of themselves. The legendary and dated history of Persia goes back as far as that of India, and indeed further, and we have there a picture set before us of the Assyrian suzerainty of the Medes of North-West Persia from the 9th to the 7th Century B.C. and then of the short-lived Median Empire, eventually overthrown by the all-important imperial rule of pure Persians themselves under the Achaemenian Cyrus and his great successors in the 6th Century. This in turn gave way to the Greek domination of Alexander.
and his Macedonians in the 4th century, continued by the Greek Seleucids till the 1st century B.C., when it gave way to the Arsacid Empire of the Parthians—Persiöres ipso Persos. The Parthians fell in the 1st century A.D. before the second great Imperial sway of the Persians themselves under the Sassanians, to fall at last under Muhammadan rule in the 7th century. The mere enumeration of these all-powerful Dynasties of the ancient world, practically all of whom followed the teachings of Zoroaster in some form or other and spread them far over civilised Europe and Asia, is enough to show how great is the historical inheritance of the Parsis and how proud they should be of it. Mr. Nariman has done well to bring it so forcibly before his own people and co-religionists.

The record of this mighty ruling race of ancients is no myth. It has come down to us through Greek and Roman writers with a detail and an accuracy that have no counterpart in India. And as to literature, neither the reforms which sprang up within Zoroastrianism itself, nor Islam, were able to suppress the immense amount of sacred and profane stuff that was even then in existence. Indeed, the skilful blend of ancient Persian and Islamic story in Firdusi’s Shahnama (10th century A.D.) preserved rather than destroyed. In the realm of religious thought Persian influence was enormous. The ancient pantheism of the Persians was positive, “affirming the world and life, taking joy in them, and seeking its ideal in common with a creative God,” in contradistinction to the ancient Indian pantheism, which was negative, “denying world and life and despising its ideal in the cessation of existence.” This fundamental difference runs through all Persian history, producing in the end, under the influence of the Muhammadan supremacy, the wonderful theosophy of the Persian Sufis (from 847 A.D.), a blend of the joyous ancient pantheism with the fatalist monotheism of the mystics of Islam.

The ancient Persians, too, were far from neglecting their literature and their records. Witness the great tri-lingual inscription of Darius at Behistun, who once described himself in words that every Parsi should remember—surely the proudest ever used by any monarch as “a Persian, the son of a Persian, an Aryan of Aryan stock.” Witness, also, the dictum of that believer in the destiny of his race, to which the great God Ahuramazda, had given dominion “over this earth afar, over many peoples and tongues.” Take the very origin of the Pahlavi writing of the Parthians out of the unsuitability of the cuneiform script adopted from the Medes, in which the Achaemenid decrees were issued, for any material but stone or clay. Take the significant fact of the collection in the Pahlavi Avesta of the old orthodox doctrines and text, commenced by the Arsacid (Parthian) Vologeses III (147-191 A.D.), continued by the last Sassanid Ardashir (212-241) and completed by Shapur II (310-379), in order to combat the serious danger as they held it, caused by the inroads of Syrian Christianity.

Such a Literature, so carefully preserved, and spread so far and wide by conquests, political and religious—the tenets of Zoroaster, in the form or Mazdaism, were within an ace of becoming the creed of the Roman Empire in the early centuries A.D. and who knows, thus of Europe itself—must have powerfully affected the Muslim Conquerors of the 7th century and those that wrote for them under their rule. Indeed, the earlier examples of what is now known as “Persian Literature” is full of it in all categories—Firâsi, Nizâmi, Omar Khayyâm, Shekhd Abû Sa’îd, Nîsîr Khisrâ, Shekh ‘Abdu’llah Anãrî, Jalaluddîn Rûmî, Fârîru’dîn Attâr, Shekh Sa’dî and many lesser names. It is quite time that Mr. Nariman should bring to the notice of his compatriots the Russian Professor’s work, which explains with so much wealth of illustration the debt that the early Arab authors themselves owed to the Pahlavi literature that preceded them.

Among Mr. Nariman’s translations is the Appendix on Noldeke’s remarks on Barzî’s Introduction to the Book of Kaštîr wa Dimnâ. The Autobiography which is contained in it, while thoroughly Oriental, is so entirely human that it reads in places as quite modern and it is therefore intensely interesting. Indeed, the ‘modernity’ of much of ancient and medieval Oriental story is often at first sight surprising.

With this remark I close these notes on Mr. Nariman’s valuable compilation.

R. C. TEMPLE.


Râshîrînîha Vamasa Mahâkâvya is an historical epic by Rudrakavi, a Southern poet under the patronage of Nârâyana Shah, a ruler of the small principality of Mayurî— or as it was known to later historians, Baglan. The poem was composed in the Saka year 1518 or 1598 A.D.

The author of the poem, Rudrakavi, son of Ananta, was one of those men of genius and literary merit, that were occasionally patronised by Hindu princes, who, following the noble examples of the great kings of the past, thought it their duty to extend their liberality to the votaries of the muse. In an age of national subjection, when every ruler had to wage a bitter struggle for the very existence of his patrimony and the safety of his family honour, few Hindu princes could think of directing their energies towards
the patronage of learning. Still there were exceptions to this rule, and Narâyán Shah, the poet's patron, was one of them.

The poem, which can be classed as a Mahâ-kâvyâ, has been divided into twenty cantos. In the first, the poet describes the origin of Râsh-trândha, the founder of the family. He arose, we are told, as a beautiful boy of eleven, out of a dice which struck the crescent of the moon in the crest of Siva while he was playing with his consort. This boy was afterwards adopted by the childless king of Kâluj as his son, and after the latter's death became the ruler of that city. After him came six princes whose names are not worth mentioning. Then came two brothers, Kâlam and Gopacandra, the elder of whom, by propitiating the goddess, became invincible and conquered Ujain, where he became king. The other brother, Gopacandra, who had sacrificed himself to the goddess, regained life through her mercy and was known as Bagula.

Seventeenth in descent from him was Yasavan, whose son along with his brother migrated to the South. Yasavánta married the daughter of Râmadeva of Devagiri and remained there. His son, Gujammâladeva, conquered the Gurjaras and Mâlava and succeeded in taking the kingdom of Allauddin, the lord of the Yadavas. Who this Allauddin was we have no means of ascertaining. His son Malugi defeated twelve kings including Râmadeva, the powerful Yâdava adversary of Allauddin Khilji of Delhi. This appears to be highly improbable, when we consider some of the facts mentioned by the poet before and after this event, and the whole story seems to be a mere invention of the poet—to enhance the glory of his post-ancestors. Malugi's grandson Nânda-deva also performed acts of valour, but was defeated by Allauddin Khilji, who after conquering Lâli, Kalinga, Vanga, etc., was killed in battle. Râmâyâ of Devagiri—
the adversary of his grandfather, according to the poet. In addition to a historical inaccuracy, for we know it for certain that Râmadeva was not killed by Allauddin—a hopeless anachronism is also noticeable in this statement. After many vicissitudes of fortune the dignity of the family was restored by Nânda-deva. His great-grandson Mahâ-deva resorted to Mayarágiri where he established temples. Mahâ-deva's son, Bhaïrail Shah is credited with having conquered the Mussulman rulers of Mându and Devagiri, and hav

inflicted a defeat on Humâyûn Shah the second Mogul Emperor—events which have hardly any historical foundation at all.

On the contrary, we know from the Mussulman historians that the Naglân chiefs of that time were petty feudatories under the Mussulman sultans of that quarter. Thus, according to them, Bhairail Shah, father of Narâyán Shah, was a feudatory of Bahadur Shah, Sultan of Gujarat, to whom he gave his sister in marriage.

Narâyán Shah was the poet's patron, and from the ninth canto of the book onwards, the events of his reign are described. His successes over petty chiefs are described in pompous language—and the poet, following the example of the ancients, devotes three whole cantos in describing the sports and luxuries of the king.

We come next to examine the composition and style of the work. Though it contains some anachronisms and historical inaccuracies, the poem is a work of considerable merit. It contains beautiful descriptions, e.g., of the day and the night and of the seasons (Canto XV). The descriptions of the battle and the chase arouse the reader's interest, while the numerous similes enhance the beauty of the whole composition.

The style is elegant and the language is chaste and easy throughout, though in some places it abounda in similes after the Gauld style (e.g. in Canto IX). Constant alliterations make it more and more melodious. In some places the poet seems to imitate Kâlidâsa, author of the Râghuvânas. Some of the verses deserve special praise; on account of their noble sentiment or exquisite poetic beauty.

The poet, however, excels in religious sentiment. The verses in honour of Râma, Śiva and Ganges are beautiful compositions. To sum up, the poet succeeded well in the task he undertook. Unfortunate though he is on account of the obscurity of his hero, his poem does credit to him and has preserved the name of his patron from oblivion.

Much credit is due to the editor for the learned introduction appended to this work. The valuable and critical notes inserted in it show his labour and learning. And though there may be some small inaccuracies in it, it should be a great help to scholars. We think however that something ought to have been said on the composition and style of the work.

In conclusion, our thanks are due to His Highness the Mahârajâ Gakkwad of Baroda, who is financing this Oriental Series and has thus preserved the noble tradition of the ancient kings of India in respect of patronage to learning.

NARAYAN CHANDRA BANERJEE.

1 See e.g., Sec. II, p. 49, and IX, 20.
2 Compare X. 34 of the poem with Raghu., VI, 22; XII, 52 of the poem with Raghu., X, 32; and VI, 2 with Raghu., XVII, 52.
3 See V, 24; XII, 22; V, 15.
4 See XII, 39 to 50.
5 II, 49 to 52; also V, 15-24.
Other references to the Trans-Himalaya in Pali Literature: The following passage occurs in अनुवादकार जानकार—

योजना 8 or 9 miles.
In the same *śālasāk*, we are told that the heavenly charioteer had to drive his chariot until he reached *māyāsāpa* which lay towards the east.

In various places *śīnākusī* *pānī* is described as lying in the *ḥimavāṇī* region. In many of the *Haiṇḍ[murat]a* the *vīnākṛti* mountain figures as the home of the golden geese which hunt for their food in the *Himavāṇī* lakes and, now and then, come to *nāgaśālo* as far as the *nāgāsālo* country in search of food. It has been mentioned above that King *ṇīmiti* entered the assembly hall of the *Tāvatīmāsa deccan* through the *vīnākṛti* gate, which would locate this mountain to the south or south-east of the *Mena*, as *nāgonā* had to drive the celestial chariot towards the eastern regions when he was coming to *māyāsāpa*.

The *vaiśṇava* ṛṣih Ṛṣabha mentions the *gāndharvagāna* in the following lines,—

> vikrītam thanks svabhāvaṁ svabhavaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaṁ svabhāvaş

There, in thy absence, Oh! *Kimpurisa*, what shall I do?

In the *gāndharvagāna* where the *Kimpurisa* live and which is overgrown with plants,

There, in thy absence, Oh! *Kimpurisa*, what shall I do?]

**Geography of the Northern Regions as given in the Rāmāyana**: Sugriva sent a strong contingent of the monkey force to the north to search for *Satī*. The countries to which they were asked to go were thus enumerated:

The country of the *Mtekhhas*, the *Pulindhas*, the *Śūrasenas*, the *Prasthalās*, the *Bhāratas*, the *Kurus*, the *Bhadras*, the *Kṣṇiṇas*, the *Yacanas*, the *Śakas*, the *Ariyās*, the *Bāhikas*, the *Iśikas*, the *Paurānas*, the *Tākālas*, the *Chinas*, the *Paramachinas*, the *Nihāras*, the *Dāradas* and the *Himavāṇī* country.

Other places mentioned in this connection are the following:

The great *Black Mountain*, the *Hemagarbha Mountain*, the *Śudassana Mountain*, the *Devasakha Mountain*, a hundred yojana of dreadful wilderness where there are no mountains, rivers, trees, or living things, the white mountain known by the name of *Kailāsa*, the *Kruñchha Mountain*, the *Maunika Hill*, the *Vaiśhāvanī* lake where elephants with their calves roam freely, the country on the other side of the lake, where the sun and the moon are lost and the sky is starless and cloudless, and things are seen under a light like the rays of the sun and to the north of which lies the ocean.

Sugriva also directed them not to go further north than the country of the *Kurus* (Uttarakuru), a region which was without the sun and beyond his knowledge.

This account tells us of countries which are in the north and north-west of India and beyond the confines of it to the north-west, and also of others which take us over the lakes and mountains of Central Asia across a vast desert to the shores of a great lake which is the country of the *Kurus* beyond this, lies, in the north, a great ocean. The narrative practically tallies with the *Paurānic* description of this part of Asia and strongly supports the suggestion made above that the Indo-Aryans came from the far north, possibly the arctic regions on the shores of the North Sea.

The account given in the Rāmāyana is vitiated by a very serious mistake, viz., the *Svētāparānta* has been confused with *Kailāsa* which bears a perpetual ice cap and is reputed to be white.

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31 Rāmāyaṇa, Kish. kūṣṭha, Chap. XXXIV.
Other Collateral Evidence—

(1) THE RIGVEDA.

There is unmistakable evidence in the Rigveda to the effect that the land of the five rivers was not the original home of the Indo-Aryans:

(a) \text{32}वेदस्व नृ तूर्यश्रिच्य प्रस्त्र चार्य चक्कार प्रभवाति वधौ \text{|} \\
	ext{अहवत्तिस्व श्रव्याणि अनीतो वर्षानाम्} \text{||}

[ I shall presently speak about the first and foremost deeds done by Indra, the wielder of thunder (वज्र). He killed Ahi (cloud); brought down the rain; and clove the mountains for making paths for the flowing waters.]

This preserves the memory of what the Rishis actually saw on the mountains where they once lived.

(b) \text{33}नवं न निच्छन्नग्या शास्त्रायं मनो श्राणाय आतं यंस्वयाय। \\
\text{शास्त्रमुच्या महिना यस्मिनं शर्यानाम् पत्तुना शीर्षयुक्त्} \text{||}

[Just as a river overflows its fallen banks, the delightful waters are flowing over the prostrate \text{वित्रत्रा} (cloud); \text{वित्रत्रा} (cloud), who kept the waters in confinement by his prowess when he was alive, is now lying under their feet.]

This is a faithful picture of what takes place after a thunder-storm in the mountains. The display of lightning and heavy roll of thunder as dark masses of cloud are driven upon the hill tops, the copious shower following upon it and then the scattered flakes clinging to the mountain side and the rushing torrents running down to the valleys below.

It is only in a mountain country that this beautiful cloud-myth could have originated.

(c) \text{शास्त्रमुच्या अतिक्रमित् आप: पर्यन्तेष गच्छ।} \\
\text{अः पर्यमेर्पितं वर्षास्त्रं चाः जरामु अव तब्दिहार} \text{||}

[Like the kine which were concealed by \text{पाणि}, the waters were confined by \text{वित्रत्रा} (cloud) who is their husband and master. Indra killed \text{वित्रत्रा} (cloud), and cleared the path along which the waters flowed, and which was obstructed by \text{वित्रत्रा} (cloud).]

The hill streams, which are ordinarily dry, become flooded and rush down in torrents after a heavy shower. This is a common sight in the mountains after a thunder-storm. It is impossible to explain this verse and the one preceding it unless on the supposition that these scenes were witnessed in mountain regions and not on the plains watered by the five rivers.

(d) \text{34}वञ्चानां: साम्यमः कृत्वस्यप्पःपर्यर्जेयं | \\
\text{नविल्ग्रो अयं वेर्यतं यूवेन कृत्तजारकार} \text{||}

[When the sacrificer climbed from hill to hill (for collecting the soma plant etc.), a large quantity was collected (of soma etc.). Indra knows why this was being done and is shaking with excitement (in his eagerness to come to the sacrificial ground) with his whole host.]

The first part of the verse brings to us the memory of a time when the sacrificer used to go from hill to hill collecting soma and other things required for a sacrifice.

(e) \text{प्रवेपवत्तम पर्वेवावश्वित्वचतुष्टि वनस्त्रः} \\
\text{पी भांति मनो इव वेसाः सर्वेन विषा} \text{||}

[Shaking the mountains, driving apart great trees (lit. lords of the forest). Oh Marut-Devas, you go freely with all your followers like those who are drunk.]

This again is a vivid picture of a storm in the mountains.

(f) \text{अभी ब किब नितान्तसा उषा नक। रूढः कुश चिन्तवेशः} \\
\text{अस्मानि धर्मवर्य अनीती विभक्षणाय} \text{नकनेत्ति} \text{||}

[Those Rikshas (the seven Rishis or the Great Bear) placed high up in the sky, are seen at night; where do they go during the day? The deeds of King Varuṇa no one can gainsay. It is by his command that the moon moved in splendour at night.]

\text{32 Rigveda, I. 32. 1.} \quad \text{33 Ibid., I. 32. 8.} \quad \text{34 Ibid., I. 10. 2.}
This is a significant passage to which attention was first drawn by Tilak. It is in the far northern latitudes that the seven Rishis appear high up in the heavens and form the most prominent constellation visible to the dwellers of the far north.

(9) स पूणवधनपितर आहो निवृत्तो नवाद ।
सत्य वदे य पसुंहरः ।
यो न पूणवधन वृक्षो दोषाय भाविष्येति ।
अप स्म स इयो जाहि ॥
अप परिसंचितः दुःखः इस्विः इति ॥
ह्रद्यां व नवेत् ॥
स तस्य ह्यानि वाष्पे परिष्ठे कऽसरपि ।
पराः पिळ्ळ तपं ॥
अ तबे दसं मूलम्: पूणवधन दृष्टिमेः ।
इव विनुचरूपः ॥
अभा न मौ विश्वासम हरिणवांशिं ।
पावणमि सुषणा कर्मा ॥
अतिन् सब्रोगे नय सुग्रा न: सपि: कऽकृ ।
पुषाङह कर्देव विषः ॥
अभि सूक्ष्मसि नय न नवजः अभिने ।
पुषाङह कर्देव विषः ॥

[Oh! Pûshan, take us safely (lit. completely) to our destination, destroy the enemies on the way, thou who art the offspring of the clouds. Lead us on our way.

Oh! Pûshan, remove from our path our enemies who hurt us, steal our wealth and delight in evil deeds and order us to go along a particular way.

Oh! Pûshan, send these crooked thieves who endanger our journey far away from our path.

Oh! Pûshan, place thy foot on the body of the thief who steals our things openly as well as secretly and who desires to do us ill.

Oh! Pûshan, who art wise and handsome, we pray for such protection from thee as thou hast vouchsafed to our fathers.

Oh! Pûshan, who art extremely wealthy and possesses golden arms, after this our prayer give us plenty of riches.

Oh! Pûshan, take away from our path the enemies that stand in our way. Take us along paths which are easy and delightful. Thou knowest how to protect us on this road.

Oh! Pûshan, lead us to lands full of delightful grass and let there be no new trouble on the way.]

These prayers are full of reminiscences of a time when the Indo-Aryans had to move from place to place in search of fresh pastures through countries beset with dangers, long before they commenced a life of settled cultivation in a fertile valley.

The following passage brings back to us the memory of a time when the Vedic Aryans were living in the upper valley of the Indus where it has a northerly course:

(6) सिद्धशोष्य निपुणशास्त्र गणोद्भवा उपसः संपिपितः ।
अभ द्रवसि अद्वितीयेऽविशव-संधारकः ॥

35 Rigveda, Mandala, II, Sûkta 15, Eik. 6.
[Indra has, by his own greatness, made the Indus flow northwards, and has pulverised the chariot of Ushā, after having penetrated weak forces with the help of his swift moving army. Indra performs these deeds when he is exhilarated with soma.]

This passage demands more than a passing notice, as it clearly points to the fact that a considerable body of Indo-Aryans entered the country along the Indus valley, and possibly across the Karakorum range, and perhaps even from Western Tibet. This would suggest a number of roads, viz., for example, the northern and the north-western ways leading to Kashmir across the Hindu Kush and the Pamirs, as well as the N. E. route along the Indus and the Sutlej valleys from Western Tibet. These paths, however, are so difficult that it is not likely that they came in large numbers, but the movement must have gone on for centuries until the Indian branches of the Aryan people gradually came down to the sunny, well-watered basin of the Sapta-Sindhū or 'seven rivers'.

(2) The Zend-Avesta.

(i) The Gods of the Zend-Avesta.—The Zend-Avesta introduces us to that stage of the history of the Aryan people when the Indian and the Iranian branches had separated from one another but still retained much of their common tradition. The Vedic literature is composed of Mantras, Brāhmaṇas and Śāstras. The first two are universally acknowledged to be revealed. Now, of these two parts, the Brāhmaṇas are never mentioned in the Zend-Avesta, though Mantram appears in it in the form of Manthran. Zoroaster is called a manthran, i.e., one who utters a mantra, and the holy scriptures of the Parsis are called Manthra spenta, which means 'holy prayer'. In fact, some of these prayers are actually addressed to deities who are among the oldest and are recognised by both the branches of the Aryan race, e.g., Mitra, Varuṇa, Aryaman.

The most noticeable thing in the Zend-Avesta is the movement which was inaugurated by Zoroaster against the Devas and Deva-worshippers. In the earliest Riks, there is no distinction between Devas and Asuras, thus bearing testimony to a period when there was no disruption of the friendly relations between the Deva party and the Asura party. But, later on, a considerable number of the Vedic hymns are invocations of the favourite deities against the Asura party. In the Zend-Avesta, however, the Deva party seems to be in discredit from the very beginning, the Zoroastrian movement itself being hostile to the Devas and Deva-worshippers, and, by and by, the name 'Deva' becomes a synonym for evil spirit, just as 'Asura' in the Vedas becomes a synonym for the tribes at war with the Aryas. If, therefore, the ancient Iranian geography gives us indications of the country where the parting took place, it will furnish us with important materials for tracing out some steps of the great racial movements of the Aryan stock.

(ii) The Geography of the Zend-Avesta.—In Fargard, I, of the Vendidad, there is an enumeration of sixteen perfect lands created by Ahura Mazda. Of these the following nine have been definitely identified—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Zend Name</th>
<th>Modern Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sughda</td>
<td>Sagdh (Samarkand)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mouru</td>
<td>Marv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bakhdhi</td>
<td>Balkh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haroyu</td>
<td>Hare (rud)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vehrkanā</td>
<td>Gurgan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harahvaiti</td>
<td>Ar-rokhaj or Arghand-(ab)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haetumant</td>
<td>Hel mend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raghā</td>
<td>Rai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hapta hindu</td>
<td>Hind (Panjab)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The first land created by Ahura Mazda was Airyana Vaejo, situated on the Vanguhi, Datiya. It was cursed by the Devas with a severe winter which lasted for ten months, there being only two summer months. 'Aryanem Vaejo,' if rendered into Sanskrit, will closely approximate आर्योन्यन वैज (in Pali अर्यायन वैज), which means the 'pasture lands of the Aryans'.

According to some authorities, this land was situated north of the Oxus, since Vanguhi Datiya (as Veh) was the name of this river in Sassanian times. The names of the countries which immediately follow all belong to N. E. Iran, and this lends additional force to the view mentioned above, viz., that the first Zoroastrian land was situated to the north of the Oxus.

The second country created by Ahura Mazda was the plain of the Sughdhas or Sogdiana.

The third of the good lands was Mouru or Marv.
The fourth was Bakhdhii or Balkh.
The fifth was Nisaya and lay between Mouru and Bakhdi.
The sixth was Haroyu or Herat.
And so on.

This enumeration strongly suggests that the Iranian race-movement commenced from a country to the north of the Oxus, not far from the Celestial Mountains, where the gods of the Indo-Aryans were said to have had their Valhalla. Indra, the most popular of the Vedic deities, is a powerful demon with the Zoroastrians, and he had his stronghold in these mountains. It was Indra who, in Vedic story, demolished the fortresses of the Asuras and protected the Vedic people in battles against them. If we follow the enumeration of the good lands from Sogdiana to Marv, Herat and Kabul, we can faithfully trace the frontiers of the lands under the influence of the two races. The Zend-Avesta bears clear testimony to the dominant influence of the Indo-Aryans in close proximity to the eastern frontiers of the people of Iran. In speaking of the strong and holy Mouru or Marv, the Vendidad says that it was cursed with plunder and sin, which undoubtedly suggests the reminiscences of frontier warfare. Similarly, Nisaya, which lay between Marv and Balkh, was the land in which sin and unbelief prospered; Haroyu or Herat was afflicted with tears and wailing, and in Vakereta or Kabul, idolatry flourished and Keresaspa allowed himself to be seduced to 'Daeva-worship.'

If we take the country beyond the Oxus as the place where the two most closely allied branches of the Aryan race, viz., Indians and Iranians, parted company, it will follow that the earlier race-movements took place at a point far north of it, and therefore, also north of the Thienshan mountains.

The only thing in the Avesta which has caused a difference among scholars as to the original home of the Irano-Aryan people is that 'Aryanem Baejo' is by some placed south of the Caspian Sea. It is quite possible that those of the Iranian tribes, which migrated westward and settled in the well-watered fertile country which forms the southern littoral of the Caspian Sea, thrived and flourished; and the land they lived in became the stronghold of Zoroastrian orthodoxy, as the land of the five rivers became the Brahmarshi Desa of the Indians. This region may have been one of the early settlements, as the way from Trans-Oxyiana to the Caspian was straight and without any obstacle in the form of a mountain barrier.

36 Vendidad, Fargard 1.
37 Ibid., Fargard 1.
In Fargard II. of the Vendidad, there is an account of a period before the time of Zarathustra, which is highly suggestive. It is said that Ahura Mazda proposed to Yima, son of Vivanghat, that he should be the preacher of his religion, but Yima expressed his unfitness for it. Ahura Mazda then asked Yima to take care of his people so that they might thrive and flourish. So Yima was made king of the people by Ahura Mazda. They thrived under his care and multiplied, so that there was overcrowding. Then Yima stepped forward in light, southwards, on the way of the sun and made the earth grow larger. This process had to be repeated over and over again, the people still proceeding southwards and flourishing more and more. At last came a terrible winter and special preparations had to be made for saving the race and their cattle. Now this carries us back to a period when the Iranians had not separated from the Indians, as Yima or Yama is common to both the Iranian and Indian traditions. The description strongly suggests the migration of these races who were driven southwards by the increasing severity of the winters and the descent of the snow-line carrying devastation before it.

(3) Central Asia in the early years of the Christian Era.

(a) Fahian’s route to India—After crossing a desert to the west of the Chinese frontier, Fahian came to the country of Shen Shen and thence passed on through Wu-i and other countries to Khotan. From Khotan he went to Tze-hop and Yunway, and after visiting Kie-Sha made for India across the Ts’ungling mountains. Now in all these places he found strongholds of the Buddhist faith. At Shen Shen, he found 4000 priests of the Hinayána School, the prevailing religion of India, and all the Buddhists, laymen as well as priests, using Indian books and the Indian language, presumably Sanskrit or Pali; at Wu-i there were about 400 priests of the Little Vehicle and the people professed the Buddhist religion; at Khotan, the Buddhist priests belonged chiefly to the Great Vehicle; Buddhism was the state religion; there were many Saighárámás and temples, and among the public ceremonies, the well-known car-festival was witnessed by the Chinese traveller.

(b) Hsiuen Tsiang’s route to India—The first country described by Hsiuen Tsiang after he had crossed the Chinese frontier and the desert (Gobi) is O-Ki-Ni or Agni, which is the Sanskrit for ‘fire.’ The modern name of the place is Karshar. The written character which the inhabitants of this valley used was Indian with very little difference. The Chinese traveller found, in this far eastern out-post of Buddhism, Saighárámás, with two thousand priests belonging to the Little Vehicle. The second country mentioned by him is K’iu-chi or Kucha, where the Indian style of writing prevailed; there were one hundred Saighárámás belonging to the Little Vehicle; the scriptures were in the Indian language, and the place had Buddha statues and Deva temples. From Kucha, Hsiuen Tsiang passed on to Pohluh-Kia (Balukâ) which he found to be in soil, climate, customs and language very much the same as Kucha. There were ten Saighárámás with about one thousand priests following the tenets of the Little Vehicle.

From Aksu he passed over a stony desert lying in the N. W., and crossed the Lingshan mountain and reached the shores of the Tsing or Issyk-kul lake and passed on to its N. W., and thence along the road leading to the valleys of the Jaxartes and the Oxus, till he reached

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38 The desert of Gobi, 39 South of Lake Lob Nor.
40 Between Karaschar and Kutchcha. Trav. of Fahian, by Legge, p. 14, n. 5.
41 Tashkurgan in Sirikul, according to Watters; see Legge, p. 21, n. 3.
42 It may be Aktasch; see Legge, p. 21, n. 3.
Balkh. This country was called the little Rājagriha\(^\text{45}\) on account of the numerous Buddhist sites in its neighbourhood. He found here about 100 convents and 3000 monks, all belonging to the Little Vehicle, and a temple of Vaisravana or Kuvera. Then he directed his steps towards India and, in the course of his journey over the Snowy Mountains, came to Bamiyan and found there Buddhism of the Little Vehicle in a flourishing condition. The next point in his travels was Kapisa, where he found a king of the Kshatriya race and Buddhism of the Great Vehicle the prevailing religion, though there were also Deva temples and heretics. A journey of 600 li eastward brought him to the frontiers of India.

The most noticeable feature in the accounts of the countries through which the Chinese pilgrims had to pass on their way to India is the fact that, even in the early years of the Christian era, Buddhism had penetrated almost to the frontiers of China, and Indian civilisation had made a deep impression upon the language and customs of these people. It is also remarkable that it was the school of Little Vehicle which seemed to be the dominant religion in the towns farthest from India, thus indicating that, long before the reign of Kanishka who professed the religion of the Great Vehicle and under whose influence this school gained great popularity, Buddhism of the older school had been carried far into the heart of Central Asia. It is no wonder, therefore, that Sir Aurel Stein has found, buried under the sands of old Khotan, documents in Sanskrit as well as in Prakrit. It strikes me also as very curious and exceedingly suggestive that the names of many of the cities in this region are either Sanskrit or Prakrit. All this bears indubitable evidence of a very early intercourse of India with Eastern Turkestan.

(4) Physiographical and Ethnological Evidence.

The culture stratum at which we find the earliest settlements of the Indo-Aryan people in the Punjab was preceded by many other strata of which we practically know nothing. In the fertile basin of the five rivers, we find they had advanced remarkably in civilisation. They were no longer wandering bands of nomads; they had learnt the arts of settled life, such as agriculture, house building, the manufacture of armour and weapons of war, the construction of river-going and sea-going vessels, the use of gold and iron, the art of the weaver, the building of forts, and the laying out of towns and villages; they had tamed most of the domestic animals, such as we possess now; they lived under kings, and their society had undergone a considerable development with the institution of marriage and division of labour among various classes which, however, had not yet fossilised into castes; they had made notable progress in finishing their language and in the use of rhyme and metre; and the beautiful hymns addressed to various manifestations of nature show a fine susceptibility to everything true and charming in form and sentiment. We catch them up indeed now and then in the midst of their migrations from pasture to pasture, but it only shows that they had a wandering life before they took to agriculture. But the centuries, during which this race was gradually emerging from the earliest stages of the existence of man, are entirely hidden from our knowledge.

I think it will be a task entirely disproportionate to the objects of this paper to look for the habitation of the Aryans when they were in a savage or barbarous condition, i.e., before they had entered into the pastoral stage of life.

We have sufficient evidence in the Rig-veda as well as the Avesta to enable us to conclude that they led the life of nomadic shepherds before they became cultivators. Where could they have tended their cattle in the prehistoric ages? As for the ancestors of the Indo-Iranic people, it is pretty certain that the nomadic stage of their history was passed largely in the

pasture lands of Central Asia, perhaps with occasional settlements in some well-watered and sheltered valleys. A look at the map of Asia showing the vegetation zones makes it clear that even after making allowance for the great changes which have taken place in the climatic conditions of Central and Northern Asia since the times of which we are talking, it is safe to assert that these pasture lands must have been situated in the central mountain area and the depressions around them, with sufficient water to form rich grass lands. North Siberia is a frozen waste. South of it, there are temperate forests bordered by small patches of cultivation, and further down, vast expanses of very poor soil, perhaps fit only for growing grass, and barren wastes in the form of deserts, though not unrelieved now and then by oases formed by rivers with an inland flow. In Southern and Eastern Asia, bordering the sea, there are rich cultivable lands which have formed the cradles of Asiatic civilisation. In geological times a good deal of the waste land of Central Asia was covered by seas, which made the climate mild enough for sustaining vegetable and animal life of a higher order. West of the central mountain mass, a great sea connected the isolated inland waters with the Mediterranean on the one hand and the Arctic Sea on the other, and has left indelible traces of its existence in the configuration of the land as well as in the fossil remains which it has left embedded in the soil. In the same way, to the east of the central meridional mountains, in the Tarim basin and the depression represented by the desert of Gobi, it is believed that a great sea covered the land, though there are geologists who hold that the desert has been formed entirely by aerial denudation, i.e., by the wind-blown rock-debris from the marginal mountain chains. It has been asserted by competent authorities that during the glacial and the post-glacial periods the vegetation of Turkestan and of Central Asia was quite different from what it is now and was similar to the conditions which at present prevail in Siberia or North Europe. The extremely rapid desiccation of Central Asia has brought about great changes in the fauna and flora of the Thianshan and other central Asiatic regions. All these considerations point to the fact that in the nomadic stage, the Aryans, at least the Indo-Iranian branch of the Aryans, moved about the pasture lands of Central Asia with occasional settlements in the sparsely-scattered sheltered valleys or in the oases formed by the rivers, which carried the drainage of the central mountain mass into inland seas or lost themselves in the sands of the deserts into which they flowed.

The theory of a more northern habitation for the earlier Aryans does not in any way do violence to geological evidence. In the interglacial period, the northern parts of the hemisphere we live in are supposed to have been more equable and milder than at present, the mean temperature being higher and there being a greater precipitation of moisture. As a consequence of this, vegetation flourished far north where it can now hardly exist. Sir Archibald Geikie says\(^6\) that "the frozen tundras of Siberia appear then (in the interglacial period) to have supported forests which have long since been extirpated, the present northern limit of trees lying far to the southward." Among the fauna of this period are to be found the huge pachyderms, such as the Mammoth and the Rhinoceros, which roamed in the forests and over the grassy plains of the old world. When the glacial deluge came again, they seem to have survived the extreme cold and to have gone back to their old haunts after the climate had become less severe, if it is a significant fact of Palæontology that signs of the existence of man in the shape of the rude stone implements which he used at a remote age are found along with the skeletal remains of these animals.

The ethnological evidence, which is now at our disposal, points to the fact that from a very early period in the history of the world, Eastern Turkestan was peopled by an Aryan race and that they attained to a stage of civilisation not inferior to that of Bactria. Recent investigations of other explorers have further strengthened this view. The Aryan Tajik, who were the ancient inhabitants of the fertile parts of Turkestan, were partly compelled by hostile invasions to take shelter in the mountains. They are now known as Garchas. It is believed that the races who inhabit Eastern Turkestan are chiefly derived from this stock, though not unmixed with Mongolian and Tartan elements. The fact that even in the centuries before the Christian era Indian culture spread rapidly into these parts of Asia lends additional force to the theory that the inhabitants of the Tarim Basin were a people closely allied to the Indo-Aryans, and were therefore especially susceptible to influences from India.

**CONCLUSION.**

In Pali literature there are definite references to the region immediately to the north of the Himalaya mountains and a more or less legendary account of countries further to the north. It preserves the reminiscences of the red-tinted up-lands which lay beyond the Himalaya mountains; the lakes from which the rivers of the Gangetic plain took their rise; the famous Kailasa peak and, far to the north of it, the "Lord of Mountains," the Meru; the land of the Uttarakurus with its rich fields, god-like men and bounteous crops; the mighty Vessavana, the city of Alakman (Sans. Alaknand), and the mineral wealth of these northern lands; the four great Deipas or countries known as Kuru, Aparagoyaniya, Paurav-videha and Jambudvipa.

These memories have a significance which can only be realised when compared with such reminiscences as are preserved in the Puranas, the Epic literature, the Vedas and the Zend-Avesta of the Persians. Viewed in the light of modern researches, they reveal facts of great value which throw a considerable light upon the early race-movements of the Aryan stock.

The oldest Iranian records speak of Yima, son of Vivanghat (Sanskrit, Yama, son of Vivasvat) having been placed at the head of this branch of the Aryans and of their proceeding gradually southwards as they and their flocks multiplied in number and as necessity arose for further expansion, until a time came when the winters became very severe and the descending snow-line devastated everything lying in its way. The enumeration of good lands given in the Vendidad begins with Ayryana Vaego, which, according to some authorities, lay to the north of the Oxus. Yima seems to have been the first leader of the Irano-Aryans and Zarathustra, or Zoroaster, their first and greatest Prophet. The differences between this branch of the Aryan race and the Indian branch became acute somewhere north of the Oxus, as it is in this region that we find a clear and definite anti-Daevic propaganda; and there is ample evidence to show that the hostilities between the two races continued as far south as Afghanistan in the course of their southward emigration.

Turning now to the Vedic evidence, it is abundantly clear that the Indo-Aryans had migrated from a mountainous country with valleys affording good pastures for the large flocks which they possessed and which constituted their wealth. It is also clear that they came from the Pamir region along the valleys of the rivers which bring the drainage of the western Himalayas into the plains of N.W. India.

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48 Sir Aurel Stein, *Ancient Khotan.*
It is a curious fact that both the *Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa* and the *Vendidad* speak of an old home-land where neither the sun nor the moon shone, which was illuminated by a spontaneous light, and where days and nights were of six months' duration. The *Purāṇas* also describe an early habitation of the Aryans which was to the south of the North Sea, where neither the sun nor the moon went on their daily rounds and the sky was illuminated by spontaneous light-streamers.

The *Pauranic* evidence is copious and circumstantial, but seems to be composed of more than one tradition marking, perhaps, the different stages of the history of Aryan emigration. According to one and the most widely accepted tradition, Jambudvīpa extended from India or Haimavatavarsha to the shores of the North Sea, embracing in its sweep six great mountain ranges and nine countries bounded by them. Another tradition records the existence of four Mahādvyāpas or great lands, viz., Bhadrāśva, Bhārata (also called Jambudvīpa), Ketumāla and Uttarākuru. Bhadrāśva can be safely identified with the basin of the Tārim (Sita) river; Ketumāla, with the valley of the Oxus (Chakshu); Bhārata, with India, through which the river Alakanandā or Ganges flows; and Uttarākuru, with a northern land watered by a river which flowed into the North Sea.

Thus the land of the Kurus is, according to one tradition, the northernmost *varsha*; according to another, it is to the north of the central valley, Ilāvrita; according to another, it is designated with a valley lying to the south of Ilāvṛita; and according to another it is to be placed north of the Himavanta. As these countries were named after the people who lived in them, they would change their names as the inhabitants migrated southwards to other lands, seeking greener pastures and more congenial climes. The Mahābhārata, as I have said above, distinctly mentions the occupation of Harivarsha by the Uttarākurus.

The valley of Ilāvṛita, as described in the *Purāṇas*, was situated round the base of Meru and was the most central of all the *varshas* or lands, which, according to another tradition, was the northernmost *varsha*. This makes it very doubtful if the Ilāvṛita of the later Pauranic tradition can be the same as the Ilāspada of the Rigveda. I am inclined to think that the name Ilāvṛita or Ilāspada migrated southwards in the same way as the name Kuru did, and that the Vedic or earlier Pauranic Ilā-land had a more northern situation, having been the centre of the Jambudvīpa of the older tradition, while the Ilāvṛita of the later account, which was the centre of the four *dvipas* or great countries, can be definitely identified with the Pamir region, from which the Indo-Aryans descended to the plains of Haimavata-varsha or India, among the valleys of the various rivers which connect the plains of northern India with the Trans-Himalayan countries, viz., the valleys of the Indus, the Swat, the Kabul, the Sutlej, the Sarasvati and the Ganges (Alakanandā).

We have also to take into account the most ancient of the Pauranic traditions which seems to locate Ilāvṛita somewhere near the Arctic circle or within it, and which perhaps is an echo of what we find in the Vendidad and the Rigveda.

The line of studies followed in this paper suggests the following conclusions:—

1. Pali literature is full of definite references to the Himalaya and the Trans-Himalaya and preserves a more or less dim and legendary memory of Uttarākuru and of the Sumeru, Meru or Mahāmeru mountain, the home of the Tāvatiṃsa Deities.

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49 Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa, III. 9. 22.1. 50 Vendidad, Fargard 11, para. 40.
51 Pālmapurāṇa, Adikāpya.
(2) The Puñāyas preserve in them the reminiscences of—
(a) a very ancient tradition of the old Aryan homeland which was situated either within the Arctic circle or very near to it;
(b) a later tradition according to which Jambudvīpa extended from India in the south to Kuru or Uttarakuru which lay to the south of the North Sea;
(c) the most recent of these traditions which practically identifies Jambudvīpa with India, and according to which India is considered as one of the four great dvipas or lands, viz. Bhadrāśva (Tarim valley), Ketumāla (basin of the Oxus), Bharata or Jambudvīpa (India), through which the Ganges flows, and Uttarakuru a land to the north of Meru. The Meru region is compared to the central part of a lotus; Bhadrāśva, Bharata, Ketumāla and Uttarakuru to its petals.

This description would place the Meru mount in the centre of the Pamir region from which the great Asiatic ranges start. The axis, or backbone of Pamir formation is,’ we are told, ‘the great meridional mountain chain of Sarikol—the ancient Taurus of tradition and history—on which stands the highest peak north of the Himalaya, the Muztagh Ata (25,000 ft). This chain divides off the high-level sources of the Oxus on the west from the streams which sweep downwards into the Turkestan depression of Kashgar on the east.’ Can this peak be Meru? This view is supported by the following considerations:
(i) Bhadrāśva with its river Sita can be definitely identified with the Tarim Valley and he river which drains it.
(ii) Ketumāla with its river Chakshu or Aksu is the same as the country through which the Oxus flows.
(iii) Bharatavarsha or Jambudvīpa is India which receives the flow of the Alakandā or Alakanandā, which, after its junction with the Bhágirathi, forms the Ganges. The reason why, of all the rivers, the Ganges is mentioned as the river of India, is that during the later Vedic and the Buddhistic ages, the centre of Aryan civilisation in India had shifted far to the east of the Punjab in the valley of the Ganges.
(iv) The Gulchas, who are supposed to have descended from a pure Aryan stock, live not very far from this region and they have marked race-affinities with the people of Khotan, and probably, the Kashmiris.
(v) The Pamir valleys have been scooped out by glacial movements which took place during the Ice-ages, and the Ice-fields not very far from this region are the most stupendous in the world. In the Vendidad there are passages preserving the memory of severe winters when the ice sheet descended down to the lowest valleys and which must have ultimately determined the race-dispersal from this central region.

(3) The deflection of the Aryan stream of emigration to the east and south-east from the central homeland in the Pamirs must have been determined by the hostilities of the Indian and Iranian branches of the race, the former being worsted in the struggle. There is clear evidence of this in the Brāhmaṇa and Purānic literature.

(4) The lines of emigration were various and not merely from the N.W. of India, as is generally believed. Even in the Vedas, as we have seen above, there is a reference to a northerly course of the Indus, and the fact that the Kashmiris are Indo Aryans and have race affinity with the Galchas and Khotanese is additional evidence of movements direct into Kashmir from the N. and N.E. of the country. The intimate knowledge which people seem to have possessed of Alakanandā, Bhágirathi and Anotatta Daha or Mansarwar, and of which the memory has been kept fresh and keen by the piety of Hindu pilgrims, is a proof of emigrations along the routes which follow the courses of the head-waters of the Ganges. The story of Bhágirathartha leading this river into India is but a reminiscence of his having been himself led into India by the Bhágirathl.

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THE HISTORY OF THE NIZAM SHAHI KINGS OF AHMADNAGAR.

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(Continued from p. 146.)

LXVIII.—VICTORY OF THE MUSLIMS OVER THE IDOLATERS.

When the accursed Sadasivavaraya observed the determination of the Muslims, his spirit was roused, and he sent forth 30,000 horse from the centre of his army against the Muslims, while his younger brother, Venkatadri, who commanded the right of the infidels, attacked the left of the allies under Ibrahim Quab Shah, which was beaten back, while Ali 'Adil Shah, in consequence of his former alliance with Sadasivavaraya, left the position allotted to him. The centre, however, under the command of Husain Nizam Shah, stood fast and manfully withstood the idolaters. Ikhlaq Khan again charged the enemy with his Iraki and Khurasani horse and did great execution among them. In fact, Ikhlaq Khan and Rum Khan were the heroes of the day. Rum Khan, who commanded the artillery of Ahmadnagar, brought up all the heavy and light guns on their carriages, and the rockets, and drew them up by order of Husain Nizam Shah, before the army, and kept up a heavy fire on the enemy.153

At this phase of the fight Husain Nizam Shah ordered the camp followers to set up his pavilion in front of the enemy. This pavilion was the king's great tent of state, and it was the custom of the Sultans of the Dakan, whenever they ordered this pavilion to be set up on the field of battle, to stand their ground without quitting the saddle until victory declared for them. The erection of this pavilion at this stage was not without danger to the king's honour, but when Sadasivavaraya saw that the pavilion was being set up, he lost heart and gave all up for lost. Nevertheless the Hindus charged repeatedly, and the defeat of the Muslims appeared inevitable when, in the heat of the conflict, one of the elephants charged Sadasivavaraya and slew his horse with its tusks.154 The Raya was thus dismounted at that time Rumi Khan and some of his men rode up and were about to kill him. Just then, Dalpat Ral, one of Sadasivavaraya's exiers cried out, 'Do not kill him, but carry him alive before Divan Barid, for he is Sadasivavaraya.' They therefore strictly bound the

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153 Other authorities agree that the wings, under Ali 'Adil Shah and Ibrahim Quab Shah were beaten back, and that it was Husain's steadfastness that saved the day. Some of the troops from the wings, seeing his standard still aloft, returned and rallied round him. His artillery was well served by Chalabi Rumi Khan and the most determined attack made by the Hindu centre was broken by a terrible discharge from Husain's guns, which had all been loaded to the muzzle with copper coin. Husain followed up his advantage by a furious charge (F. ii. 75, 251).

154 This account differs from that given by Firishta (ii. 76, 252), according to which Sadasivavaraya did not mount a horse but, when he saw the day going against him, left his throne and re-entered his litter One of Husain's war elephants, named Chalabi 'Ali, overthrew the litter, and its bearers fled, leaving Sadasivavaraya lying alone on the ground. The driver again directed the elephant towards the jewelled litter, with a view to securing it as a prize, when one of the Hindu King's Brhamans came forward and said, 'This is Sadasivavaraya. Find a horse for him and he will make you one of the greatest lords in his kingdom.' The driver, on learning who the captive was, caused his elephant to pick him up and carried him to Chalabi Rumi Khan, who sent him on to Husain Nizam Shah, by whose orders he was instantly beheaded. His head was raised aloft on a spear on the elephant which had brought him in, and the Hindu army, horrified at the sight, broke and fled. Husain Nizam Shah afterwards had the head stuffed with straw and sent to Tufal Khan of Berar as a warning. The statement that 'Ali Adil Shah wished to preserve the common enemy appears to be a slander. There is no other authority for it and there is no reason to believe that 'Ali, whose dominions marched with those of Vijayanagar, was not as anxious for the destruction of the Hindu kingdom as Husain could be.
chief of hell and carried him before Husain Nizam Shah. As soon as ‘Ali ‘Adil Shah heard of the capture of Sadashivaraya, he hastened to the spot with the design of releasing the accursed infidel, but Husain Nizam Shah, being aware that ‘Ali ‘Adil Shah would press for the Rayas release, which it would be folly to grant, and that a refusal to grant it would only lead to strife between the allies, and to the rupture of the alliance, issued orders for the execution of Sadashivaraya before ‘Ali ‘Adil Shah could arrive. His mischievous head was then severed from his foul body and was cast beneath the hoofs of the kings horse. It was then by the kings order placed on a spear and exhibited to the Hindu army, and the Muslims then charged the enemy who scattered and fled in all directions. Husain Nizam Shah pursued the fugitives and so many were put to the sword that the plain was strewn with their accursed bodies. According to the most moderate accounts, the number of the slain was nine thousand, but according to some accounts it much exceeded this number, and the remainder escaped with much difficulty, and fled in all directions, hiding like foxes in holes of the earth. The victors captured jewels, ornaments, furniture, camels, tents, camp equipage, drums, standards, maidservants, menservants, and arms and armour of all sorts in such quantities that the whole army was enriched.

Husain Nizam Shah prostrated himself in gratitude to God, and allowed the army to retain all the spoil except the elephants. The amirs and emirs tendered their humble congratulations on this glorious victory and all were rewarded with advancement. The secretaries then composed letters announcing the victory, which were sent to all parts of the world.

This glorious victory was gained on Friday, Jamadi-ul-dhahr 2, A.H. 972 (Jan. 4, 1565), and one of the learned men of the court composed the chronogram that is to say the date would be found by subtracting one from the total of the numerical value of the letters composing the sentence.

When ‘Ali ‘Adil Shah and Ibrahimm Qutb Shah became aware of the death of Sadashivaraya, who was, in truth, their support and stay, they bitterly repented of having entered into the alliance with Husain Nizam Shah, but since an arrow once let loose cannot be recalled, their repentance availed them nothing.

After this glorious victory, Husain Nizam Shah and the two noble Sultans who accompanied him, halted for ten days on the battlefield, collecting their booty and disposing of and slaying such of the infidels as fell into their hands (during this period), and then marched on to Vijayanagar and spent four months in that country, destroying the temples and dwellings of the idolaters and utterly laying waste all the buildings of the country. The three kings then set out on their return journey to their own kingdoms.

A.D. 1565. In the course of the return journey, Ibrahimm Qutb Shah, who was vexed with Mustafah Khan for the share which he had had in the execution of Sadashivaraya, his dissatisfaction with which has already been mentioned, said to Mustafah Khan in the course of conversation, ‘You have ever expressed a desire to make a pilgrimage to Makkah and the other

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155 This is a strangely modest computation. Firishta says that popular rumour placed the number of the slain at 300,000, but that it was in truth about 10,000. This, considering the dense masses of the Hindus, the deadly artillery fire, and the execution done by the Muhammadan cavalry among the halld clad Hindu infantry, as well in the battle as during the long pursuit, may well be believed.

156 The words of the chronogram seem to indicate that Sayyid ‘All’s date, Jamadi-ul-adhi 2, not 80, is correct, but the chronogram itself is wrong by two years. The numerical values of the letters give the total 975, subtracting one from which we get 974, whereas the date of the battle was 972.

157 The T.M.Q.S. agrees in this statement, but according to Firishta the pursuit was at once continued as far as Anagondi, fifteen miles from Vijayanagar.
holy places, now that you have attained your object here, you have an opportunity of departing.' Muṣṭafā Khān, who had long been apprehensive of evil from Ibrāhīm’s hasty and violent disposition, gladly seized this opportunity to assemble his horses, elephants and everything in this category, and joined the camp of Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh, in whose service he remained until the day of his death.158

Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh then pursued his leisurely way to his capital, eating, drinking, and making merry by the way. On his approaching the capital, the Sayyids, saints, great men, and the general public, came forth to greet him and to pray for his long life and prosperity, each man offering what he could. They were welcomed by the king and he then entered the fort of Ahmadnagar.

LXIX.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE DEATH OF ḤUSAIN NIẒĀM SHĀH.

When Abu-l-Muẓaffar Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh, after overthrowing the infidels, returned to his capital, he engaged himself in administering the affairs of his kingdom and also in gladdening his heart with the wine-cup and the society of lovely cup-bearers and fair damsels. His glory and bodily powers being now at their zenith, began to decline, and the wine which he took to gladden his heart injured his health, and he died.

After the king’s death, the learned men at court buried him with great mourning, in the Bāḏr-i-Niẓām, the burial place of his forefathers, and his remains were afterwards removed to Karbalā by his son, Murtazā Niẓām Shāh I, and there buried near the tomb of Imām ‘Abdullāh al-Ḥusain.

This calamity occurred on Wednesday, Zil-Qa’dah 7, A.H. 972 (June 6, 1563), the chronogram of Ashur Shabāb giving the date.159

Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh was a man of praiseworthy disposition and made a laudable end. Iṣlām rested under the shadow of his justice; learned men were happy and content under his protection, and all his subjects were at ease and in peace. He left two sons like the two great lights of heaven, each of whom came to the throne in his turn, as will be related hereafter. May God prolong the reign of his present majesty, the Sāḥib Qirān, the shadow of God, until the Resurrection. He left four daughters like the four elements, all of whom were married, viz., Chānd Bibi, Bibi ‘Jamāl, and Bibi Khadijah (the name of the fourth, Aqā Bibi is not given).160

LXX.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE REIGN OF ABU’L GHĪZĪ MURTAZA NIẒĀM SHAH I.

When the amirs and the chief officers of state had leisure from the mourning for, and the funeral ceremonies of Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh, they raised Murtazā Niẓām Shāh, as his eldest son, to the throne, and swore allegiance to him as their king. His formal enthronement was postponed, by the advice of the astrologers, to an auspicious time, but the amirs and vazirs, in order to set the minds of the army at rest, raised the umbrella and istābīqīr over his head and admitted the people to his presence in order that they might make their obeisance to him.

158 Muṣṭafā Khān entered the service of ‘Ali ‘Adil Shāh, not that of Husain Niẓām Shāh. He was murdered at Bankāpur, early in the reign of Ibrāhīm ‘Adil Shāh II, at the instigation of Khawār Khān.
159 Fīrishtā gives this chronogram (ii. 253) which gives the date 972, but does not give the day of Husain Niẓām Shāh’s death. The T.M.Q.S. gives the date given here.
160 Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh I left four sons and four daughters. By Bibi Khunza (Khūnčāda) Humayūn he had Murtazā, who succeeded him, and Bahān, afterwards Burhān Niẓām Shāh II, Chānd Bibi, married to ‘Ali ‘Adil Shāh I, and Bibi Khadijah, married to Jamāl ‘ud-dīn Ḥusain Injū. By Surya he had two sons, Shāh ‘Qāsim and Shāh Munsūr, and two daughters, Aqā Bibi, married to Mir ‘Abdul Wahiš, son of Sayyid ‘Abdul ‘Azīm, and Bibi ‘Jamāl, married to Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh.
Murtaza Nizam Shah in his youth avoided all business of state and gave himself up wholly to sensual pleasures, so that the business of the state fell upon the shoulders of his mother Khunzadah Humayun, who was the mother both of Murtaza Nizam Shah and of his present majesty, Barhan Nizam Shagh Farid Qirman, and the nobles and officers of state obeyed her in all things as though she had been king. She managed all affairs, whether of war or of peace, with wisdom and prudence.

At first she confirmed and continued Qasim Beg Hakim in the office of vakil and pishrada, which he had held in the reign of the late king, who had left Maulana Inayatullah in the territories of Vijayanagar with an army in order that he might capture the fortresses of Rakhur and Mudgal, but afterwards when Maulana Inayatullah returned from Vijayanagar, Qasim Beg, who was growing feeble with age, resigned his office and went into retirement in his house, while Inayatullah was appointed vakil and pishrada in his place.

Then Farhaz Khan, the African, who had formerly been one of Qasim Beg's slaves, and, having been patronized by the king, had become a vazir and an officer in the army, and had then, owing to a quarrel between himself and Chatu Khan the eunuch, become apprehensive, and had fled with some other vazirs to Gujarat, took Qasim Beg, who had been sent to allay the fears of Farhaz and his companions, to Gujarat. Qasim Beg died at the port of Surat. After a while Farhaz Khan, having received a safe conduct, returned to Ahmadnagar and re-entered the royal service, and Maulana Inayatullah, after holding the great offices of vakil and pishrada for some time, resigned them, and returned to the fortress of Lohaghar. Then Sayyid Shah Rafi'ud-din Husain, eldest son of the late Shah Tahir, was appointed vakil and pishrada, but was soon dismissed, and was succeeded by Taj Khan and Ain-ul-Mulk, brothers of Khunzah Humayun, who jointly held the offices of vakil and pishrada and usurped their sister's power and position in the state.

Seven months after the death of Husain Nizam Shah, on Sunday, Rajab 5, 973 (Jan. 26, 1566), which was the date selected by the astrologers, Murtaza was formally and ceremoniously enthroned and crowned, and the amirs and great officers of state saluted him and scattered largesse.

LXXI.—AN ACCOUNT OF 'ALI 'ADIL SHAH'S EXPEDITION AGAINST AHMADNAGAR AND OF ITS RESULTS.

When 'Ali 'Adil Shah heard of the death of Husain Nizam Shah and of Murtaza Nizam Shah's neglect of public business and devotion to sensual delights, he seized the opportunity of violating his treaty and of disregarding his connection by marriage with Murtaza Nizam Shah and, at the instigation of Kishwar Khan, who was then pishrada of the kingdom of Bijapur, invaded the kingdom of Ahmadnagar with an army of horse and foot.161

When news of the irruption was brought by spies to Khunzah Humayun, she considered that it would be wise to enter into treaties with the neighbouring rulers, and thus form a confederacy too strong for 'Ali 'Adil Shah. She therefore sent an envoy to Tufal Khan, who was then de facto ruler of Berar and had imprisoned the 'Imad Shahi family, the offspring

161 The treaty referred to was that made after the battle of Talikota, but Sayyid 'Ali gives an entirely false idea of the conduct of 'Ali 'Adil Shah, who was not the aggressor. After the battle of Talikota he took under his protection Timmala, son of Sadashivaraya, established him as ruler of Anagundi, and supported him against his uncle Venkatadri, who retired to Nagonda. When 'Ali led an army to Anagundi to support Timmala, Venkatadri appealed for help to Ahmadnagar and Khunzah Humayun and her son invaded 'Ali's dominions and prepared to besiege Bijapur. 'All hastened back from Anagundi and after a few indecisive combats the army of Ahmadnagar retired. These events happened in A.H. 973 (A.D. 1565-66)—F. ii. 77, 78, 254. Firisha says nothing of Tufal Khan or Ibrahim Qutb Shah having joined Murtaza Nizam Shah, and it is most improbable that they did so.
of his benefactors, and was considering the advisability of entering the service of Ahmaddnagar, to propose an offensive and defensive alliance and to appoint a place where he might meet the forces of Ahmaddnagar for the purpose of acting in concert with them. At the same time the army of Ahmaddnagar marched towards the frontier of Berar for the purpose of concluding a treaty of friendship. Tufal Khan at first turned a deaf ear to the proposals of the envoy, but when he heard of the approach of Khunzah Humayun with the army of Ahmaddnagar he set forth with a large army to join Murtaza Nizam Shah and marched with him towards Telingana, while an envoy was sent in advance to Ibrahim Quvb Shah to invite him to join the confederacy. Ibrahim Quvb Shah responded at once, joined the army of Ahmaddnagar with his army, and renewed his treaty with Ahmaddnagar. The three allied armies then marched against Ali 'Adil Shah.

When Ali 'Adil Shah heard that Tufal Khan and Ibrahim Quvb Shah had joined Murtaza Nizam Shah, he abandoned all idea of sustaining a conflict and of acquiring military fame, and began a retreat. The allied armies then invaded Bijdapur and plundered the country, destroying or carrying off the crops and devastating habitations.

Ali 'Adil Shah retreated from place to place in order to escape the invaders, and was perpetually on the march. When the allies reached Bijdapur, several of the amirs of Ahmaddnagar, such as Inayatullah, who was then vakil and pishad, Farhad Khan, Ghali Khan, Kamila Khan, Miyani Manju, and Ranghar Khan, carried fire and sword even to the glacis of the fort, slaying many of the Bijdapuri army. The garrison which Ali 'Adil Shah had left to defend the town and fortress defended the place to the best of their ability, and there was great slaughter on both sides.

When the king (or Khunzah Humayun) realized that Ali 'Adil Shah would not meet the allies in the field, and Ali 'Adil Shah had, in fact, by means of agents in the allied armies, sued for peace, and had expressed his repentance for what he had done, Khunzah Humayun consented to the conclusion of peace; and after the terms had been arranged, the army returned to Ahmaddnagar, Ibrahim Quvb Shah and Tufal Khan departing for their own territories in the course of the homeward march.

LXXII.—An account of the alliance of Ali 'Adil Shah with Murtaza Nizam Shah against Tufal Khan, and the termination of the alliance in strife and enmity.

After the return of the army to Ahmaddnagar, it occurred to Ali 'Adil Shah that it would be well to make an insincere peace with Murtaza Nizam Shah and to utilize him for wreaking his vengeance on Tufal Khan. He therefore sent an envoy to Ahmaddnagar to express his desire for mutual friendship and for meeting Murtaza Nizam Shah in order that the old treaties between Ahmaddnagar and Bijdapur might be renewed and that the two kingdoms might make common cause against their common enemies. The amirs and officers of Ahmaddnagar, who regarded peace with Bijdapur as the best policy at that time, ensured a favourable reception for the envoy and sent him away with all his requests granted. The two kings then set out to meet one another and met at the fortress of Ausa. Here the two kings renewed and revived the treaties of peace and friendship which had aforesaid existed between the kingdoms of Ahmaddnagar and Bijdapur, and agreed to make war upon Tufal Khan of Berar, who had rebelled against his master and had possessed himself of the kingdom of Berar, and to set the Imam Shahi family free from his domination. Farhad Khan, with a corps from the army.

162 Here again Sayyid Ali's account is most misleading. He makes it appear that Ali 'Adil Shah wished to take vengeance on Tufal Khan for having joined Murtaza Nizam Shah against him, whereas it was Khunzah Humayun who proposed the expedition, the object of which was to punish Tufal Khan for having failed, from enmity to Ahmaddnagar, to join the Muhammadan alliance that had crushed Vijayanagar. The expedition was undertaken in A.D. 1566-67 (F. ii. 78).
of Ahmadnagar and Diləvar Khan with a corps from the army of Bijapur were sent forward into Berar as an advanced guard, and took possession of some of the districts and villages of that country after many conflicts with Tufal Khan’s troops, while the armies of Ahmadnagar and Bijapur under Murtaza Nizam Shah and ‘Ali Adil Shah, followed them.

When Tufal Khan became aware that the army of Ahmadnagar (and the army of Bijapur) had invaded his territories, he realized that he could not meet them in the field and, with the remnant of his own wretched followers, took refuge in the fort of Gawil, which was one of the strongest fortresses in Berar. The armies of Ahmadnagar surrounded the fortress and laid siege to it, but ‘Ali ‘Adil Shah, ignoring his treaty with Murtaza Nizam Shah, and breaking his pact with him, thereby disgracing himself, entered into secret negotiations with Tufal Khan, from whom he received 100,000 hams and 50 elephants as the price of a breach with Murtaza Nizam Shah.

‘Ali ‘Adil Shah, having been thus bribed, proposed that the suppression of Tufal Khan should be postponed, and that the allies should first attack Ibrahim Qutb Shah and should afterwards devote their attention to Tufal Khan. The amirs of Ahmadnagar were not aware of ‘Ali ‘Adil Shah’s duplicity and, as his proposal appeared to them to be sound policy, they abandoned the siege of Gawil and, with ‘Ali ‘Adil Shah, retreated one day’s march; and of the amirs of Ahmadnagar, Ikhlas Khan, ‘Aziz-ul-Mulk, and ‘Ain-ul-Mulk were appointed to command the troops to be dispatched against the kingdom of Ibrahim Qutb Shah. It so happened, however, that some of the Bargis and other officers of the army of Bijapur attacked the baggage of the army of Ahmadnagar, and fighting ensued between them and the troops of Mansur Khan, one of the chief amirs of Ahmadnagar who was on baggage guard that day. Mansur Khan was slain in the fight and there was much slaughter on both sides. When Khunjah Humayun learnt of the aggression of the Bijapuris and of Mansur Khan’s death, her wrath knew no bounds and she determined to attack the enemy who had appeared in the garb of a friend. Miyana Manjhub and other officers of Ahmadnagar set themselves to alyay the strife, which could not but result in the wasting of the kingdom of Ahmadnagar, and it was at last settled that ‘Ali ‘Adil Shah should first retreat and march for his own country and that the royal army should then return to Ahmadnagar. Thus strife between the armies was allayed, the further outpouring of the blood of Muslims was prevented, and the two armies returned, each to its own country.163

After these occurrences, the treaties of peace and alliance between Murtaza Nizam Shah and Tufal Khan were renewed and confirmed, and the two rulers marched against ‘Ali ‘Adil Shah; but he, not venturing to encounter the two armies, retreated before them, and the army of Ahmadnagar again marched to Bijapur. One day, as Maulana ‘Inayatullah, who was now vakil and pishwa, Farhad Khan, Kamil Khan, ‘Alib Khan and other officers of the army were going about the fortress of Bijapur to view it, the garrison left by ‘Ali ‘Adil Shah to defend the fortress suddenly attacked them, and a desperate battle ensued, in which very many of the army of Ahmadnagar were slain, many elephants were captured and the army of Ahmadnagar was defeated and dispersed. When the remnant of the defeated army reached its camp, Khunjah Humayun retreated to Ahmadnagar.164

(To be continued.)

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163 Firista says nothing about any active hostilities between the armies of Bijapur and Ahmadnagar, though relations must have been strained. Tufal Khan was the enemy of Ahmadnagar rather than of Bijapur, and Firista admits that he bribed ‘Ali ‘Adil Shah with large presents to make peace, but adds that the two armies retired from Berar together and apparently without any open rupture. The approach of the rainy season, when campaigning on the heavy black soil of the Dukan was almost impossible, was usually regarded as a sufficient excuse for the cessation of hostilities.—P. ii. 78, 254.

164 Firista does not mention this expedition to Bijapur, but says that in A.H. 975 (A.D. 1567-68) Mu‘ammad Kishvar Khan of Bijapur captured some of the frontier districts and fortresses of the Ahmadnagar kingdom.—P. ii. 78, 254. It is extremely improbable that Tufal Khan should have allied himself with Ahmadnagar against Bijapur.
CHAPTER III.

REVENUE AND FINANCE.

Ranade was not the only scholar to point out that "Like the first Napoleon, Shivaji in his time was a great organiser, and a builder of civil institutions." Scott Waring writing in the first decade of the 19th century observes "While Sevajee carried on his predatory warfare he was not inattentive to the growing interest of the state. The lands in the Konkan were secured and defended." That was not all. The lands were secured and defended and suitable measures were taken for the extension of cultivation and improvement of agriculture. Jervis tells us that according to the popular traditions, Shivaji's subjects enjoyed plenty though not peace. "In the midst of all this confusion, warfare, and general disloyalty, the state of the revenue and population is said to have prospered." The reason is not hard to find out, Shivaji's introduced a flexible system, that long survived his dynasty's overthrow, and as Mr. Pringle Kennedy says—"The peasant knew what he had to pay and he seems to have been able to pay this without any great oppression."

It is certainly very creditable of the great Maratha soldier that his subjects should enjoy plenty while the country was harried and plundered by the ruthless Moghul soldiery, and should multiply though a remorseless war was scattering death on all sides. But all that Shivaji had to do was to follow in the footsteps of another great man. It is true that Shivaji cannot claim originality. But originality is not an indispensable factor in statesmanship. All that is expected from a statesman is that he should discern the needs of his time and adopt suitable measures to meet them. Whether these measures are his own (or not) does not matter. Sir Robert Peel simply accepted the ideas of his political opponents when he abolished the Corn Laws, but that does not in the least affect his reputation as a statesman. Akbar, one of the greatest of Indian rulers, frequently revived the long forgotten measures of some of his less known predecessors, and with what effect is known to us all. Shivaji also had the keen discernment of a statesman and he could appreciate the good points, as he was fully aware of the defects, of the existing government. He found that Malik Ambar's revenue system, with a few slight modifications, would suit his country best, and he revived the system without any hesitation.

What Todar Mal did for the north, Malik Ambar did for the south. The great foreigner who had served his adopted country so well had to work almost under the same circumstances as Shivaji. While defending his master's tottering kingdom against the Moghul onslaughts, the great Abyssynian had to reorganise its exhausted resources. He worked with an open mind and adopted the revenue system of his enemies. On the eve of its fall the

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87 Ranade's R.M.F., p. 115. 88 Scott Waring's Hist. of the Mahrattas, pp. 96-97.
91 Shivaja made no secret of it. See Rajwade M.I.S., Vol. XVIII, p. 33.
92 Bombay Gazetteer, Poona Volume.
Nigamshahi kingdom saw a set of excellent regulations, but there was no one after Malik Ambar to work them out. Like Todar Mal he divided the arable lands into four separate classes, according to fertility, ascertained their produce, roughly, it is true, and fixed the assessment, once for all. He, however, did not want the peasants to pay in kind. While a fixed permanent assessment was made, a commutation or money price was also fixed for ever. Malik Ambar can therefore be justly called the Cornwallis of Southern India. After fixing a money rent, Malik turned his attention to the collecting agency. With one stroke of his pen he did away with the intermediate revenue agency which had been gradually assuming the character of a farming system. He then made the Pajils and other revenue officers hereditary, but at the same time made them responsible for the full realisation of the Government dues. Such, in short, was Malik Ambar’s revenue system, and as some of Shahaji’s Jagirs had previously formed part of the Nigamshahi dominions, the people there were not unfamiliar with it. Nor was there any lack of officials who had seen it in its actual working. Dadaji Kondivde, when he reclaimed the waste lands of his master’s jagir, did nothing but revive the wise regulations of the great Abyssinian.

But Shivaji was no blind imitator. He was, if anything, a lover of strict method. And Malik Ambar’s system, in certain respects, lacked it. While therefore accepting its principles, Shivaji did not commit himself to all its details. Malik Ambar had not carefully surveyed the lands, and the survey work was fraught with many difficulties more or less serious. There were different standards and units of measurement, and Shivaji had first to find out a standard unit before he could order a systematic survey. Then again, accurate measurement was impossible with a rope. The length of a rope was liable to slight variations in different seasons. So the measuring rope had to be rejected. Some Muhammadan rulers had substituted the “tenah” or measuring chain for the rope. But Shivaji replaced it by a kathi or measuring rod. The kathi was to be five cubits and five fists (mughis) in length. The length of the regulation rod was fixed in tensus also. Twenty rods square made a bigha and one-hundred and twenty bighas a chauhar. The unit of measurement being thus fixed, Shivaji ordered a survey settlement, and the work of surveying Konkan was entrusted to no less an officer than the celebrated Annaji Datto, afterwards Shivaji’s Sachiv.

It can be safely asserted that the survey work was done with the utmost care. Annaji Datto, for example, refused to rely on irresponsible government officials, whose lack of local knowledge and necessary energy disqualified them for the work. He therefore issued circular letters to village officers urging them to undertake this important work with the co-operation of some of their co-villagers, whose interests were directly involved. A copy of this old circular

83 See Bombay Gazetteer, Poona volume and Jervis, pp. 68-69.
84 Bombay Gazetteer, Poona volume.
85 Jervis enumerates the following—The gochurma or oxhide of land, the turub or plough land, secondly the khundee of land, the mousa, the mun, the kharika and so forth, that is lands requiring a khundee, mousa, mun, kharika and so forth of seed to sow them, by which rule the produce was estimated and the Government share fixed—Jervis, pp. 38-37.
86 See Sahmused, p. 32.
letter has come down to us, and has been deciphered and published by Mr. V. K. Rajwade. As this is the only documentary evidence of the manner in which the Bighoni survey of Konkan was conducted by Anniji, I think it will not be out of place to quote the document here in full.

A kaumlamil from Rajahri Anniji Datto to the Deshmukh, and Deshulkarni and Mokdam, Patil and Rayas of Tarf Rohikhore in the Subha of Maval, dated Surusan Tiss Sabain Alaf (1673). You came to the presence at camp Lakhevadi and (represented) that in the Vatani districts of His Majesty, the Rayats should be encouraged by the confirmation of their Kauml and fixing the rent of the lands. Having confidence * * * and taking into consideration the remissions made we grant to the following terms for the land. From the year San Saman (it is the practice to realise) half the produce, from the last year the lands were remeasured according to the Bighoni system and the rent was revised and it was settled that of the lands * * * * the inspection (Pahani) of what parcels had one year been made, and the revision completed, and a plot originally a first class land had (now) deteriorated, then * * * such a settlement was not made after an understanding with the Rayats. Therefore you petitioned that a settlement should be made (about the rent). Thereupon the following agreement is made that in the present year * * * * was almost over, and the last one month only remained * * * The agreement about the rent of San Sabsina * * * * the (produce) should be estimated, such was the agreement made. If some Brahman or Praabhu Karkuns are appointed this work, then what will those lethargic people do? Into how many blocks are village lands divided, what are the crops grown in the village, what rent should be realised, what (of those) poor men (know about that) * * Therefore, as you are the responsible officers of your district (this work has been) * * * thrown upon you. Therefore you should from to-day * * * * perform the survey work of your district. For this work, the Deshmukh and the Deshulkarni and the Mokdam and officers * * * accompanied by a few Rayats, should with one accord go from village to village and ascertain that the produce of such a village is so much, the land (in it) * * * * * is so much of the (arable) land the first, second and third class (plots) * * * * * are so many. After carefully ascertaining (these things) and making an estimate of the crop grown, you should after a proper enquiry find out what may be the probable produce if (more) labour is applied, and put that amount (under) that class of lands. * * * * you should make your estimate after examining (proper) evidence, in the following manner that at a certain place Malik Ambar’s (estimated) produce was so much, and that the autumn or the first harvest of the first, second, third and the fourth class lands is so much, and the second or the vernal crop is so much. After determining the (produce of) the two harvests, you should state that in so many Bighas is such and such crop (cultivated). After making these entries (under the heading) of each particular village, if there are a few peasants * * * * then according to the above order, you should make an estimate of produce of the whole Tape, whether inland revenue or village dues and to do this work, time of a year from to-day, has been given to you. You must in the meantime, inspect the whole Tape, village by village, field to field and carefully ascertain their yield and write to me. I shall (thereafter come and inspect three villages of three different) sorts in your Tape one * * hilly, one marshy and one with black soil * * * and the villages near their boundary having been inspected according to the practice of the Karkuns. * * * having corrected (and) (comparing that I) * * * your total and what may be the produce of one village * * * and making it ready according to that. * * * if the total under each item becomes 1, 1 or double as much then in that way * * * 1, 1 and double * * * having been proved correct and you are to (realise accordingly) * * * should do if * * * * do so then * * * it will be all right if it tallies * * * settlement
settlement to be made agree (agreement) to this effect has been made we are agreeable the cultivation of the District Give such an assurance from the Huzur.67

It is a pity that time has not left this document intact, and the rotten and torn borders of the paper, with the indistinct letters, have made it impossible for Mr. Rajwade to decipher all the words. Many gaps have yet to be filled up mainly by conjecture. But it appears from what has been read, that the estimate of these village officers was not accepted without a proper examination. Annājī Datto himself revised their work. In every district, he visited at least one village of each description, estimated its yield and then compared his own figure with the figure submitted by the village worthies. It was the interest of these villagers not to overestimate the possible revenue, consequently the king alone was the only losing party if any error in these estimates, remained undetected.

It is to be noted that this circular letter was issued in 1678, only two years before Shivaji's death. It is therefore clear that this survey settlement could not have been finished in his life time and had in all probability commenced late in his reign. Before discussing the principles of the assessment made on this occasion, we should try to find out what taxes, cesses and extra duties (or abwab) an ordinary peasant was expected to pay in the earlier days of Shivaji and before his time.

We have, however, no ready-made list of these taxes and cesses like the one enumerating the cesses and duties of the Peshwa period that Elphinstone gives us. We can, however, frame a fairly complete list, for the Pre-peshwa period also, from the Sanad or grant deeds published in Mr. V. K. Rajwade's Marathyancha Itihasanachi Sadhanen, Mawji and Parasnis's Sanads and Letters and the transactions of the Bharat Itihas Sanshodhak Mandal. No less than fifty taxes and abwab, and cesses have been mentioned in these papers. They were—

2. Farmāysi—A tax first levied by the Moghul officers. It was generally levied for purchasing local products ordered by the Emperor.
3. Belekaṭi—perhaps an abwab levied on the stone workers.
4. Payposi—cannot be positively identified—probably a tax paid in kind by the shoe makers. The shoe makers claimed the special right of paying their dues in kind.68
5. Mejbāni—literally dinner tax.
6. Mohimpaṭi—Expedition cess—a similar tax is mentioned by Kautilya.
8. Telpaṭi—Oil cess—perhaps levied for illumination on festive occasions.
9. Tup—A tax in kind levied perhaps from manufacturers of ghee.
10. Faski—A toll levied on green vegetable sellers.
11. Sādilvār.
12. Tutpaṭi.
13. Id Subrāti—Jervis thinks this was a tax in kind paid by oilmen for illumination on the occasion of Id.
15. Uṭ—A cess levied on transport camels.
16. Āmbe—A tax levied on the produce of mango trees.
17. Kārujāti.

18. Hejib—literally means an envoy. It is however not clear whether this extra cess was levied for entertaining foreign envoys or for meeting the expense of sending an embassy to a foreign court.

19. Pathevari—Is it Patwari—tax levied for village officers?
20. Ashvajakati—Tax on transport horses? or Duty on sale of horse?
22. Barhad Takal—?
23. Sel Bail—A duty on transport cattle.
24. Jangampati—A jangam is a Lingiyet. It is a tax levied on the jangams.
25. Peskasi—same as the peshkash of the Moghul period.
26. Pa Kike Humayun—Kike is a seal. This tax must be analogous to Bat chhapa of the Peshwa period.
27. Kar{i} Humayun—Tax levied for celebrating the royal birth day.
28. Thanehej.
29. Dasrapati.
30. Huzur Bhuj.
31. Helpati.
32. Ahisthun.
33. Virahisthun.
34. Mohtarfa—A tax on shop-keepers. Many cesses, however, fall under this general heading.
35. Thaljakati—Customs Duties levied on things while in transit across country.
36. Palbhara—may be a tax on green vegetables.
37. Ulphapati—a religious cess.
38. Bakrid.
39. Sardeshmukhapati—same as Sardeshmukhi.
40. Mushahira—same as Rasad of the Moghul rulers.
41. Gavkhanda.
42. Dini—a tax on grain.
43. Pasodji—A piece of blanket exacted from every Dhangar who manufactured it.
44. Tejibheji.
45. Jhudihaodoja—a cess in kind levied on the fruits of village trees. Generally collected at the rate of one per hundred mangoes or tamarinds.
46. Bargar.
47. Inampati—an occasional tax imposed in times of exigency on Inamdars.
48. Akhdukdivani.
49. Kar Imarat—A tax to meet building expenses.
50. Vihir huja—an extra tax on lands watered from wells.

Mention is made of another abeab Sinhsanpafi or coronation tax levied at the time of Shivaji’s coronation.69 Most of these taxes do not appear on Elphinstone’s list and had been abolished by Shivaji.

Annaji Datto at first fixed the rent at 33 p.c. of the gross produce.70 But Shivaji afterwards demanded a consolidated rent of 40 p.c. when all the taxes and extra cesses had been abolished. Neither Tagai nor the Istaba principle were unknown in his time. The latter system can be traced even to the days of Kulluka Bhata71 and the former was very common under the Moghul government. Cattle should be given to the new Rayats that may come. Grain and money for (buying) seeds should be given. Grain and money should be given for their

maintenance, and the sum should be realised in two or four years according to the means of (the debtor).” In this way, says Sabhasad, new settlers were encouraged to come and settle in Shivaji’s dominions. We have seen how easy terms were offered by the Peshwas inviting immigrants, especially for encouraging new industries and for founding a new market town. Rent free land was granted for the latter purpose by Shivaji’s minister Moro Pingle. It is also certain that though extra cesses had been abolished the customs duties were retained. No one could travel without a passport from a competent authority, and Fryer mentions a customs officer stationed at Kalyan.

We know, from many published documents, how much the peasant had to pay for each bigha he cultivated, during the Peshwa period. No such document of Shivaji’s time has, however, come down to us. Major Jervis has quoted exact figures, in his book on Konkan, but from what sources we do not know. It will not, however, be improper to quote these figures here, and the reader may accept them for what they are worth. Says Jervis,—“It is commonly believed indeed that he (Shivaji) measured and classified all the lands, and then ascertainment the amount of their produce from one or two villages from each Muhal of the Puchtigurh, Rajpooree, Rygyurh, Soowardroog, Unjunvel, Ratnagiri, and Veejdroog Districts, for three successive years, from which data he established the rates, half in kind, half at a fixed commutation rate differing in each Taluka, to be paid by the Beegah of each sort of land. The classification of the rice lands, mule, or hemp, under 12 heads; the four first still retaining their former well known distinctions. Uwul, first and the best sort; Doom or Dooyom second sort; Seem, third sort; Charoom or Charseem, fourth sort. The first was assessed at 12½ muns.; the second at 10, the third at 8, the fourth at 6½ muns. The remaining eight descriptions of land went by the following names, discriminating their respective qualities, and were assessed at the annexed rates. 1st Raupearl, on which small stunted brush wood grows; 2nd Khurwat, lands in the neighbourhood of the sea or rivers, sometimes called salt bhatty lands; 3rd Bawul, rocky soil; 4th Khuree, stony soil; 5th Kurriyat or Toorwat, lands cultivated with pulse, hemp etc.; 6th Manut, lands with roots of large trees still uncleaned, as near Indapur and Goregaon.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Land Type</th>
<th>Beegahs per Bigha</th>
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<tr>
<td>Raupearl</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kharwut</td>
<td>7½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bawul</td>
<td>6½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khuree</td>
<td>6½</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kureyat 1st sort</td>
<td>6½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rutoo</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toorwut or Kathanee</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manut</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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Subsequently the wretched cultivators have planted small spots on the most rocky eminences, wherever a little water lodged, and the least portion of soil favoured the growth of rice, this is frequent about Unjunvel and Ratnagiri Telookas and have been classed under two heads both called Strwat the former assessed at 3½ muns.; the latter the half of that; the produce of the first kind would be about 16 bushels per beegah.”

(To be continued.)

72 Sabhasad, p. 32.
73 Rajwade, M.I.S., Vol. XX, p. 98.
74 “Till on the right, within a mile or more of Gullean they yield possession to the neighbouring Sevagi, at which city (the key this way into that rebel’s country), Wind and tide favouring us, we landed at about nine in the morning, and were civility treated by the customer in his choultry; till the Havahdar could be acquainted of my arrival.”—Fryer, p. 123.
75 For these figures, see Jervis, pp. 94-97.
THE HISTORY OF THE NIZÁM SHAHí KINGS OF AHMADNAGAR.

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL T. W. HAIG, C.S.I., C.M.G., C.B.E.

(Continued from p. 186.)

LXXIII—An Account of the Alliance between Ibráhím Qutb Sháh and Murtaḍá Nizám Sháh and of its Rupture owing to the Machinations of Misled Fomenters of Strife.

When Ibráhím Qutb Sháh heard of the rupture which had occurred between Murtaḍá Nizám Sháh and ‘Ali ʿÁdil Sháh in the course of their expedition against Tufáil Khán, he sent an envoy to Ahmadnagar for the purpose of settling the terms of an alliance between Ahmadnagar and Golconda. The envoy disclosed some of the duplicity of ‘Ali ʿÁdil Sháh and conveyed expressions, which were supported by the strongest oaths and assurances, of Ibráhím Qutb Sháh’s friendship. The letter which he brought urged Murtaḍá Nizám Sháh to march from his capital against ‘Ali ʿÁdil Sháh, saying that the fortress of Bijápúr was in a ruinous state and that ‘Ali ʿÁdil Sháh was devoting all his time and attention to rebuilding it. Ibráhím Qutb Sháh promised that if Murtaḍá Nizám Sháh would march against Bijápúr, he, the son of Eltamraj, ruler of Vijayanagar, and Tufáil Khán of Berar would join him and would unite with him in besieging Bijápúr. Khánzâh Humáyûn, being disgusted with the duplicity and bad faith of ‘Ali ʿÁdil Sháh, agreed to the proposals of Ibráhím Qutb Sháh and at once marched from Ahmadnagar, without halting by the way, to the banks of the Krishna, which was the meeting place agreed upon. Here both Ibráhím Qutb Sháh and the son of Eltamraj joined the army of Ahmadnagar, and were honoured by being permitted to pay their duty to Murtaḍá Nizám Sháh.165

When ‘Ali ʿÁdil Sháh became aware of the great strength of the army of Ahmadnagar and of its having been joined by Ibráhím Qutb Sháh and the son of Eltamraj, he realized that he could not withstand it in the field and therefore set himself by fraud and artifice to cause dissension between the allies. By means of his guile he succeeded in detaching Ibráhím Qutb Sháh from Ahmadnagar and in attaching him to himself, thus inducing him to break his treaty with Murtaḍá Nizám Sháh.

Ibráhím Qutb Sháh, being thus beguiled by ‘Ali ʿÁdil Sháh, deserted the camp of the allies at midnight and marched on Golconda, and on the following morning, at daybreak, the news was brought to Murtaḍá Nizám Sháh; and Khánzâh Humáyûn, having taken counsel of the officers of state, resolved to retreat to Ahmadnagar. News was now received that Ibráhím Qutb Sháh had aggravated his perfidy by attacking and plundering a convoy which was on its way to the royal army. This news confirmed Khánzâh Humáyûn in her resolution of retreating, and the army of Ahmadnagar retreated from its encampment to the distance of one day’s march on its homeward journey, and halted. That night the enemy’s infantry attacked the camp in great numbers and there was great bloodshed until the breaking of the day. When the day broke, the king ordered that fortifications should be thrown up around the camp and should be garrisoned by infantry, artillery, and archers, in order that strangers might have no access to the camp, nor egress therefrom. These orders were carried out and the enemy who attacked the camp were seized and put to death. In the same

165 The alliance between Ahmadnagar and Golconda and the expedition to Bijápúr, here described, are not recorded in their proper place. It was in a. h. 977 (A.D. 1569-70), after Murtaḍá had imprisoned his mother, Khánzâh Humáyûn, and when he was marching against Kishvar Khán of Bijápúr, who had occupied Kach, near Bir, and had built the fort of Dârûr, that Murtaḍá sought aid of Ibráhím Qutb Sháh. It is impossible to fit in Sayyid ‘Ali’s account with the events which happened at this time.

—K. ii. 78, 79, 238, 336.
manner the enemy, being upon the flanks and rear of the royal army during its march, attacked them, putting to death many of the sick men of the army and of the baggage guard. It was then ordered that some of the amirs with their troops and with the royal guard should use the greatest vigilance in protecting the sick and the baggage guard and should repulse the enemy whenever they appeared. These orders were carried out and the marauders were slain whenever they appeared.

Suddenly, in the course of the march, news was received that the army of Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh had appeared in force on the left, which was under the command of Dastūr Khān and Khudavand Khān Jatā Khānī, and had attacked it, and that heavy fighting was going on between them and Dastūr Khān and Khudavand Khānī. By the royal command, Miyan Manjhu Khān Begi with his troops hastened to the aid of Dastūr Khān and Khudavand Khān and fought so bravely that the army of Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh was defeated. Meanwhile, however, news was received that Muqarrab Khān and Salābat Khān, with a force from Qutb Shāh’s army, had attacked the right wing of the royal army, under the command of Kāmil Khān and other amirs, and that the battle was now raging in that quarter. Mutamad Khān, Sur-i-Naubat, who was then in attendance on the king, was sent to the assistance of Kāmil Khān, and it was also ordered that Miyan Manjhu, as soon as he had beaten off the enemy on the left wing, should march to the right wing and assist Kāmil Khān in repulsing the enemy there.

Mutamad Khān and Miyan Manjhu with their troops joined Kāmil Khān, and the three commanders with their combined forces attacked the Qutb Shāhī troops with great valour, defeated them, and repulsed them with great slaughter. Mutamad Khān Sur-i-Naubat was slain in the fight and Kāmil Khān was wounded, but victory remained, nevertheless, with the troops of the king, and on the death of Muqarrab Khān Qutb Shāhī, who was slain, the hearts of his troops failed them, and they fled and were dispersed.

After thus dispersing and punishing his enemies, the king proceeded in peace on his way to Aḥmadnagar.

LXXIV.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE QUARRELS, INSTIGATED AND FOMENTED BY ENVIOUS TRAITORS, WHICH AROSE BETWEEN KHŪNZAH HUMĀYŪN AND THE KING MURTĀZĀ NĪĀM SHĀH.

It has already been mentioned that at the beginning of the reign of Murtāzā Nīām Shāh the whole of the business of state was carried on by the queen-mother Khūnzah Humāyūn, owing to the king’s devotion to sensual pleasures, in which he spent all his time. Khūnzah Humāyūn devoted the whole of her time, except what was spent in religious duties, to public business, and conducted the administration with great wisdom and ability. The queen-mother, at the beginning of the reign, wisely appointed a learned man, remarkable for his virtue, veracity, and good birth as tutor to the young king, in order that he might be instructed in religion, in holy law, in the Qur’an and the traditions, and in wise precepts, and might be weaned from his fleshly lusts. Her choice fell on the learned Maulānā Ḥusain Tabrizi, who afterwards received the title of Khānkhānān. He, in a short time, gained great influence over the king and was distinguished above all the servants of the court by becoming the repository of his secrets, being never absent from his presence, night or day, or in public or in private. When he had thus gained entire influence over the king, ambition and the desire of place and power entered his heart, and forgetting what was for his soul’s good, he listened to the temptations of the devil and schemed to obtain the appointment of vakil and pishkūd, regardless of the dangers which lay ahead, until at length he suffered what he suffered.
This faithless and treacherous servant told the king in secret that kingship resembled divinity, in that it admitted of no participant, and that in spite of the great power and influence of Khünzah Humayûn in the state, which were so evident and notorious as to stand in need of no proof, the affairs of state were not progressing as they should. He added that it was well known that the queen-mother was much attached to the prince and that the king would act wisely in depriving her of all power as soon as possible. The traitor so worked on the king’s feelings that he believed that this advice tended to his interest and accepted it. Maulânâ ‘Husain Tabrizi then, forgetting all that he owed to the queen-mother, employed a band of ruffians to seize and imprison both Khünzah Humayûn and the prince.

Informers gave news of the conspiracy to Khünzah Humayûn and she issued orders that the conspirators should be seized. Some even say that the king, in the extreme simplicity of his heart, disclosed the whole affair to her. Be this as it may; the secret was discovered and the conspirators fled and concealed themselves. Among them were Khvâja Mirak, the Dâbir, who afterwards received the title of Changiz Khan and rose to be the king’s sâkid, and Sayyid Murtaza, who eventually became Amîr-ul-Umar of Burar, as will be related. These men, in fear of their lives, fled and took refuge with ‘Ali ‘Adil Shâh. After a while they returned, were readmitted to the royal service, and were distinguished by unmistakable marks of the royal favour. After these events the king again, at the instigation of turbulent men, laid plans for seizing Malîka-i-Jahân (Khünzah Humayûn).

In a.h. 970 (a.d. 1562) Kishvar Khan, the ‘Adil Shâh, marched towards the Ahmadnagar dominions with a large army and laid the foundations of a fortress at the village of Dûrûr. Khünzah Humayûn, with the king, the amirs, and officers of state, and the whole army, marched from the capital with the object of meeting the enemy, and encamped in the village of Dhanora, near the capital. Tâj Khan and ‘Ain-ul-Mulk, who were the brothers of Khünzah Humayûn, and were two of the most important men in the state, were encamped in the village of Jaichand, which was no more than three or four leagues distant from the royal camp, and although repeated messages were sent to them enjoining them to join the royal camp, they omitted to obey them. The conspirators then gained over Farhûd Khan and some other officers of state, and on Rabî‘ul-awwal 19, a.h. 970 (Nov. 16, a.d. 1562), by the royal command, appointed Habash Khan, one of the amirs of the court, to arrest Khünzah Humayûn. That bold and fearless man hesitated not to commit this act of treason and ingratitude, and entered the queen-mother’s pavilion without ceremony and caused her to be violently thrust into a litter. She was then handed over to Tîbîr Khan and others.

167 This account of Murtaza Nîγm Shâh’s first abortive attempt to free himself from the subjection in which he was kept by his mother, whose influence in the state was most mischievous, does not differ materially from that given by Firishta (ii, 253), except that according to his account the leaders of the conspiracy were Shâh Jamâl-ud-din Hussain Injû, Qasim Beg Hakim, Shâh Ahmad, and Murtaza Khan, nephew of Jamâl-ud-din Hussain Injû. Khünzah Humayûn had bestowed about half the lands in the kingdom on her brothers ‘Ain-ul-Mulk and Tâj Khan, and other relatives, who failed to maintain their contingents. Consequently there were no troops to oppose to Kishvar Khan of Bijapur when he invaded the country and established himself at Dûrûr. The ‘ruffians’ to whom was entrusted the task of arresting Khünzah Humayûn were the African amirs, Farhûd Khan and ‘Abdul-Îlah Khan. The plot was discovered owing to the pusillanimity of the young king, who, when his mother sent for him to speak to him on business, concluded that she had discovered the plot and was about to depose him, and confessed everything.

168 This date is wrong by seven years, perhaps owing to a scribe’s error. Hussain Nîγm Shâh I did not die until Zîl-Qu’a’dh 7, a.h. 972 (June 6, 1565); it was not until a.h. 975 (a.d. 1567-68) that Kishvar Khan of Bijapur established himself in Dûrûr; and it was in a.h. 977 that Murtaza Nîγm Shâh succeeded in shaking off his mother’s yoke. If the day of the month given below is correct, it was on Sep. 1, 1567, that Khünzah Humayûn was arrested.
and removed to Daulatábád. The prince who was at that time barely ten, or, according to another account, twelve years of age, was also imprisoned, and was sent to Shīnver. ‘Ain-ul-Mulk and Tāj Khán, who had always been intimately associated with the administration of the state and of the army, were not then present at court, and the king, therefore, appointed Khvāja Mirak, the Dabir, who has already been mentioned, to a command, and, having bestowed on him the honourable title of Changiz Khán, dispatched him with a force against ‘Ain-ul-Mulk and Tāj Khán. Changiz Khán obeyed the order with alacrity and marched against them. The two amirs perceiving that they were not strong enough to withstand the royal army, fled and separated from one another. ‘Ain-ul-Mulk took refuge with Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh and Tāj Khán with Bahārji 168. After a while they both returned to Ahmadnagar and lived in retirement on their own lands.169

After Khunzah Humayūn had been detained for a time in Daulatábád, she was removed thence to Shīnver, and the prince was removed thence to Lohogarh, where he remained in retirement until he was released by the king Husain Nīgām Shāh II, as will be related hereafter in vol. II.

Now that Khunzah Humayūn was imprisoned, Murtaza Nīgām Shāh exercised all the power of the crown without restraint, and with none to oppose or hinder him. The administration was entrusted to Maulānā Husain who was honoured with the title of Khānkhanān.

When news of the queen-mother’s fall and imprisonment reached Maulānā Inayatul-lāh, who was imprisoned in Lohogarh, he was exceedingly rejoiced, and without waiting for orders, broke his bonds. He then attempted to leave the fortress and go to court, without waiting for a summons, but the officers of the fortress prevented this and represented the whole matter in writing. As the Khānkhanān was pishvā and was all-powerful at court, their report came first into his hands. As soon as he had mastered its contents, he feared lest Inayatullah should come to court, regain his old ascendancy and displace him from the post of vakil and pishvā. He therefore sent a messenger with orders that Maulanā Inayatullah was to be treated with great harshness and severity and then put to death, and when he received news of his death he reported to the king that the Maulānā had died a natural death. The king was much grieved and affected by the news of the Maulānā’s death. In a short time however, the treachery, baseness, and ingratitude (of the Khānkhanān) came to light and he received the reward of his vile actions. Nothing is blacker or more disgraceful than ingratitude, and the envious man is ever a prey to disappointment.70

168 This was the raja of Baghāna.
169 According to Firishta (ii. 257), ‘Ain-ul-Mulk and Tāj Khán were with the royal army when Khunzah Humayūn’s arrest was effected. His account of the affair is as follows.—Murtaza Nīgām Shāh, urged thereto by Mulla Husain Tabrizi, Shāh Ahmad, and Murtaza Khán, asked Khunzah Humayūn for permission to go hunting, which was accorded. The next morning he set out with all the amirs except the queen-mother’s own immediate followers, and she, suspecting mischief from the number of his following, also took the field, but for some reason returned to the camp before he did. The king sent Habashi Khan, ‘a harsh old man,’ to arrest her, and ordered Farhad Khán and Khāls Khán to support him. Khunzah Humayūn, on becoming aware of Habashi Khan’s intention, armed and veiled herself, mounted her horse, and came forth to meet him. He attempted to pull her off her horse, but she drew her dagger, whereupon, grasping her hand, he compelled her to drop the dagger, and, seizing her, put her into a litter and sent her to the king, who sent her to prison. Her brothers ‘Ain-ul-Mulk and Tāj Khán were present when she was arrested, but fled without attempting a rescue, the former towards Gujarāt and the latter towards Goleonda. ‘Ain-ul-Mulk was arrested on the Gujarāt frontier, but his brother made good his escape.

170 Inayatullah had been imprisoned by Khunzah Humayūn, who suspected him of complicity with Kishwar Khán of Bījāpur. According to Firishta, the Khānkhanān so succeeded in poisoning the king’s mind against him that he signed the order for his execution.—F. ii, 256, 260, 291.
LXXV.—An account of the expedition of the royal army against the fortress of Dhârûr and of the death of Kishvar Khân.

A.D. 1569—70. After Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh had imprisoned Khûnzah Humâyûn and sent her to Shivner and had removed from their places some of those amîrs who owed their elevation to her, such as Tâj Khân and ‘Ain-ul-Mulk, news was brought to him that Kishvar Khân had built an exceedingly strong fortress in Dhârûr and had ravaged and laid waste all the surrounding country, and had also captured from the royal officers the fortress of Kondhâna and was about to march still further into the Aḥmadnagar dominions, of which Dhârûr was the frontier post. Now that the king was freed from all anxiety in the matter of Khûnzah Humâyûn, he resolved to march with a strong army against Dhârûr. When Kishvar Khân heard of the intention of the king, he insolently wrote a letter to him saying that he had intentionally left Daulâtâbâd to him, and that he had better retire thither and busy himself with the administration of the country dependent on that fortress, for that if he did not follow this advice he would only have himself to thank for what might follow.

When the king became aware of the contents of this impudent letter, his wrath and jealousy of kingship were inflamed, and, although his army had not yet joined him and the troops with him numbered no more than 5,000 horse, he, regardless of the strength of the ‘Âdíl Shâhî army, which numbered more than 30,000 horse, mounted his horse after the evening prayers and pressed on with his small force in advance of his army. His officers, who were with him, endeavoured by various devices to detain him and to prevent him from pushing on; but he would not heed them, and pressed on with great speed by a little known road.

In the morning he reached Dhârûr and besieged Kishvar Khân. Just then Shamshir-ul-Mulk, son of Tufâl Khân, the ruler of Berar, joined the king with a thousand horse, and as the amîrs of Aḥmadnagar had not yet come up, the accession of this force greatly encouraged the troops and officers with the king. Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh, without paying any heed to the artillery and musketry fire from the fortress, at once attacked it. Kishvar Khân was altogether unprepared for the arrival of Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh, and for his attack on the fortress, and many of the defending force were slain.

Hindiya, one of the ‘Âdíl Shâhî officers, urged Kishvar Khân to mount his horse and escape from the fortress. But since the evil star of Kishvar Khân Lârî prompted him to oppose the king, he declined to listen to Hindiya’s advice and took the field. In the first charge the troops of Aḥmadnagar made a breach in the defences of Dhârûr and utterly defeated Kishvar Khân’s army, slaying many of them. When Kishvar Khân saw that his men were defeated and that the troops of Aḥmadnagar were pressing on, he took refuge in a bastion stronger and less accessible than the rest, and kept those who were attacking him at bay with his bow and arrow. Changiz Khân, however, shot Kishvar Khân through the navel with an arrow, and for ever put an end to his boasting. The royal troops then reached him and brought him before Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh, and he was just breathing his last when he was thus brought.

171 Kondhâna, properly Khondhâna, was too distant from Dhârûr to have been captured by Kishvar Khân. According to Firishta (ii, 254), it was captured by another force from Bijâpûr. Dhârûr is about twenty-seven miles south-east of Bîr.

172 Firishta (ii, 258) mentions this insolent letter, but does not give its contents.

173 Firishta does not mention the assistance received from Berar, and it is highly improbable that any was sent. Relations between Aḥmadnagar and Berar continued to be most strained, from the time of the murder of Jahângîr Khân (see note 141) and Tufâl Khân’s subsequent refusal to join the Muḥammadan alliance against Vijaynagar, until the expedition of 1572—1574 in which Berar was annexed to Aḥmadnagar. Sayyid ‘Ali’s object seems to be to suggest that Tufâl Khân was one of Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh’s amîrs.
before the king. So many of the 'Ādil Shāhī army were slain that the undulations of the ground were filled with their bodies and the broken country became a level plain. A very few managed to escape. All their property, camp equipage, horses, elephants, gold jewels, arms, and munitions of war fell into the hands of the royal troops; and all that was considered suitable for the king's acceptance was collected by his officers, while the rest was left to the troops. The king then caused the head of Kishvar Khan to be paraded throughout his dominions on a spear, and the same of this went abroad throughout all lands.

It is said that when Murtaza Nizâm Shâh reached the gate of the fortress he there saw a nosebag full of nails hung up. He asked what the reason of this was and was told that 'Ali 'Ādil Shâh had written to Kishvar Khan saying that since he had built the fortress of Dhrârû and had ravaged the country about it, he might return to Bijâpûr, but Kishvar Khan had replied that he would neither return nor turn back until he had captured Aḥmadnagar, whereupon 'Ali 'Ādil Shâh had sent him these nails with a message that the nails would be in the bag of him who returned without taking Aḥmadnagar.

When 'Ali 'Ādil Shâh heard that Murtaza Nizâm Shâh was not in his capital, he set forth with Nûr Khan, 'Ain-ul-Mulk and Zarîf-ul-Mulk for Aḥmadnagar with the intention of laying waste the country and levelling all the buildings and dwellings with the dust to avenge the death of Kishvar Khan.174

When the king heard of this he sent Farhad Khan and Changiz Khan with other officers and a large army to oppose the invaders, sending with them most of the royal army from Dhrârû, while he himself remained for a short time in Dhrârû to restore the fortress, which he renamed Fatâbâd. He then appointed one of his officers to the command of the fortress and set out on his return journey.

Farhad Khan and Changiz Khan, with the rest of the amirs and the army, pressed on with all speed and came up with the enemy, and a fierce battle was fought, in which Changiz Khan displayed the greatest valour, and although he received several wounds he continued to fight until he had completely defeated the 'Ādil Shâhī troops. Nûr Khan 'Ādil Shâhī was taken prisoner by the troops of Firûz Jang, and 'Ain-ul-Mulk and Zarîf-ul-Mulk were killed. The 'Ādil Shâhī troops fought with great determination, but their efforts were of no avail, and when they saw that their officers were no longer at their head they fled from the field.175

After this signal victory the royal army, taking Nûr Khan and the head of 'Ain-ul-Mulk with them, rejoined the king and made their obeisance to him, and the amirs who had taken part in the battle were honoured with robes of honour and other distinctions.

These two signal victories, obtained in the same expedition, greatly strengthened the king and his administration of the state.

After thus defeating his enemies the king returned in triumph to his capital.

174 Firishta (ii, 259) does not say that 'Ali 'Ādil Shâh himself accompanied the force under 'Ain-ul-Mulk, which consisted of ten or twelve thousand horse, and it is improbable that he did so. It was this force which captured Khondhâna (see note 171).

175 'Ain-ul-Mulk, Anka Khan, and Nûr Khan had been ordered to relieve Dhrârû, but they feared to meet Murtaza Nizâm Shâh in the field and sent Kishvar Khan a message to the effect that they would create a diversion in the direction of Aḥmadnagar, but the manoeuvre failed to draw Murtaza from before Dhrârû, and after the fall of that place he dealt with the relieving force in the manner here described. Changiz Khan had with him the contingents of Farhad Khan and Ikhlâs Khan, numbering five or six thousand horse. He ordered these two amirs to attack the enemy, and while the conflict was at its height appeared on the scene with forty elephants, 400 of the household troops, and green banners borne aloft. The Bijâpûris, believing that Murtaza was coming against them in person, broke and fled.
THE MIMĀMSĀ DOCTRINE OF WORKS.

By K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRY, M. A.

Of the so-called six systems of Indian Philosophy, Vedānta has been the most popular among modern scholars. The MIMĀMSĀ system has attracted comparatively little attention. The latter has always been viewed with suspicion as a store-house of soul-killing ritualism, and the question has often been asked as to why it ever came to be looked on as philosophy. Undoubtedly, it gives great trouble to the modern student to understand the technique of Antique Ritualism, at least to such an extent as to enable him to follow the endless speculations on the minute details of rituals; but anybody, who takes the that trouble, can see that the Mimāṃsā Darśana embodies much of philosophy, and what is perhaps of greater importance, more of common sense. It has next to no answer to the great problems of metaphysics. It simply does not concern itself with them. It is part of a religion of Works. It has for its main object the determination of doubtful points in the elaborate rituals enjoined by the Vedas by discussion and interpretation. It raises and answers incidentally some questions of great interest. One of these is the question of the existence or non-existence of a personal god or gods. The object of this paper is to present in translation some of the chief texts, especially those from the great commentary of Sābara Svāmin on Jaimini's Sūtras, and to indicate the place of the Mimamsist answer to this question in the development of Indian religious thought.

It is necessary to state briefly the Mimamsist position regarding the Vedas at the outset. They are accepted as Eternal and Infallible. This belief the Mimāṃsā system shares with all the other orthodox systems. But it looks upon them also as exclusively Karmic or ritualistic in character, and it undertakes to interpret the whole scripture on this basis. This attitude towards scripture, strange as it may seem at first sight, is not altogether without a parallel. The Romanist position regarding the Bible is very similar to this. The Bible was looked upon as "a store-house . . . of doctrinal truths and rules for moral conduct—and nothing more". The position in either case is not without difficulty. The Vedas, as well as the Bible, contain much more than the Mimamsiast and Romanist positions. How the Romanists got over their difficulty need not be pursued here. The Mimāṃsā holds that the whole Veda falls under two main heads, Mantra and Brāhmaṇa, the first comprising chiefly verses to be chanted in rituals in the manner laid down in the Brāhmaṇas and priestly manuals, and the latter made up of Ritualistic Injunctions (Vidhī) and Arthavādās, a term which according to the Mimamsist, applies to all portions of the Veda that are neither Mantra nor Vidhī. The Arthavādās may contain and very often do contain separate ideas of their own. And the modern historian has to rely for most of his information on these portions of the Veda. But the Mimamsist's position regarding them is that all these texts of the Veda are somehow or other connected with Vidhīs, intended to extol them in various ways and therefore subordinate to them in importance, and should be understood as parts or adjuncts of the Vidhīs themselves. It is not possible here to discuss whether and how far this is a correct position. The matter will come up again in connection with the relative standpoints of Mimāṃsā and Vedānta. But some emphasis must be laid on the fact that the Mimamsist understands by the Veda the whole

1 Lindsay, History of the Reformation, vol. 1, p. 455.
2 See Jaimini II, 1, 32-33. Also Aparthaṃbha Srauta Sutra, XXIV, 1, 30-4 (Bibl. Ind.) for a clear and brief summary of the whole position. Haug-Intro. to Aśvāṃśa Br., Part I, towards the end, is also instructive.
3 See Jaimini I, 2, 1-18, and Sābara thereon.
body of revealed scripture that is understood to constitute the Veda by all the other orthodox systems of Indian philosophy. A distinguished Orientalist⁴ has said: "In reality the teachers of the Mimāṃsā associate the word Veda less with these ancient hymns (viz., Rig Veda) than with the ritualistic texts of the second period of Vedic literature, in which the individuality of the authors is not so prominent." It will be equally true to say that in reality the teachers of the Vedānta associate the word Veda less with the ancient hymns of the Rig Veda and the ritualistic texts of the Yajus and Brāhmaṇas than with the metaphysical and mystical texts (Upanishads) of the third period of Vedic literature, so to say. The reality, at least to an Indian student, seems to lie elsewhere. All the orthodox schools agree in accepting the whole body of the Veda as revealed and eternal.⁵ The difference in the emphasis laid on the different parts of the scripture by the different schools arises from totally distinct views of life and religion. Any Indian Mimamsists of the present day would be shocked to hear that his views on scripture deny the quality of scripturenness to any portion of the Veda. But it is beyond question that there is a decided difference in the adjustment of stress on various parts of the Veda among the rival schools.

Perhaps the most important general question that the Mimamsist has to answer is as to the meaning and significance of a sacrificial act. According to him, he has to perform it because it is enjoined on him as part of his duty by the Eternal Word; but this does not preclude him from seeking to understand the logic of his act. Is the sacrifice an act of worship of a personal Deity or what? With this is bound up the more general question—are we to recognise the existence of a god (or gods) or not? The answer to these questions is by no means easy for the Mimamsist. He is faced with two difficulties. First, he is often enjoined by the Word to sacrifice to all sorts of curious things as well as to the well-known gods of the Vedic pantheon. Secondly, these better-known gods themselves are embedded in the Vedas in all stages of their making.⁶ The nature of these difficulties may be explained by instances, before proceeding to give the texts containing the Mimamsist solution of them. The instances quoted will also go to show that the difficulties had begun to be felt, perhaps long before the Mimamsa school began to apply itself to the task of systematising the ritualism of the Vedic religion. The Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa in discussing the rituals of the famous Asvamedha sacrifice comments on the Mantras in the corresponding portion of the Śatīhitā. In that sacrifice there occurs a curious homa to the actions, etc., of the horse, in which the Mantras are "svāhā to Īnkāra, svāhā to the Īnkrite etc"⁷. On this the Brāhmaṇa raises a doubt, which is settled in the true dogmatic style of the Brāhmaṇas. It says⁸: "So they say. The actions of the horse are verily unworthy of being sacrificed to; therefore these are not to be sacrificed to. But then (finally) they say this. They should be sacrificed to. For even here (i.e., at the very beginning of the Aṣvamedha) one who knows like this and sacrifices to the actions of the horse completes the Aṣvamedha." Here then is definitely enjoined a sacrifice to the actions of the Aṣvamedha horse, which could not by any means be said to be gods, and even the Brāhmaṇa finds a difficulty in the way. Again, the gods of the Veda are sometimes concrete beings with human form and at others they are unmistakably

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⁴ R. Garbe on Mimāṃsā in Hastings' Cyc. of Religion and Ethics, Vol. VIII. Contra Jaṭāmśi I., 1, 357.
⁵ The difference in the view of the eternity of Veda taken by Mimāṃsā and Vedānta does not affect the argument here.
⁶ Bloomfield, Religion of the Veda brings this out very clearly.
⁷ Sāyaṇābhaya naively explains that Īnkāra is the sound made by the horse when it sees its fodder, while Īnkrite means that for which the sound īnk was made, viz., the fodder itself.
inanimate things treated as persons. Yāska in his Nirukta devotes a section to a brief and suggestive discussion on this point. This portion of Yāska's great work may be said to constitute the point of departure for the Mimamsist view regarding gods. Yāska starts with the sentence: "Then (comes) the consideration of the form of gods." He then states one view saying that gods are like men, and quotes instances from the Veda in which gods are described as (1) having hands, feet, etc., like men, (2) possessing a house, wife, property, etc., like men, and (3) eating, drinking, and doing all other things like men. He then states the opposite view that gods are not like men and quotes instances where inanimate things like wind, earth, sun, etc., are described in exactly the same manner as that just noticed in the case of the other gods. He concludes by suggesting that they may both be considered wise, or that the inanimate things may be considered to have their animate duplicates (karmātmānah), and points out that the last constitutes the belief of the Ākhyānas (folklore, or the Mahābhārata, according to the comment of Durgāchārya). The texts of the Veda, quoted by Yāska, furnish the standard instances of the Mimāṃsā discussions on the matter.

Having thus indicated the nature of the question taken up for discussion by the Mimāṃsā school, the discussion itself may now be reproduced. It takes the form of an enquiry as to whether the sacrifice is performed for the sake of pleasing a deity whose favour is solicited by the act or not. As happensgenerally in such discussions, the position to be refuted comes out in a lengthy pārāpaksha, and then follows the answer. The main stages in the argument will be indicated by prefixing capital letters to each stage in the pārāpaksha and repeating the same letters to indicate the corresponding answers in the siddhānta. The translation aims at being more literal than literary. Where the text has not been closely followed, this will be pointed out in foot-notes and the reasons stated for the course adopted. There are many extracts from the Rig Veda in the Bhāṣya; these I have mostly traced out with the aid of the Vedic Concordance of Professor Bloomfield, and I have used Griffith's version of the Rig Veda and modified it slightly in some places in the light of the great commentaries of Śāyaṇaṭhārya on the Veda and Durgāchārya on the Nirukta. The texts are marked off separately from my own elucidations and incidental comments.

TEXTS: No. I.

(Jaimini IX, 1, 6-10, and Śabaravāmi thercon.)

(SU.) Or, the deity shall cause the deed to be done (prayojayet) as the guest; the meal (sacrifice) is for the deity's sake (IX, 1, 6).

(COM.) It is not true that Agni and others are not the inducing agents (of the deed). On the other hand, all deities deserve to be (considered) the instigators of all sacred deeds. Why? Because the meal is for their sake. (E) For this, which is known as a sacrifice, is (no other than) the meal for the deity. Edible material is offered to the deity, saying, the deity shall eat. (A) The name of the deity is mentioned in this sacrifice in the Dative case, and the Dative case is employed when a thing is more directly aimed at than in the Accusative case. Therefore the deity is not secondary, (rather) the material (dāraya) and the deed (sacrifice) are secondary, with reference to the deity.

9 VII, 6-7, pp. 754 and 761 of the Bombay Government Edn, Series.
10 This sentence of Sabara takes up the discussion from a conclusion arrived at in the preceding section.
11 Here the commentator employs the technical expressions of grammar. An attempt to translate them literally will make the translation cumbrous without helping to clear up the meaning. This remark applies to all places where the discussion hinges on case terminations.
(E) And moreover sacrifice is worship of the deity. As we see it in the world the worship is secondary to the object worshipped. (C) And it must be noted that here it is as in the case of a guest. Just as any little entertainment given to the guest is all for his sake (that is, to please him), so this sacrifice also (is performed to please the deity).

Now, the objection arises that by saying this the deity comes to be accepted as having a form and as eating (the offering). We reply, just so, the deity does have a form and does eat. Whence (is this seen) ? From TRADITION, POPULAR BELIEF, AND CIRCUMSTANTIAL EVIDENCE. (D) For Tradition has it thus; the deity has form. And tradition is for us valid evidence. Again, people believe that the deity has a form. They paint Yama with a rod in his hand; and they say likewise. Similarly, Varuna with a noose in his hand, and Indra with a thunderbolt. And (thus) tradition is in our eyes strengthened by popular belief. So also there is CIRCUMSTANTIAL EVIDENCE in favour of this view: for example, "Oh, Indra, thy right arm we caught." There is a right-hand and left hand only in a human figure. Thus again — "These two, heaven and earth, that are far apart, thou graspest, Oh, Maghavan; thy fist is great." Kāśī means fist; that also fits in only with the human form. Again — "Indra, transported with the juice (of Soma), vast in his belly, strong in his neck, and stout arms, smites the Vītras down." The neck, belly, arms indicate the human form here also. Therefore the deity does possess form and eats also.

(E) How is it known (that it eats also) ? From Tradition, Popular Belief, and Circumstantial Evidence. Says Tradition: the deity eats. And so also they believe the deity eats; thus they bring to it various kinds of offerings. Circumstantial Evidence also leads us to infer that the deity eats. For example: "Eat Indra and drink of that which stirs to meet thee." So also, "All kinds of food within his maw he gathers." Then (Indra) "at a single draught drank the contents of thirty pails." It may be said — the deity does not eat, for if it did, the offering (havis) offered to it would diminish in quantity. In reply, we say that the deity is seen to absorb the essence of the food like the bee (taking honey from the flower). How? The food becomes tasteless after being offered to the deity; from this it is inferred the deity eats up the essence of the food.

(SU.) And because of the Lordship of material goods (the deity shall cause the deed to be done), (IX, 1, 7).

(COM.) If the deity is the Lord of any material good and if it bestows a favour on being entertained, then this worship of the deity may be undertaken in order to propitiate it. But (it may be said) both these things do not exist, (are not true). Hence (to meet this objection) it is said (in the Śūtra), (F) the deity is the Lord of material good. How is this known? From Tradition, Popular Belief and Circumstantial Evidence. Tradition clearly says that the deity is the master of all the good things of life. Thus again (the language of)

12 Devāpājā is a meaning assigned to the root āyā in the Dhātupātha.
13 Here the commentator hints at the genuine Vaisākha answer to the question under discussion in order to strengthen the case against it.
14 The terms in the text are respectively — śrutī, upakṛta, and anudharādāvana. The translation of upakṛta by popular belief may appear bold, at first sight. But none of the meanings given in the dictionaries suit the context, and the whole trend of the commentary seems to support the translation given above. The capital letters must be a sufficient warning that the expression is half-technical in character. (Upakṛta can perhaps be better translated by practice and anudharādāvana by extra evidence — D.R.B.)
15 RV. (Rig. Veda), III, 20, 3 and N. (Nirukta) 6, 1.
16 RV., VIII, 17, 8.
18 RV., I, 95, 10.
19 RV., VIII, 66, 4. N. 5, 11.
Popular Belief—"the deity's village," "the deity's field"—strengthens the same Tradition. Likewise Circumstantial Evidence shows the lordship of the deity, e.g., "Indra is sovereign lord of heaven and earth. Indra is lord of waters and of clouds; Indra is lord of prosperous and sages; Indra must be invoked in rest and effort." Also, "looker-on of everything, lord of this moving world, lord, Indra, of what moveth not." Thus also we see from Tradition and Popular Belief (G) that the deity bestows favours. Tradition says this distinctly, and there are likewise expressions of Popular Belief, e.g., Paśupati is pleased with him; hence a son is born to him; Vaîśravana is pleased with him; hence he has obtained wealth. Likewise there is Circumstantial Evidence. "It is as if one pleases the gods who are offering-eaters by means of fire-offerings and the gods in their pleasure give one food and sap of food." (SU.) And thence (i.e., from the deity) (arises) the connection with it (the fruit of the deed). (IX, 1, 8.)

(COM.) (H) From that deity comes the connection between the worshipper and the fruit (of the worship). Whoever attends on the deity with an offering, him the deity connects with the fruit (of his deed). How is this known? From Tradition and Popular Belief. Tradition says that the deity rewards him who sacrifices. And the same tradition is strengthened by Popular Belief as, for example, Paśupati was worshipped by this man and he obtained a son. Again, Circumstantial Evidence shows this same thing. "He with his folk, his house, his family, his sons, gains booty for himself, and with the heroes, wealth; who, with oblation and a true believing heart serves Brahmanaspati the father of the Gods." Again, "only when satisfied himself, does Indra satisfy this person (sacrifice) with offspring and cattle." Thus by offering of food and sayings of praise the deity is worshipped and the deity being pleased (thereby) gives the fruit. That particular fruit, which Agni, worshipped by a particular deed, is master of, and which he gives to the doer, this could not be given (say) by Sūrya. And we learn from Verbal Testimony (Vedas), who gives what. Thus something is said of Agni but not of Sūrya.

(SU.) Rather, on account of Verbal Testimony, the sacrificial act should be held primary and the mention of the deity secondary. (IX, 1, 9.)

(COM.) By the expression "rather" the contention (of the preceding Sūtras) is set aside. The statement that the deity is the inducing agent is not tenable. The act of the sacrifice is the prime thing. From the sacrifice comes Apūrva. Why? Because of VERBAL TESTIMONY. The knowledge, that anything which gives fruit, i.e., any inducing agent gives a particular fruit, arises from VERBAL TESTIMONY and not from DIRECT PERCEPTION or other sources of knowledge. (H) And VERBAL TESTIMONY derives the fruit from the sacrifice (literally, that which is indicated by the root Yaj) and not from the deity. How is this known? Darśa and Puruṣamāsa sacrifices are referred to in the Instrumental case, as in—"He who desires heaven should sacrifice by the Darśa and Puruṣamāsa." Thus again—"He who desires heaven should sacrifice by the Jyotiṣṭhoma."

20 RV., X, 89, 10. N. 7, 2. 21 RV., VII, 32, 22.
22 The text is Isaharjana, which Eggaling in his Sat. Br. renders "sap and pith."
23 RV., II, 26, 3. 24 I.e., what is said of Agni does not apply to Sūrya.
25 Text, Api Pā. Here begins the reply, or Siddhānta.
26 This word literally means "not existing before." It is here a technical term of Mimāṃsā by which is designated the resultant of any action (karma) in an invisible stage which it is supposed to assume before producing visible results. See Jaimini, II, 1, 5 and Šabara thereon.
27 It needs no mention that for the Mimāṃsik, Sabda (VERBAL TESTIMONY of the Veda) is more valid evidence than Pratyaksha (DIRECT PERCEPTION) and other Pramāṇas.
It is the sacrifice and not the deity that is mentioned simultaneously with the desire for heaven. But then, is not the sacrifice an operation with sacrificing material (dravya) and the deity (devata)? True it is. But the mention of the deity is secondary. The dravya and devata are there already; it is the sacrifice which must be brought into existence. When something that exists is mentioned along with some other that has to be brought into existence, the existent is mentioned for the sake of the non-existent. Therefore the deity is not the inducing agent.

(A) As for the statement—"(the deity) is more directly aimed at (by the Dative) than when the Accusative (termination) is used",—(we say) we do not gainsay the fact of its being aimed at. It is clear from the SENTENCE that the meaning of the term devata, connected as it is with a taddhita form or a Dative ending, is being directly aimed at. But from the very same source (it is seen) that it is the sacrifice that is connected with the fruit; for by EXPRESS REFERENCE we learn the instrumentality of that and not of the deity (in producing the fruit). Again, though we may infer that the sacrifice is for the deity, still this need not stand in the way of its being performed for the sake of its fruit. It is the fruit that is the purushārtha (the thing desired by man). And the endeavour for the sake of the purushārtha is ours, not the deity's. Therefore we do not do anything on account of any inducement from the deity. And the mention of the deity's name with the Dative ending quite fits in if it (deity) is a means to the (performance of the) fruitful sacrifice.

(B) And as for the statement—"sacrifice is worship to the deity and the object of worship is the primary thing in worship as we see it in the world"—(we reply), here it should not be as in the world. Here the worship of the worshipped is important. That which is fruitful is the inducing agent. Therefore the act of sacrifice is the inducing agent. Again by this view (that is being refuted now) we have to assume that the deity has a form and that it eats, as there can be no gift or meal for a formless and uneating deity.

(D) As for the statement—"from TRADITION, POPULAR BELIEF, and CIRCUMSTANTIAL EVIDENCE (we see that) the deity has form and eats"—(we reply) it is not (true); TRADITION is based on Mantras and Arthavādas. It is a matter of DIRECT PERCEPTION that (all) the knowledge on which TRADITION rests is based on them. And we shall show (elsewhere) that those Mantras and Arthavādas do not support this view. Says the objector: "If that is so, (i.e., if the Mantras and Arthavādas do not say that deities have form), then (I say) the knowledge on which TRADITION rests does not come from Mantra and Arthavāda". We reply that for those who take a superficial view of Mantra and Arthavāda, for them it (the knowledge thus gained by a superficial view) is the basis of TRADITION. (That is) even if it is invalidated for those who take a deeper view, still for some one or other it becomes the basis of TRADITION. Therefore TRADITION has only this source and POPULAR BELIEF is only based on TRADITION.

(D—cont.) As for CIRCUMSTANTIAL EVIDENCE like "Oh, Indra, thy right arm we caught", it does not mean that Indra has an arm. It only means—that which is his right arm, that we caught; therefore, we do not learn from the SENTENCE the existence of Indra's

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28 Here it must be explained that there are grades of validity even in VERBAL TESTIMONY. For the present purpose it is enough to note that Śrutī (EXPRESS REFERENCE) has greater force than vācya (SENTENCE). See Jaimini, III, 3, 14.

29 Attention may be drawn to the unique interest this paragraph possesses for the modern student of Comparative Religion.

30 See the next Extract, No. II.
Objection: If it does not exist, then it is not credible that we caught hold of the arm; hence we have to infer the existence of the arm thus—there is this hand, that which we held. (Reply): This cannot be; for though there may be the arm, it is matter of DIRECT PERCEPTION that we did not hold it. So even thus (accepting your inference), there is still an incongruity. We have thus either to admit an absurdity or say this is mere praise (stuti, i.e., Arthavâda). But it may be said that this is the statement of a man who caught hold of Indra's arm. We reply, this should not be suggested as it would subject the Veda to the imperfection of having a commencement (in time). Again, we are not told that there was a man who caught (the arm), for there is no evidence and it cannot be said that from this very statement, we infer the existence of him who caught the arm, for there occur (in the Vedas) also statements which are meaningless like "ten pomegranates, six cakes". Again, taking him who holds this view that Indra has a form, even according to him, the summoning by the term 'Indra' is for invoking the deity, and the invocation is a remembrance. In that case remembrance is proper only if we have known that he is relevant (related to the sacrifice). But it is not known by any means that he is. That being so, the invocation is futile. And it cannot be held that we infer that he is invoked from the evidence of the WORD; for we have said that when we assume an Adrishta (literally unseen, is equal to, Apûrva), there cannot be any assumption of the hand, etc. Further, it is by no means sure that he has been invoked; for there is no proof (to that effect). Therefore the Vocative word is not for the sake of an invocation, but only for a designation. Even in the case of the deity having no form, it might likewise be used for designation. The vocative-ending word is for praise. Thus, this, which is called deity, is (only) the most important means (to the sacrifice), which is called by the Vocative word and entertained as if it were sentient in the belief that it procures some good. Likewise, the deity is indicated by the Vocative word and told "we have caught hold of thy hand," that is to say, we are dependents on you. This is only a reminder to us that we have to perform a deed connected with Indra (Indrakarma).

(D—cont.) Likewise, "these two, heaven and earth, are very far apart, and these you hold, Oh, Maghavan, thy fist is great"—in this the fist is praised as if it exists. But there is no proof that it exists. For this is not to say thy fist is great. But what? That which is thy fist, that is great. These are different ideas, namely, "thy fist exists", and "thy fist is great". And it should not be said that a thing could be praised only if it exists; for even if a thing is not necessarily connected with (i.e., does not possess) human attributes, even that thing is (sometimes) praised as if it had human attributes, e.g., "They speak out like a hundred, like a thousand men; they cry aloud to us with their green-tinted mouth; while, pious stones, they ply their task with piety and even before the Hotar, taste the offered food." Again, "Sindhu hath yoked her car, light rolling, drawn by steeds."

21 This line of reasoning may appear queer at first sight. Still, not only is it perfectly logical, but is often found useful in modern discussions. Thus, there are two versions of the martyrdom of St. Thomas in India, but no proof that he was martyred at all, cf. V. A. Smith, Oxford History, page 126.

22 The Mâmaṣâ system starts by "proving" the eternity of the WORD. In the 'proof' incident like this are explained away. Muir, O.S.T., Vol. III, is still useful for the general reader.

23 The text is ancuccha, i.e., saying again what has been settled before.

24 I have not been able to trace this reference so far.

25 RV., X, 94, 2. It may here be noticed that Durgacharyya in his commentary on N. 7, 7, quotes this passage and comments on it in the exact manner of a Mimamsist. He says in effect: Seeing that stones are referred to like this, it can be no proof of Indra being animate and human that he is referred to likewise.

26 RV., X, 75, 9. N. 7, 7. Here Sayana has 'Sindhoordvata.'
Therefore there can be no Presumption from Vedic texts regarding the human likeness of the deity. Likewise, the expression "broad-necked Indra " does not say that Indra possesses a neck. What then? That which is the neck of Indra, that is broad. There is no proof of the existence of the neck. Nor can the praise of the neck necessitate any Presumption (re : human form) ; for (such) praise is seen even in the absence of a human form.

(D.—cont.) Further, the word 'Indra' connected with the words "Indra slits his foes" could not come into any connection with (the words) "strong-necked, etc." For, in that case, a double pronunciation of the word will be necessitated. We shall have to understand that Indra has a broad neck and (also) that Indra slits his foes. Thus, there will be a break (into two sentences) ; but as we have it, the sentence is (a) single (whole). It is appropriate, if we take it that 'broad-necked, etc.', are not laid down here as facts, but only mentioned for the sake of praise, i.e., as much as to say, that he (Indra) being so and so in the transport (born) of the Soma juice, slits his foes. The form of the sentence is clearly calculated to tell us about the slaughter of Vritras (foes). And the sentences: "Thy two arms, Oh Indra, are hairy", "Thy two eyes, Oh Indra, are tawny"—tell us only of the hairiness of the arms and tawny colour of the eyes, and not of the existence of the arms or eyes. And even where we can infer the mention of the existence of eyes, as in "To thee I say, it who hast eyes and hearest" even there it is not the connection with the eyes (that is intended), but the connection with speech ; thus, "I speak to you that has eyes" ; and the sight is mentioned for the sake of praise, as if it exists. Whence is this known? From the Dative ending (of Chakshusmate). If we import the meaning of the substantive (Chakshus) then the sentence will break, as it will connot both the ideas: "You have eyes" and "I tell you who has eyes". Therefore there is absolutely no CIRCUMSTANTIAL EVIDENCE that indicates that the deity has human likeness.

(E) And this (sacrifice) is not a meal. The deity does not eat. Hence the (reason alleged) "Because the meal is for the deity's sake" is erroneous.

(E—cont.) As for (the statement)—"From TRADITION, POPULAR BELIEF and CIRCUMSTANTIAL EVIDENCE (we learn that) the deity eats", this has been rebutted by proving that the deity has no form. Further, the meal offered to an eating deity will diminish. And there is no proof that the deities eat the essence of the food in the manner of the bee. There is DIRECT PERCEPTION in the case of the bees; it is not so in case of the deity. Therefore the deity does not eat. The statement that the meal offered to the deity becomes tasteless creates no difficulty; the food becomes tasteless and cold on account of exposure to the air.

(F) Nor is the deity lord of any material good, and being powerless, how can it give (anything)? And it does not hold good that from TRADITION, POPULAR BELIEF and CIRCUMSTANTIAL EVIDENCE, we can infer the lordship of the deity. We have already

27 Here the term in the text is Arthapatti, the fifth of the six Pramanas generally accepted by Mimamsakas.

28 Here we come to one of the most fundamental rules of interpretation adopted by Mimamsakas, Vakya-bheda (lit. breach of sentence) is a fault that must be avoided. Says Sabara: "As many words as serve a single purpose, so many constitute one sentence" (on II, 2, 27) and one sentence cannot serve more than one purpose at a time. And Sabara's comment on II, 2, 25, makes it clearer still. "We do not say that one thing cannot effect two purposes at a time; but we say that one sentence cannot serve to indicate both these purposes"—i.e., omitting the details of the discussion there, a word or a group of words pronounced only once can indicate only one purpose. If the correct position of Mimamsakas here is not grasped, most of their discussions would appear pointless.

30 RV. X, 18, 1.
said that TRADITION, is based on Mantra and Arthavāda; and POPULAR BELIEF as in “the deity’s village” and “the deity’s field” is merely a belief. That which one can dispose of at his will, that (alone) is his property. And the deity does not dispose of either the ‘village’ or the ‘field’ at his own pleasure. Therefore (the deity) does not give (anything). And those who worship the deity get their prosperity from that which they have given up with the deity in their minds. And for the statement that CIRCUMSTANTIAL EVIDENCE shows the lordship of the deity as in “Indra is the lord of heaven, etc.”—knowing by DIRECT PERCEPTION that the deity has no lordship, we infer that these words are figurative. Here says (the opponent)—“We learn from VERBAL TESTIMONY the lordship of the deity, e.g., ‘the gods distribute all good things,’ and we infer that this is only because the gods will it.” (We reply) it is not so. For we see by DIRECT PERCEPTION that this is only the will of those who worship the deity. And that (will) could not be superseded. Even those who describe the deity as omnipotent do not disguise (the part of the) will of the worshippers. They say further that the deity so does as is the will of the worshipping. And he is no lord who follows the will of another and who cannot distribute (favourites) at his own will. Further, there is no such VERBAL TESTIMONY (as is alleged). On account of its present-tense form and its being opposed to DIRECT PERCEPTION, it (the sentence quoted) is seen to be mere praise. When such expressions could be (easily) explained as intended for praise, they cannot be used as VERBAL TESTIMONY to the lordship (of the deity). And the deity does not connect a man with the fruit for which it may be worshipped.

(G) And for the statement—“From TRADITION, POPULAR BELIEF and CIRCUMSTANTIAL EVIDENCE (we see that the deity) gives and bestows favours” —TRADITION and POPULAR BELIEF have already been disposed of. And there is no CIRCUMSTANTIAL EVIDENCE in the statement, “Being pleased, the deity gives him food and aap of food”, for there is another Vidhi enjoined, viz., “He says—collect together to the right hand side.” Likewise in (the following):—“Only when satisfied himself does Indra satisfy this person (sacrificer) with offspring and cattle.” Here it is an Indra (related to Indra) offering (Havis) that is enjoined. Therefore the deity is not the inducing agent.

(SU.) In the case of a guest he is primary, as his satisfaction is (the) primary aim; it is not so in Karma.—IX, 1, 10.

(COM.) (C) The analogy of the guest is yet to be refuted. Hospitality must be guided by the guest; for there his satisfaction is enjoined. The guest is to be served, i.e., action must be so guided as to please him. A gift or a meal must be given (literally, made). Whatever is desired by the guest should be done. What does not please him should not be forced on him. But here in Karma there is no injunction of (the deity’s pleasure). Therefore the analogy of the guest is false (lit. uneven, not on a par).

No. II.

(Sahasraswamin on Jaina X, 4, 23—Extract.)

Now what is this that we call deity (Devata) ? One view (is as follows): Those, Agni and others, who are, in the Itihamas and Puranas said to reside in heaven, they are the deities. Here (against this) we remark that among these deities are not included day, etc., (Aharadī) and tiger, etc. (Śardulādi). But TRADITION includes words indicating time among deities, e.g., “This for the Kālas (times), the month is deity, the year is deity.”

Another view is, that we use the word Devata of those with reference to whom the word Devata is heard in the Mantras and Brahmanas, as in, “Fire is Devata, wind is Devata, sun is Devata, moon is Devata,” and similar statements. Here again, days, etc., are not included. Further, the common term Devata will cease to have any (definite) meaning as it will cease to be employed in every day language.

46 This is for the priest to gather together and take their fee after the sacrifice—the fee in this case being food prepared in one of the sacrificial fires.
Hence, (we say) those that get Hymns (Sūkta) and offering (Havis) are deities. Who are those that get hymns? "For Jātavésās worthy of our praise will we frame with our mind this eulogy as twere a car; for good, in his assembly, is this care of ours. Let us not in thy friendship, Agni, suffer harm."41 Those who got Havis, as in—"He shall prepare (the Purodāsa offering) pertaining to Agni on eight potsherds", "That pertaining to Agni-Soma on eleven potsherds". Objection: If all those that get Havis are deities, then the potsherds become eligible to deityhood as they also get the Havis. Then (we say) that which gets the Havis and about which it can be said the Havis is intended for it, (that) is the deity. Likewise in the case of hymns. The word Devata is in TRADITION used thus:—"The hymn having Agni for its deity, the Havis having Agni for its deity." Likewise, "having the guest for deity, having Manes for deity". Thus deityhood comes to be (an attribute) of all embodied and abstract, animate and inanimate (objects) to which in accordance with VERBAL TESTIMONY, something or other comes to be devoted as being particularly intended for them. And the common word (Devata) also becomes appropriate (gains a definite meaning). What hence? If that is so, then for a particular act, that is the deity, the word indicating which is intended or remembered, when the resolution is made, "I give up (this) Havis".

But42 in that case, any word for Agni may be used to indicate (that deity in the Darsa and Purnamasa sacrifices). Here we say that it might be so, if the word Agni is pronounced for conveying its meaning and if the meaning is conveyed for indicating its connection with the Havis. But here the word 'Agni' is not so pronounced for the sake of its meaning. Where an operation takes place on the thing connoted, there the word is for conveying its meaning, as there is use for the meaning. But where the operation is on the word itself, there only the word must be conveyed which is intended to be connected with the operation. And the deity does not become a means to the sacrifice by its form, (Rūpa). By what then? By the connected word. Just as the Adhvaryu aids by both his hands, so the deity aids by the word. "He cleanses the Hota's hand by twice rubbing (i.e., by two coatings of ghee)—just as here, though there is (direct) connection with the hand, still it is only the Hotar that aids, likewise the deity that helps by the connected word is understood to aid (the sacrifice). Though the deity is enjoined as an aiding agent, still it is only the sound (word) that is connected with the sacrifice. Therefore the word is not pronounced for conveying its meaning; for else, the meaning (conveyed) will once more convey the word and give rise to (the fault of) far-fetchedness.43 Is it then (like this)—that only the word is connected with the Havis, and by its connection with the word the object connoted is also deity; so that it is the deity whose name is so connected with the Havis that the latter is (intended) for the former? (No.) It is only when there can be no operation on the word that it comes to be on the meaning. But here the operation is only on the word. Therefore the word is not for conveying its meaning (the object connoted by it). Hence it has been said by the Vrittiśā—"The word comes first, the understanding of its meaning afterwards; from the word arises the meaning". Thus the Havis is connected only with the word 'Agni,' and other words like Śuchī, etc., have no place (in the sacrifice). And hence, it is only the word in the Vidhi that must be used as Mantra. It may be said that in such a case the word by itself becomes the deity. Our reply is that it is not our concern to refute this; for it by no means, invalidates our contention that the words "Śuchī, etc." have absolutely no place (in the Mantra).44

(To be continued.)

41 RV., I. 94.
42 The point of the following discussion is whether in a sacrifice the meaning of the word for the deity is intended, or simply the word. If the former, two consequences follow: (1) Any other word conveying the same meaning may be substituted in the place of that mentioned in the Vidhi. (2) The concrete existence of the deity is also accepted.
43 Text has "Lakhshitakshaṇa."
44 This last reply is very interesting and must be carefully noted.
Vajat Jamin or uncultivable waste lands were generally excluded when a village was assessed. But as cultivation spread with the progress of agriculture, and there was a greater demand for arable lands, hilly tracts and waste lands of all description were generally brought under the plough. At first they were exempt from assessment, but ultimately they were also taxed at a moderate scale. Jervis says that these Wurkus or Dongur lands were assessed by the "Hul, Nangur or plough, and not by the Bigha." In some instances, however six or seven Bighas of such lands were counted as one for revenue purposes. The rent of such lands varied not only with their fertility but also with the nature of the crops raised. Major Jervis gives us the following scale:

"Nachnee was assessed at 3\frac{1}{2} maunds per Nungar in superior soil and 3 maunds in inferior soil.
Wuree at 3 maunds and 2\frac{1}{2} maunds.
Hureck at 3 maunds.
Other kind of inferior produce at 1\frac{1}{2} maunds."

Besides their principal harvest, the peasants often raised a second crop on the first-class lands. These second crops were also assessed at a special rate according to their nature and deteriorating effect on the land. Jervis gives the following scale:

Turmeric—Five maunds per Bigha, each Bigha being \frac{1}{8} actual measurement.
Hemp — Five maunds per Bigha, each Bigha being \frac{1}{8} actual measurement.
Sugar cane cultivation assessed from 6\frac{1}{2} maunds to 3\frac{1}{2} of raw sugar per Bigha.\textsuperscript{17}

We have seen elsewhere how special consideration was given by the Peshwa government for such costly plantations as those of sugar cane, cocoanut and betelnut. The planter had to wait long for any profit and so did the government. This was however a common practice in the Deccan, and we may expect that a similar principle existed in Shivaji's time also.

The provinces under Shivaji's rule were styled Swarajya, in contradistinction to Revenue Divisions. Moghul or provinces under other (generally Muhammadan) rulers.

The Swarajya was for revenue purposes divided into a number of Prants consisting of two or more districts. There were in all 16 Prants, according to Ranade.\textsuperscript{18}

These were:

1. Prant Maval.
2. Wai.
5. Panhala.
6. South Konkan.
7. Thana.
8. Trimbuk.

\textsuperscript{16} Rajwade, M.I.S., XX, p. 94.  \textsuperscript{17} Jervis, pp. 94-97.
\textsuperscript{18} Ranade, R.M.P., pp. 117-118.
(10) Wanagad.
(11) Bednore.
(12) Kohar.
(13) Shrirangapatan.
(14) Karnatick.
(15) Vellore.
(16) Tanjore.

But we get a bigger number in a *jabita* drawn in the earlier years of Chhatrapati Shahu. The document, written partly in Persian and partly in Marathi, is supposed to be in the handwriting of Shankraji Mallhar.

(1) Subha Ramnagar including Ghanderi.
(2) Subha Jawher Prant.
(3) Subha Prant Bhivandi (12 Talukas).
(4) Subha Kalyan (20 Talukas).
(5) Cheul Subha (6 Talukas).
(6) Subha Rajpuri (12 Talukas).
(7) Subha Javli (18 Talukas).
(8) Subha Dabhul (11 Talukas).
(9) Subha Rajapoor (18 Talukas).
(10) Subha Kudal (15 Talukas).
(11) Subha Prant Bhimgad (5 Talukas).
(12) Subha Prant Akole (5 Talukas).
(13) Subha Poona (6 Talukas).
(14) Subha Baramati.
(15) Indapur.
(16) Subha Prant Mawal (13 Talukas).
(17) Subha Prant Wai (4 Talukas).
(18) Subha Prant Sastara (6 Talukas).
(19) Subha Prant Karhad (9 Talukas).
(20) Subha Prant Khatao including Kasba Khatao (11 Talukas).
(21) Subha Prant Man (4 Talukas).
(22) Subha Prant Phaltan Mahal.
(23) Subha Prant Belgaum.
(24) Subha Sampgaon.
(25) Subha Gadag.
(26) Subha Loxmepwar.
(27) Subha Nawalghund.
(28) Subha Kopral.
(29) Subha Halyal.
(30) Subha Betgiri.
(31) Subha Malkapur (4 Talukas).
(32) Subha Prant Panhala (10 Talukas).
(33) Subha Tarle (5 Talukas).
(34) Subha Ajera (51 Parganas).
(35) Subha Prant Junnar (24 Talukas).

Some of these may be later additions, but this list, we think, fairly represents the divisions of Shivaji's kingdom. Sambhaji had no mind to improve the administration and Rajaram had no leisure. It is not therefore probable that many changes had been made in the revenue administration of the kingdom before the accession of Chhatrapati Shahu.

It has already been noted that Shivaji had done away with the agency of such old hereditary officers as the Patil and the Kulkarni in the village and the Deshmukh and the Deshpande in the district. They were left in enjoyment of their old dues, but the work of revenue collection was entrusted to new officers directly appointed by the king. The country had been divided by the Muhammadan government for Revenue purposes into Maujas, Parganas, Sarkars, and Subhas; Shivaji abolished, or to be more accurate, modified these old divisions. In his time the country was divided into Maujas, Tarifs and Prants. The officer in charge of a Tarif was styled Havaldar, Karkun, or in some rare instances, Paripatyagar. It is interesting to note that in old Hindu inscriptions we often come across an officer styled Danda Nayak or Danda Nath, who was perhaps, as his designation implies, the predecessor of the Maratha Paripatyagar. The officer in charge of a Prant was variously designated Subhadar, Karkun or Mukya Desh-Adhikari. Over several Prants was sometimes placed an officer called Sarsubhadar, to supervise the work of the Subhadars. These officers, like the Kamavisdars and the Mamladars of the Peshwa period, had to look after all branches of the administration. The Subhadar's staff consisted of the usual complement of eight officers, viz:—

(1) The Dewan.
(2) The Mazumdar.
(3) The Fadnis.
(4) The Sabnis.
(5) The Karkhanis.
(6) The Chitnis.
(7) The Jamdar.
(8) The Potnis.

The Subhadar usually had an annual salary of 400 honas a year, with a palanquin allowance of another four hundred, while his Mazumdar's pay varied from one hundred to one hundred and twenty-five honas a year. The Mazumdar also enjoyed the proud privilege of carrying a sunshade on public occasions, and a small allowance was sanctioned by the government for its upkeep. A Havaldar in charge of a small village had often to be contented with a paltry allowance of three to five honas a year.

The Kamavisdar and the Mamladar under the Peshwa régime, though appointed for a short term, were generally allowed to retain their office for life, and frequently to transmit it to their heirs. No public office was hereditary under Shivaji's administration, and like the Magistrates and Commissioners of British India, his Karkuns, Havaldars and Subhadars were as a rule

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82 Subhadad, p. 31.
transferred from District to District and Province to Province. This can be clearly proved by a list of officers carefully compiled by Mr. Bhaskar Vaman Bhat from the official letters and documents published in the 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th, and 20th volumes of Mr. Rajwade’s Marathyancha Itihasanchi Sadhanem. In Mr. Bhat’s list, we find that the following officers were in charge of the several Districts for the years marked against their names:

Havaldars—

Himbe (Pargana)—Yesaji Ram, A.D. 1676.
Haveli—Anaji Kanho, A.D. 1676.
Koregam—Bhimaji Malhar, A.D. 1676.
Tarf Satara—Kukaji Bayaji, A.D. 1675.
Mahadaji Anant, A.D. 1676.
Tukaji Prabhu, A.D. 1677.

It is a pity that we are not in possession of a complete list of Havaldars. We do not know whether in other Districts also, officers were changed so often as in Satara. Our information about the Subhadars and the Sarsubhadars is however more satisfactory, and the working of the principle of short term appointment and constant transfer can be very conveniently proved by the following instances from Mr. Bhat’s list.

Subhadars—

Wai Prant—

Yesaji Malhar, A.D. 1676.
Do. A.D. 1679.
Do. A.D. 1687.
Do. A.D. 1690.
Do. A.D. 1696.
Annaji Janardan, A.D. 1697.

Jawli—

Virorem, A.D. 1664.
Viththal Datto, A.D. 1671.
Do. A.D. 1672.
Ambaji Mordev, A.D. 1676.
Gopal Rayaji, A.D. 1677.
Kashi Ranagath, A.D. 1780.

Prant Kol—

Ganesh Jogdev, A.D. 1672.
Venkaji Rudra, A.D. 1677.

Prant Puna—

Tryambak Gopal, A.D. 1679.
Vinayak Umaji, A.D. 1681.

83 Bharat Itihas Sanahodhak Mandal, Tritoja Samsmalan Vrisa, pp. 128-131.
It is also certain that this principle survived Shivaji and continued down to the Peshwa period. In support of this view Mr. Bhat has produced the following list of Mudradharis or officers in charge of the Sajjangad fort:

- Jijoji Katkar — A.D. 1676.
- Do. — A.D. 1682.
- Makaji Katkar — A.D. 1689.
- Barhanji Mohite — A.D. 1692.
- Do. — A.D. 1699.
- Girjoji Bhonsle — A.D. 1708.
- Do. — A.D. 1709.

From the 11th Falgunyessaji Jadhava — A.D. 1709.

Sattajji Dabul — A.D. 1712.

Mr. Bhat further points out that Ambaji Mordeu, who was subhdadar of Jawli in 1676, occupied the office of the Subhdadar of Satara from 1683—1685. Mahadji Shamraj, Subhdadar of Jawli from 1706—1708, was formerly in charge of Prants Satara and Mawal.

From the multiplicity of their duties, these officers were liable to corruption. Public opinion in those days was not offended if a Havaldar went out of his way to take a small present from a traveller for granting his passport or from an aggrieved petitioner for redressing his grievance.

Dr. Fryer, who visited the Maratha dominions towards the close of Shivaji's career, has left a quaint account of such an occasion. "When I came before the governor," says the Doctor, "I found him in state, though under an hovel, where were many Brahmans with accompt books, writing at some distance, nearer his Privy council, with whom he seemed to advise. I was placed on his left hand, and desired my interpreter to acquaint him my errand, withal intreating his favour for my secure passing the Hill. He made it a piece of difficulty and told me I must return to Bimly for orders, to whose Havaldar he was accountable; not to him of Gulleon, which was within half a days journey from whence I set forth. Hearing this I bore myself as sedately as I could, having been informed of the advantage they take of a disturbed countenance; and sweetened him with his own authority being sufficient, telling him of his master's kindness to the English, and their friendship towards him, which worked him to a yielding temper; yet he scrupled my canister, or trunk, might be lined with pearl, my horse sold to the enemy, hoping to suck somewhat out of me; I replying what I had brought were at his liberty to search, and that I went only on an amicable account to cure a sick person, and should be as ready to serve him if required, his fury was quite pawled; but perceiving an hungry look to hang on them all, and suspecting lest they should serve me some dog-trick, I made a small present, and signing the pass, dismissed me with a bundle of pawn, the usual ceremony at parting." This hungry look and the weakness for presents are perhaps pardonable, but another charge that the English Doctor brought against Shivaji's revenue officers is too serious to be overlooked.

88 Fryer, p. 127.
Public officers in the 17th century, whether Asiatic or European, were not overscrupulous. But good kings as a rule kept a strict vigilance over them. Shivaji in particular was served by a very efficient intelligence department. It is an old practice in India to employ spies to watch over the conduct of government servants. The work of the District and Provincial officers was supervised by Pant Amatya and Pant Sachiv. Ranade tells us that “The District accounts had to be sent to these officers, and were there collated together, and irregularities detected and punished. These officers had power to depute men on their establishments to supervise the working of the District officers.” Shivaji, moreover, was very keen about the success of his government and wanted his administration to compare favourably with those of his Muhammadan neighbours. But all his care and sound regulations were fruitless indeed if his revenue officers really acted as arbitrarily as Fryer says they did. “They are neither for publick good, or common honesty, but their own private interest only. They refuse no base offices for their own commodity, inviting merchants to come and trade among them, and then rob them or else turmoil them on account of customs; always in a corner getting more for themselves than their master, yet openly must seem mighty zealous for their Master’s dues: so that trade is unlikely to settle where he hath anything to do; notwithstanding his country lies all along on the sea-shore, and no goods can be transported without his permission; unless they go a great way about, as we are forced to do.”

This is by no means the worst that the English traveller has to say against the Maratha officers. He continues—”It is a general calamity, and much to be deplored to hear the complaints of the poor people that remain, or are rather compelled to endure the slavery of Seva Gi. The Desies have land imposed upon them at double the former rates, and if they refuse to accept it on these hard conditions (if monied men) they are carried to prison, there they are famished almost to death; racked and tortured most inhumanly till they confess where it is. They have now in Limbo several Brachmins, whose flesh they tear with pincers heated red-hot, drub them on the shoulders to extreme anguish (though according to their law it is forbidden to strike a Brachmin). This is the accustomed sawe all India over, the Princes doing the same by the Governors, when removed from their offices, to squeeze their ill-got estates out of them; which when they have done, it may be they may be employed again. And after this fashion the Desies deal with the Combies; so that the great fish prey on the little, as well by land as by sea, bringing not only them but their families into Eternal Bondage.” Fryer was of opinion that even Bijapur rule was milder than that of Shivaji.

(To be continued.)

66 See Kantilya’s Arthashastra, translated by R. Shama Shastry.
69 Fryer, pp. 146-147.
BOCAMARTIS—BACAMARTE.

This term occurs (ante, vol. XLIX, 10) with Episodes of Piracy in the Eastern Seas (Episodio XVI). Thus:—"They kept at a small distance firing their muskets and bocomortasses and flinging granadoes." Bocomortasses clearly means a blunderbus or musketoon, which was frequently in the East a gun with a bell mouth or open-mouthed face, not infrequently that of a tiger, sculptured at the muzzle. Lat. bucca, It. bocca, Port. boca: hence, bocomartes, death-dealing face. Cf. Boca Tigris, mouth of the Tiger, for the narrows in the Canton River and in the Tigris.

In Part II of An Illustrated Handbook of Indian Arms, by The Hon. Wilibram Egerton, entitled Catalogue of the Arms in the Indian Museum, is, No. 383, "Matchlock; very long barrel. Taken at the siege of Seringapatam," and a note thereon from the Codrington Collection, where it is called a "Bukmar; musketooon with bell mouth; tiger pattern. Taken at Seringapatam. Used by the officers of the camel corps."

It is therefore possible that bokmdr, bugar, is a western Indian term arising out of the Portuguese term bocamartes.

Since the above note was written, Mr. S. C. Hill has drawn my attention to further instances of the use of the word in its Portuguese form from Rebeiro's Hist. of Ceylon.

In describing "How the Hollanders besieged and assaulted the City of Colombo," in 1656, Rebeiro writes (2d ed. tr. P. E. Erius, pp. 368, 369, 370): "One afternoon we [the Portuguese] encountered them and had a fierce fight, and as the passage which they had made through the earth was two brezas [fathoms] in breadth, many hastened to its defence and a large number of them were killed; while the hole which we had made being small and dark, they could do us no harm. The only arms which could be used in this position were bocamartes and pistols... Inside the fort at the mouth of the counter mine they set up a wicket through which a man could hardly creep, and when the two whose turn it was to go on guard reached there, they were disarmed of all their weapons before entering... and therefore each of them took with them only a bocamarte... Their orders were that if an advance were made from that side on the bastion, they were to fire their bocamartes in such a way as to set the touch-hole of the powder-cask alight."

Lacerda, Portuguese Dictionary, gives Bacamarte as a variant of an obsolete word Bracamarte, meaning a cutlass, a hanger, a whiniard, the brazo therein being possibly connected with the Portuguese words braço etc., for arm. That the bocamarte was a hand weapon is clear from the above extracts, but it is doubtful if Lacerda is right in defining it as a cutlass. In his English-Portuguese volume of his Dictionary he gives bocamartes as an equivalent for both hand-gun and musketoon, but not for either cutlass or hanger.

From the instances of the use of the word by Rebeiro and in the E.I. Co.'s Records, it is obvious that the weapon intended was a hand gun or musketoon. The confusion between Portuguese bacamarte and Latin bucca mortis probably arose both from the appearance of these guns and from the execution caused by them.

I referred the matter to Mr. M. Longworth Dames, and he wrote as follows:—

"I have been unable to find any other instances in Portuguese of the use of the words 'bacamarte' and 'bracamarte.' In the original text of Rebeiro's work, Fatalidade Historica de Ilha de Ceylon, first printed in 1830, I find 'bacamarte' used, as correctly given in the translation you have quoted. Vieyra's Dict., ed. 1813, gives bacamarte as meaning a "blunderbus," and bracamarte as "a short and broad sword" formerly used. The two words seem quite distinct. Dalgado does not give either in his Glossario Indo-Asiaico, no doubt not considering them original Portuguese words, not of Oriental origin. I do not think 'bracamarte' can have any connection with the word for 'arm.' An 'arm' in 'Portuguese is braço, with a soft c', and not braza. For 'bracamarte' I can suggest nothing better than bocamartes, but 'marte' might conceivably stand for Marte, Mars, and thus mean 'mouth of Mars' instead of 'mouth of death.' But it is impossible to be certain, for it does not seem very probable that a common word in universal use like bocamarte should be turned into baca, unless by a misprint or mistake in writing. I am sorry I cannot help more on this curious point."

The expressions bacamarte and bracamarte are therefore obviously an old puzzle to lexicographers and scholars, and these notes are put forward in the hope of some one finding a clear elucidation. With regard to braço and braza, the cedilla was so often omitted in MSS. that they may yet prove after all to be identical.

R. C. Temple.
SAKAPÂRTHIVA.

In the following note I intend to make some observations on Mr. Jayaswal's very interesting discussion on the above word; they will, however, be chiefly confined to the first member of the compound word, i.e. to शाक of शाकपार्थिव.

There are three interpretations of the word शाकपार्थिव, viz. (i) शाक-नोनीजी पारिविव, as given by Patanjali; (ii) शाक-पार्थिव: पारिविव, as the authors of the Kâdikā say; and (iii) शाकपार्थिव: पारिविव, as explained by Bhāṣaṭi Dikṣita and others.

Now as regards the first interpretation, i.e. शाक-नोनीजी, Mr. Jayaswal observes that the authors of the Kâdikā have rejected it and have given their own शाकपार्थिव: But in reality, the authors of the Kâdikā have not rejected the interpretation of Patanjali, but, on the contrary, have supported or followed him by explaining it very clearly. It appears that in their opinion शाकपार्थिव means शाकपार्थिव. That the word नोनीजी in such cases may mean मन्नान, 'chief' or 'head,' is evident from the following two words which now occur to my mind: (1) First, Pkt. अधिकरणपन्हव (Mricchakatika, Bombay Sanskrit Series, IX.4 and 5.5-1), Skt. अधिकरणपन्हव or अधिकरणपन्हज, as the commentator translates, explaining it as follows: “अधिकरण स्वायत्तिकपन्हव योगिता ... अवसत हिति गुणवते, तत्त्वम न म कार्: प्र न व: ...”
Thus the word means 'a judge' who is the मन्नान or मन्नान of a court. (2) The second word is Pali धार्मिकपन्हज (Jatakas, No. 31t Fausboll, Vol. I, p. 199, l. 27; The Commentary on the Dharmapada, PTS, Vol. I, p. 69, l. 5), and it similarly means 'the head-man of a village or villages;' The root नृज from which नोनीजी or नोन्हज is derived primarily means here पलन, 'to protect,' and secondarily 'to rule,' as is evident in the words महर्षिज, सिलिज, etc., meaning 'a king'; and in such cases it does not mean अभयारण 'to eat.' So there is no straining whatever, as Mr. Jayaswal thinks, in his own explanation of the term शाकपार्थिव, as 'the सादा-रुलिंग.'

It is to be noted here that as the two terms have been explained above, the word शाक in शाकपार्थिव can never mean here 'vegetables,' for then the whole compound word would imply 'the धार्मिक or मन्नान, i.e., chief' or, 'head' of 'vegetables,' which is absurd.

The authors of the third explanation, i.e., शाकपार्थिव, seem not to have clearly understood the import of Patanjali's शाकपार्थिव; and have paid no heed to शाकपार्थिव in Kâdikā, or else could not understand it. Evidently they have taken नोनीजी in शाक to नोन्हज to mean primarily 'one who eats,' and secondarily 'fond of.' It also appears that by the word शाक they have meant here 'vegetables.'

Here it deserves to be mentioned that according to Haradatta, the author of Padamañjari, a commentary on the Kâdikā, the real reading of the compound word under discussion is शाकपार्थिव, though he has also given the reading accepted generally, i.e. शाकपार्थिव. पारिवि, means, as he has explained, "प्रायःपन्हति," a 'descendant of Prithu.'

It is needless to say that the present note strengthens the views held by Mr. Jayaswal.

VIDHUSEKHAHRA BHATTACHARYA.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

SHAHBANDER—PORT OFFICER.

The following extracts from the Annual Report of the British Adviser to the State of Trengganu for 1919 show that in the modern Malay States under British Rule, the Shahbandar is the Port-Officer as distinguished from the Customhouse Officer:

1. "No proper trade returns are kept. The following values, supplied by the Shahbandar, are for the port of Kuala Trengganu only:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imports</th>
<th>Exports</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1,780,784</td>
<td>1,330,150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,417,645</td>
<td>1,718,428</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Duties collected were $47,876 in 1336. $63,540 in 1337."

2. "The Superintendent of the Chandu [Insecticidal Drugs] Department (Che Da Omar) is also in charge of the Customs and Shahbandar Offices at Kuala Trengganu."

R. C. TEMPLE.
THE HISTORY OF THE NIZAM SHAHI KINGS OF AHMADNAGAR.

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL T. W. HAIG, C.S.I., C.M.G., C.B.E.

(Continued from p. 210.)

LXXVI.—An Account of Murtaza Nizam Shāh's Expedition, with Ibrahim Qutb Shāh, Against 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh, and of the Conclusion of Peace with Murtaza Nizam Shāh by 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh and of His Revenge on Ibrahim Qutb Shāh.

As 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh had repeatedly violated his treaties and broken the peace with Murtaza Nizam Shāh, Murtaza was constantly devising plans of revenge against him with a view to putting a stop to the strife caused by him. At this time Ibrahim Qutb Shāh sent an envoy to Ahmadnagar to ask pardon for his former acts of enmity against Murtaza Nizam Shāh and to conclude a treaty of peace. It was also now reported to the king by the Khānkhānān, who was pressed, that the fortress of Bijapur was falling into ruins, and that 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh was so careless and negligent that he was paying no heed to the business of repairing it. It was also said that the spirit of the army of Bijapur had been broken by the death of Kishvar Khan and other amirs, and the capture of Nur Khan, all these amirs having been among the leading officers of the Bijapur kingdom. The Khānkhānān's advice was that this opportunity should not be missed, but that Murtaza Nizam Shāh should march with Ibrahim Qutb Shāh against Bijapur, should break the power of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh and thus free himself from anxiety, and should regain possession of Sholapur and of the townships which had formerly belonged to Ahmadnagar.

The king granted the request of Ibrahim Qutb Shāh and accepted the advice of his nobles. He then issued orders for the assembling of his army, and when the whole army was assembled at Ahmadnagar, he set out to wreak his vengeance on his enemies. Ibrahim Qutb Shāh also, agreeably to the treaty which had been made, marched at the same time from his capital with a large army, and the two kings with their armies met and encamped near Wākdarī.

When 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh heard of the offensive alliance between Murtaza Nizam Shāh and Ibrahim Qutb Shāh, he was much perturbed and alarmed, and attributed the alliance to the advice of Sayyid Shāh Abūl-Hasan, son of the late Sayyid Shāh Tāhir, who was at that time rakīl of that kingdom (Bijapur). 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh used very violent language regarding Shāh Abūl-Hasan. Shāh Abūl-Hasan was very much alarmed by what 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh said and devoted all his attention to making peace. Sayyid Murtaza,176 who had formerly been in the service of Ahmadnagar and had fled and taken refuge with 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh, owing to the fear of Khunjah Humayūn, was on most friendly and intimate terms with Shāh Abūl-Hasan, and, relying on the clemency and generosity of Murtaza Nizam Shāh, volunteered to go to the Ahmadnagar camp and do what he could to promote peace and compose the strife.

Accordingly he set out from Bijapur at dead of night and rode at such speed to the camp of Murtaza Nizam Shāh that he covered the distance, which was three days' journey, before the morning. He then stabled his horse and, covering his head in a blanket, made his way towards the royal court. As he could not obtain admission on his own authority, he went

176 This was Sayyid Murtaza Sabavuri who afterwards re-entered the service of Ahmadnagar, took a prominent part in the conquest of Berar, was appointed governor of that province and afterwards, being defeated in his attempt to overthrow the regent Salībat Khān, fled from the Dakan and entered the service of Akbar, and was employed by him in the campaigns against Ahmadnagar.
to the Khānkhānān’s tent. The Khānkhānān asked him why he had come, but he replied that he would give no account of his mission until the Khānkhānān took him into the royal presence. The Khānkhānān thus found himself obliged to report Sayyid Murtaẓā’s arrival and his refusal to declare its object except in the king’s presence. A chamberlain then came and escorted him to the royal presence, and when he arrived before the king he made a low obeisance and remained for a long time with his head on the ground. The courtiers told him to raise his head, but he paid no heed to them and remained as he was until the king deigned to ask him why he had come. He then raised his head and began by uttering an encomium on the king and praying for his long life and prosperity. He then proceeded to state the object of his mission and said that Shāh Ḥāfiz’s long and faithful service to Ahmādābād was known to all and that his eldest son and successor had also rendered faithful service to the kingdom of Ahmādābād and was now like to suffer death on account of his loyal devotion to Ahmādābād. He then explained that ‘Ali ‘Adil Shāh attributed the invasion of Bījāpur by Murtaẓā Niẓām Shāh and Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh to the advice of Shāh Abū-l-Ḥasan, and that if Murtaẓā Niẓām Shāh persisted in the expedition and marched on to Bījāpur, it could hardly be doubted that Shāh Abū-l-Ḥasan would be put to death. He also said that if the king would give Shāh Abū-l-Ḥasan a safe conduct he would visit him. The king replied that if Shāh Abū-l-Ḥasan would visit him he would be guided by his advice.

When Sayyid Murtaẓā obtained this answer, which was entirely in accordance with his hopes, and was thus encouraged to hope for better things, he at once took his leave and hastened back with all speed to Bījāpur to tell Abū-l-Ḥasan how he had fared. Shāh Abū-l-Ḥasan was much relieved. He sent a rich pīshkash consisting of money, goods, horses, and jewels to Murtaẓā Niẓām Shāh, who honoured him by accepting it. The nobles who had taken the field with the king, and especially the Khānkhānān, also sent rich presents to the king, and Shāh Abū-l-Ḥasan made great efforts to induce the Khānkhānān to join him in advising the king to stop the war. These efforts were effectual, and the Khānkhānān and the other nobles reminded the king that Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh had been a determined stirrer up of strife and breaker of treaties and that his past treacherous conduct, especially in the affair of Sangamner, was well known. They represented that now that Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh was in the king’s power, having himself walked into the snare, the king had an excellent opportunity of avenging himself on him for his past misconduct and of taking from him, without difficulty, the large number of horses and elephants which was one of the chief sources of his pride and power. Such an opportunity they said, might never occur again and was not to be neglected, as the king, after humbling Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh, could easily reduce the fortresses of Kaulās and Udgir, which were among the largest and strongest fortresses in those regions, and thus inflict on Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh one punishment after another and display to the whole world the results of bad faith and breach of treaties.

Thus the king, by the advice of the Khānkhānān, granted Shāh Abū-l-Ḥasan’s requests and set himself to take revenge on Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh. Accordingly he commanded that his army should surround the camp of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh and plunder and slay. The next morning, when the sun rose, the army of Ahmādābād attacked Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh’s camp from every side, pouring showers of arrows into it and attacking their late allies with the sword.

177 According to Firishta (ii. 269) ‘Ali ‘Adil Shāh had received from Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh a sympathetic letter, which Shāh Abū-l-Ḥasan showed to Murtaẓā Niẓām Shāh.
Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh was still in his tent when he was awakened from his sleep by the shouts of the mail-clad warriors. He awoke from his sleep to perplexity, and finding that he could not withstand the foe, abandoned all idea of earning fame by valour in the fight, and leaving his insignia of royalty, all his horses and elephants, his tents, pavilions, and baggage, fled with a few courtiers, while his army, seeing that their king was not at their head, abandoned the fight, dispersed and fled. The army of Ahmadnagar, enriched with the gold and jewels and other spoils of the army of Golconda, came to the royal court. Besides these, large numbers of handsome slave boys and beautiful slave girls, of horses, and of elephant fell into their hands. After the royal share of the spoils had been set apart, the rest was remitted to the army.

When Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh was fleeing in terror before the army of Ahmadnagar, his eldest son, who was a young man of good understanding and great valour, offered to collect such of the troops as he could and to save as much as could be saved of the baggage, camp equipage, elephants and other establishments, and to bring what he could to the royal camp. Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh returned no answer to his son, but the young man's valour and boldness aroused in him such suspicion that when he arrived at his halting place he caused poison to be given to him and thus slew him. Wise men attributed the ill-fortune that led him to murder his son to his constant bad faith with Murtašā Nīgām Shāh.

The writer heard from Sayyid Khaibar Shāh, Mir Tabātabā, who was one of the most famous learned men of his time, and was at that time in close attendance on Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh, that when Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh fled before the victorious army, he alone of all his attendants was with him. Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh turned to him and said, 'These people, who have broken their treaty with me and turned our friendship into strife, will surely suffer in their faithlessness, will they not?' Sayyid Khaibar Shāh made bold to say, 'It is that for this world for which we are suffering now, and we should now lose no time in escaping from this whirlpool of destruction, lest we be overtaken by punishment for what is past.'

After the rout of Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh's army, the victorious army of Ahmadnagar marched against the fortress of Udghar, besieged it, and took it by storm. Murtašā Nīgām Shāh then placed one of his own officers in the fortress, with instructions to repair it. The king then returned in triumph to the capital with his army.

LXXVII.—An account of the king's march with his army to the town of Junnār, and of his visit to Shīvner, and of the events which happened at this time.

After the conclusion of peace between 'Ali 'Adīl Shāh and Murtašā Nīgām Shāh and the flight of Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh, Shāh Ḥaidar and Shāh Jamāl-ud-dīn Ḥusain Injū, who were honoured by close attendance on and association with the king, were, by the royal command, associated with the administration of the state, and by their means the base actions of the Khān̄khanān were by degrees brought to the knowledge of the king, until he became estranged from and enraged with his servant, and the Khān̄khanān suffered the punishment which was his due for his ingratitude to Ḥūnzah Humāyūn, and was, by the king's order, imprisoned in the fortress of Jond, the air of which is fouler than that of any other fort.

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178 The eldest son of Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh was 'Abdūl Qudīr. Ibrāhīm on his return to Golconda, caused him to be imprisoned in a fortress, and ultimately had him poisoned. F. ii. 260, 336.

179 Firuza says (ii. 261) that the two causes of the downfall of Mūltā Ḥusain Tabrizī, Khān̄khanān were his having compassed the death of 'Īnāyatullāh and his having counselled the plundering of Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh's camp. Sayyid 'Ali seems to have been, for some reason, a partisan of Ḥūnzah Humāyūn, but the Khān̄khanān's share in the destruction of the queen-mother's power can hardly have been imputed to him as an offence, for the measure had been not only a service to the State but a service to Murtašā Nīgām Shāh personally.
After the disgrace of the Khânhânân the office of vakîl and pîšgâvā was bestowed upon Shâh Haidar, son of Shâh Tâhir, and Shâh Jamâl-ud-din Husain Injû was associated with him in this high office, and these two Sayyids undertook the administration of the state.

At this time the king marched with his army on a tour to Junnâr for the purpose of inspecting the fort of Shivner and enjoying its air. On the way thither Shâh Haidar remained in one of the villages on the road to rest, and the royal army arrived at Junnâr. At this time the wife of Shâh Haidar, who was the daughter of Shâh Qivâm-ud-din Nûr Bakhsh, one of the greatest of the Sayyids of Khurásân and 'Irâq, arrived in the kingdom of Ahmadnagar from 'Irâq, and sent a message to the king requesting him to honour with a visit her lodging, which was on his way. The king acceded to her request and honoured her with a visit. The lady entertained him with choice dishes, beverages and fruits, and presented him with costly gifts, among which was a beautifully written and richly bound book. The king was much surprised with the lady's knowledge and by the royal entertainment which she had provided for him, and after expressing his thanks returned to his camp.

On the following day Shâh Haidar rejoined the royal camp, and when he heard of the banquet which his wife had given to the king he was much perturbed and annoyed, and in his disgust ceased to have any concern with affairs of state, remaining apart from the royal camp, until it returned to the capital.

When the royal camp reached the fort of Jond, the king, angered by the thought of the murder of Maulana 'Inâyatullah and of the other evil acts of the Khânhânân, ordered Bisat Khân to go up into the fort and to subject the Khânhânân to disgraceful treatment. Bisat Khân obeyed this order and the royal camp then moved towards the capital.

Farhâd Khân requested the king to honour his jagîr village of Nandgâon, which was near the line of march, with a visit, in order that he might pay his respects to the king there, and the king granted this request and turned aside towards Nandgâon. On the way that army came to a deep river in flood, the passage of which was very difficult. The king, with some of his immediate attendants entered a small boat and proceeded to cross. When the boat reached midstream it was swamped and overturned, and all who were in it fell into the water. The king swam first to one and then another of his attendants, caught hold of them and drew them to the bank one by one until he had saved them all.

When the king reached his camp, he, in accordance with the advice of some of his loyal counsellors, honoured Shâh Haidar by paying him a visit, although Shâh Haidar had neglected affairs of state, the administration of which was now entrusted entirely to Shâh Jamâl-ud-din Husain. The king now, having regard to Shâh Haidar's excellent service, summoned his wife from Junnâr, gave her a suitable dwelling house and a gift of a lakh of tângas for her daily expenditure, and again honoured her with a visit. This lady remained for a long time in India and then, owing to her quarrel with her husband, returned to 'Irâq.

LXXVIII.—On account of the King's expedition against the turbulent Franks and of its conclusion.

The king's ambition was ever to uphold the honour and glory of Islâm and of the holy law, and as at this time the Franks extended their dominions over the land of Islâm and oppressed and persecuted its inhabitants, the king formed the intention of undertaking a holy war against that people, regarding the abolition of the tyranny of that hellish tribe as the most important affair then before him. He therefore assembled his army and
marched to Chaul, a port on the Arabian Sea, where he encamped. The army then laid siege to the fortress of Revdanda, which was the headquarters of the Franks, and opened the campaign. The Franks resisted manfully and fought like men. The siege artillery was brought up by the king’s order and opened fire on the fortress, destroying the houses and buildings of the polytheists therein and casting down their standard. The Franks replied with a fire like hail from their guns, muskets, and catapults, and the fight raged fiercely, while the din of the battle rose with a deafening roar to the sky, and the plain was watered with the blood of the brave. Meanwhile an incessant fire was kept up by both sides.

The siege continued for nine months during which time the royal army was night and day under arms, and displayed the greatest valour. The most valiant of all were the Foreigners, the Turks, the men of Dailam, the Arabs, and the Persians. The artillery did great execution among the Franks and against the defences of the fortress, and destroyed most of the buildings, dwellings, churches and places of worship of the polytheists and idolaters. Victory was on the point of declaring for the true believers, but since Shâh Jamâl-ud-din Husain, in whose hands the entire management of affairs then lay, wearied of the long siege and gave himself up to the gratification of his animal passions and spent all his time in listening to sweet music and lewd songs, he had no time to spare for the conduct of military operations, and so neglected his duties in this respect that he found it necessary to appoint Changiz Khân as his lieutenant. This excellent and able man not only showed great personal valour in the fight, but also formulated wise schemes and plans, so that in a short time his administrative ability and practical wisdom became apparent to the king.

The Franks, however, who were now reduced to great straits by the close and protracted siege, sent sums of money as bribes to the chief amirs and vazirs and encouraged them to hope for more, so that the principal officers such as Farhâd Khân, Ikhâs Khân and other amirs and vazirs began to show apathy in attacking the polytheists, and to refrain, on various excuses, from marching against them. Thus all that had been done was rendered of no avail by the treachery and lethargy of the officers of the army and the apathy and neglect of Shâh Jamâl-ud-din Husain, who had been reduced by his indulgence of his lusts to a state of complete imbecility, and Changiz Khân, who now had access to the king, advised him that nothing was to be gained by halting longer before Revdanda or by prolonging the siege. It would be wiser, he said, to patch up a temporary peace, like that

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180 Revdanda, or lower Charul, was on the same estuary as Chaul, but on the opposite bank. Firuzsha says (ii. 261) that the attack on the Portuguese was due to their insolent treatment of Muslims. According to the Portuguese, this expedition against Chaul was part of a great scheme, the partners to which were Murtâsâ Nisâm Shâh, ‘Ajlâd Shâh, and the Zamorin, for expelling the Portuguese from their possessions on the west coast of India, which were to be divided among the partners. The siege of Chaul was opened by Farhâd Khân on Nov. 30, 1569. The commandant, Luiz Ferreira de Andrade, had in Chaul but 50 horse and a small number of foot soldiers and neither provisions nor munitions to enable him to sustain a siege until Dom Francisco de Mascarenhas came to his assistance with 600 men in four galley and five small vessels, besides some barques laden with provisions. In January 1570, Murtâsâ Nisâm Shâh appeared before the place with the main body of his army, so that the besiegers numbered 34,000 horse, 100,000 foot, 16,000 sappers, and 4,000 artificers, with a great train of artillery and elephants. Further reinforcements reached the garrison, but its numbers probably never exceeded 3,000. The siege was raised in Sep. 1570. Its failure was due to treachery. All the amirs of Ahmadnagar, except one, were in the pay of the Portuguese and supplies and provisions were freely conveyed into the fortress by night. For more than nine months an army of over 150,000 men, under the immediate eye of its King, besieged a garrison of 3,000 who slew of their assailants considerably more than their own numbers, and the besiegers were at length compelled to retire discomfited.—See Dairever, i. 599.
between wolf and dog, with the crafty enemy, for most of the bravest men of the army had been slain, and it was commonly believed that the loss of the army amounted to nearly 14,000 men, while a number of the amirs and principal officers were in secret league with the enemy and had put all idea of fighting out of their minds. He advised also that the interests of the faith and the state would be best served by a retreat to the capital in order that the king might reorganize his army, and in due time avenge himself on the polytheists. The king accepted this advice and retreated towards the capital. On the way he promoted Changiz Khan from his post as deputy to the office of vakil, entrusting the whole administration to him, while Shâh Jamâl-ud-din Husain, who had gradually withdrawn himself from all affairs of state, departed, by the king’s order, with all his family and dependants from Ahmadnaqar to enter the service of the emperor Akbar, and he enjoys great honour in the rank of amir in that great emperor’s service until now, viz.—A.H. 1592 (A.D. 1599—93). Mullâ Husain, entitled Khân-khânân, who was imprisoned in the fort of Jond, was, by the advice of Changiz Khan, released, and entered the service of Râja ’Ali Khan in Burhân-pûr, where he remained until shortly before the accession of Burhân Nizâm Shâh. He was then accused of sedition and was again imprisoned and what then became of him is not known.

When the king arrived at his capital he devoted all his attention to setting matters right and repairing what was past, to which end he reassembled his army, and for the rest of this year he spent his time at the capital with his army in pleasure and enjoyment.

At this time Sayyid Murtazâ, some account of whom has already been given, took refuge at the royal court as an envoy from ’Ali ’Adil Shâh and was highly honoured by Murtazâ Nizâm Shâh. As the king had great regard for the Sayyid, owing to his former services, he would not give him leave to depart, but received him again into service and appointed him Sarsulâhdâr, a rank which is not inferior to the vizârat or the sardâri. At this time news was received that ’Ali ’Adil Shâh had imprisoned Shâh Abû-l-Hasan.

(To be continued.)

FOLK-TALES OF THE CAR NICOBARESE.

COLLECTED BY THE REV. G. WHITEHEAD.

Prefatory Note by Sir R. C. Temple.

[The following twenty folk-tales communicated by Car Nicobarese children are of special value to the folklore student. In several cases they follow a track widely different from the usual legends, and where they deal with well-worn stories they present them in an hitherto unknown and varied garb.

The tales, so Mr. Whitehead informs me, are all familiar to the Car Nicobarese and most of the matter has been taken from school children’s essays. Where necessary, footnotes have been added by Mr. Whitehead or myself to elucidate the text.—R. C. T. ]

181 Jamâl-ud-din Husain Injût resigned his office of vakîl and pasâd before the raising of the siege of Chaul, and returned to Ahmadnaqar. Murtazâ Nizâm Shâh, on his return thither, banished him to Burhân-pûr and he entered the service of Akbar, in which he rose to the rank of Commander of 3,000. Under Jahângîr he attained the rank of Commander of 5,000 and received the title of ‘Azûd-ud-Daulah. Murtazâ, after his return to Ahmadnaqar imprisoned Farhâd Khan and Kihrâ Khan and appointed Khvâja Mirâk with the title of Changiz Khan, vakîl and pasâd. Khudâvand Khan, whose father was from Mashhad and his mother an African, Jamshîd Khan Shirâsi, and others were made amirs at the same time.—F. ii. 282.
I.—THE DELUGE.

There was once a great flood in this land, and all the surface of the earth was covered with water.

Now there was one man who was fortunate enough to swim to a great tree which was not entirely immersed in the water. He climbed the tree and lived up in the branches of it until the waters were assuaged.

When he saw any cocoanuts floating about in the water, or any dead pigs and fowls with distended stomachs, he would swim out to them and bring them in; and there up among the branches of the tree, he would eat his food.

At last the rain stopped; and then, little by little, the water decreased; and little by little he got more room, and at last was able to get down to the solid earth.

Then, when the waters had gone down, he spied a bitch perched up on the branches of a tree, its ear being spiked by the great thorn of the kun-hōōl [prickly-palm]. So he went and released it, and took it, and made it his wife; and they lived together, the bitch and the man; and they had offspring which was human.

So the people of these parts copy the dog in wearing the ki-sāt, for it has tails hanging down like a dog’s tail; their turban too has ears standing up like the dog’s ears. The people also say of themselves that they are the offspring of that bitch.

II.—THE METAMORPHOSES OF THE SUN AND MOON.

Long long ago when the world was new and the skies were still low down and near to the earth, the moon was changed into the sun. The sun too was changed into the moon, and the heat was terrific, so that boards cracked and the ground was cleft asunder.

So one day the ancients who dwelt in these lands of ours met together to take counsel as to what was to be done. As a result of their deliberations, they directed the fletchers to make some long-bows, and they prepared arrows of ta-chōi and of cha-lōk.

Then they shot at the sky until the sky removed a long way off.

Some of the arrows they shot up at the sky never came down again, but remained stuck up in the sky. Those made of the strands of the cocoanut-leaf burst into flame and became stars. Those made of ta-chōi sticks did not burst into flame.

III.—ABOUT TREES IN DAYS OF YORE.

Long long ago, when this world of ours was young, trees would be obedient to men, and go wherever they were told. People could drive them far away from their original place.

So in the days when the trees were obedient to the commands of men, we did not get wearied when we travelled, for we would fasten our loads on the branch of a tree, letting the load hang down, duly balanced; and then we would drive the trees along.

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1 The scanty Nicobarese loin-cloth. [In my Census Report, 1901, I remark, pp. 215-216, "The Nicobarese man at home wears only an infinitesimal loin-cloth, or rather string, fastened behind with a wagging tag. This must have been his garment from all time, because of the persistent reports that these people were naked and tailed from the days of Ptolemy onwards to the middle of the 17th century."—R.C.T.]

2 A band round the head made of the spathe of the betel-nut. [This band may, however, have a common origin with the now white cotton cincture round the head worn by royalty, courtiers and elders in Burma and Siam.—R.C.T.]

3 [For a variant form of this story of origin, see Census Report, 1901, p. 211.—R.C.T.]

4 Or, "changed itself." 5 Literally, " for."

6 The bark of the ta-chōi (ta-ū-leu) is used for tying thatch, and the small twigs, which are very white, light and brittle, are used by the witch-doctors to scourge the devils.

7 The strands of the cocoanut-leaf, much used in making brooms.
So too when we wanted to bring in our things from the gardens in the jungle, all we had to do was to put the load in balanced quantities on the branches of a tree; and the tree would of itself take them off to the village.

In those days, too, people who could not walk could get up into a tree, and they would be borne safely to their home or where they wished to go, whilst quietly sitting on the branches of the tree.

Now there was once quite a large number of people going out into the jungle at the same time, and also coming back to el-panam. Their loads were heavy and the distance great, so that their strength was somewhat overtaxed. So they packed their loads on the branches of the trees and drove the trees along. But as the trees were going along, the people who were behind went into fits of laughter at the comical sight of seeing the trees carrying their loads and lumping up one against the other. So the trees turned stubborn and would not move any more, for they were angry at being laughed at. So nowadays we have often to overtax our strength in carrying our own loads when we travel, because trees have now become fixtures.

IV.—THE PIXIES.

Once upon a time the people of Malacca9 used to go down to the underworld through a narrow passage. It was dark in the passage, so they needed cocoanut-leaf torches.

Down there, lying on the soft grass, they found lots of eggs belonging to the "little folks" who lived down there. Every time they went down, the people of Malacca would steal these eggs.

On one occasion they came across the "little folks" and said to them, "Where are your parents?" "We are the old folks," was the answer. Then the people of the upper world (from Malacca) challenged the "little folks" to a dancing competition; and the pixies did not come off second best.

But the people of the upper world were never able after that occasion to go down there again and to steal the eggs; for the pixies blocked the way with the spathe of betel-nut, which turned into stone.

They never come back again now-a-days,10 for there is no road.


Long ago there used to be a small island off the headland at Kakana12, and a sa-ka13 thought it would steal the island and have it for its own place. So in the night, when there was no one to see it, the little bird picked up the island and made off with it.

The bird was not able to go quickly; for the island was a heavy load; and whilst she was still on her way, the day began to dawn; and as the bird did not wish people to see her in the act of theiving, she dropped the island anywhere and anyhow; and through her haste it fell wrong side up. However, she left it as it was and did not trouble to put things straight, as in any case it was not worth very much.

9 The annexe of the village by the shore, where the public buildings are.
10 A village on the south-east coast of Car Nicobar.
11 I cannot make out the reference here. It can hardly refer to death, for the Nicobaresse Hades is not in the underworld, but in the lowest air, especially in certain parts of the jungle, el ki-tek-ke-re.
12 The "Little One" is the rocky islet, Batti Malv, equidistant from Car Nicobar and the next inhabited island, Chowna, being about twenty miles from each. Its area is about three-quarters of a square mile.
13 A small bird that lives on insects.
So that island—it is called the "Little One"—remains there, and serves as a guide-post to us when we go in our canoes to Chowra.

VI.—ON THE ORIGIN OF BATS.

Long long ago, when there were still no bats in this land, a ship came here from some foreign country or other. It sailed straight for Arong, and there it was wrecked, on account of the stormy seas and high winds. The ship was cast up on the sands, and broken in pieces by the waves.

All the poor foreigners suffered greatly, and only a few of them were able to swim to the shore of our land. These went inland and struck the "forbidden" land in their search for food.

They were Coringhees, and their clothing was all tattered and torn. They were amusing themselves by swinging on the boughs of trees and hanging down from the branches by their arms, when they were all turned into bats. Big people were turned into the big variety of bat (the flying-fox); people not so big as they into the medium sized bat; and small children into the small variety of bat; and they still hang down by their arms from the branches of the trees.

There were no bats here before that.

VII.—ON THE ORIGIN OF SHARKS.

Once upon a time, in the olden days, there were some very wicked people who used to live between Tamalu and Pōokō, at a place which does not exist now, but was then called Tarulū. Those people were barbarous savages and used to bewitch folk.

So the other people rose up against them, and slew a number of them; and the remnant fled to our side of the island to a place then named Chōökvol, which is not far from Tittop, and there they built houses for themselves. These savages thought nothing of killing a person; they would often kill a stranger on sight.

Now it happened that two children were going to el-pannam, and the elder was carrying his young brother on his shoulders. They did not notice that there was a man coming up behind them with a sharp spear in his hand.

That man hurried up stealthily and stabbed the little fellow in the rump; whereupon he cried out, "Oh! I am hurt."

So the elder brother said to the stranger, "Please do not tease the little man and make him wriggle about, for he will be falling down." He did not know that his brother had been stabbed behind. He thought the man was merely tickling the child; but he had stabbed him.

Again the man stabbed the child, this time under the armpit; and the blood gushed out, and the child fell down dead.

Then, at last, the elder brother realised that the child had been stabbed; and he ran off as fast as he could, leaving the dead child, for he was afraid of those people; and he told his parents what had happened.

14 A village on the west coast of Car Nicobar.
15 The land of spirits and devils.
16 [Karingas, i.e., Kalingas, Klingas, from the northern part of the Madras coast. See ante, vol. XXX, p. 350.—R.C.T.].
17 Two small villages on the east coast of Car Nicobar.
18 A hamlet on the north coast of the island.
19 The annexe to the village where the public buildings and cemetery are.
So the people held a council, and decided to slaughter all those savages. They attacked them, and most of them were killed; but some swam out into the deep sea and were turned into a very voracious kind of shark. So these sharks will always eat human beings, if they can get at them, in the sea.

VIII.—THE CRUEL MOTHER.

Once upon a time there was a man and his wife who had three children. One day the man wanted to go to spear fish; and he spoke to his wife and said, "Tell the children to be on the lookout for my coming back and to gather cocoanut shells for firing to roast the fish that I hope to catch."

So she bade the children do what her husband had said; and they collected the cocoanut shells, carrying them in their arms.

The woman then took a razor and rubbed it and made it sharp. After that she told the children to make a fire; and when they had made the fire, she called her eldest son to come to her, saying, "Come, and I will shave your head."

He did not know that his mother wanted to cut off his head; so he came and she began to shave his head, when, gash! and she had cut his head off.

She next called the second son and did the same to him; and then she threw their heads into the fire and burnt them.

After that, she called her youngest child, but he answered, "No! No! I am not coming; for you will do to me as you have done to my two brothers." 

Then said the mother, "No, I would not like you to fare like them, for you are the one that bites up and partially chews the betel-nut for me. You are my favourite child." But she was only enticing the child to come to her, and then she cut off his head too.

When the father came back, he said to his wife, "Where are the children?" "I don't know," she said, "Perhaps they are playing among the ta-chib bushes." The father called the children, but there was no answer.

Again he said to his wife, "Where are the children?" She replied, "Perhaps they have gone to fetch water; I do not know. Perhaps they are hiding behind the boxes." The man did not find his children.

Now her husband was hungry; so the woman told him to get his food out of the basket that was hung up (as usual) near the fireplace. So he had his breakfast.

When he had finished eating, his wife said to him, "Well! it is the palms of your children's hands that you have been eating," and she uttered the cry of the sea-eagle, "Auk! Auk! Auk!" and flew away as an eagle. The man leaned back against the wall of his house and wept, and beat his head against the wall. He was turned into an owl, and never ceases to bewail his sorrows. His wife was turned into a sea-eagle, and she never ceases catching fish.

IX.—WHEN THE WORLD WAS YOUNG.

THE STORY OF TÔT-TA-RONG.

Long ago, in the days of yore, there was a man, Tôt-ta-rong by name, who was violently in love with a beautiful damsel, and anxious by all means to get her for his wife. Time after time he would come to her to speak with her and to urge his request; but the girl simply did not care in the least for Tôt-ta-rong.

30 Literally, "companions."
Töt-ta-rong did not know what to do, for the girl always gave him a persistent and most emphatic “No!” So he was utterly miserable, and felt inclined to commit suicide on account of his grief.

Now it happened to be the time of the great ossuary feast \(^{21}\) in his village, and great crowds of people had come in from the other villages for the occasion. It had got on towards midnight in the bright moonlight; and the people were coming in from their gardens in the jungle, and were carrying round the pigs, which were to be killed for food at the feast.

Töt-ta-rong went round too, and saw the people carrying the pigs—a merry crowd and a pleasant sight, sufficient (one would have thought) to banish sorrow from any heart. But Töt-ta-rong found no pleasure in what he saw. On the contrary, he hated it all on account of his grief; and he could not endure it.

There was none among his friends either to comfort him; for they were one and all busy, seeing to the comforts of their numerous guests.

He felt that he must do something to assuage his sorrow on account of that woman; he would kill himself and thereby perhaps work out her death too.

“However,” he thought to himself, “I will go to that woman once more and try to win her. I will speak my final words to her.” So he went and spoke to her once more, but she never deigned to answer him a word.

After he had considered his course of action, he went home and took a long dah (or sword), and forthwith went out into the jungle. His intention was to cleave asunder the island, in the north-west portion of it, the part where the lady dwelt and where all that crowd of feasters were.

So he went on until he came to “Cleft Hill.”\(^{22}\) He got up on to a rock in the midst of where the dancers were; for, owing to the great numbers of guests, there was dancing going on in all the somewhat scattered groups of houses round about. Then Töt-ta-rong drew his sword and tried to cleave the earth with it. But the earth did not part asunder when he marked it with the point of the sword.

So he took a piece of ta-choi wood\(^{23}\); this he fashioned like a dah (a sword or chopper); and then, when he had marked the ground with the point of it immediately the earth rent asunder at his feet—from “Cleft Hill” even to “Deep.”\(^{24}\)

When the ground was being thus cleft asunder, Töt-ta-rong was in two minds as to where he would like to be on the part which was moving off elsewhere. Ultimately, he decided to go away with the part of the island that was being rent off. But already there was a chasm formed, and when Töt-ta-rong tried to jump it, he slipped and fell.

Meanwhile, the portion of land that was moving away thought better of it, and decided to come back again, and join on to the main part of the island as before; and so Töt-ta-rong got crushed between the rocks.

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\(^{21}\) [This is the most important of the festivals of the Car Nicobarese. It is known as kana-kdun=eat pig, and used to mean “when the remains of the dead are disinterred.” The festival is observed every third or fourth year and consists of a course of ceremonies lasting from one new moon to another, in the middle of which, at full moon, the pigs are slaughtered and eaten. For a detailed account of the ceremonies, see Census of India, 1901, Andamans and Nicobars, pp. 226-229.—R.C.T.]

\(^{22}\) Ruung Tö-achi, which lies a little to this side of the hamlet of Pasa, on Sawri Bay. The hill takes its name from Töt-ta-rong and his adventures.

\(^{23}\) See ante, p. 235, note 6.

\(^{24}\) Tö-a-ri, some rocks on the shore, quite close to the mission at Mous.
When the severed portion of the land saw the blood of Töt-ta-rong, it felt hysterically sick at the sight, and in disgust again moved off and became Little Andaman Island; at least, so say some travelled Nicobarese. The body of poor Töt-ta-rong was turned into a rock, and strewn on the beach lies his hair, which the uninitiated think to be the decaying fallen leaves of the casuarina pine.

Meanwhile, the cleaving of the ground was going on, right up to the place whence the sound of the revelling came; and then and there, friends and lovers, husbands and wives, parents and children, were being parted asunder for ever; for some were on the land which remained here, and some on that which moved away.

Those left here had no relics of their friends, nothing to remind them of the dear ones who had been carried off. So they picked up the empty nuts which their friends had drunk, and put them in boxes and stowed them carefully away; and every now and then they would open the boxes and take out the empty nuts, and kiss them, and then put them back again, in sorrowful remembrance of the dear ones departed.

(To be continued.)

THE MİMĂMSĂ DOCTRINE OF WORKS.

By K. A. NILĂKANTA SASTRY, M.A.

(Continued from p. 220.)

No. III.

(Śabarascvāmin on Jaimini VIII, 1, 34—Extract.)

Now all this trouble is for propitiating the deity. The deity when pleased gives a man the fruit. Sruti says this—“Indra only when pleased himself pleases him with offspring and cattle”. And that which has been known to be the method of pleasing Indra, the same has to be repeated whenever Indra has to be pleased. We say here (in reply)—this may be so, provided the fruit comes from the deity. But the fruit is from the sacrifice and Śruti says “He should sacrifice who desires heaven.” As for “Indra only when pleased, etc.”, we remark that the deity is mentioned in a secondary sense. The deity is part of (secondary to) the sacrifice and it is said figuratively (lit. for praise) to be the giver, as for instance in (the statements) “The minister gave me the village”, “The general gave me the village”. Neither “minister” nor “general” but only the king is lord of the village. While the others are secondary, the talk about their giving is merely for praise (figurative).

No. IV.

(Śabarascvāmin on Jaimini, III, 3, 44—Extract.)

He (Pūshan) has no share (in the Havis). Objection: That which is given to a deity must be the share of the deity. Reply: This is simply renounced with an indication of the deity (with the deity in the mind). Mere renunciation does not constitute the proprietorship of the deity, for the property—proprietor-relation can arise only from (the) acceptance (of the thing renounced). And there is not the slightest evidence that the deity has accepted (it). For that which is got by one may be said to be his share. And the deity does not receive the Havis. Therefore, there is no Pūshan’s share. 26

26 Little Andaman is many times larger than Car Nicobar, and some 50 miles distant from it.

25 The printed text here gives no sense, I have corrected it with the aid of a manuscript belonging to Pandit A. Chinnaswami Sastri of the College of Oriental Learning—B.H.U.
We are now in a position to estimate the correct Mimāṃsā view of the nature and existence of gods. The texts translated above show the remarkable amount of dialectical skill displayed by the commentator—the only limits recognised by him being the Eternity and Infallibility of the Veda and the Duty to Action that follows from it. He spends great force in combating the idea of the personal nature of the deity; he argues by the dry light of reason and logic applied to the Veda, and his final position is an attitude of scepticism rather than of dogmatic atheism. His suggestion that TRADITION and POPULAR BELIEF are based on misunderstandings of the true meaning and purpose of the Veda might furnish the text for a treatise on the growth of Popular Mythology, although one feels that these popular developments were perhaps more natural than the Mimamsist's inferences and explanations.

Is the sound "Indra"; then, all that is left of the great Vedic hero and god? It may be so. Mimāṃsā is not concerned with that, in effect it does not know. Does not then the Mimamsist believe his own Veda when it talks about these gods? The answer is, how can anybody take such texts at all seriously when their neighbours make gods of stocks and stones? Either everything, down to the grass and the neighing of the steed, becomes a god or we have to go without having a god. The latter position seems far better to the Mimamsist.

This has not always been correctly understood in modern times. It has been said, "The Mimāṃsā does not recognise the existence of god. Nevertheless, this fact interferes as little here as in the Sāṅkhya and the other systems with belief in the supernatural beings of the popular Indian faith." This is hard to maintain in the face of the texts translated above. The Sāṅkhya and other systems do not concern us now. The discussion of Šabarasvāmin is almost entirely an attempt to contradict and set aside what may with great propriety be called "popular Indian faith". Therefore to say that the Mimamsist has "belief in supernatural beings" after all the trouble he has taken over the question is to make a statement that derives no support from the Mimāṃsā system as such. It is true that the position of Jainini and Šabarasvāmin fell in the course of centuries more and more out of touch with the realities of "popular Indian faith". But here, we seek to understand the Mimāṃsā system as it was and its place in speculation. It is clear that no professed Mimamsist of any great standing has ever swerved from the position of Jainini. It is difficult to be dogmatic about the views of the Prabhākara school in the present state of knowledge; that is perhaps no vital difference between Prabhākara and his more famous rival Kumārila Bhatta on this matter. Again, on the strength of one of Kumārila's verses in the introductory portion of the Ślokavārtika it has sometimes been hastily assumed that Kumārila makes out the Mimāṃsā to be theistic. The assumption, however, is proved to be wrong by (1) Kumārila's own Tuptikā on Texts I and II, translated above; (2) Pārthasārathy Miśra's comment on the verse of Kumārila in the introductory portion of the Ślokavārtika which gives apparently the true explanation of Kumārila's words, and (3) the position of the same writer in his Sāstra-Dīpikā in which he follows Kumārila rather closely. But it seems clear that Kumārila is somewhat reluctant to drive the agnostic conclusion hard. There is a note of hesitancy in his remarks on the question. Personally he seems to have been a theist.

46 Reference may be made here to the trenchant remarks of Pārthasārathy Miśra in his Śastra-
dīpikā towards the close of his comments on Jainini IX, I, 6-10.
47 R. Garbe, Loc. cit., note 4 above. Reference may here be made to the article on "Atheism" in the Encyc. Brit., XI Edn., which distinguishes three types of "Atheism," among which Mimāṃsā may be said to be of the last or critical type.
49 Vida note 46. See Dr. Jiva's Prabhâkara Mimāṃsâ, p. 85 ff.
And his first verse in the Sloka-vartika which is, for instance, clearly a salutation to a personal deity is explained on the pure Mimamsa basis by the annotator only by twisting the text in a rather merciless fashion. A later Mimamsa was so saturated with the “popular Indian faith” that he stood aghast at what he had just written, following the lead of Jaimini and other great Mimamsists after him, and exclaimed penitently 50.

It is also not without significance that Vedanta-Desika named one of his many productions Sekhara-Mimamsa, which is sufficient indication that Mimamsa has generally little to do with Isvara. But this Sekhara version of Mimamsa is that of a divine who was a Vedantist first and Mimamsa only by the way. It may also be stated that Vasudeva Dikshita, an eloquent South Indian annotator of very recent times, seeks to quarrel with Sabaravamin for his interpretation of Jaimini’s views and undertakes to show that Jaimini never meant what Sabaravamin holds and that Kumariya admitted the personal nature of the deity.

It is thus abundantly clear that the genuine Mimamsa position on the question appealed less and less to the Indian mind, especially after the great days of Saikara. It is also clear that there is a strong and almost continuous Mimamsa tradition against the acknowledgment of a personal deity or deities. But the voice of the Mimamsa becomes fainter, and even professed Mimamsists like Kshaja Deva maintain their position only in theory, and in practice join the herd against whose beliefs Jaimini and Sabara had preached, in their day. The attitude of Vasudeva Dikshita is, like that of Vedanta Desika, strongly coloured by his Vedantic prepossessions. In fact, he quotes the conclusions of the Vedanta Sutras freely in support of his position in Mimamsa. We can infer from the facts adduced so far—and several others of a like nature can be easily produced—that the true Mimamsa position came to be looked upon as something close to the borderland of heterodoxy, if not entirely on the other side of the frontier. At least two large developments may be traced in the later religious history of India, each of them in its own way hostile to the genuine Mimamsa view. First came the great impetus given to the Vedanta by the life and teaching of Saikara, probably the finest intellect of India. The Advaita system as developed by Saikara furnished a common platform on which popular religion and metaphysical speculation might meet together and live in peace. At the same time, it set up an influential opposition to the Mimamsa view on many important questions of religion by adopting a rival standpoint. The rivalry was to a large extent inherent in the two systems, but it was emphasised and developed by the life-work of Saikara. The other great factor in the situation was the growth of a great longing for a personal god, communion with whom would be the highest form of bliss—a longing that accounts for the development and spread of various Bhakti cults in later-day India. In such an atmosphere the old Mimamsa view was a perilous one to keep, and even the specialists in the system became afraid of themselves. But the Mimamsa system was at no time much fitted to be a popular one. Its great interest lies in its being an important phase of speculation, and it is easy to underrate the influence exerted by the Mimamsa system on later speculation in our country.

But the allegation of Vasudeva Dikshita that Jaimini did not mean what his Bhasyakara holds is hardly one that can be accepted in the face of the unanimous verdict of other and greater writers on the position of Jaimini. The illustrious Saikara had never any doubt on

51 See his remarks in the Kutahala-Visruti, Vol. I, page 47 (Srirangam Edn.). I have not access at present to the portions of his extensive work not yet printed.
52 Cf. Barth, Religions of India, pages 94-5, for some very suggestive remarks on Neo-Hinduism.
the correct Mīmāṃsā position, which he sums up with great force and characteristic terseness in his discussion on Vedānta Sūtras, I, 3, 32. Again, Śaivaachārya in one place records side by side the opposite views taken by the Vedānta and Mīmāṃsā, where he mentions Jaimini by name. But the best authority on Jaimini's position is Jaimini himself, and his Sūtras do not leave us in the slightest doubt as to the intentions of the Sūtrakāra. He says that the deity is secondary (guna). And again, he directly comes to the conclusion that the havis is more important than the deity in the elements that make up a sacrifice. Further in discussing whether the prerogative (adhikāra) of sacrificing is confined to men or extends to others outside the human sphere, his Sūtras are very significant and form a striking contrast to the corresponding portion of the Vedānta Sūtras. In one Sūtra, Jaimini states that whoever desires the fruit can perform the sacrifice enjoined; in the next he says only they have the prerogative of doing it who can do it exactly as enjoined by the Veda. And this is supposed to be possible only by men. But in some texts of the Sūtras, two other Sūtras are ascribed to Jaimini in this place, one excluding gods and another excluding Rishis from the prerogative of performing sacrifices. It is to say the least very doubtful if these are genuine Sūtras of Jaimini. For one thing, we find the sentences in the text of Sahara's Bhāṣya on VI, 1, 5, and they do not have the look of Sūtras, though they are quite good enough to be the sentences of the great commentator. And it would be somewhat strange on Jaimini's part if, after having discussed the question of Sarvādhikāra (the prerogative of all) and restricted it to men, he added two more Sūtras regarding Devatās and Rishis. On the other hand, it is perfectly reasonable to suppose that in discussing the question of Sarvādhikāra in the light of the two Sūtras laid down by Jaimini the expounder of his system adopted a division into men, and non-men and subdivided the latter group into three sections—Devatās, Rishis, and animals and trees, for facility of discussion in the light of the Vedic texts quoted by him in the commentary on the pūrva-pāksha Sūtra. It may also be pointed out that the manner in which Saṅkara quotes the two sentences under discussion, gives no indication as to whether he understood them to be the words of Jaimini or Saharaśāmin. Personally I have no doubt that these two sentences do not form part of the Jaiminīyadarsana.

As a matter of fact, Jaimini adopts that course which may most naturally be expected of a ritualist. To ignore a personal deity may appear rank heresy in an orthodox Hindu of, say, the seventh or eighth century A.D., but not of an earlier time. From the beginning there had been a vein of scepticism in the Vedas and Brāhmaṇas, and the ritualist most naturally developed it further as his primary concern was with a religion of self-contained ritualism "well-nigh independent of the gods whom it served." The old scholiast, Yāśaka, had summed up the results of previous speculation on the form (ākāra) of the Devatās and indicated several lines of advance for his successors. It would appear that, even before Jaimini's day, this ritualism had run riot and had led to somewhat strange results. A certain Bādari is somewhat frequently referred to by Jaimini in his Sūtras, who may be described as an extremist in ritualism. According to this Āchārya, there is no relation even between the sacrifice and

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83 See his Com. on Taît. Brāh. III, 8, 8 Text cited above (Note 8).
84 Ibid., IX, 1, 10.
85 Ibid., VIII, 1, 3-24.
86 Ibid., VI, 1, 4-5.
88 They are \[\text{नववान् वेदतन्त्रानामनान्} \| \text{नवकाः कार्यानामनान्तरभान \|}\]
89 The term amanushya is actually used by Saharaśāmin here.
90 In his Bhāṣya on Vedānta Sūtra, I, 3, 26. Anandagiri in his comment on Saṅkara treats them as Sūtras.
91 Barth, op. cit., page 64.
Jaimini's position is that the sacrifice is performed for the sake of heaven, whatever that may be; and that, in the language of Mīmāṃsā, Karma is sēsha (secondary) with reference to the fruit of the same. Bādārī holds that the Karma is its own end, and, when it has been done, there is nothing else to do. This gives an idea of the fervid faith in ritualism that underlies the Mīmāṃsā. And Bādārī's positions help us to understand how little gods had to do with the Mīmāṃsā ideal of the attainment of bliss by WORKS. When the WORKS are their own end there is no question as to who or what gives the fruits of the deed and all talk about god and supernatural beings is cut at the root. Jaimini's position is that the deed gives its own reward, and as for the gods, we have no proof that they exist.

The discussion of the place of Jaimini and Śabara in the history of Indian thought is considerably hampered by the absence of any reliable results regarding the dates of these writers and by the unsettled nature of the literary chronology of ancient India. It has been usually assumed that Jaimini and the author of the Vedānta Sūtras must have been contemporaries, and the suggestion has been made that the two sets of Sūtras must have been composed somewhere between 200 and 450 A.D.63 The assumption that Jaimini and Bādārāyana were contemporaries rests on the occurrence of Jaimini's name in the Vedānta Sūtras and of Bādārāyana's in the Mīmāṃsā Sūtras and perhaps also on an ancient tradition current among the learned divines of India that Jaimini was a pupil of Bādārāyana. But this seems to be very doubtful. It is not however possible to undertake to settle the point here.64 But still more doubtful is the view that the Mīmāṃsā system has "close connection with the Vedānta doctrine".65 Far more correct is the opinion expressed by Barth that the early "antagonism between the men of the ritual and the men of speculation" developed in later times into an antagonism between their successors of the Vedānta and Mīmāṃsā schools.65 As the same writer very aptly suggests, the only thing in common between the two lines of development is that both of them, each in its own way, agreed to put the Vedic gods somewhere on the back shelf. In all other respects, the two systems are diametrically opposed. This in truth is the rationale of Saṅkara's refusal to consider the so-called Purva and Utara Mīmāṃsās as one Sāstram.66 A few points of opposition may be touched on here in order to bring out more fully the ultimate bearings of the Mīmāṃsā DOCTRINE OF WORKS.

Some idea has been given above as to how the Mimamsist interprets the Veda. On this question there is a vital difference between the Mīmāṃsā and the Vedānta. To the former the ritualistic portions of the Veda are the most important ones, and the others are to be explained or explained away as the case may be, in the light of those texts that enjoin the duty of Karma on every man. To the Vedantist, the portions literally at the end of the Veda, constitute the end of Veda, its highest aim, all the other portions being subsidiary to this highest knowledge that comes at the end. The Vedantist has not to take so much trouble to explain away the other texts that appear to go against him by their ritualism and other features. He is an idealist, and his is the unique privilege of letting the wolf and the lamb lie together in the same fold. To the Mimamsist the thing is more vital. Hence to him what constitutes the highest end of the Veda for the Vedantist is only a means to WORKS.

62 Jaimini, III, 1, 3 and Śabaraśāstīya thereon.
63 See R. Garbe on Mīmāṃsā in Hast. Cyl., Vol VIII, where H. Jacobi is referred to on the question of dates.
64 See my paper on Jaimini and Bādārāyana, I. A., 1921, pp. 167-74.
65 Barth, op. cit., 64, 5.
The metaphysical texts are secondary, calculated only to tell a man that there is a soul apart from the body and another existence after death, in order that he might look about himself and prepare for it by WORKS while there is yet time. In fact, the Mimamsa, in so far as it can be said to be a philosophy, is a philosophy of ACTION. This is distinctly recognised by Saṅkara, who spends as much powder and shot in fighting out the notion that the Vedas tell a man to be up and doing67 as Śabara does to combat the view that the deities have form. Jaimini is an unflinching exponent of Annāyasya kriyāḥatvat (the actional end of Vedas, so to say)—a notion which Saṅkara starts by refuting at the very outset. Again, Jaimini simply does not recognise the highest end of Vedantic endeavour, viz., Moksha. It does not exist for him. In truth, it is very doubtful what he would have said if the whole of the Vedantic position as Saṅkara expounds it—and Jaimini comes in for a good deal of adverse criticism at Saṅkara’s hands—were placed before him. As it is, he has nothing to say on it directly. But we may certainly infer with Bādarāyaṇa 68 that he would decline to consider that the knowledge of self led to any separate fruit, as the whole of it was for him only a means to an end, that end being the attainment of Svarga by WORKS. The result of Jaimini’s position is that the highest thought of the Upanishads has to be treated as a handmaid of ritualism—a position intrinsically very hard to maintain. On the other hand, the Vedantist has simply to ignore the bulk of the Vedas that consists of chants and rituals, or somehow attempt a weak reconciliation between the two portions of the Veda, as for instance, by saying that the performance of WORKS produces a Right frame of Mind (chitta-buddhi), and thus indirectly contributes to induce a desire for the knowledge of Brahman. In one place, Vāchaspata Miśra has attempted to prove a more direct connection between Ritualism and Soul-Knowledge69, and the performance cannot be held convincing. The point is that both the systems have agreed to accept the entire Veda as Revealed Scripture. But historically the Veda embodies different strata of religious thought and practice coming down from different ages. As is generally held at present, the Ritualistic portions of the Veda are anterior to the metaphysical Upanishads in their date of composition. The result is the Ritualist has been forced to subordinate the later religion of knowledge, while the Vedantist has to subordinate the earlier religion of Ritualism. The Mimamsaist has been described as tradition-incarnate. He does really embody in his system a more ancient phase of India’s religion than the Vedanta. The splendid, elaborate and costly Ritualism of the more ancient period was certainly developed at a time when the material conditions of human existence were such that religion could be made costly. This is the element of truth that underlies the brilliant suggestion of Mr. A. K. Coomaraswamy that the pessimistic vein in the philosophical thought of India is the result neither of climate nor of disgust with life born of a morbid mentality, but the result of drinking life to the lees70. If there is any truth in what has been said so far, the Mimamsa system may be said to embody the philosophy of a fairly prosperous and somewhat materialistic age. But the spirit with which these people went to do their religious duties—gods or no gods—is a spirit that is remarkable in many ways. And the Ritualist, down to our own days in India, has held a place worthy of honour and of respect. Says Barth71—“No sectarian movement has on the whole produced anything of such solidity as the old Smritis, anything so independent and so purely intellectual as certain philosophical Sūtras. The

67 See his elaborate and close discussion on I, 1, 4 of the Vedānta Sūtra.
68 Ibid., III, 4, 2.
69 Bhāmatī on III, 2, 40.
70 See his Buddha and the Gospel of Buddhism.
71 Religions of India, page 39.
Vaidika, who knows by heart and teaches to his disciples one or several Vedas, which he still understands at least in part, is superior to the sectarian Guru, with his unintelligible Mantras, his amulets, and his diagrams; the Yajñika, who possesses the complex science of ancient sacrifice, must be ranked above the illiterate attendant of a temple and an idol; and the Agnishotrin, who, while diligent in his own business, keeps up his sacred fires, and with his wife and children, conforms to the prescriptions of his hereditary ritual, is a more serviceable and moral being than the Fakir and even the Buddhist monk.

BOOK-NOTICES.


The second issue of Epigraphia Birmanica is as valuable as the first, which dealt with a quadrilingual inscription, including a version in the Pyn Language. What that issue did for Pyn, this one does for Mon or Talaing as it is more familiarly known.

The author is obviously Mr. C. Otto Blagden, and how much he has advanced the knowledge of these tongues can perhaps be only appreciated by those who, like myself, have seen the rise of it, as it were from the beginning, nearly half a century ago. Of Pyn there was no knowledge in these days, and Haswell’s Pegum Vocabulary was “just cut” in 1874, when I endeavoured, in a now forgotten pamphlet, to assimilate it to the Junesian (afterwards familiar as the Hunterian) system of transliteration. Twenty years later, in 1893, when writing an article on the Antiquities in Râmândâla (ante, vol. XXII, pp. 327 ff.), I well recollect the difficulty of getting any European or Talaing in Rangoon or Pegu to read and translate a Mon Inscription. Nowadays, thanks to Mr. Blagden’s efforts, students have no longer to face the old difficulties.

Mr. Blagden sticks to his system of transliteration, letter for letter, though of course he is well aware that Mon orthography, like Burmese and English, constitutes, to use his own expression, “an elaborate tangle of conventions.” The tangle is greater than in Burmese or English, and is not improved by transference from the native to Roman letters.

Historically, the Inscriptions now published are of great value in fixing the date of the accession of the important king Kyansitiâ in 1081-1085 A.D. His reign of 25 years has been usually taken as ending in that year. The significance of the rectification to general Burmese history will thus at once be seen. Like the other outstanding rulers of that time, Anawrahta and Alaungsithu, Kyansitiâ is the hero of much legend, chiefly aimed at proving that he belonged to the recognised dynasty. It is the familiar story of alleged illegitimate descent attaching to a recognised scion of a royal line. Mr. Blagden gives the outline of the legend as retold to him by Professor Duroiselle, and says, “It would be worth publishing in full in another place.” I cordially agree, for the reason that in the versions thereof in the accounts given to me of the legends of the Thirty Seven Nats (ante, vol. XXIX, pp. 117 ff.), the story is told of other kings of the period connected with the cycle of legends that have gathered round the revered name of Anawrahta (or Anawrahata, as he is quite as often called).

If the Epigraphia Birmanica continues as well as it has begun, it will be as important a Journal of Oriental Research as any of its contemporaries.

R. C. Temple.


This is a reprint of Tod’s famous Rajasthan, now nearly 100 years old, brought up to date through an Introduction and Notes by a thoroughly competent student of “Things Indian.” Tod had opportunities of studying his protégés, the Rajputs, denied for many reasons to his successors in office, of which he had a natural aptitude for taking full advantage; and though his official career was not a success, his bent of mind, his wide reading and devotion to the study of the people he so loved in their every aspect, enabled him to produce, to use his editor’s words, “the most comprehensive monograph ever compiled by a British officer describing one of the leading peoples of India.”

Tod wrote his great quarto a century ago and put into it all the oriental learning of his day, perforce consisting largely of speculation, which

1 Reprinted from Mon, 1921
100 years of investigation, ever increasing in accuracy and method, has shown to be mostly erroneous. It had its value, however, in setting generations of patient scholars and searchers after truth on to lines of study, which have produced much knowledge that must be for ever sound. And although one knows now that a great deal of what Tod thought and read is wholly inadmissible as the truth, one cannot help being struck by the extent of the learning of his time. The serious writers and thinkers that were his contemporaries were much more often on the right track than is perhaps nowadays acknowledged, and though they could but grope where we can now see—as we in our turn may be in the eyes of our successors really groping where we think we see—their method was at bottom truly anthropological i.e., they tried to find the springs of action of the Indian people in their history and ethnology as well as in the society they observed about them. When, however, as in the case of Tod, they presented the narrative of their observations, and the speculations based thereon, in an attractive literary form, they produced a danger to succeeding students. Tod evidently knew so much at first hand; he read everything bearing on his subject that he could come across, and he wrote it all down with such honesty of purpose and so entertaining a style that he produced a classic, and classics are apt to be dangerous things, if accepted as gospel and not read with the discretion that subsequent study should induce in the reader. For this reason it is high time that such a guide to the truth, as we now understand it, should be produced by one so competent to provide it as Mr. Crooke.

While thus discounting Tod's trustworthiness in many respects, one cannot but be struck by the perspicacity that induced him to advocate the alien "Seythie" origin of many Rajput tribes, though the evidence in his day was so scanty that his advocacy could not be shown to be more than speculative. To take another instance of true historical insight. He is describing the influence of women on Rajput Society, and in a series of historical and traditional instances of its effect on the history of Hindu India he asks: "What subjected the Hindu to the dominion of the Islamite?" And answers "The rape of the princess of Kanauj." When composing a résumé of Indian History only a few years ago, the present writer, with the fruits of infinitely more research at hand than was available to Tod, made this very event a turning point in Indian History, remarking that "in 1175 Jayachandra (Jai Chand) Gaharwar of Kanauj held a swayamvara (the public choice of a husband) for his daughter at Kanauj, and Prithviraj Chauhan (Rai Pithora) of Delhi and Ajmer, his cousin, took the opportunity to carry her off. The feud thus generated between the two great Rajput Rulers of the (then) Hindu frontiers enabled Muhammad Ghori, who had overthrown the Muhammadan dynasty established by Mahmud of Ghazni in the Punjab, to found in 1192 the Sultanate of Delhi and Northern India, which led eventually to the Mughal Empire." One more instance in addition to the above must suffice to make clear the point now raised. In Vol. II p. 693 of the reprint, Tod has a philological note, in itself wrong, but containing a present remark, which induces one to wonder if he had an inkling, in spite of the general belief of his time, that Sanskrit was not an original language, but merely one of a group arising out of some older common tongue. His statement concerning a certain etymology, untraced to its source in his day, is that it "may be from the same primordial language that formed the Sanskrit."

On the whole, the attitude which it is safe to adopt towards Tod and his work cannot be better expressed than in his Editor's own words. "Even in those points which are most open to criticism, the Annals possesses importance because it represents a phase in the study of Indian religions ethnology, and sociology. No one can examine it without increasing pleasure and admiration for a writer who, immersed in arduous official work, was able to indulge his taste for research. His was the first real attempt to investigate the beliefs of the peasantry as contrasted with the official Brahmanism, a study which in recent years has revolutionized the current conceptions of Hinduism. Even if his versions of the inscriptions which he collected fail to satisfy the requirements of more recent scholars, he deserves credit for rescuing from neglect and almost certain destruction epigraphical material for the use of his successors. The same may be said of the drawings of buildings, some of which have fallen into decay or have been mutilated by their careless guardians. When he deals with facts which came under his personal observation, his accounts of beliefs, folklore, social life, customs, and manners possess permanent value." It remains to say that Mr. Crooke has carried out his plan of editing admirably; that is, he has given the text as it stands, errors and all; only adapting the spelling of place and personal names and of vernacular words to that generally adopted by scholars of the day dealing with India—a great saving of labour in reading.
the book—and adding the briefest of notes to set straight the many serious errors in Tod's inaccuracies as revealed by research subsequent to his time. The present writer is in a position to appreciate the enormous labour and research required to compile such notes. It is only too easy to detect a mistake in a text. It is always difficult to be quite sure that one has put it straight, correctly, sufficiently, and intelligently in a footnote, and Mr. Crooke is to be congratulated, on the results of his efforts in this direction.

R. C. TEMPLE.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

3. [The following table gives the current value in 1919 of well known weights and measures in Trengganu]:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unit</th>
<th>Equivalent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 dollar</td>
<td>2s. 4d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pikul</td>
<td>133½ lbs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(17 pikule approximately, 1 ton)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 tahil</td>
<td>1½ oz., av.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 kati</td>
<td>1½ lbs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 gantang</td>
<td>6 katis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 chupak</td>
<td>1 gantang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 long</td>
<td>1 chupak.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

R. C. TEMPLE.

NOTES FROM OLD FACTORY RECORDS.

21. The Company's premises at Peddapalle.


Upon Tuesday the 29th past at night we arrived here and went immediately to view the bungalow. Company's Factory, which we found in a most miserable condition that there is now thoughts or possibility of repairing it, the upper Chamber being fallen into the Godown and the walls of the two Rooms below mouldered away, and the Roofs fallen off and all the timbers consumed and rotten and the floors broken up. So that being no habitations for us, we were forced to accept of a Choulty [rest-house] with a hovel at each end provided by the Government for us and the bungalow. Company's goods which is neither Convenient for the one nor the other in respect the floors is Muddy, Extreme damp and swarms with Ground [White] Ants. So as there is no preservation for the Europe Cloth nor Calicories (when brought in) nor is there any Convenient place for Sorting or any thing else. Wee our Selves being forced to live in the Open Air in Pallauken[s] ever since we Came hither.

Wee have sent into the Towne to Enquire for Godowns [warehouses] and find there is none of Fit demerit for our purpose; and for a small Mud hole which they Call a Godown of 10 foot square they ask a pagoda and a half about Rs. 51 per month rent. Wherfore we entreat your Worship &c. to take it into your Consideration to find out some expedient for a remedy of these inconveniences; otherwise we shall not be able to serve the Company as our Inclinations lead us for our healths will be impaired and their goods dammified. . . . (Records of Fort St. George, Letters to Fort St. George, 1882, vol. 11, p. 84).

R. C. TEMPLE
X.—A VOYAGE TO THE MOON.

There was once a widow who had four children. Three of them were grown up to be quite big girls, but the youngest was a baby; its name was Tö-mi-röök. The names of the others were Tö-kən ("Industrious"), the eldest; Tö-pêt-ngen ("One who minds one's own business"), the second; and Va-mi-rō ("Story-teller"), the third—all girls.

Now they had a small garden at some distance from the house; and one day the children were sent by their mother to go and weed it. She herself could not go with them, as there was no one else to mind the baby.

Early in the morning "Industrious" and her two sisters set out for the garden, and when they got there, at once set about to begin the weeding.

But soon the sun got up and it began to get hot, and "Story-teller" got tired and went into the shade to rest. Then she began to sing and to climb up on the boughs of trees (some of which had been chopped down and were lying full length on the ground). There she played and amused herself by swinging and did no more work for the rest of the day. This was the mother's favourite.

The two elder girls kept hard at their work out in the sun, and got very much sun-burnt. "Va-mi-rō, please do come and help us, so that we may get the weeding finished," said Tö-kən to her. But the request was in vain, for Va-mi-rō simply would not do any work.

Then said Tö-pêt-ngen ("One who minded her own business"): "We will tell mother about you when we get home, so that you will get a whipping." But Va-mi-rō would not budge and did not say anything in reply.

When it got well on in the afternoon, Va-mi-rō began to sprinkle rubbish on her head, and then went home before the others, and said to her mother, "I have been the only one to do any work to-day; those other two did nothing but play the whole time. I left them now in the garden, still in the midst of their games."

The mother got extremely angered against the others when she heard "Story-teller's" account of them, and she said, "Wait till they come and I will teach them a lesson. You have your dinner now, for you are tired. You will find it on the shelf."

Then, after a while, the two elder girls came home, and they felt disappointed that there was not a word of welcome for them on their arrival. They merely had some food given to them, which they ate.

Then, after they had finished their dinner, their mother asked them if the food they had had had been nice, and they replied that it had been good. "I gave you food to eat which I had befouled (cum excremento infantis, fratris vestri); for you two have been lazy to-day; indeed, your never mind anything but play and amusement."

They did not say anything in reply, for they knew that she was repeating one of Va-mi-rō's fabrications, which she believed.

Then the two elder girls talked over matters together, and determined to run away from home. They got their few things together and put their little box on their shoulders; and off they went. They were anxious to go up to the moon, for they felt that their mother would find them out if they remained anywhere on the island.
Now there was hanging down a creeper called Tō-a-nqu-ō, and they tried to ascend to the skies by it; but it began to break.

"Come, let us try to ascend by the cobweb," said "Industrious."

"Shall we not fare still worse, if as soon as we tread on it, it should snap," said ōpet-ngen.

"In any case let us try," the other one replied.

So Tō-kēn ("Industrious") went up first, and then her sister followed her; and the cobweb did not break.

When they had already got a good distance up, they suddenly remembered that they had forgotten their little basket (made of ra-fok, the spathe of the betel-nut); and Tō-kēn sent her younger sister to fetch it.

However, she ran across her mother in the house, and was at once stopped. The mother then told Va-mi-rō to keep watch over Tō-pēt-ngen, whilst she herself went in search of Tōkēn.

She found her on the cobweb, not far from the ground, for she was waiting for Tō-pēt-ngen, and had come down some distance to meet her.

The mother caught hold of Tō-kēn by the foot, and tugged at it, but she held on fast to the cobweb, and by dint of vigorous kicking, she managed to get free from her mother's grip.

Tō-kēn's ankle was twisted out of its socket by reason of her mother tugging so at it; and she only accomplished the ascent to the moon by dint of painful perseverance.

But she thought no more of the pain, for she had got up to the face of the moon and was now far away from her insulting and unjust mother.

There she lay down on the surface of the moon and slept, having her box for her pillow. Her ankle remained out of joint, and Tō-pēt-ngen much missed her, for she was still in the clutches of their insulting mother.

XI.—"CURSES LIKE HENS, COME HOME TO ROOST."

(More literally, "The Arrow ricochets and strikes the Archer.")

Once upon a time, long long ago, the people of Chowra came to this island with a canoe for sale, which was purchased by the people of Nōk-tōl-tui. In exchange for the boat, the people of Chowra got a great quantity of goods—spoons, silver-wire, axes, and dahs (choppers). But they cheated the people of Chowra by shaping pieces of wood to look like dahs, and then daubing them over with soot.

The Chowra people did not in the least perceive how they were being deceived; and they took their things and went home. There, at last, they discovered how they had been fooled; perhaps it was through accidentally finding out how very light the dahs were.

Now the people of Chowra are wondrous magicians. So they made a ball of pandanus (or bread-fruit) paste, and a small canoe to contain it. Then they sent off this toy canoe with the pandanus paste aboard it; and it went straight to the village of those people who had deceived them; and it was cast up on the beach there.
A person found it and took it away with him, and all the people of the village, every one, ate some of the paste. There was just one little child that did not eat any; perhaps he was asleep when all the others were eating the pandanus. The child was quite small and not old enough to understand things.

Now early next morning a man was going out from an adjoining village to spear fish, and he saw that child playing all alone on the beach. "He thought to himself, "That child is the only one to get up early here this morning," and did not trouble himself any more about the matter.

When he was returning from spearing fish, on his way home, he again saw the child, still playing alone. So he went up into a house, and lit his cigarette; and on looking round saw every one stretched out stiff and still.

The little child came up the ladder too, and began to suck at his mother's breast, not knowing that she was dead; but the man who had been fishing realised that all the people were dead.

So he picked up the child and went off with him to his own village, "Ot-ra-hōon" (or Kemnyūs), and hunted around for some people to come and help him to bury those who had thus died all together.

It was as when the bolt that has been shot strikes against a tree, and ricochets, and hits the archer who shot it. We are sure to have falling on our own heads the consequences of our actions; if they do not come at once, they will find us out in the future.

XII.—THE TWO WOMEN WHO WERE MAKING TRIPE.

Long long ago two women were once making tripe on some rocks which jutted out a good way into the sea, and were bare at low water, whilst below them lay the deep sea. One of the women accidentally let their knife drop into the water, and it was immediately swallowed by a fish. That fish, which was called a ka-hū-kō, had an enormous mouth; it is never seen in these days.

"Quick! jump down, and dive after our knife," said the other woman to her companion. So she dived down after it; and she too went straight down into the belly of that big fish, just as their pocket-knife had done.

The other woman waited for her companion for a long time, idly playing with a pebble in her hand; and then she said to herself, "Why is she all this time?"

Splash! she too had dived down into the water for the knife; and she too went straight into the belly of that big fish.

The big fish then swam away and went right out into the middle of the ocean.

Now, some considerable time after they had gone down into the belly of the fish, one of the women said, "We are getting hungry."

"Why not cut off some meat for yourselves from my liver?" said the fish to them. They took the fish at his word and helped themselves to a considerable quantity of his liver.

"Oh! Oh!" said the fish, "Are not you two going beyond all bounds in doing this?"

But the women replied, "Oh! no! no!"

When they had gone a long distance further and it was now another day again, they began to get hungry; and again the fish said to them: "Help yourselves again to some more of my liver;" and they did so.

"Oh! is not this going too far?" said the fish again; and again the women cried, "No! no!"
They only helped themselves twice to the liver of the fish, for the fish vomited them up and spat them out on a great rock in the midst of the ocean. The fish then swam away.

After a considerable time, the two women spied a shark coming towards the rock; and they were afraid when they saw him come.

"Don't you be afraid, you two," said the shark, "for I have been backwards and forwards looking for you in the midst of the ocean for many a long day. "Come! get up on my back, and I will carry you away."

The women got up on the back of the shark, but they could not keep a firm seat and were continually gliding off; for the fish's back was slippery. So the shark told them to rub his back.

So they rubbed his back, and after that they got up on his back again, and found they had a steady seat. They were carried away by the shark and landed at the very place where they had been making tripe.

They went home, and the fish returned to its own place.

XIII.—THE MAN WHO BECAME A PYTHON.

Long long ago, there were once some people who had gone away to their gardens in the jungle, to get the requisite fruit and vegetables for the annual kungērō festival.29

The men were on their way back from the jungle "hinterland," when they stopped to cut some nuts for themselves to drink,30 for they were thirsty.

As usual, one man climbed a palm-tree to cut the nuts for the party; and they soon all had as many as they wanted.

His friends drank the nuts, and then got tired of waiting for him, for he remained a very long time up in the tree. So they called out to him: "Come down at once; we want to be going."

But the man who had cut down the nuts for them replied, "You go home now; but I am not going to the village until the day after to-morrow."

Then the man cut open the spathe of a cocoanut flower and ate the flower, for he wanted to have plenty of fat around his intestines.31

Somehow or other, by swallowing the cocoanut flower, he managed to increase the fat round his intestines, and so became a python.

On the next day but one he came to the village, just when the women were in the midst getting out the fibrous matter from the pandanus (or bread-fruit) paste, and he sported indecently with the women with his tail.

The women were all terrified, thinking it was a "devil" (or evil-spirit), and jumped down from the house where they were and went straight down the throat of the python.

29 About the beginning of the rains the whole village joins in this quasi-Harvest Festival, or Feast of Pomona, as an acknowledgment of favours received from the unseen powers. The following day they must rest, and above all things, not go far from their houses.

30 [The water in Car Nicobar is too brackish for drinking purposes and the drink of the island is cocoanut milk which is always available. The people are all therefore experts from childhood in climbing a cocoanut tree without undue fatigue.—R.C.T.]

31 The saliva with which the python covers its victim, is supposed to be fat from around its intestines.
Now, some of the women had big kitchen knives in their hands; and with these they cut for themselves a way out of the belly of the python, and thus escaped.

A number of bystanders, too, cried out and made a loud noise, for the people were still there, not having finished the grating of the food for the Kun-seo-ro festival. The python then went off into the jungle.

The only occupation of that python now-a-days is to swallow the sun and moon occasionally, which is the cause of the eclipses; for having proved himself able to swallow human beings, he sometimes goes in for attempting to swallow the sun and the moon.

(To be continued.)

ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM OF SHIVAJI.

BY SURENDRANATH SEN, M.A.

(Continued from p. 226.)

If Fryer's account is borne out by facts, the state of the country was terrible indeed.

But Fryer had made only a short trip through Shivaji's dominions and his stay there was by no means long. It does not appear probable that his account was based on personal experience of first-hand knowledge of any other kind. Shivaji is still adored as an ideal king, and people referred to his institutions with admiration in days of anarchy and misrule. Traditions may be exaggerated but they are never baseless. Traditions attribute all sorts of good institutions to such good rulers as Alfred and Elizabeth, but legends have not hitherto paid any tribute to the memory of such bad kings as John or James II. It is a very important point that the memory of Shivaji is still cherished by the people of Maharashtra as that of a great and good king. If he had really tortured his Brahmin officers with red hot pincers and they in their turn had dealt out similar treatment to the Desais, Shivaji would not have been revered as an incarnation of Shri Shamhpu Mahadev. We have already seen how the great Maratha had striven to liberate the poor peasant from the tyranny of the Deshmukhs and the Deshpande; it therefore seems improbable that he should have allowed his officers to force lands on the Desais at an exorbitant rate. Far from molesting Brahmins, Shivaji never offered any insult to holy men and holy place of his Muhammadan enemies. Although many temples and idols were defiled and desecrated by the Muhammadan bigots, Shivaji never failed to send any copy of the Koran, he might come in possession of, to some of his Muhammadan officers. Even Khafi Khan, an inveterate enemy of the Maratha hero, paid him an unwilling compliment on that account.20 Dellen, a French Doctor, who visited the western coast about the same time as Fryer, remarks that, "His (Shivaji's) subjects are pagans, like himself. But he tolerates all religions and is looked upon as one of the most pious princes in those parts."21 Shivaji styled himself as Go Brahman Pratipalak, the protector of Brahmins and cows, and could hardly with any consistency to his professed ambition have overlooked the conduct of his officers, if they really tortured the Brahmins. Fryer's story therefore seems to be baseless. Corruption certainly existed and instances of tyranny and misrule doubtless occurred. Shivaji in the midst of those wars of conquest and defence could hardly get any time for improving

20 Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VII, p. 280.
21 Dellen, pp. 56-57.
his government. But Fryer seems to have dipped his brush in the black colour too frequently while painting a picture of Shivaji's country. Grant Duff\(^\text{82}\) says—The Muhammadan writers, and one contemporary English traveller, describe his country in the worst possible state; and the former only mention him as a depredator and destroyer; but those districts taken by him from Bejapoor which had been under the management of farmers and direct agents of government, probably experienced great benefit by the change.

Besides land-revenue and customs-duties, a small income was derived from mints.Licensed Mints.

The Peshwas did not permit free coining but the goldsmiths usually obtained license for mints under certain restrictions. This must have been the practice in the pre-Peshwa period also. Shivaji never tried to control the currency and plainly told the English Ambassador, that he "forbids not the passing of any manner of coins, nor on the other side can he force his subjects to be losers; but if their coin be as fine an alloy and as weighty as the Moghul's and other princes he will not prohibit."\(^\text{83}\) The result was that all sorts of foreign coins were current in Shivaji's kingdom and even in his own treasury could be found few or no coins of the Raigad Mint. Sabhasad says,\(^\text{84}\) that Shivaji had no less than 400,000 of Shivarai Hons at the time of his death, but these Shivarai Hons were in all probability of Bijayanagar origin, for only 2 or 3 Shivaji Hons have yet been discovered. Sabhasad enumerates no less than 32 different kinds of gold coins and 6 different kinds of silver coins while giving an account of Shivaji's treasures. These were:

### Gold Coins

1. Gambar.
2. Mohar.
3. Putli.
4. Padshahi Hon.
5. Satlamis or Satramis.
6. Ibrami.
7. Shivarai Hon.
8. Kaveripak.
9. Sangari Hon.
10. Achyutrai Hon.
11. Devrai Hon.
12. Ramchandrarai Hon.
13. Guti Hon.
14. Dharwari Hon.
15. Falam (Fanam).
16. Pralkhati Hon.
17. Pav Naiki Hon.
18. Advani Hon.
20. Tadpatri Hon.
21. Afraji Hon.
22. Tribeluri Hon.
23. Trisuli Hon.
24. Chandavari (Tanjori) Hon.
25. Bildhari Hon.
26. Ulapkari Hon.
27. Mahamad Shai Hon.
28. Veluri Hon.
29. Katerai Hon.
30. Devajvali Hon.
31. Ramnathpuri Hon.
32. Kungoti Hon.

### Silver Coins

1. Rupees.
2. Asrafa.
3. Abashi.
4. Daholi Kabri.
5. Choni Kabri.

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\(^{82}\) Grant Duff, Vol. I, p. 188.
\(^{83}\) Fryer.
\(^{84}\) Sabhasad, p. 95.
Some of these coins were of non-Indian origin. Ishrami, for instance, came from distance Irak. Shivaji had his mint at Raigad. But his first coins were not probably issued before 1774. A large number of copper coins were issued, and no less than 25,000 of these were collected and examined by the Rev. Mr. Abbott. But very few gold and silver coins of Shivaji are known today, probably because they were never struck in any large number.

Shivaji had no good mechanic for working the mint. The irregular shape of the coins and the mis-shapen alphabets of the legends show the crude method in which they were manufactured. The writer of the Bombay Gazetteer (Nasik volume) gives the following account of the working of the Chandor mint, closed in 1830—"A certain quantity of silver of the required test was handed over to each man who divided it into small pieces, rounded and weighed them, greater care being taken that the weights should be accurate than that size should be uniform for this purpose. Scales and weights were given to each of the 400 workmen, and the manager examined them every week. When the workmen were satisfied with the weight of the piece, they were forwarded to the manager who sent them to be stamped. In stamping the rupee an instrument like anvil was used. It had a hole in the middle with letters inscribed on it by a workman called batekari, and a third man gave a blow with a six pound hammer. Three men were able to strike 2,000 pieces an hour, or 20,000 in a working day of ten hours. As the seal was a little larger than the piece, all letters were seldom inscribed." The Chandor mint was opened long after Shivaji's demise. But that the description holds good with respect to Shivaji's mint also, can be proved by a simple inspection of Shivrai coins. The small Shivrai Hon in the museum of the Bharat Itihas Sanshodhak Mandal, for example, bears the compound letter "Tra" (श्र) in the word Chhtrapati, evidently because the little circular piece had originally been hammered on a seal of much larger size.

The goldsmiths in charge of the mint could evidently boast of very little learning. In the copper coins only we find no less than eight different spellings of the word Shri Raja Shiva Chhtrapati. The Rev. Mr. Abbott gives the following eight variations in the spelling of this word on Shivrai pice:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variation in spelling of Shivaji's name.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. ob.</td>
<td>श्री राजाशिव</td>
<td>R. श्रवपति</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2. &quot;</td>
<td>श्री राजासिव</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>श्रवपति</td>
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<td>3. &quot;</td>
<td>श्री राजाशीव</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>श्रवपति</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. ob.</td>
<td>श्री राजाशीव</td>
<td>R. श्रवपति</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. &quot;</td>
<td>श्री राजाशिव</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>श्रवपति</td>
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<tr>
<td>6. &quot;</td>
<td>श्री राजाशिव</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
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<td>7. &quot;</td>
<td>श्री राजाशीव</td>
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<tr>
<td>8. &quot;</td>
<td>श्री राजाशीव</td>
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<td>श्रवपति</td>
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The small Shivrai Hon of the Bharat Itihas Sanshodhak Mandal's museum has on the obverse the figures of Shiva and Bhavani seated side by side, and on the reverse the name of Shivaji inscribed in the following manner:

शीव  
र (Modi)  मछ (च)
पत्ति

Through the kindness of Mr. D. V. Potdar, the joint secretary of the Bharat Itihas Sanshodhak Mandal, I obtained an opportunity of examining this really rare coin, which has already been described by Mr. Bhave in the fifth Sammelan Vritta of the Mandal.28

But neither the land revenue nor the custom duties and the income from the mints added so much to the treasury of Shivaji as the Chauth and the Sardeshmukhi and the spoils of war. Even in normal times he depended more on his army than on his civil officers for the necessary finances. It was on this account that he has been branded as a robber chief both by his contemporaries and by posterity. But the great Maratha king had no other alternative. He had to brave the enmity of the Mughals and the Sultan of Bijapur, not to count the pinpricks that he had to often bear from such minor powers as the Habhis of Janjira, the Portuguese of Goa, and the petty semi-independent chiefs, like the Koli Raja. He had to organise an army and defend his newly conquered territories; he had to build innumerable forts, fortify submerged rocks and difficult passes; he had to fit out a fleet, to stop the piracy and the depredations of the Siddi's navy; he had to buy arms and ammunition and he needed money for these works. Nature was by no means so munificent to the Maratha. The valleys yielded but scanty return to the strenuous labour of the Mavali peasant. It would have been impossible for Shivaji to finance his army and navy from the limited resources of his native land alone, even if he had taxed all his ingenuity to enhance them. Consequently he had to make "war furnish the means of war."

But the Chauth and the Sardeshmukhi were quite different from spoils of war. They were more or less permanent demands. Shivaji's claim to Sardeshmukhi was based on a legal fiction. He claimed to be the hereditary Sardeshmukhi of his country and had put forth his claim early in his career. If his claim had been acknowledged, or if he had succeeded in obtaining a Farnam in its support, there would have been no legal flaw whatever in his demand. This Imperial sanction however could not be obtained before Shahu's accession to his grandfather's throne, and in Shivaji's time at least the Sardeshmukhi was not recognised as his Watan. The Chauth was nothing but a tribute, exacted from the weak by the strong. The Raja of Bedmar and the Chief of Sunda agreed to pay the Chauth in 1676, because they had no option in the matter. Shivaji had invaded their principalities with a strong army and any refusal would have been sternly punished. The Marathas obtained a legal right to levy Chouth, when the diplomacy of Balaji Vishvanath secured for Shahu an imperial recognition of that oft-repeated claim. This legal sanction would have been of little avail,
if it had not been backed by the lance of the Maratha horseman. Nothing short of an expedition would make any chief or king, either Hindu or Muhammadan, admit Shivaji’s claim to a quarter of his revenue, and nothing but a strong army could enforce its punctual payment. It was therefore nothing but a military contribution levied by a power without being in formal occupation of the country, and without observing the legal forms specified by modern International Law.

That great Maratha scholar, the late Justice Ranade, however, does not admit that the Chauth was a military contribution only, without any moral or legal obligation on the part of the Maratha government to protect the country from the invasion of any other power or to restore peace and order in the country. He was of opinion that the policy underlying the exaction of the Chauth was the same as that impelled Lord Wellesley to enforce a subsidiary alliance on his weaker neighbours. “The demand for chauth was subsequently added with the consent of the powers whose protection was undertaken against foreign aggression, on payment of fixed sums for the support of the troops, maintained for such service. This was the original idea as worked out by Shivaji, and it was this same idea which, in the Marquis of Wellesley’s hands, bore such fruit a hundred and twenty-five years later.” This is Ranade’s interpretation of the chauth policy. 99

It is true that Shahu had, in return of the grant of the Chauth, bound himself to maintain a body of 15,000 horse in the Emperor’s service, to be placed at the disposal of the Subadars, Faujdaras and officers in the different districts and to maintain peace and order. But neither Shahu nor the Peshwas ever cared to assist the Subadar of the Deccan, unless it served their own interest. Shivaji also, had often offered to serve the Delhi government but he had exacted the chauth at the point of his sword; the Emperor did not expect that Shivaji would ever look after the interests of the Delhi power and Shivaji also knew that no treaty would serve him better than his own strong arm. It cannot therefore be denied that the Maratha kings exacted chauth without undertaking the least responsibility for the country’s welfare, and it should also be remembered that they never expected the Chauth, paying governments to give up their diplomatic liberty. Here lies the fundamental difference between the subsidiary system and the exaction of Chauth. The English company always held themselves responsible for the defence of their ally’s realm, while they expected him to renounce all diplomatic relations with other powers. Moreover, the Marathas never maintained any extra regiment or battalion when they received the chauth from a prince, nor had the amount of tribute any relation to the possible expense that might be incurred in the defence of the Chauth-paying territories. I do not however hold that the Maratha statesmen had no idea of a subsidiary arrangement—such an arrangement was made with the Raja of Bundi by the Peshwas; but that was long after the demise of Shivaji.

The Chauth was therefore nothing but a contribution exacted by a military leader. Are such exactions sanctioned by International Law? The ancient Romans, while extending their empire, had set no limit to their rapacity. Bellum alit bellum—war must pay for war—was their favourite maxim. But pillage has not ceased to be an inevitable characteristic of war with the disruption of the Roman Empire. Even in the 19th century, so late as 1865, General Sherman’s campaign was characterised by the systematic pillage of the territories he marched through. 100 Requisition, which is only a variation of contribution, is also sanctioned by the most modern laws of war and was practised, though unwillingly, by no less a man than George Washington. 100 Shivaji also could plead as urgent a necessity as Washington. Both

100 Bentwitch., p. 28.
of them had been fighting for their country's liberation and both of them were surely in need of money. Washington requisitioned the property of his unwilling fellow-citizens and Shivaji levied contributions on the enemy’s subjects. It served two ends at once. It not only weakened the enemy he was fighting, but at the same time added to his own resources.

Shivaji’s kingdom was a military state, if we are allowed to style it so. It was in a state of chronic warfare. Even for its finances, Shivaji depended more on war than on the processes of peace. The wealth amassed in the ports of his enemies by their commercial enterprise flowed into Shivaji’s treasury, as a reward of his military prowess. The result of this policy was the inevitable ruin of trade and commerce. Surat, the premier port of Western India, lost its trade for ever. But while plundering his enemies’ lands, Shivaji took good care to protect his own country from a similar calamity. It was absolutely impossible that his attempts in this direction would be crowned with complete success. But he did all that was practicable. His statesmanship converted the hardy soldiers of Maharashtra into excellent civil administrators. Shivaji did not aspire to be a legislator; indeed he had no leisure for such work. But he revived some of the best regulations of his predecessors, and made slight improvements upon them. It does not seem possible that he was able to achieve much reform. We also do not know how far the spirit of these regulations was observed in their actual working by Shivaji’s officers. The public opinion of that time did not condemn bribery and corruption, and we are afraid, Shivaji’s officers were not much better if not actually worse, than their successors of the Peshwa period. His country saw no peace till the overthrow of the Moghul power. Shivaji never had more than a couple of peaceful years at a time and even that not more than once in his life. It is futile to expect that commerce and agriculture could have prospered under these circumstances. But Shivaji’s regulations were well suited to the needs of the country. The assessment was flexible and varied from year to year. Whatever might have been the annual yield, a considerable share was left to the peasants. In the years of scarcity they could expect relief from the State. Consequently they had good reasons to devote their attention to agricultural pursuits but it is quite probable that the prospects and honour of a military career had stronger charms for the hardy peasant of the Ghat ranges.

CHAPTER IV.

ARMY AND NAVY.

In his military organisation Shivaji aimed at efficiency. Vastly inferior to his enemies in numerical strength, he tried to compensate by quality, the lack of quantity. He therefore tried to enforce strict discipline in his army and appealed not only to their military honour but also to the patriotism of his soldiers. His earliest adherents were the Mawlis, a race of hardy hill men, who came into prominence under Shivaji’s leadership and have since then declined to their original obscurity. Shivaji depended mainly on these hill men and the hills. The hills constituted an excellent defence, while the hill men accompanied him in all his bold excursions and perilous raids. The ill clad and ill fed hill men of Mawal were trained into an excellent infantry by the great Maratha Captain, and he fortified the bare rocks and mountain passes to bar the enemy’s progress through his country. At the time of his death, Shivaji possessed no less than two hundred and forty forts and strongholds, as in the Jabita Swarajya of Shah101 we find that not a single Taluka or Pargana was left without a protecting fort. Scott Waring says that—"Before his death, he (Shivaji) had established his authority over an extent of country four hundred miles in length, and one hundred and

101 J. B. Br. A. S. P., XXII, pp. 36—42.
twenty in breadth. His forts extended over the vast range of mountains which skirt the western shore of India. Regular fortification barred the open approaches: every pass was commanded by forts; every steep and overhanging rock was occupied as a station to roll down great masses of stone, which made their way to the bottom, and impeded the labouring march of cavalry, elephants and carriages."  

Chitnis pointedly remarked that forts were the very life of the kingdom and Lokhitvadi tells us that Shivaji was famous mainly for building forts.

Shivaji's hill forts, impregnable by nature, did not require a strong garrison. Five hundred was the normal strength, but in some exceptional cases a stronger force was allowed. No single officer was ever placed in entire charge of the fort and its garrison. "In every fort," says Sabhasad, "there should be a Havaldar, a Sabnis (and) a Sarnobat; (and) these three officers should be of the same status. These three should conjointly carry on the administration. There should be a store of grain and war material in the fort. An officer called Kar-khananis should be appointed for this work. Under his supervision should be written all accounts of income and expenditure. Where the fort is an important one and where fort are of extensive circuit, there should be kept five to seven Tat Sarnobats. The charge of the ramparts should be divided among them. They should be careful about keeping vigilant watch. Of every ten men of the garrison to be stationed in the fort one should be made a Naik—nine privates and the tenth a Naik. Men of good families should in this manner be recruited. Of the forces, the musketeers, the spearmen, the archers and the light-armed men should be appointed, after the Raja himself had carefully inspected each man individually, and selected the brave and shrewd. The garrison in the fort, the Havaldar and the Sarnobat should be Marathas of good family. They should be appointed after some one of the royal personal staff has agreed to stand surety for them. A Brahman known to the king's personal staff should be appointed Sabnis and a Prabhu Kar-khananis. In this manner each officer retained should be dissimilar (in caste) to the others. The fort is not to be left in the hands of the Havaldar alone. No single officer can surrender the fort to any rebel or miscreant. In this manner was the administration of the forts carefully carried out. A new system was introduced."  

The system was however by no means new in Southern India. The regulations of Muhammad Adil Shaha of Bijapur lay down clearly that the officers in charge of a fort should be three in number, neither less nor more. The Muhammadan ruler also says that these officers should be frequently transferred from one fort to another. We have seen in the preceding chapter that Shivaji also used to transfer the Mudra Dhatis, or officers in charge of forts and strong-holds, very often. Shivaji had no prejudice against his Muhammadan predecessors and freely borrowed their ideas. He was moreover strongly influenced by the circumstances of the time, while framing these regulations. It would have been sheer imprudence to leave a fort entirely in charge of a single officer in those days of disloyalty and treachery, when gold succeeded where policy or prowess failed. Shivaji himself had frequently used the golden

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102 Scott Waring, pp. 96-97.  
103 Chitnis, p. 89.  
104 Sabhasad, pp. 27-28.  
105 विक्रेश्वर बांकुटक गुड़चिक्रा नामाकरण बांकुटक गुड़चिक्रा नामाकरण। 

—Itihas Sangraha Aithhasik Sphuka Lekh, p. 27.
bait with success and it was but natural that he should take proper precaution against its repetition at his cost. It was also necessary that he should conciliate three principal castes by distributing the responsible posts under his Government equally among them. The Brahmins and the Brahmans, were jealous of one another, perhaps for social reasons, but the state of their feeling could not be overlooked even in administratative affairs. Shivaji himself had reason to fear Brahman opposition when he assumed the sacred thread prior to his coronation. The Marathas of his time also eminently deserved high commands in the army. The different sections of the great Brahman caste were not in amity and Chitnis tells us that the Sabinas were recruited from all classes of Brahmins, viz. the Desasthas, the Karhadas, the Kokanasthas and the Madhyandins. It may be incidentally mentioned here that the Kokanastha had not yet come to the forefront in Maratha politics, and most of Shivaji’s principal Brahman officials belonged to the Desastha section. The keen intelligence of the Shenvis had already espied a bright prospect in another quarter and they had in large numbers entered the Portuguese service. With their characteristic literary aptitude, they mastered European tongues before long, and acted as interpreters for European merchants of all nationalities. It is not clear whether persecution of them had begun so early. In any case, prudence demanded that Shivaji should recruit his officers from all the principal castes, and conciliate them all.

The chief of the three officers was the Havaldar. He was to keep the keys with him. He was to shut the fort gates and lock them up with his own hands every evening. He was to draw the bolt and see whether the gates were properly secured. He was not to admit anyone, whether friend or foe during the night. Early in the morning he was to come and with his own hands open the principal gates. Although he was to carry on other duties conjointly with his colleagues, the Havaldar was never allowed to relegate these to any one else. In fact, Shivaji tested the efficiency of his Havaldars mainly by their proper observance of the regulations regarding the gates. Chitnis gives an anecdote that will bear quotation here. One night Shivaji went to Panhala and knocked at the gates of fort. His attendants shouted out to the Havaldar, that the Maharaj himself was seeking admission, hotly pursued by the enemy. The gates must be opened and the king taken in. The officer came and stood on the rampart with his colleagues. With due humility the Havaldar pointed out that the king’s regulation did not permit the gates to be opened at that hour. He however offered to check the enemy till morning with the help of the guards of the outstation, while the Maharaja should wait near the gates. Then the king replied—the regulations are mine, and the order involving their violation is also mine. It is I who order you to open the gates. But the officer again submitted that he could not open the gates. Night was almost over. Till dawn the enemy would be kept off. Then Shivaji tried threats. “It is not proper,” said he, “that a servant like you should not obey my orders. I will make an example of you.” But still the gates were not unlocked. Early in the morning the Havaldar unlocked and unbolted the gates and with clasped hands approached the king. “I have done wrong; your majesty should punish me according to my deserts”—said the officer. But the king applauded his sense of duty and promoted him on the spot. The Chronicler of Shivasigajaya informs us, that those who failed this test were degraded or dismissed.

(To be continued.)

106 For the question of caste rivalry, see J. N. Sarkar, Shivaji.—
Thakre—Ganagoshche Ithas.
Do. —Kodandacha Tantkar.
Gupte —Rajwadachi Gagabhati.
107 Chitnis, p. 79.
108 Chitnis, p. 108.
THE HISTORY OF THE NIZĀM SHĀHĪ KINGS OF AHMADNAGAR.
BY LIEUT.-COLONEL T. W. HAIG, C.S.I., C.M.G., C.B.E.

(Continued from p. 234.)

LXXIX.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE CAUSES WHICH LED TO THE INVASION OF BERAR BY MURTASA NĪṢĀM SHĀH, AND OF THE CAPTURE OF THE WRETCH, TUFĀL KHĀN, IN CONSEQUENCE OF HIS BREACH OF FAITH AND THEACHERY TO HIS MASTER.

A.D. 1572. 'Ali 'Adīl Shāh was ever watching for an opportunity to break his engagements, and now that he heard that the army of Ahmadnagar was demoralized, he entered into an offensive alliance with Tufāl Khān against Ahmadnagar and thus violated his treaty of peace with Murtasa Nīṣām Shāh.182

When informers brought the news of the treaty between 'Ali 'Adīl Shāh and Tufāl Khān to Chāngiz Khān, Chāngiz Khān, whose ability in negotiations was unrivalled, advised the king that an envoy should be sent to Tufāl Khān to deter him from displaying hostility to Ahmadnagar, to advise him to submit to Murtasa Nīṣām Shāh and to refrain from meeting 'Ali 'Adīl Shāh or from entering into an alliance with him. In accordance with this advice, the king sent Maulānā Sadr as an envoy to Tufāl Khān to offer him the advice suggested, but as Tufāl Khān had concluded a treaty with 'Ali 'Adīl Shāh before the envoy’s arrival, he would not see Maulānā Sadr, nor hear of friendship with Ahmadnagar. It had been decreed by God that the country of Berar was to fall into the hands of the Sultan of Ahmadnagar, and that Malik Tufāl Khān, who had been guilty of rebellion against his lord, should fall, and, his evil disposition having in these days been diverted from its usual course, he discontinued the friendly letter which had for years passed between the 'Imād Shāhī kings and the Sultans of Ahmadnagar and opened a friendly correspondence with 'Ali 'Adīl Shāh of Bijāpūr and raised the standard of rebellion. The natural result of his conduct was his ruin and the ruin of his family and the loss of Berar and all its fortresses, which had formerly fallen into his hands.

When Tufāl Khān in his pride refused even to receive the envoy, Murtasa Nīṣām Shāh consulted with Chāngiz Khān and his other officers of state as to the best means of dealing with the enemy. Both the king and his advisers agreed that the best course was to meet and crush 'Ali 'Adīl Shāh before he could join Tufāl Khān; and the king marched with a large army towards Bijāpūr. The army marched with great celerity towards Bijāpūr and laid the whole of the enemy’s country waste. Having so devastated the country that no sign of habitation remained, the army then turned towards Ausa and encamped at the village of Rūl.

182 Firishta (ii. 263) gives a different account of the events which preceded the conquest of Berar by Murtasa Nīṣām Shāh. 'Ali 'Adīl Shāh had apparently had an understanding with former ministers of the Ahmadnagar State, and especially with Shāh Hadir, brother of Shāh Abū-l-Hassan and Jamāl-ud-dīn Husain Injī, who had at one time been in the service of Bijāpūr. With Chāngiz Khān, the newly appointed pīshīr, who had given evidence, at the siege of Chaul, of his incorruptibility, he seems to have had no understanding, and he feared his energy and honesty of purpose. He therefore opened negotiations with 'Ībrāhīm Qāṭ Shāh with a view to arranging a meeting and entering into an alliance with him. Chāngiz Khān, in order to prevent this alliance, persuaded Murtasa Nīṣām Shāh to march towards Bijāpūr. 'Ali 'Adīl Shāh marched to meet him but Chāngiz Khān averted hostilities and arranged a friendly meeting between the two kings, at which they entered into a treaty. Murtasa Nīṣām Shāh was to be free to annex both Berar and Bīdār, while 'Ali 'Adīl Shāh was to annex an equivalent from the remnants of the Vijayānagar kingdom. The two kings then separated and Murtasa Nīṣām Shāh set out, in 1572, to annex Berar.
When 'Ali 'Ādil Shāh heard of the approach of the army of Ahmadnagar and of the laying waste of the town of Alan and the surrounding country, he was much perturbed, for he knew that he was not strong enough to withstand the invaders and was disappointed of the help which he had hoped to receive from Tufāl Khān, for the army of Ahmadnagar, which Tufāl Khān was too weak to attack, lay like an impenetrable barrier between his and his ally. 'Ali 'Ādil Shāh now repented him of having begun hostilities against Ahmadnagar, and wished for peace. He marched with his army from Bījāpūr towards the invaders, but on the way he sued for peace, and was very careful not to attack Murtaṣā Nīḡām Shāh. While 'Ali 'Ādil Shāh was still on his way, he sent Sayyid 'Ali Mu'tabar Khān, who was then sukhāl and pīshād of the Bījāpūr kingdom, with rich gifts to Murtaṣā Nīḡām Shāh, to sue for peace and express his contrition for the action he had taken. The Sayyid fully represented to the king what was in his master’s mind, and by means of excuses, apologies, and expressions of regret, succeeded in restoring confidence and in putting the case on such a footing that negotiations were possible.

Murtaṣā Nīḡām Shāh’s chief object was to crush Tufāl Khān, whom he regarded as the author of the strife, and it was impossible to do this without the concurrence of 'Ali 'Ādil Shāh. He therefore appointed Changiz Khān to carry through the negotiations in this matter. Changiz Khān, in accordance with the royal commands, set out for 'Ali 'Ādil Shāh’s camp and paid his respects to 'Ali 'Ādil Shāh before the fortress of Naldrug, and it was there agreed that the two kings should meet and discuss what arrangements should be made. The two kings then marched to meet one another, and met at the village of Kālā Chūtra, which had been fixed for their meeting.

The treaty which the two kings made between them was to the following effect:—
First, that they should unite in capturing the city of Bīdar, which should be handed over to Murtaṣā Nīḡām Shāh, and that 'Ali 'Ādil Shāh should then march against the infidels of Vijayānagar, while Murtaṣā Nīḡām Shāh conquered Telingāna and Berar.

On the following day the two armies marched towards Bīdar with the object of capturing it.

When the two armies arrived at Bīdar, 'Ali 'Ādil Shāh encamped on the bank of the Kamtuna tank and Murtaṣā Nīḡām Shāh on the bank of a tank close to the city, and both armies laid waste the country on all sides of the city.

After the armies had been halted at Bīdar for some days, Changiz Khān came to the conclusion that the conquest of Telingāna and Berar and the punishment of Tufāl Khān were more important than this campaign in Bīdar. He therefore sent a messenger to 'Ali 'Ādil Shāh to say that it seemed to him to be a mere waste of time and power that the two armies should sit down before Bīdar in order to capture it, although it was clear that one of the armies could not perform the task alone. It was advisable, he said, that 'Ali 'Ādil Shāh should invade Vijayānagar and annex that country, while Murtaṣā Nīḡām Shāh occupied himself in uprooting and overthrowing the turbulent malefactors (of Telingāna and Berar). 'Ali 'Ādil Shāh accepted this advice and the two armies marched from Bīdar. They marched together for two marches, and when they reached the river of Husainābār, which is three or four leagues from Golconda,185 'Ali 'Ādil Shāh left Dīlāvar Khān, the African, and some other officers with some seven or eight thousand horse to assist Murtaṣā Nīḡām Shāh, and set out for Bankāpur. Khvāja Ziyā-ud-dīn Muḥammad Samānī, entitled Aṁū Khān, was appointed envoy from the court of Ahmadnagar with 'Ali 'Ādil Shāh, and left with him, and Khvāja Ghiyās-ud-dīn Muḥammad, brother of Ziyā-ud-dīn Muḥammad was appointed envoy from Bījāpūr, at the court of Murtaṣā Nīḡām Shāh, and remained with the royal camp.

185 That is to say, from the frontier of the Golconda kingdom.
After the departure of 'Ali 'Adil Sháh, Múrtaza Niszám Sháh appointed Amin-ul-Mulk and his brother Nizám Khán, with a picked force from the army, to lay waste the country around Golconda, while he himself with the main body of the army marched along the bank of the river, and when he arrived at Kaulás, the force which had been sent in advance to devastate the environs of Golconda returned and rejoined the main body of the army, having laid waste and plundered that country. As the rainy season had now begun and movement was very difficult, the king remained in standing camp with his army at Kaulás, and when the rainy season was over, marched thence and invaded Berar by way of Páthri. Some of the chief officers, such as Khudávand Khán, Rustam Khán, and others were sent on ahead with the advanced guard.124

When the royal army reached Páthri all the inhabitants of that town and the district surrounding it, from fear of the troops, left their dwellings and fled and took refuge in the distant hills (of the Bálághát). Since, however, the king's object was the annexation and not the devastation of Berar, Chángíz Khán reassured the inhabitants of Páthri, holding out to them hopes of the royal favour and clemency, and issued to them a written guarantee which so reassured them that all hastened to make their submission and pay their respects at the royal court, where they received marks of the royal favour and were thus enabled to return to their fields and their dwellings and to follow their usual avocations. The civil officers, in accordance with the royal commands, apportioned the whole of the Páthri district in jdápir to the officers of the army.

News was now brought to the king that Tufal Khán and his army had set out with a view to undertaking an expedition into the Kandhrá country, and the royal army therefore marched rapidly in that direction, lest the king's subjects in that district should suffer at the hands of the invaders. When Tufal Khán heard of the retirement of the royal army, he abandoned his intention of invading Kandhrá and marched towards Bidar.125 The royal army followed him up march by march, until the two armies met in the neighbourhood of the hunting ground of Bidar at about sunset. The circumstances of the case were as follows:—When the royal army halted, spies brought news that Tufal Khán with a very large army was encamped in the neighbourhood of the army. Chángíz Khán in accordance with the royal command, at once set out with a picked force to attack the enemy. On his approach Tufal Khán came forth from his encampment and drew up his army in line facing the attacking force. Chángíz Khán then sent on in advance a picked body of foreign horse with Sháh Vardi Khán, Sulţán Quli Beg Rúmlú, Ahmad Beg Aishár, Shír Khán Yaráqí, Yúnas Beg, Múzaffar Anjí, and others, numbering some two hundred, and Tufal Khán sent 5,000 horse under Shamshír-ul-Mulk to meet and repulse this force. Some twenty of the foreigners of Ahmadnagar, sword in hand, then hurled themselves on the centre of the enemy's 5,000 horse and slew many. It chanced, however, that an arrow pierced Sulţán

124 According to Firishta (ii, 263, 264) Múrtaza Niszám Sháh, before invading Berar, sent Múllá Haidar Khán on a mission to Tufal Khán, bearing a letter purporting to recall him to a sense of his duty to his master. Múrtaza said that Tufal Khán's regency had been reasonable and natural during the minority of Barhán 'Imád Sháh, but now that the young king had come to years of discretion, it was the duty of Tufal Khán to release him from restraint, to surrender all authority to him, and to place himself entirely at his disposal. Tufal Khán showed the letter to his son, Shamshír-ul-Mulk, and sought his counsel. Shamshír-ul-Mulk said that the letter was a mere pretext for aggression and that Múrtaza Niszám Sháh was evidently bent on invading and annexing Berar. By his advice Múllá Haidar was sent back without an answer, and he rejoined Múrtaza Niszám Sháh's camp at Páthri.

125 Firishta gives no indication of the scene of the fighting between the armies of Ahmadnagar and Berar, but says (ii, 264) that Múrtaza Niszám Sháh, after the return of his envoy, marched towards Elíchpur.
Quil's breast and projected from his back, and his friends lifted him up and bore him from the field. The sun now set and each army retired to its camp. The army of Ahmadnagar passed the night in expectation of the battle on the morrow. At sunrise the royal army formed up in order of battle and was advancing to meet the enemy when spies brought news that Tufal Khan, overcome with terror, had fled in the night at such a pace that no trace of his army could now be found. The king remained encamped where he was for a few days and sent scouts in all directions to obtain news of the movements of Tufal Khan. Sultan Quil Beg, who had been wounded in battle, died, and the king conferred on Ahmad Beg Afshar, who had distinguished himself by his valour, the title of Qizilbash Khan.

The scouts now reported to the king that Tufal Khan had marched out of the kingdom to Mahrur. The king then appointed Haidar Sultan Quil, who then held the appointment of Sar-i-Kha'il, with Mirza Yadgar, Chandha Khan, Kamil Khan, and other officers under him, to the command of a force which was to remain in the neighbourhood of Kanpur in order to protect that country from invasion by Ibrahim Qutb Shah, while he himself with the main body of the army set out for Mahrur in pursuit of Tufal Khan. The royal army marched rapidly, and when it reached the town of Maptapur the civil officials of Pathri reported that Tufal Khan was encamped near this village. Changiz Khan, in accordance with the royal commands, marched with a force from the royal army against Tufal Khan. When Tufal Khan heard of his approach he marched from his camp to meet him. Changiz Khan sent on Ahmad Beg Qizilbash Khan, with some other valiant warriors, in advance, in order that they might open the battle. Qizilbash Khan and his companions spurred their horses towards the enemy and a body of warriors came forth to meet them. These two forces engaged, and the fight waxed furious and continued until two watches of the night were passed. The two armies then withdrew to their camps, and the wily Tufal Khan, again dreading a battle with the army of Ahmadnagar, at once marched off and marched all through the night until he had placed a distance of nearly twenty leagues between himself and the royal army. As soon as Tufal Khan's flight became known, the king dispatched Qizilbash Khan with a picked force to pursue him, but, follow as they might, this force could neither come up with Tufal Khan nor discover any trace of him, and they therefore desisted from the pursuit and rejoined the main body of the army.

The king then appointed Bahri Khan, Jamal Khan and Qadam Khan to the command of a force to besiege Mahrur and left them at Pathri while he, with the main body of the army, marched in pursuit of Tufal Khan, annexing the fortresses and districts of Bara as he marched, and apportioning them among his army. The people of the country were not molested, but were kindly treated and reassured, so that they lived peaceably in their houses and went about their usual avocations. Among the evidences of the king's victory and prestige, which daily strengthened his position and displayed the might of his army, was the following occurrence. The emperor Jalal-ud-din Muhammad Akbar was at that time marching to Gujarat with a large army in order to wrest the country from Muhammad Husain Mirza, son of Baiqara, and his brothers, who had gained possession of it and had proclaimed their independence. Muhammad Husain Mirza, the eldest and the bravest of the brothers, had died, so that the other brothers and their army were scattered, and their bravest warriors came and entered the service of Murtraiz Nizam Shah, and thus every day a fresh band of them came and paid their respects at court and were received into the royal service. Thus the royal army grew in strength from day to day, while the enemy daily lost men and grew
weaker and more disheartened. Among those then who had the honour of entering the royal service were Asad Khan, whose subsequent exploits and promotion to the highest rank will be mentioned hereafter, 'Adil Khan Mangi, Bāl Khan, and other officers and brave men, a list of whose names would be tedious.

The royal army continued the pursuit of Tufāl Khan; and Khudāvand Khan, Rustam Khan and the other officers with the advanced guard remained still a day's march ahead of the main body of the army and a day's march behind Tufāl Khan.

IXXX.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE DISASTER WHICH BEFELL THE ROYAL ARMY.

After Tufāl Khan had twice disgraced himself by fleeing before the royal army, the amirs of the royal army, and especially Khudāvand Khan and Rustam Khan, who commanded the advanced guard, began, in their pride and their contempt of the enemy, to neglect the most ordinary precautions of an army in the field and to spend their time in idleness, making no attempt to ascertain the disposition or whereabouts of the enemy, while the enemy, on the other hand, lost no opportunity of acquainted themselves with the condition of the royal army. Shamshir-ul-Mulk, the son of Tufāl Khan, having satisfied himself of the negligence and carelessness of the amirs of Ahmadnagar, attacked Khudāvand Khan with a large army at the time when the amirs were engaged in drinking. The attack was so sudden that the amirs were completely surprised. They had no opportunity of even girding on their arms or of going forth to the fight, and were forced to flee. Rustam Khan and a few valiant companions preferred death on the field of battle to a shameful existence, and faced the foe manfully. Khudāvand Khan, aroused from the sleep of negligence and the drunkenness of pride, bethought himself of his good name and of the disgrace which he was incurring and, regardless of the flight of most of his men and of the numbers and bravery of the enemy, turned back from his flight with a few companions and threw himself on the enemy's centre and fought most valiantly, slaying many of the enemy, both man and horse, with his sword, and clove a way for himself through the host. At this moment his eye fell on his own standard which was being carried off by a body of the enemy. He at once rode towards them, but found his way barred by a fierce elephant. He struck the beast such a blow with his sword that he clept its trunk as if it had been a cucumber, and the enemy seeing such determined valour left his standard and fled. Khudāvand Khan, having thus overcome the enemy, contrived to separate several elephants from their army and he raised his standard against them. Although these valiant efforts of Khudāvand Khan saved the honour of the army, Rustam Khan and most of his men were slain, and all the baggage, camp equipage, transport and elephants of the army, with the royal standards and ensigns, fell into the hands of Shamshir Khan.

After the defeat of the royal army, Shamshir Khan retired from the field to rejoin his father, and when the news of his retreat spread through the royal camp, the king issued an order to Khudāvand Khan, forbidding him to advance until he was joined by the main body of the army. The main body then advanced by a forced march and reached the scene of the battle, where the royal pavilion was pitched. The officers of the advanced guard were then reproached and rebuked for their neglect and lack of caution and everybody who had displayed bravery in the action was promoted. It was then ordered that nobody should thenceforth separate himself from the main body of the army, nor act independently of it in any way, and that all should be extremely watchful and wary lest the enemy should make a night attack on the army. The army then set forth again in pursuit of Tufāl Khan, and the distance between him and the royal army was steadily maintained at a day's march,
never more and never less. Tufal Khan was not strong enough to turn and oppose the royal army and the latter could not march fast enough to overtake Tufal Khan.

As the king had issued orders that nobody in the army should vex or harass the inhabitants of Berar in any way, all the people readily submitted to and obeyed the royal commands, and paid their land revenue to the king, while the land was apportioned in jagir to the amirs and officers of the army.

At this time Chaghatai Khan, one of the amirs of Tufal Khan, having asked for a safe conduct, came in and submitted to the king and was received in the royal service and highly honoured.

Tufal Khan, who had long been harassed and hard pressed, was now reduced to great straits, and the army of the Dakan was also weary. Tufal Khan fled to Burhanpur and took refuge with Miran Muhammad Shâh. Murtaza Nizam Shâh therefore sent a message to Miran Muhammad Shâh, saying that Tufal Khan had been guilty of ingratitude and treason to his own master, and had then, in defiance of treaties, declared war against the kingdom of Ahmadnagar and when the army of Ahmadnagar marched against him, had in terror taken refuge in Burhanpur. The message went on to say that it was hoped that Miran Muhammad Shâh would remember, observe, and be willing to renew the treaties which had long existed between the Nizam Shâh and Fârûqi dynasties and would refrain from stirring up strife or harbouring offenders against peace and would use his endeavours to promote peace and goodwill between the two kingdoms.

Miran Muhammad Shâh feared to oppose the wishes of Murtaza Nizam Shâh, and at once expelled the wretched Tufal Khan from his country. He received the envoy with great humility and treated him well, and then dismissed him with honour. He then set out in person to meet Murtaza Nizam Shâh.

The meeting took place on the bank of a river named Parandi. Murtaza Nizam Shâh crossed the river with a few of his courtiers and Miran Muhammad Shâh paid his respects to him. At the end of the interview a Qur'an in the handwriting of Ali, the Leader of the Faithful, was produced from Murtaza Nizam Shâh's library for the purpose of the oaths to be taken for the confirmation of the treaties and engagements entered into. Miran Muhammad Shâh pointed out that this was the Qur'an which had been used for the treaty entered into with Ibrâhim Qutb Shâh. Nevertheless it was afterwards Miran Muhammad Shâh who broke the treaty.

Now that Tufal Khan could find no place of refuge or rest in any country, he resolved to shut himself up in one of his forts. He therefore separated from himself, like his own good fortune, Shamshir-ull-Mulk, who was in truth the right arm of his kingdom, and despatched him to Gâwîli, while he, with infinite difficulty, threw himself into the fortress of Narnâla. 187

When spies brought news of Tufal Khan's taking refuge in the fortress to the royal camp, the army of Ahmadnagar set forth on his track and on reaching Narnâla, surrounded the fort and laid siege to it, encamping around the lofty hill on which it was built.

186 This was Muhammad Shâh II, the tenth of the Fârûqî dynasty of Khândesh, who reigned from Dec. 19, 1566 to 1577-78.
187 Narnâla, in 21° 15' N. and 77° 4' E., on the southernmost range of the Sâtpûra hills, is one of the three hill fortresses of Berar, the other two being Gâwîli, the old fortress capital, in 21° 22' N. and 77° 23' E., also in the Sâtpûra hills, and Mâhûr, in 19° 59' N. and 77° 59' E., to the south of the Pregunta.
The fort of Narnāla is famed for its great strength throughout India, nay, throughout the whole inhabited world. It is built on a high and inaccessible hill surrounded by deep and well nigh impassable valleys. The sides of the hill are covered with dense forest which made passage all the more difficult, threaded by but one narrow winding path from the base of the summit of the hill, dark from the overhanging trees and full of rolling stones.

Until Murtaza Niğam Shâh appeared before Narnāla, the fortress had never been captured and no fortress had been seen like it in the world, except the fort of Gâwil, which in strength and loftiness is superior to the generality of forts, and is the counterpart of Narnāla.

When Tufâl Khân found no place of rest or refuge on the face of the earth, he sent his son, with a number of his tribesmen and relatives, to Gâwil, while he himself, with his treasures and all his movable property, took refuge in the mountains and, in great grief and vexation, made Narnâla his place of shelter and rest, and raised his standard against the invader.

Murtaza Niğam Shâh sent a force under some of his chief amîrs, such as the Khânzamân, Rustam Khân, Mâlî Khân, Bahrâm Khân and Bahâdur Khân, to besiege Gâwil, and impressed on the officers the necessity for caution and patience. Then the Khânzamân was detached from this army and ordered to rejoin the king at headquarters, Bahrâm Khân being appointed commander of the force for Gâwil, while the king in person proceeded to besiege Narnâla and set all in order for the siege.

The amîrs and the troops were posted in the stations allotted to them around the fort and began to push forward the trenches. They also set themselves to cut down the forest and to make smooth the stony portions of the hill.

The wise vazîr, Asad Khân,188 who had at this time entered the royal service, and was a valiant and experienced soldier, specially skilled in siege works and artillery, devoted all his attention to the capture of this fortress and toiled much to carry the siege guns near to the defence; and Sayyid Murtaza, who was in command of all the silâhdârs made such efforts to ensure the success of the siege as caused him to be the recipient of renewed favours from the king, so that he was advanced to the position of Sar-i-Naught and subsequently to that of Amîr-ul-Umarâ. Since there was little love between Changiz Khân and Sayyid Murtaza, the latter's good services bore little fruit in the former's life-time, and the king, in deference to his minister's prejudices, showed Sayyid Murtaza but little outward favour, but the day that Changiz Khân died, Sayyid Murtaza was made Sar-i-Naught, as will shortly be related.

At this time, while the siege was in progress, news was received by the king that Ibrahim Qutb Shâh's army had attacked the troops of Abâdânagar on the borders of the Kandhar district, and that the royal troops, unable to withstand the invaders, had suffered a defeat. The king was much annoyed by this news and ordered that the force which had been left to besiege Mâhûr should hasten to the support of the defeated army, and, acting in concert with it, should resist the advance of Ibrahim Qutb Shâh's troops.

At the same time Iâ'âdar Sultân, who had been in command of the army of Kandhâr, was recalled to headquarters and Mirzâ Yâdgar, the Sayyid, was appointed to the command of that army. The amîrs set out from Mâhûr and joined the defeated army in Kandhâr. At this time the army of Ibrahim Qutb Shâh was encamped at the village of Tamrî and the distance between the armies was no more than two ghâd.189 When the army of Goleconda heard that the army of Kandhâr had been reinforced, they marched from Tamrî and did not halt until they reached Kaûlâs.

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188 Asad Khân, a Georgian, had formerly been in the service of Gujarât. He and Sîkandar Rûmî Khân, son of Hâbashi Rûmî Khân, commanded the artillery at the siege of Narnâla. — F. ii, 267

189 The ghâd is an ancient measure of distance, the lengths attributed to which vary greatly. Sayyid *All seems to use it for a distance of about four miles.
At this time orders reached them from Ibrāhim Qutb Shāh, directing them to leave Kaulās and join him for some other expedition, leaving a small force in Kaulās. The army of Kandhār, seizing this opportunity, marched on Kaulās and reached it on Muharram 9. 190 There they defeated the Qutb Shāhi troops and plundered and wasted Kaulās and all the surrounding country and then returned to Kandhār.

The king and his army remained in camp before Narnāla for nearly a year, 191 fighting daily and clearing the jungle and improving the approaches to the fortress. They levelled knolls and filled up the hollows and dragged the siege guns by means of elephants and bullocks close to the walls of the fortress. They so battered the walls with artillery that they breached them in many places, and ever and again a body of the defenders would sally forth and fight valiantly with the besiegers.

While all this fighting was in progress, Changiz Khān, mindful of the saying "War is fraud", bethought him of a device and caused Khvāja Muḥammad Lārī to write a letter to Tufāl Khān representing himself to be a merchant with horses and merchandise for sale, and asking for admission to the fort. The wretched Tufāl Khān gave him the required pass and thus admitted the enemy into his house. Changiz Khān gave Khvāja Muḥammad Lārī a quantity of goods and supplied him with written assurances, sealed with the royal seal, for the nāīkwarīs of the fort, promising them places, rewards and other marks of the royal favour if they would forsake Tufāl Khān and transfer their allegiance to Murtaḍā Niẓām Shāh. 192

The minister’s wise device succeeded where force of arms had failed, and the Khvāja, in the guise of a merchant, entered the fort.

Outwardly he was a merchant and behaved as such, but secretly he was engaged in seducing the nāīks from their allegiance and by means of money, gifts, and promises of the royal favour succeeded in corrupting most of them and was enabled to inform Changiz Khān that he had won the nāīks over. Spies, however, informed Tufāl Khān of the pretended merchant’s actual employment, and Tufāl Khān imprisoned the Khvāja and arrested several of the nāīkwarīs whom he distrusted. Some of the nāīkwarīs made their escape over the wall and joined the royal army, and these events caused the greatest confusion among the Beraris, and Tufāl Khān’s army was thoroughly disheartened. At the same time Asād Khān destroyed most of the bastions and the enceinte of the fort with his guns, and this added to the despair and perplexity of the garrison. They filled the breaches with straw, rubbish, skins and packsaddles, and resisted the besiegers feebly and confusedly, but fate laughed at their efforts.

190 May 11, 1573.

191 Murtaḍā Niẓām Shāh grew very weary of the siege of Narnāla and, on hearing of the birth in Ahmadnagar, in A.H. 981 (A.D. 1573-74) of his son Ḥusain, was on the point of raising the siege and returning to Ahmadnagar. His vile favourite, the boy Ḥusain, afterwards entitled Sāhib Khān, with whom he had recently become acquainted, urged him in the same direction. Changiz Khān’s stratagem came just in time to save the situation.

192 Firishta says that “a merchant named Afghān,” that is to say, probably, an Afghān merchant, arrived in Murtaḍā Niẓām Shāh’s camp at this time with horses and other merchandise from Lāhor. He represented that he had brought these in fulfilment of an order from Tufāl Khān and begged that he might be allowed to take them into the fortress. Changiz Khān granted him the required permission on the condition that after disposing of his merchandise he gave up trade and entered the service of Murtaḍā Niẓām Shāh. The condition was accepted and the merchant entered the fort. With him Changiz Khān sent an agent, disguised as a merchant and well supplied with money wherewith to bribe Tufāl Khān’s officers. This agent was probably Khvāja Muḥammad Lārī.—P. ii, 267.

(To be continued.)
The Sabnis was in charge of the accounts in general and the muster-roll in particular. The Karkhananis was mainly responsible for commissariat work.

The Sabnis and the Karkhananis. The Kanujabta, of the year 1 of the coronation era, thus enumerates the official duties of these officers.

The Sabnis should be in charge of the cash and treasury as well as the accounts. Below the seal on each order, the Karkhananis should put his sign of approval. The daily account of these two departments should be drawn up under the supervision of both; the cash should be indicated on the account by the Sabnis, and below the Havaladar’s seal the Karkhananis should put his sign of approval.

If any order is to be issued from the fort to the District (under its jurisdiction) it should be issued by the Sabnis. The Havaladar should put his seal (on it), and below the seal the Karkhananis should put his sign of approval.

The Muster-Roll of the men should be taken by the Sabnis. It should be verified by a clerk of the Karkhananis. In this manner was the work of the cash and the treasury departments allotted.

If any order is made upon the district for either cash or clothes, it should be issued under the seal of the Sabnis, with the Karkhananis’ sign of approval. Besides this, all orders and requisitions should be made by the Karkhananis. Any tax (when necessary to meet the needs of the fort) should be levied by the Sabnis, and the Karkhananis should under the seal put his sign of approval.

All accounts whether of his own or of the Karkhananis’ department should be explained by the Sabnis, whether to the Havaladar or to the District officer or to the central government. The Karkhananis should sit near the Sabnis but all interrogations about their accounts should be made to the Sabnis.

All correspondence with the government or the District officers, or the sardars, or the Subhedars or other Killedars should be written by the Sabnis. The Sabnis should put his sign on them. After the Subhedars have sealed it, the Karkhananis should enter it into the daily ledger. He should not put his sign. But the letter should not be despatched without being recorded in the daily ledger.

All inspection and estimate of revenue of the province (under the jurisdiction of the fort) should be made by the Sabnis. It (the estimate) should be entered into the accounts by the Karkhananis. The Kowl and order about the revenue should be issued by the Sabnis. After the Havaladar has put his seal on the papers the Karkhananis should put his sign of approval.

All accounts of income and expenditure, either in weight or in approximate value in the stores (of commodities), should be daily made by the Karkhananis. They should be explained by the Karkhananis. After the Havaladar has put his seal (on the accounts) the Sabnis should put his sign of approval. The Karkhananis should write all orders of expenditure upon the granary. After the Havaladar has sealed (them) the Sabnis should put his sign of approval.

The distribution of stores, whether according to weight or according to approximate value, should be made by the Karkhananis. The Sabnis’ Karkun should be present on the occasion for verification.
The daily account of the expenditure in kind should be written by the Karkhananis and after he has specified the total and the Havaldar has put his seal, the Sabnis should put his sign of approval.

All orders for goods or commodities upon the province (under the jurisdiction of the fort) should be issued by the Karkhananis. The Sabnis should levy contribution (when necessary). He should put his sign of approval after the Havaldar has sealed the paper.

The Karkhananis should take charge of female slaves, boy-servants, horses or cattle that may come. The Sabnis should put his sign of approval below the seal. If any loss occurs, the Karkhananis should write about it. The Sabnis should put his sign below the seal.

The Karkhananis should supervise the work when a building is constructed. The Sabnis should inspect the work. Cash and clothes should be distributed among the Karkhananis’ men when occasion arises. It should have the approval of the Karkhananis. The distribution of grain should be made by the Karkhananis with the approval of the Sabnis.

All accounts of the naval stores should be written by the Karkhananis’ Karkuns. The work should be exacted by him under the supervision of the Sabnis.109

Thus did the three officers co-operate and act as a check upon one another. Not a single fort of Shivaji could therefore be betrayed to his enemies.

But all these precautions could not put an absolute check on treason and corruption. When Shivaji was absent in the camp of Jayasingh the entire charge of the fort of Rajigad had for the time being fallen on Kesó Narayan Sabnis, as there was no Havaldar. Kesó Narayan Sabnis, on that occasion, misappropriated a large sum from public funds.110 In 1663 Shivaji had to postpone an expedition to Konkan as disquieting information of a rebellion came from Sinhagad. In a letter dated the 2nd of April 1663, Shivaji writes to Moro Trimal Peshwa and Abaji Sondév that he was thinking of marching against Namdar Khan in Konkan. But news arrived from Sinhagad that some revolt had lately taken place in the fort. He had therefore to give up his project of marching into Konkan at that time. The two officers, however, were requested to march at once to Sinhagad with their troops and militia and take charge of the fort. They were further required to find out the rebels and report their names to the king.111

Shivaji generally stored grain and provisions in large quantities in his forts, for consumption during a siege. Towards the close of his career (in the year 1671-72) he decided to have a reserve fund to meet the extraordinary needs of the forts while undergoing sieges. A paper under his seal drawn in the year Sansíanne, says that the Rajshri Saheb has decided to raise money from each Mahal in his province and Watan. This money should form a (reserve) fund, and should be spent only when war with the Mughals should commence, and the Mughals should lay siege to forts, and money should be urgently required but should not be available from any other source. Otherwise this money should not be spent for any other government work. So has the Saheb decided and it has been settled that a sum of one lakh and twenty-five thousand Hons should constitute the reserve fund (and should be raised from the following Mahals and personages at the following rate):

| Location | Reserve Fund
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kudal</td>
<td>20,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajapur</td>
<td>20,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kolen</td>
<td>20,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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It has been decided that the sum of one lakh and twenty-five thousand Hons (thus raised) should be set aside as a reserve fund.\textsuperscript{112}

In the same year Shivaji granted a further sum of one lakh and seventy-five thousand Hons for repairing his principal forts. He observes that the works men grew discontented as they did not get their wages in time. A considerable sum was on that account set aside for building and repair works alone.

The sum of a hundred and seventy-five thousand was thus allotted\textsuperscript{113}:

- Sinhagad
- Sindhudurg
- Vijayadurg
- Suvarnadurg
- Pratagad
- Puraladhur
- Rajgad
- Prachandagad
- Prasiddhagad
- Vishalagad
- Mahapatgad
- Sudhagad
- Lohagad
- Sabalgad
- Shrivardhangad and Manranjan
- Korigad
- Sarasgad
- Mahidhargad
- Manohargad
- Miscellaneous

\begin{tabular}{lrr}
\hline
& & \\
Dabhil & 15,000 \\
Puna & 16,000 \\
Nagogi Govind & 10,000 \\
Jawli & 5,000 \\
Kalyan & 5,000 \\
Bhivandi & 5,000 \\
Indapur & 5,000 \\
Supa & 2,000 \\
Krishnaji Bhaskar & 5,000 \\
\hline
& & \\
\end{tabular}

\begin{tabular}{ll}
& \\
1,25,000 & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

\begin{tabular}{ll}
& \\
1,75,000 & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

What arms of defence were supplied to these forts, we do not know. Shivaji had an artillery department, and Orme\textsuperscript{114} tells us that "He had previously purchased eighty pieces of cannons, and lead, sufficient for all his match-locks from the French Director at Surat." We find mention of match-lockmen and archers in Sabhasad's pages; we have there an account of at least one

\textsuperscript{112} Rajwade, \textit{M.I.S.}, Vol. VIII, pp. 16-17.
\textsuperscript{113} \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 18-19.
\textsuperscript{114} Orme, p. 38.
dashing sally by Murar Baji Prabhu, when Diler Khan laid siege to Purandhar, but we never find the Marathas opening an artillery fire on the besieging enemy. Scott Waring says that "(Shivaji's) artillery was very contempitable and he seems seldom to have used it but against the island of Gingerah." But Shivaji's soldiers, in common with the Muhammadans of the Deccan, hurled a curious, but none the less effective, missile against their enemy while labouring up the steep sides of their inaccessible strongholds. Fryer says: "on the tops of the mountains, several fortresses of Seva Gi's, only defensible by nature, needing no other Artillery but stones, which they tumble down upon their foes, carrying as certain destruction as bullets where they alight. Huge pieces of stones were for this purpose heaped at convenient stations, and the Maratha soldiers rolled them down upon their enemy below. This, however, could hardly check the progress of a determined foe and when this preliminary defence failed, the Marathas sallied out, and sword in hand rushed upon the besiegers. The Marathas, however, did not always depend upon their valour, and gold was often used with very good results, when steel failed."

The Haveldar of a fort usually enjoyed a remuneration of 25 Hons a year. Nagojs Bhonse was appointed Mudradhari of Fort Utlur in 1680 on a salary of 150 Hons per year, out of which he had to pay 25 Hons to two servants attached to his office. Krishnaji Surevansi was appointed, in the same year, Sarnobat of the abovementioned fort on an annual salary of 100 Hons. The Haveldar in charge of the buildings in the Fort, got the same pay as the Mudradhari and his Mazmudar was paid at the rate of 36 Hons per year. Four Tat Sarnobats were sent by Shivaji to take charge of the ramparts of Kot Utlur and they were engaged on 4 Hons and 8 Kaveripak Hons (12 in all) a year. Along with them had been despatched seven Bargirs on a yearly pay of 9 Hons (3 ordinary Hons and 6 Kaveri Pak) per head. In a document, dated the 20th July 1677, we find that Timaji Narayan, a clerk, was appointed as an extra hand for the office work in Fort Balgudanur on a monthly allowance of three Hons. Besides the usual remuneration, each officer received, according to his rank and the importance of his charge, an additional allowance for palanquin, torch bearers, personal attendants, sunshades and pages.

The Ramshies and the Parwaris who kept watch, perhaps lived outside the ramparts and got very small remuneration.

The Peshwa army consisted mainly of cavalry. The infantry was recruited mainly from Hindustan and made but a poor impression on an English soldier, Tone. Shivaji's military genius, however, had early perceived the necessity of light infantry and light cavalry in a guerrilla war and hill campaign. His Mawles and Hetkari share became famous in the military annals of India. Selected after personal examination by Shivaji himself, each man was trained into an excellent soldier, not by drilling on the parade ground, but by the surest method of service in an actual war. "Shivaji had no idea of allowing his soldiers' swords to rust." The result was that not only their weapons but the men who wielded them, also gained in efficiency.

114 Scott Waring, p. 102.
115 Fryer, p. 123.
117 Chitnis, p. 80.
118 Manucci.
Shivaji’s infantry was carefully divided into regiments, divisions and brigades. The smallest unit consisted of 9 men and the officer commanding it was called the Naik. The Havaldar of the infantry had five such units under him. Over two or three Havaldars was placed a Jumladar. The officer commanding ten Jumlas was styled a Hazari, and the Sarnobat of the infantry had seven Hazaris under him. The Jumladar had an annual salary of one hundred Hons and his Sabnis got forty. The Hazari got five hundred Hons per year and his Sabnis, salary varied from one hundred to one hundred and twenty-five Hons. Chitnis informs us that at the time of a marriage or any other ceremony of similar importance in his family, the officer could expect a requisite grant.

The cavalry was divided into two classes, viz., the Bargirs and the Shiledars. The Bargirs were equipped with horse and arms by the state, while the Shiledar brought his own horse and sometimes came with a body of troopers armed and equipped at his own expense. The Bargir belonged to the Paga proper while the Shiledar held a comparatively inferior position. "The strength of the Paga," says Sabhasad, "was rendered superior (to that of the Shiledar). The Shiledars were placed under the jurisdiction of the Paga. To none was left independence enough for rebelling. To every horse in the Paga was appointed a trooper (Bargir); over twenty-five such Bargir was appointed an expert Maratha Havaldar.

Five Havals formed a Jumla. The Jumladar had a salary of five hundred Hons and a palanquin; and his Mazumdar had a salary of one hundred to one hundred and twenty-five Hons. For every twenty-five horses were appointed a water-carrier and a farrier. A Hazari was a commander of ten such Jumlas. To this office was attached a salary of one thousand Hons, a Mazumdar, a Maratha Karbhari and a Prabhu Kayastha Jamenis; for them was allotted a sum of five hundred Hons. Salary and palanquin were given to each officer according to this scale. Accounts of income and expenditure were made up in the presence of all the four. Five such Hazaris were placed under a Panch Hazari. To him was given a salary of two thousand Hons. A Mazumdar, a Karbhari, and a Jamenis were likewise attached to his office. These Panch Hazaris were under the command of the Sarnobat.

The administration of the Paga was of the same kind. Similarly the different brigadiers of the Shiledars also were placed under the command of the Sarnobat.

It may be noticed here that Shivaji enrolled in his army not only Hindus but Muhammadans also. A body of seven hundred Pathans offered their service to the Maratha King, and Shivaji enlisted them, it is said, in opposition to the majority of his officers. Shivaji pointed out that a king was a king first and a Hindu or a Muhammadan afterwards, and was supported in his wise resolution by an old officer Gomaji Naik Pansambal.

Shivaji knew quite well that an army, however efficient, could not be expected to operate with success in an enemy country, unless served by an efficient Intelligence Department. Shivaji organised a body of excellent spies, the chief of whom was Bahirji Naik Jadhava. Shivaji was so well served by these intelligence officers that he owed many of his most brilliant successes mainly to the information collected by them. On one occasion, Shivaji’s army was saved from utter destruction by Bahirji’s knowledge of unfrequented hill tracks.

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120 Sabhasad, p. 30.
121 Ibid., pp. 28-29.
122 Ibid, p. 93.
123 Grant Duff, pp. 181-182.
Shivaji could never expect to reach the numerical strength of his enemies. But he had detected the defects of the heavily armed Muhammadan soldiery and relied on speed for success against them. He, therefore, never allowed his soldiers to be encumbered with heavy arms or costly equipment. Dressed in tight fitting breeches, cotton jackets and turbans, armed mainly with swords both long and short, spears and lances, bows and arrows and breech-loading guns and match-locks, depending mainly on the spoils of war for their subsistence, Shivaji's soldiers were ready to march at a moment's notice. They were so quick both in mobilising and demobilising, that the enemies of Shivaji could hardly expect to get any information of his projects before their actual execution.

Though the ordinary soldier was poorly dressed, Shivaji indulged in great expenditure in arming and equipping his body-guards. This regiment was divided into units of 20, 30, 40, 60 and 100 men. They were equipped at state expense and were given richly embroidered turbans and jackets of broad cloth, gold and silver earrings and wristlets. Their sword-sheaths, guns and spears had silver rings, and we can guess what a brilliant sight they offered when marching by the king's palanquin.

Besides the regular forces, Shivaji could, in times of emergency, call up the feudal forces of the Maratha watandars. In a Kowmnama published in the Triitiya Sammelan Vritta of the Bharat Itihas Sansodhak Mandal, two watandars, Mal Patil and Begi Patil of Brvadi, offered to serve Shivaji when need arose, like the Mawle Deshmukhs, with ten of their attendants. For their subsistence the watandars expected six Rukas or half an anna per head per diem and they offered to serve in the army as long as the occasion demanded.

Unlike the later Peshwas, Shivaji never depended much upon these feudal levies, nor did he prefer the mercenary Shiledars, who in certain respects resembled the condottieri of medieval Europe, to the Barmirs of Paga. It is quite possible that when his power was established, Shivaji no longer summoned those feudal forces.

Shivaji paid his soldiers either in cash or by Varan on the District Governments. He was entirely opposed to payment by Jagir. But when any of his soldiers happened to be a cultivator as well, the rent payable by him was deducted from his salary. But their pay was never allowed to fall in arrears as in the Peshwa days. As Shivaji was strictly punctual in his payments, it was not necessary for him to offer very high wages. "For the lower officers and men the pay varied from Rs. 9 to 3 for the infantry, and Rs. 20 to 6 in the cavalry, according to the higher or lower rank of the soldier or trooper." Officers and privates of Shivaji's army were liberally rewarded for distinguished service in war. Wounded soldiers got a special allowance according to the nature of their wounds. Widows and orphans of soldiers who fell in active service were liberally pensioned by the state, and the latter, if major, were enlisted in the royal army. In any case they could expect to enter Shivaji's army whenever they attained majority; in the meantime they were sure of a suitable maintenance.

124 Grant Duff, pp. 181-182. 125 Sabhasad, p. 58.
126 (2) जो नवसी शाहीवाण नरसातीचे काम पसंद ने बसली रळे मननवाई आपले लोक बेहतर मराठवाणी शाहीबाळी कसली होते न हान निरंतरता जे नवसा मराठवाणी काम सहीक्र रळे मननवाई लोक नवसी अलग वाह लोक वापरले बेहतर शाहीबाळी सेवेती बेहतर वरोजऱ रोजऱू वाहू अवसंत रुपे साहर नकले. बेहतर संबंध जो वरील असेल तरी शाही काम करत.
in the action were taken into his service. He directed that the widows of those who had no son should be maintained by (a pension of) half their (husbands) pay. The wounded were given rewards of two hundred, one hundred, twenty-five or fifty Honis per man, according to the nature of their wounds. Warriors of renown and commanders of brigades were given horses and elephants in reward. Some were sumptuously rewarded with (ornaments like) bracelets, necklaces, crests, medallions, earrings and crests of pearls. Such were the presents conferred on men. Some were rewarded with grants of Mokasa in villages. The practice of rewarding soldiers for meritorious service, and maintaining their widows and orphans by adequate pensions was continued throughout the Peshwa period.

The Maratha Camp during the Peshwa period presented a disreputable spectacle.

The Maratha Camp, "Camp," says Elphinstone, "presents to a European the idea of long lines of white tents in the trimmest order. To a Maratha it presents an assemblage of every sort of covering of every shape and colour, spreading for miles in all directions, over hill and dale, mixed up with tents, flags, trees and buildings. In Jone's "History" march means one or more columns of troops and ordnance moving along roads, perhaps between two hedges; in the Maratha history, horse, foot and dragoons inundating the face of the earth for many miles on every side, here and there a few horse with a flag and a drum, mixed with a loose and straggling mass of camels, elephants, bullocks, nautch girls, fakeers, and buffoons; troops and followers, lancemen and match-lockmen, bunyans and moostuddies." Broughton gives no less gruesome picture of Sindhiya's camp. Wine was publicly sold and public women accompanied the army to the prejudice of discipline and order. This was unthinkable in Shivaji's time, No one was allowed to keep in the camp a female slave or a dancing girl, and violation of this rule was punished with death. Shivaji, a lover of discipline, and method had drawn up for his army a set of wise regulations. These have been summed up by Sabhasad in the following manner:—

*The army should come to and from in the home dominions during the rainy season. There should be stored grains, fodder, medicines, houses for men, and stables for horses, thatched with grass. As soon as the Dasara is over, the army should march out of their quarters. At the time of their departure, an inventory should be made, of the belongings of all the men, great or small, in the army, and they should start on the expedition. For eight months the forces should subsist (on their spoils) in the foreign territories. They should levy contributions. There should be no women, female slaves, or dancing girls in the army. He who keeps them should be beheaded. In enemy territories, women and children should not be captured. Males, if found, should be captured. Cows should not be taken. Bullocks should be requisitioned for transport purpose only. Brahmins should not be molested. Where contributions have been laid, a Brahman should not be taken as a surety. No one should commit adultery. (वह अमलः;) For eight months, they should be on expedition on foreign countries. On the way back to the barracks in the month of Vaisakh, the whole army should be searched at the frontier of the home dominions. The former inventory of their belongings should be produced. Whatever may be in excess, should be valued and deducted from the soldiers' salary. Things of very great

129 Bhonsale Lopak े पहले होते क्षत्रियां को राज्यांचे चालविले. पुढे नोंधी क्षत्रियां वाचकांस नियौ वेतन कश्चन चालवायि असेच केल असामी बाहेरी क्षत्रिय रूपांतर होते व बांगर होते पदार्थ होते शहीदारीश असामी आमूलम पाहून विषयस. मोनतारीली लोकांस हिदीतील अनेक होते असामी रूपांतर होते शहीद होते नेल्या विषयस हस्तकसी केंद्राचा पुरुष प्रस्तरी किंचित्कसां वाचकांसं फार ध्वन्ये असे हे लोकांस हिदीले.

131 Broughton's Letters written in a Mahratta C.
value, if any, should be sent to the royal treasury. If any one secretly kept anything, and the Sardar came to know (of it), the Sardar should punish him. After the return of the army to their camp, an account should be made, and all the Sardars should come to see the Raja, with gold, silver, jewels, clothes, and other commodities. There all the accounts should be explained and the things should be delivered to His Majesty. If any surplus should be found due to the contingents, it should be asked for in cash from His Majesty. Then they should return to the barracks. Sumanjam should be given to the men who had worked hard in the late campaign. If any one had been guilty of violating the rules or of cowardice, an enquiry should be made and the truth ascertained with the consent of many, and (the offender) should be punished with dismissal. Investigation should be quickly made. For four months they should remain in the barracks, and on the Dasara day, they should wait on the Raja. (Then) they should march out to the country, selected for the expedition, by the order of the Raja. Such were the rules of the army.¹³²

These regulations were not designed merely to figure in the statute book but were strictly enforced. While passing through the kingdom of Golconda, on his way to Tanjore, Shivaji ordered his soldiers not to harass the people in any way; whatever they wanted was obtained by peaceful purchase, and any breach of law was severely punished. Sabhasad tells us that Shivaji on this occasion made examples of a few offenders to intimidate others, and his severity had the desired effect. But the spirit of the times was not favourable to strict discipline, and although Shivaji’s spies seldom failed to bring to his notice all cases of violence and fraud,¹³³ yet it was impossible for him to put a stop to military excesses.

Bhate Sajangdav and Narayana Ramdas— ललं जी राजमाझा राजैनी इत्यादीः चक्तितम गृहीती जीवित्वा राजस्य राजित्वा करणी चक्ति लले जीवित्वा राजस्य राजित्वा आहेत आज्ञाते वेदायक केली अहे वाचा भरले एवं नेहाय व ह्ये वाचा भरले नेहाय व ह्ये अज्ञाते वेदायक केली अहे वाचा भरले एवं नेहाय व ह्ये अज्ञाते वेदायक केली अहे वाचा भरले एवं नेहाय व ह्ये अज्ञाते वेदायक केली अहे वाचा भरले एवं नेहाय व ह्ये अज्ञाते वेदायक केली अहे वाचा भरले एवं नेहाय व ह्ये अज्ञाते वेदायक केली अहे वाचा भरले एवं नेहाय व ह्ये अज्ञाते वेदायक केली अहे वाचा भरले एवं नेहाय व ह्ये अज्ञाते वेदायक केली अहे वाचा भरले एवं नेहाय व ह्ये अज्ञाते वेदायक केली अहे वाचा भरले एवं नेहाय व ह्ये अज्ञाते वेदायक केली अहे वाचा भरले एवं नेहाय व ह्ये अज्ञाते वेदायक केली अहे वाचा भरले एवं नेहाय व ह्ये अज्ञाते वेदायक केली अहे वाचा भरले एवं नेहाय व ह्ये अज्ञाते वेदायक केली अहे वाचा भरले एवं नेहाय व ह्ये अज्ञाते वेदायक केली अहे वाचा भरले एवं नेहाय व ह्ये अज्ञाते वेदायक केली अहे वाचा भरले एवं नेहाय व ह्ये अज्ञाते वेदायक केली अहे वाचा भरले एवं नेहाय व ह्ये

In a letter dated the 8th September 1671 we read how a Maratha soldier had attacked the Sabin of his regiment with a naked sword.¹³⁴ On the 23rd July of the next year Shivaji wrote to Dattaji Pant Wakanvis that the soldiers gave trouble to the pilgrims of the Chiplun fair. At Chiplun lived Ramdas, Shivaji’s spiritual guide. He was revered throughout Maharashtra as a great saint and an incarnation of the monkey-god Maruti. If soldiers did not behave properly in the precincts of Ramdas temple, we may easily imagine to what extremes their insolence carried them at safer places. Shivaji however could not achieve the impossible. His countrymen had before them the example of the Bijapur army where discipline was conspicuous by its absence. Shivaji placed before them a high ideal, but an ideal cannot always be forced on an unwilling people at the point of the sword. None the less the great Maratha leader never failed to harangue his soldiers about their duties and responsibilities.

In the year 1676 he came to learn that the regiment encamped at Chiplun had given great trouble to the people of the neighbourhood. The troops were short of provision, and took by force what they wanted. Shivaji therefore issued a circular to the Jumladars, Havaldars and Karkuns of the army, reminding them that it was their duty to store

¹³² Sabhasad, pp.
¹³³ He had numberless informers about his troops; so that if they kept back any money or goods from account, he forced them to give them up—Scott, Hist. of the Deccan, Vol. 11, p. 55.
sufficient provision in time. "If grain, bread, grass and vegetables are forcibly taken away from the peasant, they will desert the locality. Some of them will die of starvation and your presence will be more unwelcome than that of the Mughals." "Do not give the Rayat the least trouble," continues Shivaji, "you have no need to stray out of your camping places. Money has been given to you from the Government treasury. Whatever any soldier may want, either grain, or vegetables or fodder for the animals, should be purchased from the market. Violence should not be offered to any one on any account." This remarkable document illustrates Shivaji's anxiety for the welfare of his people and the good name of his soldiers. The last portion of the letter shows how the minutest details of army administration did not escape his notice. He admonishes his officers to take special precaution against fire. Soldiers were not to smoke or cook near haystacks and lamps were to be put out before the men went to bed, lest mice should drag away the burning wicks and set fire to the stacks. "If the haystacks are burnt, the necessary hay cannot be procured even if the Kunbies are decapitated and the Karkuns harassed. The horses will die of hunger and the cavalry will be ruined." Shivaji knew everything about his army, its needs and requirements. He was anxious to secure the welfare of his people and he tried his best to protect them from the violence of his soldiers. We should judge him by what he attempted and not by what he achieved, although his achievements were by no means small.

(To be continued.)

THE HISTORY OF THE NIZĀM SHĀHĪ KINGS OF AHMADNAGAR.

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL T. W. HAIG, C.S.I., C.M.G., C.B.E.

(Continued from p. 268.)

LXXXI.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE FALL OF NARNĀLA, AFTER ONE YEAR'S SIEGE AND OF THE CAPTURE OF TUFĀL KHĀN, AFTER HE HAD FLED IN FEAR OF HIS LIFE.

When the king was informed, on the 29th of Zīl-Ḥijjah, A. H. 981 (April 22, A. D. 1574) that the very foundation of the fortress of Narnāla had been destroyed by the artillery under the direction of Asad Khān, he ordered that the army should, early in the month of Muharram, A. H. 982 (April, A. D. 1574), storm the fort simultaneously on all sides. The army obeyed this order with the greatest alacrity and attacked the fort with great valour and determination. The garrison, seeing themselves thus attacked on all sides, utterly lost heart and gave up the fight, but Tufāl Khān rallied them with the hope of rich rewards in the event of success and once more led them to the defences, fighting himself in the ranks. They followed him and poured a hot fire of musketry and showers of stones on the attacking force. The Nigām Shāhi troops, however, pressed on and drove the enemy from the first or outer gate of the fort and occupied the gate. Thence they attacked the second gate, which they took, and in this manner they pressed on until they had captured three or four gates one within the other, and thus arrived at the inmost gate, in the wall of the fort itself. They attacked this vigorously, while Tufāl Khān in person defended it. Suddenly the shouts of a body of the victorious army who had entered the fort by one of the breaches, were heard within the fort. Tufāl Khān now gave up all for lost and, leaving all his goods and wealth, fled, and left the fort by another gate, on the Burhānpūr road. The victors now entered the fort and slew large numbers of the defenders. Those who were not at once slain.
threw down their arms and begged for mercy. The king graciously spared the lives of this remnant, but all their goods and their cattle became the spoil of the victorious army. The king then turned his attention to the dwellers in that fort and encouraged them to hope for his favour.

The revenue officers then made search for Tufāl Khān's treasures. The cash, the jewels, the rich stuffs, the merchandise, the horses and the elephants which had belonged to Tufāl Khān as Governor of Berar became the property of Murtaza Nīgām Shāh, and all that had belonged to his army and to the inhabitants of the forts was distributed among the victorious army. The king then ordered a force of picked men, under Sayyid Ḥusain Jarjānī, the Sar-i-Naubat of Changiz Khān, to pursue the wretched Tufāl Khān lest he should effect his escape. After great exertions they found the wretch in one of the villages of Berar, and seized him, and brought him in a litter to the king. Sayyid Ḥusain was received with much honour and the title of Tufāl Khān was bestowed upon him.

The same day orders were issued that the amirs and troops in Kandhār should march to the assistance of ‘Āli ‘Adil Shāh. These orders were carried out and this army advanced as far as Udgīr. But now Khvāja Ziyā ud-dīn Muḥammad, entitled Amīn Khān, envoy to Bījāpūr, who had, by command of Murtaza Nīgām Shāh, come to the royal court and was now returning to Bījāpūr, met this army at Udgīr and conveyed to them the royal command that they should await the return of the army from Berar. The amirs and the troops therefore halted at Udgīr and awaited the return of the king with his army.

When Shamsīr-ul-Mulk, the son of Tufāl Khān, and the garrison of Gāwīl heard of the fall of Narnāla and the imprisonment of Tufāl Khān, they were overcome with dread and sent a messenger to the king to ask that their lives might be spared. The royal army then took possession of Gāwīl, and Changiz Khān, by the royal command seized Shamsīr-ul-Mulk and his officers, while the civil officers made out schedules of all the 'Imād Shāhi and the Tufāl Khān's treasure in Gāwīl, a schedule of which the schedule of Qārūn's treasure might well have been a rough draft, and submitted it to the king. The governors of provinces and the commandants of other forts and posts in the kingdom of Berar having heard of the capture and the disgrace of Tufāl Khān, came to the court of the king of the Dakan with swords and shrouds hung round their necks and gave up the keys of their forts and of their treasure chests. They then submitted themselves entirely to the Nīgām Shāhi kingdom.

‘Āli ‘Adil Shāh was by no means pleased with the conquest of Berar, the capture of its fortresses and the imprisonment of Tufāl Khān and his sons by Murtaza Nīgām Shāh and heard the news with much perturbation and dissatisfaction, and Khvāja Ziyā ud-dīn Muḥammad Amīr Khān, the Abūmadnagar envoy at the court of Bījāpūr, was at the instigation of Muṣṭafā Khān, and of the friends of his own brother, Tībār Khān, who was the envoy from Bījāpūr to the court of Abūmadnagar, put to death. The circumstances of this affair are as follows: Although ‘Āli ‘Adil Shāh, urged thereto by the necessities of the time, had consented to the conquest of Berar by Abūmadnagar and had even detached two or three officers of rank with a force of several thousand horse, in order that they might, as has been mentioned, assist in the operations to be undertaken, he was yet most unwilling to allow the kingdom of Abūmadnagar to grow more powerful, and had told Tībār Khān, who was his envoy at the court of Abūmadnagar, that whenever it appeared that Tufāl Khān was reduced to extremities and that the army of Abūmadnagar was about to conquer Berar, he was to report the state of affairs to Bījāpūr at once. Tībār Khān not only failed to carry out this order, but sent to his master dispatches in accordance with the interest of Abūmadnagar and thus played him false until the conquest of Berar was a fait accompli. Although Amīn Khān had
made great efforts to secure the freedom of Muṣṭafā Khān and had succeeded so well that he had not only obtained his release from the fort of Panāla, but had caused him to be promoted to the office of vakil and pūshvā. Muṣṭafā Khān, forgetting the maxim that for favour nothing should be returned but favour,’ persuaded ‘Alī ‘Ādil Shāh that I’tībār Khān’s negligence and disobedience were due to the instigation of his brother, Amin Khān, and so enraged him that he ordered the execution of Amin Khān. Muṣṭafā Khān at length received the punishment due to his misdeeds, and was slain, in his eightieth year, by a man named Amin Khān. 193

After the conquest of Berar, Murtaẓā Nigām Shāh apportioned its towns and parganas in jagārs to the great amirs who had signalised themselves by bravery in the campaign, such as Jamshid Khān, Khudāvand Khān, Rustam Khān, Chandā Khān, Bāhī Khān, Mīrṣa Quli Khān, Shīr Khān Barāqi, Maqṣūd Āqā and others, appointing Khatīṭ Khān Kāshi commander in chief over them. Bahārām Khān Glānī, was appointed commandant of Gāwil and Sayyid ‘Alī Zahir-ul-Mulk, commandant of Narnāla.

The king with his army then set forth to conquer the kingdom of Bīdar.

When Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh heard of the conquest of Berar and of the advance of the army of Ahmadnagar towards Bīdar, he was much alarmed and considered within himself that after the complete subjugation of the kingdom of Berar with its twenty thousand fine cavalry and its numerous and strong forts both in the plains and in the hills, the capture of the fortress of Bīdar, in spite of its reputation for strength, would seem to be a small matter to the army of Ahmadnagar, and that the army might, after its capture, march on Telīngāna (which God, he prayed, forbid!) when it would be extremely difficult for him to withstand them. He therefore openly courted the friendship of Murtaẓā Nīgām Shāh, and sent the Sayyid, Mir Zainal, to the royal camp to conclude a treaty of peace. He secretly, however, sent a message to Mīrṣa Muhammad Shāh, Sultān of Khāndesh, saying that although Murtaẓā Nīgām Shāh had, after putting forth great efforts, possessed himself of Berar, yet the hearts of the subjects and zamindārs of that country could not already be thoroughly reconciled to the dominion of Ahmadnagar, and that Murtaẓā Nīgām Shāh had now marched towards Bīdar and had left the vast kingdom of Berar without a responsible ruler. He proposed therefore, that Mīrṣa Muhammad Shāh should invade Berar and with his help, conquer it without difficulty, when he would gladly hand over the country to him.

Mir Zainal arrived at the royal camp, and Changīz Khān, in order not to offend ‘Alī ‘Ādil Shāh, had him lodged privately in Jamshid Khān’s quarters, and introduced him secretly to the king. His requests were granted and he received permission to depart after having successfully carried out his mission.

When the royal army reached Māhūr the king heard that disturbances had broken out in Berar, and that Mīrṣā Quli Khān had risen in rebellion and had, at the head of a band of ruffians, slain Khattīṭ Khān. It seems that Mīrṣā Quli Khān and his gang had gone to the quarters of Khatīṭ Khān at midday, the time when everybody takes a siesta, had slain the

193 Shāh Abūl-Hasan had been dismissed in 1573 from the post of vakil and pūshvā of the Bīpār state, having been held responsible for the bursting of a big gun at the siege of Torkul, and the Sayyid, Muṣṭafā Khān Ardistānī had been appointed in his place. Muṣṭafā Khān was eventually strangled by one Muhammad Amin acting under the orders of Kishvar Khān, his offence being that many of the officers of the army wished to replace him in the position of vakil and pūshvā at a crisis in the affairs of Bīpār—F. ii. 80, 96.
doorkeeper who opposed their entrance and had then entered and slain Ḑhaṭṭāt Khān himself. Ṭaṛā Quli Khān then made off towards Būḥānpūr and before the rest of the āmirīs had heard what had happened, or could start in pursuit, Bānū Khān, with a force of valiant men had started in pursuit of him and had overtaken him and attacked him. The fight was long and fierce, but at last, by God’s blessing, the rebels were defeated, and many were slain. Ṭaṛā Quli Khān and a few of his companion fled and with much difficulty, and after suffering many hardships, succeeded in making their escape.

The king, with a view to quieting these disturbances, appointed Khurshid Khān, the Sar-i-naubat, commander-in-chief of Berar, and proceeded on his way without a halt until he reached Udgir. Here the āmirīs who were encamped at this place and were awaiting the arrival of the royal army, were admitted to the presence and received marks of the royal favour. Here also Changiz Khān, the vakil and ḍīšāl, fell seriously ill, and, as the rainy season was now approaching, the royal army encamped at Udgir for some time.

While the army was encamped at Udgir, Ibrāhīm Ḍuṣ Shāh sent Sayyid Shāh Mīr Ṭabāṭiba, one of the most learned and eloquent men of the age, to the royal court in order that he might obtain the confirmation of the treaties of peace and alliance existing between the two kingdoms, and obtain fresh treaties to the advantage of both parties.

When the king heard of the arrival of Shāh Mīr he ordered that the envoy should be accommodated just without the camp, and await orders. After this the king went out hunting with Changiz Khān and others of the chief āmirīs, such as the Khānsamān, Jamshīd Khān, Khudāvand Khān and Bahri Khān seated on the chīta carts, and as he came forth from the camp, Mīr Shāh Mīr appeared before him, paid his respects, and delivered the message with which he was charged. The Mīr, having received a favourable answer, then returned to his master.

It was now that the king heard that Ṭaṛā Quli one of the bravest officers of the army, having rebelled, and having at midday, which is the time when all take rest, attacked Khāṭṭā Khān’s quarters with a gang of ruffians, slaying the doorkeeper who opposed his entrance, and afterwards slaying Khāṭṭā Khān himself, had come forth and opposed Bānū Khān, who, with a body of valiant men, had come to attack him. A sharp fight took place in the streets and bazaars and the rebels were driven forth into the open plain and were at length defeated, some being slain, and the rest taking flight. Mīrān Muḥammad Shāh, who had been led astray by Ibrāhīm Ḍuṣ Shāh, and had also received help from ‘All ‘Adīl Shāh, was now blinded to his true interests by his desire to possess Berar and was minded, in accordance with the dictates of his own evil fortune, to violate his treaties with Murtaḍū Nīgām Shāh, to his own ruin and destruction, as will afterwards appear.

Mīrān Muhammad Shāh having thus cast covetous eyes on Berar, sent Zain-ud-dīn, his commander-in-chief, with a large army, into that country with orders to expel the Nīgām Shāhī army and annex the country to Khāndesh. Zain-ud-dīn, with an army of nearly 20,000 horse, invaded Berar and stretched forth his hands to vex the Nīgām Shāhī officers there. The āmirīs of Berar, when they heard of the approach of the large army of Būḥānpūr, all left their outlying parganas and assembled at Elichpūr in order that they might, after taking counsel with Khurshid Khān, the commander-in-chief, offer a united resistance to invaders. The only exception was Chaqṭā Khān who, standing fast in his own country, as soon as there was any cause for anxiety, sacrificed his own jāgīr.

193 Firīshṭā styles this envoy Shāh Ṭaṛā Isfahānī, ii. 269, 270, 337.
195 According to Firīshṭā (ii. 268), Muhammad Shāh Fārūqī II did not openly announce his intention of annexing Berar, but invaded it ostensibly in support of a foster-brother of Būḥānūr ‘Imād Shāh, whom he represented to be his real brother—F. ii. 268.
After the amīrs had assembled in Elīchpūr, Khurshid Khān, finding himself unable to withstand the numerous army of Būrānpūr, withdrew to Gāwīl and was besieged in that fortress. The amīrs and chief officers pressent withdrew from the neighbourhood of Gāwīl and marched against a corps of the army of Būrānpūr which was besieging Narnāla. The two armies met before Narnāla and a fierce battle ensued in which the amīrs of Berar, who were under no responsible commander-in-chief, were defeated and lost all their baggage. They then retreated with a view to joining the royal army, but were pursued by the army of Mīrān Muḥammad Shāh, which came up with them on the banks of the Parandī river and again attacked them with great determination. The army of Ahmadnagar, though it fought with great bravery and several times repulsed the enemy, was unable, without a responsible head as it was, to withstand successfully a force which so largely outnumbered it, and the army of Mīrān Muḥammad Shāh was at length victorious. Maqsūd Aqā, the Sar-i-naubat, and most of the usually victorious army, were so overcome with panic and confusion, that they were drowned in the river, and the few who escaped with great difficulty, reached the opposite bank, made their way to the royal camp in Udgīr.

The king, on hearing of Mīrān Muḥammad Shāh’s action, regarded the reconquest and pacification of Berar as more important than any other business which was before him and at once marched towards Berar. He placed all the Foreign troops, with several of the amīrs, in the advanced guard under the command of Sayyid Murtaza and followed this force towards Berar with the main body of the army, marching with great speed until he entered Berar. Sayyid Murtaza, with the force under his command, reached the town of Bālāpūr one morning and encamped there. When Sayyid Zain-ul-dīn heard of the arrival of the royal army in Berar, he became alarmed and, realizing that it would be folly on his part to remain in Berar, he set out for Khândesh.196

On the following day at sunrise the main body of the royal army arrived at Bālāpūr, and Sayyid Murtaza, with the advanced guard, set out in pursuit of the enemy who, in their terror, fled in all haste to Būrānpūr, halting nowhere by the way. When the king heard of the flight of the enemy, he thought it well that there should be no delay in the matter of taking vengeance on the forsworn Mīrān Muḥammad Shāh, and marched, without halting, to the banks of the Taptī.

When Mīrān Muḥammad Shāh heard of the approach of Murtaza Nīzām Shāh he would tarry no longer at Būrānpūr but, setting his country and his goods, his crown and his throne, against his life, he fled with a few of his most intimate courtiers and took refuge in the fortress of Asīr. The royal army then crossed the river and entered Būrānpūr, which was a very paradise with its hours and its mansions, and sacked and burned the city. The king remained for days in the city, enjoying himself, while his army plundered rich and poor, and took possession of the crown and throne of Mīrān Muḥammad Shāh, and of the goods of his army, and also of all hoards and treasures, whether open or concealed. All collected taxes were given to the army. The army received so much gold, jewels, precious stuffs, valuable merchandise, so many horses and elephants, and all manner of goods, that they could not gather and transport them. Among the plunder was a vast pit full of grain from which the whole of the royal elephants and horses were fed, while such large quantities were given to the amīrs for the use of their horses and troops that they were enabled, after satisfying all wants, to sell much of it; and the supply was not even then exhausted. The rest of the plunder was on the same scale.

196 According to Firishta, the army of Ahmadnagar marched by way of Rohankhed. Muḥammad Shāh Faruqī II had not himself invaded Berar, but was halting on the frontier, awaiting events. On the approach of the army of Ahmadnagar he fled to Asīrgarh—F. ii. 269.
After the sacking of the city of Burhānpūr the royal army marched from the city to besiege Asirgarh,117 Changiz Khān being in command of the advanced guard. When Mīrān Muḥammad Shāh heard of the approach of the army of Ahmadnagar, he sent Sayyid Zain-ud-din, who was vakīl of the kingdom of Khāndesh, with a large army and several elephants, to oppose its advance, and the army of Mīrān Muḥammad Shāh and the advanced guard of the army of Ahmadnagar met between Burhānpūr and Asir. A fierce battle ensued in which the advantage lay at first with the army of Burhānpūr, and the advanced guard of the royal army was on the point of suffering a defeat. As soon as the king heard of the insolent persistence of the enemy, his wrath burst into flame, and calling for his horse he mounted it and dashed off towards the field without taking time even to arm himself properly. The amīrīs, who were in attendance on him, tried to dissuade him from going personally into the fight, saying that that was the business of themselves and of the troops under them. With some difficulty they prevailed on him to stay where he was and send a force to the aid of the advanced guard. At that moment news was received that Changiz Khān had attacked the enemy with great dash and determination, and had defeated and dispersed them, slaying many and taking many prisoners, and capturing also several elephants. The king was much rejoiced by this news and pressed on with the main body of the army towards Asir. The army of Mīrān Muḥammad Shāh, which was encamped around the fortress, was smitten with terror and fled, leaving the whole of their camp equipage, baggage, goods, and chattels in the hands of the victors. The royal army pursued them to the borders of the dominions of the emperor Akbar, slaying all whom they overtook. Much spoil fell into their hands and they laid waste the whole country about Asir and Burhānpūr.

When the royal pavilion was set up over against the fortress of Asir, commands were issued that the siege should be begun, and the army surrounded the fortress.

The fortress of Asir is situated on a very lofty hill and is so strong that it has baffled the attempts of many to take it. The rock on which the fort is built is so high and smooth, and has been so scarped that the ascent of it is impossible, and the fort can be approached only by a very rough and difficult road cut in the rock, while its walls and bastions are beyond the reach of artillery. From the day of its foundation to this time it had never been captured and had never been surrendered.

The royal army, having now surrounded the fortress, closed all roads of ingress and egress to the besieged. Mīrān Muḥammad Shāh, who had been induced by Ibrāhim Qutb Shāh to break his faith, now saw that his conduct would have no other result than the ruin of his country and the dispersal of his subjects, and therefore set himself to beseech the king for pardon and forgiveness. He sent the Khān Khānān, who had formerly been a servant of the court of Ahmadnagar and whose great power as vakīl of that kingdom has already been mentioned, as an envoy to the court of Murtaḍā Niẓām Shāh to pray for pardon for his faults and transgressions and to promise payment of nine lakhs of muqaffārī rupees as na‘l-bahād118 to be paid whenever the royal army should retire from before Asir and arrive at Burhānpūr. Changiz Khān and the rest of the amīrīs and

117 Firūzā’s version of this event is as follows:—Changiz Khān, who had heard much of the fortress of Asirgarh, was desirous of inspecting it and, with the permission of Murtaḍā Niẓām Shāh, set out to do so with an escort of 2,000 horse. Muḥammad Shāh Fārūqī sent against him a force of seven or eight thousand horse, and ordered the amīrīs who accompanied it to surround Changiz Khān’s force and put him to death—F. ii. 269.

118 Na‘l-bahād is money paid to an invading army to induce it to abstain from plunder and devastation. Firūzā says that the indemnity amounted to 1,000,000 muqaffārīs, viz.:—600,000 to Murtaḍā Niẓām Shāh himself and 400,000 to Changiz Khān—F. ii. 269.
great officers of state then appeared before the king and interceded for Mīrān Muḥammad Shāh and the king graciously accepted their advice and pardoned him, and the army moved from before Aṣīr and set out on its return journey. When the army had crossed the river of Burhānpūr (the Tāptī) and encamped on the southern bank of the river, Mīrān Muḥammad Shāh kept his promise and sent the stipulated sum to the royal treasury. The promise had been to pay eight lakhas of Muṣaffār rupees to the royal treasury and one lakhood to Changiz Khān. When the money came Changiz Khān refused to accept his share, but at length, in accordance with the royal command, he accepted it and distributed it among the troops. Then the royal army marched from the bank of the river and encamped at the town of Bālpūr. Here Sayyid Shāh Mīr189 arrived as an envoy from Ibrāhīm Quth Shāh with royal and costly gifts and having been admitted to an audience by means of Changiz Khān and other amirs, he undertook in his master’s name that whenever the army should march against Ālī Aḍīl Shāh, 20,000 kūns should be paid to them at each stage by the Sultan of Golconda. The chief men of Vijayanagar also promised that they would contribute seven lakhs of kūns to the royal army as na’l-bahā.

(To be continued.)

FOLK-TALES OF THE CAR NICOBARESE.

COLLECTED BY THE REV. G. WHITEHEAD.

(Continued from p. 253.)

XIV.—THE STORY OF ŌT-NYA-HUM-KU.

Once upon a time there was a man called Ōt-nya-hum-ku. He was a wonderful magician (tō-mi-lāō-nō). He knew all the thoughts of other people; and when he went out in the rain he did not get wet.

Once he was sent by his wife to cut down and bring home some pandanus (or bread-fruit), whilst she got the necessary firewood and water ready for cooking the same.

The man went off into the jungle to cut down the pandanus fruit. He climbed the tree, and chopped, and chopped, and chopped. But he could not manage it; for though he chopped the branch right through, the fruit did not fall, but the branch was joined on again as before. He kept at it all day, but had to go home in the afternoon empty-handed, without his load of pandanus fruit.

His wife was very angry with him when he got home, because she felt she had been made ridiculous by gathering and chopping firewood and drawing water, when there was nothing to cook. She was also tired with having had to wait for him so long.

So, after some altercation, his wife herself went along with him that very evening; and both of them started out for the garden to cut down and bring home the pandanus fruit. The man went up into the tree this time to show his wife how things stood. He severed the branch of the pandanus at one blow of his dah (or chopper); but it became glued on again.

When his wife saw what happened, she said: ‘Certainly this man is indeed a magician!’

So the woman herself then went up into the tree, and chopped down their load of pandanus. They then went back, put the pot on the fire, and cooked the chopped-up pandanus in it.

189 Shāh Mīrāṣa Isfahānī. This appears to have been his second mission to the court of Ahmad-nagar—F, ii. 269, 270, 337.
Another time there was a wild-pig hunt, and many were following the baying of their hounds. Now Ot-nya-hum-ku happened to be the only man who had a dah with him (the others having taken spears or bows and arrows). So it fell to him to clear the way where the jungle was dense and difficult. But no sooner had he chopped through a bough and passed on, than the lopped-off bough joined itself on again to the tree. So the others could not get along; there was no way for them to go; whilst he got on a long way ahead. After a bit, the others gave it up and went home; and he was left alone to get all the profits of their chase.

After a while, he got ill and died; and his body was hung up in a tree; but after some days he came to life again.22

Again, in his old age, he died; but before his death he said to those around him, "When I am dead this time, bury me; but I shall only remain dead three days. So look out for the hole down through the ground to where I lie, and dig me up. If you do so, I shall live on; but if you do not hearken to what I say, I shall die outright and return no more."

But the people were unwilling to dig him up, for they were overpowered by the stench; so the magician at last died outright.

XV.—THE WICKED SABBATH-BREAKER.

(Literally, "The man who was disobedient on the day of rest").

There was once a man who paid no attention to the restrictions of the "rest-days" but went into the jungle on "a rest-day."

The whole night long people had been making "devil-scarers."33 They had also been singing the ma-a-fai songs and dancing the ma-a-fai dances,34 and spearing "devils." Then, in the morning of the following day, the evil spirits which had been caught by the witch-doctors (tō-mi-tāo-nō) were sent away over the waters on a raft; and the people "rested" the whole day.

Now this man had some plantains in his garden in the jungle, and one bunch was getting ripe, and he was anxious to see how it was going on. So he stole off privately to look at them; for he wished to cut them down. When he reached the place, he got over the fence into the garden, and chopped down the plantains; but no sooner had he done this, than he was metamorphosed into a road, at the very place where he had cut down the plantains.

Now he was one of those who had been putting up the "devil-scarers" and dancing the ma-a-fai dances during the night; so his face had been daubed (as usual with such worshippers) with red paint; and in consequence of his face having daubs of red paint on it, the road into which he was turned had also streaks or patches of red in it.

His comrades sought for him for many a day, but could not find him, for he was now no longer a man but a road, because he could not resist the temptation to eat plantains whenever he found any red and ripe ones. And that road too is red, because when he was still a man, he had had his face daubed with red paint.

22 Tree-burial is no longer practised in Car Nicobar, though the customs of the inhabitants of the islands of Chowra and Teresa are much the same as tree-burials, the bodies being left in the jungle in the half of a canoe which has been sawn in two.

33 These in Car Nicobar are merely bamboos decked with bunches of leaves, and then erected, though in Nankauri carved figures of crocodiles, etc., are made for this purpose.

34 The ma-a-fai are the novices for the witch doctorate, and the songs and dances, in which they must partake every night for the year of their novitiate, do not differ widely from the secular songs and dances.
Now those roads do nothing else to-day than wait until the plantains get ripe and red; and then at once they begin to eat them up.

This was the disobedient man, who went into the jungle on a "rest-day."

XVI.—WILD PIGS.

Formerly wild pigs were very numerous in the island; and once it happened that when a man was travelling alone in the jungle, and without a spear, he unfortunately came across a herd of them. The pigs rushed at him, and ripped him up; and so he died.

As soon as the man’s elder brother heard the news, he determined to avenge the man’s death by a wholesale slaughter of the wild pigs. So he spent one whole day and night in sharpening his blade (dah). Then he tied it on some boughs; and it went right through them at one blow.

Still he was not satisfied, and went on sharpening his dah. Then as he sat, he turned the blade upwards, and was examining it, when a fly happened to settle down upon it, and was at once cut in two. “Ah! yes!” says he, “now it will do.”

Then he went into the jungle, and made out of a bamboo a long handle for his blade, which he fixed securely cross-wise (as a scythe-blade is fixed). Then he got up into a big tree and began to call the beasts, crying out rhythmically. “Fierce wild pigs! Fierce wild pigs!”

A drove of them soon came hurrying along, and got up on the top of one another’s backs in their eagerness to get at the man; and they could just manage to touch him. Meanwhile he kept giving stabs with his dah into the paunches of the beasts. Flop! flop! flop! and one after another the wild pigs dropped down dead.

Then he repeated the performance, again calling the wild pigs and stabbing them when they came; and so a second herd perished.

A third time he was slaughtering the wild pigs, when the “devil” (or spirit) who owned the pigs, said to him: “Stop! that’s enough! I cannot stand this.”

“Oh! no,” said the man, “We will have another go.” Then, after he had slaughtered the third herd, the man came down from the tree and carried the pigs home to his house. There he made a fire and began to singe the carcases; for this is often the only cooking the meat gets. But when he turned any carcase over to do the other side, the bristles sprang up again on the side which he had just singed, though he had done it so thoroughly as to have sufficiently cooked the meat.

As this was repeatedly the case, the man gave up the job, and was about to go up into his house, when the “devil” (or spirit) who was determined to take vengeance for the slaughter of his pigs, said to the man, “How would you like a snake?”

“Oh!” said the man, “I would swim out into the deep sea.” “Then, how would you like a shark?” asked the “devil.” “In that case I should be done for,” said the man.

Whilst he was still at the bottom of the stairs, a snake bit him; he went up the ladder, and instantaneously dropped over dead, as he stepped across the threshold.

XVII.—THE DISCOVERY OF CHOWRA.

Long long ago, the ancients who lived here did not know that there was any other country in the world besides this island; for it is situated in the middle of the ocean.

Now it happened that some people once made a toy canoe from the spathe of the coconut. They finished it off very carefully, and fixed sails for it. And after they had done this, they put into it a cargo of small yams; and then they floated off the canoe in the direction of Chowra.
The canoe was some months on its journey; but at last it reached Chowra. Some one found it and carried it off.

As soon as the foreigners who live at Chowra saw it, they said: "Perhaps there is some small country over yonder, and this small canoe has been made by those people and laden with yams. Come, let us (in our turn) lade it with a tiny cooking-pot and some kui-loi."

So the tiny canoe was sent off again, this time in the direction of our country; and it duly arrived with its cargo of a small cooking-pot and some kui-loi; and the people of these parts found it and carried off the cargo.

"What can we make of this? Perhaps it would do to boil water in, to cook our food," said they, as they examined the cooking-pot. So they put some water into it and it did not leak. They then put it on the fire and heated the water; the pot did not crack or leak. Then they put some food into it and cooked it.

Then they remarked one to another: "Perhaps there will be some big ones too, where this little cooking-pot came from; so let us go in our canoes and find out; for we are badly in want of something to cook our food in."

So, after some months, the people here again sent off the toy canoe, and took their own canoes and followed it; and in due course came to Chowra. But they were just missing the way and going on to Luróo, when the people of Chowra saw them, and beckoned to them to come ashore there. So they went ashore there, and purchased big cooking-pots as their cargo for the return journey.

From that, time onwards, the peoples of Car Nicobar and Chowra have been great friends, or especially associated together; and we regularly take goods there, wherewith to buy our cooking pots.

The above was the very first trip ever made to Chowra.

XVIII.—THE STORY OF THE MAN KILFEÚT.

There was once a man who went out, as others had done, in his canoe to a ship, to barter nuts for bread, etc. He arrived at the wrong time, just as the ship was making preparations to depart; and before he was aware of it, he had got left behind on the ship, and had to remain there; for all his comrades had gone, and had taken all the canoes with them.

His friends afterwards sought for him in vain; but his parents for long still expected him to turn up; but as months and years passed by, they began to feel, "He is surely dead."

Meanwhile, Kilfeút was being carried away to the land of strange foreigners, where he remained a long time, supporting himself by fishing from a boat. He was successful as a fisherman and got comfortably off, and had plenty of money to spend. He also stayed long enough there in the foreigners' land to get married, and to have two children, a boy and a girl, who indeed were now grown fairly big.

One day, however, he got very anxious to get back here to his native land; and he saw a boat which he dragged down into the water. He got together food for himself when he should be out in the open sea, and fresh water for drinking, and some clothing too; and then he was off, leaving his wife and children behind.

He rowed out for some distance and then hoisted up the sails, and made for this island. It was difficult work, as he was the only one to row or to mind the sails; but after many days he was successful in getting here.
It was about midnight when he arrived and beached his boat, and went up into his house. He found that his parents were keeping the ossuary feast on his behalf; for the people all concluded that he was dead.

He went up to the place and watched the dancing. Then he went to the pens where the pigs were, and he felt their ears, and he said to himself: "These pigs are marked with my own mark."

Then, as he was beginning to get thirsty, he went to cut down some nuts from his own cocoanut trees. Some people who were passing by the foot of the tree where he was cutting, said: "Ho! there! who are you that cuts down nuts that are tabu for the dead?" "What dead man?" asked he. And the people replied, "Kilfeût." "Why, am I not myself Kilfeût," said he. And as soon as the people heard this, they rejoiced; and all were glad that he had come back home again.

XIX.—THE PANIC-STRICKEN MAN.

There was once a man of Lapati who got into a terrible fright. His name was Chit-töt-röt. The people of Lapati had gone, as they do every year in the hot weather, to Chowra, in their canoes; and Chit-töt-röt had gone alone with his neighbours.

It was only after they reached Chowra that this man became beside himself for fear; for then he heard that the people of Chowra would sometimes kill their guests (or companions and friends). In his panic, he got up in the middle of the night and dragged out a little canoe into the sea; and himself alone in it, he began to paddle his way for the "Little One." Fortunately, the weather was very calm or he would have perished.

When he got there, he left the canoe and went up into the island, and managed to get some food for himself by killing birds with stones. These birds he cut open and gutted, and then put them on the stones out in the sun to dry; and when they were thoroughly dried, he ate them; for he was not able to make a fire.

After a few days, his friends came that way on their return journey home. Fortunately, they came quite close to the island in their course. The man beckoned to them, and they came in; and he got into the boat with his friends, and so came back safely to this land.

XX.—STORY OF THE MEN WHO WENT TO A DISTANT LAND.

Long long ago, some men of Car Nicobar went to the other Nicobar Islands to cut and gather nuts.

They were for a few months in Camotta; and when they wanted to come back here, they were not able to do so on account of the strong winds and rain. They attempted it, however, and were drifted to a small island.

They were there for a considerable time and had a great deal of sickness. As some got better, others sickened and died; and eventually there were only three survivors.

When they got back here to their own country, they told the friends of their dead comrades, their parents and their children, that the others had died.

So all the people of the place made offerings as propitiations; and their children, parents and wives were very sad. The people too, chopped up their racing canoes; and the whole village killed pigs, by spearing them, as a propitiation to the dead. They invited the people of other villages also; and they all ate of the offerings of the dead.

37 Literally, "were eating his pigs." See ante, note 21, on p. 239.
38 A large village on the east coast of Car Nicobar, regarded as the first settlement in the island.
39 Batti-Malv. See ante, note 11, on p. 236.
40 This story is probably historic. The men were most likely induced to leave Car Nicobar by Burmese or Indian traders; if so, the incident must have happened within the last fifty years. It is, however, established in the minds of the people as a story of old time.
41 The fairly large island lying to the north of Nankauri harbour.
42 Probably Tillanchong.
BOOK NOTICE.


This is the third of Mr. Narasimhachar's valuable memoirs on individual temples in Mysore Territory. It describes a typical temple in the Hoysala style, as found in Mysore, and luckily it is an early example. As Mr. Narasimhachar says, his first monograph described a temple of three cells, the second one of one cell, and the third monograph describes one of four cells—a rare form, of which this is the only instance in Mysore. Pages v to viii contain a very valuable list of Hoysala buildings ranging from c. 1047 A.D. to c. 1292, and of Dravidian buildings from c. 800 to c. 1723. Altogether we have a valuable brochure in every sense.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

22. The Company's premises at Conimere. 7 November 1682. Letter from John Willcox and Council at Conimere [Kanyimade] to William Gifford and Council at Fort St. George. We humbly request that the boat be sent to us as soon as possible and that you be pleased to send us some Palmira (palmyra timber), there being none here ready cut to build us a house, for we have been miserably put to our shifts for a being. Our Tent stood us in some stead till the wind and the rain grew too strong for us, and then we were fain to leave that and retire ourselves to a small Mosque [mosque], but that proved so unsavoury a Sanctuary that we were not able to stay above one night in it for the noisome damp and Smells that came from the dead bodies that were buried there had almost choked us. From thence in the wind and rain, we were forced to seek for new quarters as at last we fain to drive into an old Jentia [Hindu] house which proved too leaky to afford us a good Shelter; and this has been our manner of aye since we came hither. Our Tent, within a day or two, according to our promise, we must return to the Fort, which makes us a little the more bauld to implore your Charity and beg the loan of the Fort Tent for the Present.

(Records of Fort St. George, Letters to Fort St. George, 1682, Vol. II, p. 115.)

R. C. T.

23. A new method of decocting flax. 7 April 1683. Letter from John Willcox and Council at Conimere [Kanyimade] to Wm. Gifford and Council at Fort St. George. We have been upon all manner of trials for the well curing and dressing of Flax, and hope we have hit upon the right set la, for, trying it up in small bundles we [lay it i]n running water; we have some that has thus lain for above this ten days, and find it still keeps its strength, is more pliant and becomes much softer, which is the way that must prepare and make it fit for dressing, for we find by experience, without the Flax is well cured and softened, the cloth that is made of it will never turn white. Our Merchants have promised to provide two bales of it. We now send you the fine piece that was upon the loom.—(Records of Fort St. George: Letters to Fort St. George, 1684-85, III, 70.)

R. C. T.
MARSH ARABS OF LOWER MESOPOTAMIA.
From photos taken between 'Amara and Hawaiza, July 1918.

Fig. 1.
Marsh Arab with a pole in his hand standing erect in the bow of a danak or cargo canoe.

Fig. 2.
Marsh Arab with a pole in his hand standing erect in the bow of a danak or cargo canoe.

Fig. 3.
Party of Marsh Arabs in a mash-hulf. In foreground a riverain Arab sitting in the large boat in which the authors travelled.

Fig. 4.
Marsh Arab country—open water and beds of tall reeds.

Fig. 5.
Marsh Arab country—open water and beds of tall reeds.
THE MARSH ARABS OF LOWER MESOPOTAMIA.

BY P. A. BUXTON, M.A., FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE;
AND V. H. W. DOWSON, DIRECTORATE OF AGRICULTURE, MESOPOTAMIA.

Introductory Note.

[The following Notes are published because very little is known about Marsh Arabs. The authors have confined themselves to known facts and also to those that have come within their cognizance. The notes are fragmentary, but may be found to possess value as a foundation for further study.—Ed.]

The Marsh Arab Country.

The area in which the Marsh Arabs live is on either bank of the river Tigris between 'Amâra and Basra. The area of Marsh is perhaps about five thousand square miles, and it is probable that the Tigris divides this area more or less into two equal portions. The marsh on the left bank of the river is roughly triangular in shape, and its eastern part, in the neighbourhood of Hawaiza, lies in Persian territory. It was in this region that Hubbard saw the Marsh Arabs, to whom he makes a passing reference. On the right bank of the river, the marshes extend south of a line joining 'Amâra to Nasâriyeh and combine with the Hamar Lake, a triangular area of reed beds and open water in the delta of the Euphrates, lying between Suq Ash Shoyookh, Qarna, and Basra. Thus the northern limit of the home of the Marsh Arab of this region is in the neighbourhood of 31° 75' N. Lat., the southern, 30° 50' N. Lat., the western 46° 25' E. Long., the eastern 48° 0' E. Long.

The whole of this country is utterly flat, save for occasional mounds, which are presumably the sites of ancient towns: these mounds, though low, are conspicuous, and are sometimes occupied by Marsh Arab villages. The district is covered for the most part by great expanses of reeds, or rushes, or open water. Between a point near 'Amâra and a point near Hawaiza, there stretches a continuous bed of reed and rush for eighty miles, and in many places there are expanses of open water from the centre of which no land can be seen. 'Amâra is about twenty-four feet above sea level, Nasâriyeh nine, Qarna nine, and Basra seven.

The depth of much of the marsh is about four or five feet, so that it is possible to punt the black Arab canoe (Ar. mash-kuf, pl. mash-a-liff). In places, the water is much deeper, and at one place where we tested it, namely at Tell Dhabab, thirty miles south-west of 'Amâra, the depth was nearly twenty feet.

Owing to the huge expanse of marsh, the depth of water in it does not vary greatly, although the rivers discharge enormous quantities of water into it during the spring floods, and comparatively little in autumn when the river is low; but, because the country is so flat, the area under water varies considerably, a drop of a few inches in the surface level of the water being sufficient to leave dry a considerable area of land around the edge of the marsh. It is possible that the area of permanent marsh is not much more than three-quarters of that of the flood-time marsh. This marsh-border land which is subject to these periodic inundations is that which grows most of the rice and great millet of the country, and that of it which is not put under crops generally bears an inferior growth of bulrushes.

1 The authors are indebted to the courtesy of Major R. K. Marrs, C.I.E., who has been Political Officer, 'Amâra Division and elsewhere in 'Iraq since 1915, for reading their manuscript and for making valuable suggestions.
more particularly Typha latifolia (Ar. bardī). This land dries up by July. The other common marsh plant is the reed, Phragmites kurka Trin. (Ar. qaṣāb, pronounced qaṣāb), which cannot withstand desiccation so well as the bulrushes, and is consequently confined to the area of permanent marsh. The surface of the water in many places is covered with a dense growth or scum of floating water plants.

There is no timber of any kind throughout the marsh country, and wood is used for hardly any other purpose than for the construction of the canoe and its paddle. There is no clay, and water-pots are bought in the towns.

**Birds.**

Birds are rare in the marshes in summer. Of those which are eaten by the Marsh Arabs are the Gallinule or Purple Coot (Porphyrio poliocephala, Ar. Barehān); the Purple Heron (Ardea purpurea, Ar. Erkhāwetūj), the Goliath Heron (Ardea goliath, Ar. Ahmīrdr), and the Pigmy Cormorant (Phalacrocorax pygmaeus, Ar. Elīchī). The Darter (Plōtus rufus, Ar. Warīda or Warīda) is resident, but we do not know that it is eaten. In winter the marshes are visited by myriads of duck (Ar. Bash) and geese (Ar. Baṣ), and more than ad ōzen species of ducks are common. Harra is the general name for teal, widgeon and other small duck. A Marsh Arab was met who appeared to distinguish at any rate most of these, and to be able to pick out from a number of fowl which had been shot an appropriate duck for each drake. There are few European sportsmen who could pass such a test.

The Marsh Arab catches duck in two ways, in a net, and with a gun. The net has a mouth from ten to fifteen feet in diameter and tapers to its tail about fifty feet away. The mouth is held open above the water by means of reeds, and the ducks are attracted by paddy scattered on the surface of the water just inside the mouth. The paddy is renewed daily for a few days until the birds have gained confidence, and then, when there are many of them inside, the mouth is caused to fall into the water by a man (concealed some distance away in the reed beds), who pulls a string attached to a prop. When the gun is used, a man swims slowly and silently, concealing himself behind a bundle of reeds, which he pushes along the surface of the water in front of him, until he approaches close to a flock of birds feeding on the mud. He then discharges at it his ancient muzzle-loader, which has been filled with a charge of black powder and bits of iron, brick, wire, lead, or old copper pots: if lucky, he will kill perhaps twenty or more birds with the one shot.

Ducks find a ready sale at Amāra and Baṣra, but in the markets at these places most of these we have seen for sale have been alive, either domesticated or wild, caught by the net, and we remember only once eating duck when living with the rich, rice-cultivating Arabs of the edges of the marshes. It seems probable, therefore, that most of the birds killed in this way are eaten by the Marsh Arabs themselves. We also know that they eat the eggs of the Gallinule, and presumably of other water fowl also.

**Mammals.**

The only mammal which is hunted is the otter (Ar. Chalāb al mai, i.e., "Water-dog," pl. Chalāb al maic). It is comparatively common, and is speared at night, by the light of the moon, by men who lie up for them. The skins are in consequence much gashed, but find a ready sale to Turkish and British officers. In 1918, at Amāra, a pound was asked for a skin, but we bought three skins for seven shillings and six pence. Major Marrs reports that the otter is sometimes domesticated by the Marsh Arabs, and will faithfully follow its master wherever he goes.

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2 In correct Arabic duck are called Baṣ and wild geese: Wat al hara.
Wild pigs (Ar. Khansir, pl. Khansir) sleep on the dry mounds, wallow in the shallow marshes, feed on the succulent reeds, and swim rapidly and readily away into deep water when disturbed. They are numerous, attain fairly large size, but do not seem to be hunted.

The only domestic animal possessed by the Marsh Arab is the Water Buffalo (Bos bubalus, Linna., Ar. Jamus, pl. Doudh), and in it his wealth chiefly consists. These animals are black, with the tip of the tail white, and occasionally a little white on the head, especially in the calf or Tuffal; the eye is blue, or brown, or black, and the horns straight, not curled like those of the Delhi Water Buffalo. The female gives a larger quantity of milk than a cow, and of greater richness (average fats 7 per cent.). This milk is used to make the clarified butter (the ghī of India) known to the Arabs as dhiin; this is used by all the inhabitants of the 'Iraq, except the Jews, for cooking, and for pouring over the evening meal of boiled rice. The demand for this article is therefore considerable and constant. Buffalo are milked once only in the twenty-four hours, after sun-down. The only food of these beasts is the herbage of the marshes and marsh edges, and consists, during most of the year, almost exclusively of reeds and bulrushes, though during the coldest part of the year this is supplemented by coarse grazing over and between the rice fields round the edges of the marsh.

Liver flukes were found in some buffalo slaughtered at 'Amâra in 1918, but it is not known if this parasite be common. Military cows, fed on the edge of the marshes at 'Ambârî near Qarmat 'Ali in the autumn of 1919, became infected.

**Reptiles and Amphibians.**

The reptilian and amphibian fauna of the marshes is not unimportant. A species of Clemys (Ar. Raqqâ, pl. Raqqâ) appears to be widely distributed. Trionyx (Ar. Rafash, pl. Rafash) occurs on the Euphrates and in the Hammar Lake. It is celebrated for its ferocity and for the fact that it occasionally eemasculates swimmers. A British soldier at Nasirlyeh fell a victim to this unfortunate predilection. Its presence in the water acts as some deterrent to those wishing to swim, though Marsh Arabs will swim in any water on occasion.

The Frogs, Rana and Hyla (Ar. Agrâqa, pl. Agrâqâ, pronounced Agrâqa, Agrâq, an excellent example of onomatopoeia), both occur in the marshes.

It is interesting that, though all meat except that of birds and fishes is too expensive for Marsh Arabs to eat, yet there is no evidence that they eat the flesh of any of these reptiles and amphibians. The Quran nowhere condemns such flesh, but Arabs appear horrified at the idea of eating a tortoise. Food which is abhorrent but not forbidden (Mamnu'a) is called Makruh. Having captured a tortoise one day and safely brought it home, our hopes of mock-turtle soup were shattered by our cook refusing to soil his hands with the "foul" beast. But it is not impossible that Marsh Arabs do eat this flesh and do not advertise the fact. In this connection it may be mentioned that once, when we had killed and skinned a wild cat, the meat was collected carefully by an Arab and handed over to his wife in his hut. Afterwards, during a discussion with the shaikh of the district, this same old cultivator, who happened to be present, was as loud as anyone in condemning the disgusting practice of eating cat's meat.

**Fish.**

We know little of the food fishes of the Marsh Arabs. Cyprinid (Carp family) fish are common and are eaten in large numbers. One of the commonest is known as Batât. Siluridae (Mudfish) are common, but we do not know if they be eaten by Marsh Arabs. They are unclean for Shia Muhammadans, but, though the dwellers in the marshes are nominally Shia, yet they are extremely lax in religious matters.
The method of catching fish is by means of a spear, often of three prongs, though equally often of five. No more than the latter number of prongs are found employed. Each prong has a head barbed on each side, and this head, manufactured in the bigger towns on the edge of the marsh country, is fastened with twine to a long bamboo shaft. The bamboo is imported from India, and, since it is expensive (five rupees, about seven shillings and six pence), it is often replaced by the inferior, because weaker and less springy, dried reed. If the spearer of fish be standing on the land at the edge of the water, he usually attaches to the basal end of the fish-spear a thin rope in order to regain possession of the instrument after casting; but when fishing takes place from a boat, no such attachment is necessary. The favourite time for fishing is at night. While the canoe glides noiselessly and without ripples, one of the occupants stands at the prow with spear ready poised, and just behind him stands another holding aloft a bunch of burning reeds to attract the fish. The spear is thrown at a point just in front of the ripple made by the moving fish. A successful thrust pins the fish at the back of the gills. Fish which weighed thirty pounds have been seen speared, and we have also seen a Marsh Arab, who was wading through a shallow marsh, throw his spear at a coot as it flapped over the surface of the water, and decapitate it.

Reeds and Rushes.

The two plants of outstanding importance in the marshes are the reeds and the bulrushes. Reeds are found widely distributed over the marshes, and are, perhaps, found in greater quantities on the left than on the right bank of the Tigris. On the Hammar Lake, their place is taken by the bulrushes. Reeds grow under favourable conditions to a height of twenty feet above the surface of the water, and so thickly that a canoe cannot be forced through them. They are in flower in midsummer, and from that time onwards are cut, dried, split, and woven into mats, generally about six feet by twelve, though the measurements vary. These mats are stored until a great pile of them has accumulated, and then rafts of them are constructed. The foundation of the rafts consists of bundles of unsplit reeds tied together with green bulrushes; and on top of this framework, which may be as much as a hundred feet long and twenty feet broad, are piled the mats to a height of about fifteen feet. These rafts are pulled up the effluents of the Tigris to 'Amâra or floated down the river to Qalat Salîh, Qarnâ, Nasîrîyeh, Sooq Ash Shoyookh, and Bâsra to be sold. Each mat cost in 1919 about two rupees (i.e., about three shillings and ten pence) when bought retail in the market. The mats are chiefly used in the construction of the reed hut (Ar. Sarîfû, pl. Sarâi-jf. In correct Arabic, Sayâra, pl. Sayâsîr), used by all the rice Arabs, and by most of the poorest townsmen and many of the poorest wheat and barley Arabs. The mats are supported on arches made of bundles of unsplit reeds tied together and stuck in the ground. Six mats are sufficient for the small house of the ordinary cultivator, but a very large number is required for the biggest reception huts of the richest shaikhs. The madhâfîf (from the sing. madhâf) may be eighty feet long, twenty feet wide and twelve feet high. Mats take the place of carpets in the poorer houses and supplement them in the richer.

The Marsh Arabs themselves live in the simplest of huts. They may have only a few bundles of unsplit reeds, bound together with green rushes, propped up against each other, to form a sort of shelter from the sun and the cold, or they may have a slightly better dwelling composed of a single piece of reed matting propped up on one side with a reed. The side which touches the ground along its whole length faces the sun in summer and the wind in winter. It is indeed a wretched hovel, but very portable. Small parties of the poorest people sometimes break down a number of reeds in a reed-bed and camp on these for a few days, like birds in a nest.
All the encampments of Marsh Arabs which we have seen have been well supplied with canoes; these are long, narrow, shallow, light, wooden, bitumen-covered, boats. Such a boat is known as a mash-huf. Occasionally amongst them, but drawn up on to the bank to dry, could be seen outside a particularly small and squalid hut, the chalabia (pl. chalabiats). This is a cylindrical raft of reeds, eight to ten feet long, and tied tightly at the ends, so that it assumes a cigar-shape. It is widely used amongst Marsh Arabs, but, after a comparatively short time in the water, it needs drying on the river bank, because the reeds, when thoroughly wet, lose their buoyancy. A bundle of reeds, less cunningly made than the true Chalabia, is often used by others than the true Marsh Arab simply for crossing the Tigris.

Bulrushes are of use to the Marsh Arab chiefly as fodder for his buffalo, but are also useful for binding together bundles of reeds, for fuel, and for keeping out the wind from the huts. They are floated down to the brick-kilns of Basra, where they form almost the only fuel for brick-making in the district. They are used also for the same purpose in all the towns on the edge of the marshes.

The March Arabs Themselves.

The name of the Marsh Arabs in Arabic is Ma’dàn. It is not uncommon for the real, desert Arabs of eastern Arabia to call the Arab of Mesopotamia disparagingly Ma’dání, and for the Mesopotamian Arab, who has but recently come to live in the land of the two rivers, to use that name in describing one of his fellow countrymen whose ancestors immigrated at an earlier period; but the word as generally used has come to mean a dweller in the marshes. As these people are the least civilized of the people of Iraq, the word is often used in the sense of “boor” or “rustic,” in the same way as in India the word “jungle” is employed.

It should be understood clearly that it is only the inhabitants of the actual marshes and not the rice-cultivating Arabs of the marsh edges who are referred to in these notes as “Marsh Arabs.” The rice cultivators in the district which we are considering chiefly belong to the great Albu Muhammad, Azairij, Soow’ad, Bani ‘Asad, and ‘Amaira tribes, and are quite distinct from the real Marsh Arabs. This distinction, however, is considered by Major Marks to be occupational rather than ethnological, and he regards the buffalo-owners as offshoots of the five tribes of rice cultivators just mentioned. The buffalo-owners, whom we designate as “Marsh Arabs,” are in turn divided into sub-tribes. The best known is the Fatrus; others are the Shagamba, Albu Nawaiil, Albu Ghannam, Bait Nasralla, and the Bait Fatra.

The Marsh Arabs are by no means self-supporting. Not only the few luxuries which they enjoy, but even the very necessities of life must be obtained from the surrounding country-side. Their rice (Ar. shith—paddy; liman—rice) and their great millet (Sorghum vulgare, Pers., Ar. idhr) are obtained as payment for working in the fields of these crops at harvest, and the little barley which they consume is sometimes obtained in a similar manner, though more often it is bought in the markets of the small towns on the edges of the marshes. Their black canoes (Ar. mash-al-f) and their rifles (Ar. tufka, pl. tufuk) and their ammunition (Ar. fishka—a cartridge, pl. fishak) are purchased from the Sabaeans (Ar. Sabi, pl. Sabiun), a few of whom are to be found in most of the small towns surrounding the marshes (e.g., Halfa, Nazil Muhammad, Nazil ‘Araibi, ‘Azair, Majar), and who are to be found in larger numbers in ‘Amara, Sooq Ash Shoyookh, Qalat Sali, and Qurna. The Marsh Arabs also buy in these small towns their clothes (Ar. hadum), for they possess no goats, sheep, nor camels, nor do they cultivate any textile crop, nor, indeed, any crop at all, and they
have not learnt how to make clothing out of the hides of their buffalo. Their copper cooking pots (Ar. qidār, pl. qodur, pronounced fudur, jedur), their curved daggers (Ar. khanjar, pl. Khanajir), and their tobacco (Ar. toton) also have to be obtained in these small markets. Thus it will be understood that all the Marsh Arabs acknowledge the over-lordship of the rich, rice-cultivating sheikhs who live upon the borders of the marshes. In the neighbourhood of Hawazna, Shaikh Khaz'ul of Mohammara exacts tribute from the Marsh Arabs there, and, on the left bank of the Tigris, the Albu Muhammad Shaikhs, Muhammad al-Araibi, and Ozmân al Yassir collect tribute from the Marsh Arabs nearest to them. On the right bank the Marsh Arabs are forced to acknowledge the supremacy of the two 'Azairija Shaikhs, Salmân and Shawai, and of the Albu Muhammad Shaikh, Fâlîh as Saihâûd. The amount of the tribute exacted would appear to depend not only on the number of buffalo that are possessed by the marsh dwellers, but also very largely on the strength and influence of the shaikh demanding it. For the purpose of arranging blood-money (Ar. fa-ṣal), Marsh Arabs are regarded as belonging to the Albu Muhammad tribe.

The wealth of the Marsh Arabs lies in their reeds and their buffalo and to a lesser extent in the wild fowl and fish which they catch; if they desire it, they can always get work in harvesting the summer grains in the land of the surrounding cultivating Arabs. Their standard of living, however, is very low indeed, and a "wealthy" Marsh Arab by ordinary western standards lives in a wretchedly poor fashion.

The language of the Marsh Arabs is a dialect of Arabic, very little different from that spoken all over the more settled country districts of the Iraq. Flowery Arabic and elaborate compliment is not heard. "Kaf" is always pronounced "Chaf," except in the masculine possessive particle termination. Thus "dog" is not "Kalâb," but "Chalab," but "your dog," if the person addressed be a male, is "Chalabak." "Jim," "Ghain," and "Ain" are properly pronounced, but "Qaf" tends to be pronounced like "Jim" or like "Gaf." Thus "Qala," "a castle," is called "Jala," and "Agrîqa," "a frog," is called "Ar. Agrîqa." Reading and writing are unknown.

The features of the Marsh Arabs are quite unlike those of the typical Arab. Their faces are rather round, also their eyes; their noses are big and wide, but not markedly hooked; their mouths are big; their foreheads are high; their hair is black, and neither lank nor curly, but generally tousled; their teeth even and white; and their skin the colour of very milky coffee. There is no difference between the colour of their faces and that of the rest of their bodies, because the latter are hardly more protected from the sun than the former, owing to the scantiness of the clothing worn. Their bodies are strong and shapely. The women are somewhat, though not much, fairer-skinned than the men, and are not unhandsome. Both sexes age rapidly. These people are not particularly tall. Fat individuals are not met with, though the small children are often pot-bellied.

The Marsh Arabs are known widely for their cunning and thievish habits. In this connection, the most notorious tribe is the Fartus, and any robbery or misdemeanour within twenty miles of their country is generally attributed to them. It should be observed, however, that there is much confusion in the minds of the townspeople between the real Marsh Arabs and the Rice-cultivating Arabs, and that the latter are not slow to cast the blame for their own malpractices upon other communities. For the same reason it may be doubted if all the stories of the dangerous temper and ferocity of the Marsh Arabs are really to be attributed to them. However, Major Marrs has tried cases in which the ferocity and fearlessness of the Marsh Arabs could not be denied. He has seen cases in which women's
hands have been cut off at the wrist. Though expert thieves, Marsh Arabs are simple people, and are very frequently swindled by the more astute townspeople when they visit the markets to buy clothes and other necessities. We remember, too, having seen a certain Jew milk contractor, who sold his milk to the Amara Military Dairy by the imperial pound, purchasing the milk from a tribe of Marsh Arabs. The Jew bought the milk by the pound, but the pound measure in this case was of four pounds capacity. Like the Bedouin, Marsh Arabs are lazy, or at least, prefer the contemplative occupation of watching their buffalo graze to more arduous manual labour. They seem quite happy lounging on the edge of the water with their animals, and swimming from feeding ground to feeding ground with the same readiness as the water buffalo themselves. The stroke employed in swimming is a rather spla$hly double-overarm. We have not observed any other stroke used. It is seldom that the Marsh Arabs are seen by those whose work does not lead them to their neighbourhood, for they prefer their impregnable marshes to the towns and villages, and only come to the latter when forced to do so by the necessity of purchasing their stores, or in order to dispose of their reeds or clarified butter. Occasionally, the traveller down the Tigris may see them at those places where the great marshes come in close to the river, or they may be observed piloting their great, unwieldy rafts down to Basra, but they are generally hidden from sight in the depths of the reeds. Whatever the faults of the Marsh Arabs may be, they are not unpleasant people to have dealings with. They are cheerful, enjoy a joke, even a very simple one, and are as hospitable as their poverty allows them.

Even were the Marsh Arabs not prevented by poverty from wearing elaborate clothing; their semi-aquatic habit would render this inconvenient. The men wear a woollen cloak (Ar. Bisht, pl. Biskhit) of a caramel colour, this being the colour of the wool of the commonest sheep of the surrounding dry land, and each cloak of the roughest kind costs from five to ten rupees. A string surrounds the abdomen, and under this is tucked one corner of the cloak, which is worn chiefly supported on the shoulders. The small boys wear only the string which, though scarcely fulfilling the function of clothes, yet serves a useful purpose in preventing them from eating too much, because it tends to cut an unduly distended abdomen. Only one substantial meal a day is eaten, and since this is consumed with extreme celerity because each individual eats from a common dish, such a device is an excellent precaution against excessive engorgement. An elder of the tribe may wear a coloured or a white handkerchief (Ar. Ishma‘gh) on his head, tied on by a corner of itself or by any piece of rag, but others wear no head covering, and if they find the sun too hot, they pull up over their heads a corner of their cloaks. The dress of the women differs little in kind from, though it is inferior in quality to, that of the rice-cultivating Arabs. It consists of a cotton shirt or night-gown (Ar. Thōb, pl. Thidāb) reaching to the ankles and made out of Manchester piece-goods, and a woollen cloak similar to that of the men. On their heads they wear a black cotton head-handkerchief (Ar. Shāl, pl. Shālān), kept in place by a wisp of black cotton stuff. The Shāl is so worn that it covers not only the head but also the neck and throat. The face is exposed. The very small girls wear no clothes, but at about the age of five they begin to wear the Thōb, or, at least, have it handy to be assumed when required. The Thōb of the little girls is generally a rich magenta in colour, but that of the women is most frequently black, dark blue or cinnamon, sometimes with an inconspicuous pattern. Though the climate is extremely hot in the ‘Iraq during the long summer, the short winter is nearly as cold as that of England; yet the clothing of the Marsh Arabs
undergoes no change throughout the year. Even when the thermometer stands at 40° F., small Marsh Arabs can be seen without clothes, and older ones are still protected only by the same clothes which they wear in summer. One is forced to conclude that weak children die early, and only the most robust survive.

Masculine adornment confines itself to tattooing (Ar. Washm) with indigo (Ar. Nili) and to plaiting of the hair. The amount and the design of the tattooing appears to depend upon individual preference and not upon tribal custom: it usually consists of a few spots or a short line or two in front of the ears and a rather more complicated pattern on the upper surface of the wrists and on the outside of the leg above the ankles. Occasionally, also, there may be a spot, about a quarter of an inch in diameter, of indigo on the chin or forehead. The hair is plaited into two plaits (Ar. Jadaila, pl. Jadail) which hang in front on either side of the head. Their ends are kept fastened with a piece of rag or twine, or left unfastened. Henna is not used. The women generally are tattooed rather more than the men, and it is the rule to see handsome features marred with two or three spots of indigo. The women usually divide their hair into a number of small plaits, and attach to the end of each coloured wooden beads, coins, or charms. These wooden beads exactly resemble those usually employed on an abacus Pythagoricus (counting machine), and are most frequently coloured red or yellow. It is most usual to see about half a dozen hanging on either side of the head. When coins are worn, they are attached to the ends of the rows of wooden beads. The favourite coins employed are the rupee, the rial (the Maria Theresa dollar) and the two-kran piece. The first is the standard of currency in Iraq, and is worth about one shilling and six pence; the second is Arabian currency and is worth about three shillings; and the last is Persian currency and is worth about one shilling. Glass jewellery of Austrian manufacture, especially talismans on which are inscribed Qoranic texts, often replace or supplement the coins. The whole of this adornment which is worn about the ear is known as Shaiyalta, pl. Shaiyalát. Rarely is seen a nose-ring, made of brass, silver, or copper wire, generally supporting a cheap turquoise. The ring is passed through the right or left ala nasi, never through the septum; we have seen both alae so adorned. The nose-ring is much more common amongst the rice-cultivating Arabs than amongst the marsh dwellers. The women occasionally wear cheap finger-rings (Ar. Mabhas, pl. Mababis).

The food of Marsh Arabs is very simple. The chief meal of the day is eaten at sundown and consists of boiled rice over which is poured hot clarified butter. There may be added fish or fowl. The early morning and the midday meals consist of unleavened bread (Ar. Khobaz) made of great millet. It is baked in thick, flat loaves on an iron plate over a fire of reeds or buffalo dung. They cook fish by splitting it open and propping it on a reed: they heat it with burning reeds held in the hand. Barley bread is seldom eaten and wheaten bread not at all. Water is the only drink of most Marsh Arabs: there are but few of the more wealthy individuals who can ever afford the luxury of tea or coffee. We have heard of certain of the marsh plants being eaten as a sort of salad, but were not able to identify them. The central and subaqueous part of the stem of the young reed is sweet and succulent and sometimes is eaten.

The only definite case of disease amongst Marsh Arabs which has come under our notice is that of one old man who was suffering from haemorrhoids, but other diseases amongst them are to be expected. Major S. R. Christophers, C.I.E., I.M.S., has examined the spleens of children at Azair (Ezra's Tomb), Qarna, and at various villages on the
southern bank of the Hammar Lake and has found Malaria present, and *Anopheles stephensi* is known to occur on the Tigris south of 'Azair and on the Euphrates east of Nasiriyeh, so that a well-known malaria carrier is present in a part, at any rate, of the Marsh Arabs' country. *Anopheles pulcherrimus* has been found in the heart of the marshes, but is not known to be a malaria carrier in the Iraq. At some places in the midst of the reeds, mosquitoes are so numerous that heaps of damp reeds are lighted in order that the smoke may keep them away to some extent. *Schistosomum haematobium* is known to occur in the neighbourhood of Baṣra and Qarna, and Captain H. E. Shortt, I.M.S., has demonstrated the presence of *bilharziasia* (*Schistosomiasis*) in boatmen living in the former place, so that it is likely that the Marsh Arabs are also infected. During the summer the very small children living in the Marsh Arab villages may be seen to have their eyes infested with flies, but we are not able to state definitely that ophthalmia occurs.

The Marsh Arab are Shia Muhammadans, but they are by no means scrupulous in religious observance. Few can recite the Fāṭiḥa or the Ikhlās, nor are there cleared spaces for worship. Ceremonial ablution appears to be practised but seldom, so that beyond being circumcised and being able to pronounce the testification they are Muhammadans in little but name.

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**ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM OF SHIVAJI,**

**By Surendranath Sen, M.A.**

(Continued from p. 277.)

In spite of his defects, the Maratha soldier was a fine fellow. Of short stature and light build, though he was, man for man, inferior to the tall and stout Mughal and Deccani Mussulman. But his courage, hardihood, wonderful energy, presence of mind and agility, more than compensated for that slight inferiority.

Demoralised by the harassing tactics of their illusive adversary, the Bijapurus and the Mughals at last failed to meet him even in the open field on equal terms. Fryer's comparison of the two armies well illustrates the merits and demerits of the contending forces as they struck an intelligent foreign observer. Says the Doctor, "Seva Gi's men thereby being fitter for any Martial Exploit having been accustomed to Fure Hard, Journy Fast, and take little Pleasure. But the other will miss of a Booty rather than a Dinner; must mount in state and have their Arms carried before them, and their Women not far behind them, with the Masters of Mirth and Jollity; will rather expect than pursue a Foe; but then they stand it out better; for Seva Gi's Men care not much for a pitched Field, though they are good at Surprising and Ransacking; yet agree in this, that they are both of stirring Spirits."136 It is remarkable that the same love of luxury and comfort characterised the Maratha officers at Panipat. While Shivaji did not allow "Whores and dancing wenches in his army," the Maratha army at Panipat was encumbered with a large number of women. Broughton says of Daulet Rao Sindhia's soldiers that "such as think that life is bestowed for superior enjoyments, and have a taste for more

136 Fryer, p. 175.
spirited modes of whiling it away, retire, at the approach of evening, to the arrack shop, or the tent of the prostitute; and revel through the night in a state of low debauchery, which could hardly be envied by the keenest votary of Comus and his beastly crew.\\textsuperscript{137} Shivaji’s successors had for reasons best known to them suffered these salutary regulations to disappear and their result was disestrous for their army and themselves. The Maratha soldiers declined in morals, and in the discipline and alertness that made them so formidable under Shivaji’s leadership.

Soon after his conquest of Konkan, Shivaji found it necessary to organise a navy, strong enough to check the raids of the Siddis’ fleet on his coasts. His fleet consisted mainly of Gallivats and Ghurabs as well as many river crafts of various descriptions. \textsuperscript{138} Sabhasad tells us that no less than four hundred Ghurabs, Tarandis, Tarves, Gallivats, Shibads and Pagars were built, and organised into two squadrons of 100 vessels. Each squadron was placed under the supreme command of an Admiral, Dariya Sarang, a Muhammadan officer, and May Naik, a Bhandari. Dariya Sarang was by no means the only Muhammadan officer in Shivaji’s fleet. Another prominent Muhammadan Admiral, Daulat Khan by name, entered Shivaji’s service a few years later. The fleet was in all probability manned mainly by the Kolis and other seafaring tribes of the Malabar coast. What was their uniform, or whether they had any we do not know. At Malvan, the principal naval fort of Shivaji, there is a statue of the Maratha hero with the peculiar Koli hat on his head.\textsuperscript{139} It will not therefore be unlikely to suppose that the sailors of Shivaji’s fleet generally wore a similar headgear.

Sabhasad tells us that Shivaji’s fleet not only harassed the indigenous sea powers of the south, but also plundered the ships and possessions of such European powers as the Portuguese, the Dutch and the English. That Shivaji’s navy was a menace to these traders is quite true, but he was not so fortunate in his naval as in his military organisation. He could hardly hold his own against the Siddis in the sea and the numerical strength of his fleet has in all probability been highly exaggerated by his son’s court historian. Robert Orme informs us that “The fleet of Shivaji had by this time [1675] been increased to fifty seven sails of which fifteen were grabs, the rest gallivats all crowded with men.”\textsuperscript{140} Fryer saw on his way to “Serapatan to the South of Dan de Rajapore, a Strong Castle of Seva Gi’s defended a deep bay, where rode his Navy, consisting of 30 small Ships and Vessels, the Admiral wearing a White Flag aloft.”\textsuperscript{141} Professor Jadunath Sarkar\textsuperscript{142} points out “that the English reports never put their number above 160, and usually as 60 only.” In all probability, Shivaji’s men-of-war did not exceed 200 in number, but he had a very large mercantile navy. On land Shivaji depended more on the quality than on the number of his men; on the sea, however, his fleet was decidedly inferior to that of the English in efficiency though not in size. The President of the Surat factory was of opinion that “one good English ship would destroy a hundred of them without running herself into great danger.”\textsuperscript{143} This weakness was mainly due to the lack of good artillery as well as the want of a naval tradition.

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{137} Broughton, p. 21, \textsuperscript{138} Sabhasad, p. 68.
  \item \textsuperscript{139} See \emph{IJK} Sangrahs. \textsuperscript{139} Orme, p. 53.
  \item \textsuperscript{140} Fryer, p. 145. \textsuperscript{141} Sarkar, \emph{Shivaji}, p. 338.
  \item \textsuperscript{141} (F. R. Surat, 86, 26 No.) quoted in \emph{Sarkar’s Shivaji}, p. 339.
\end{itemize}
The main strength of the Maratha fleet consisted in the Gallivats and the Ghurabs, vessels peculiar to the Malabar coast. The Ghurabs and the Gallivats of the Angrias' fleet have been thus described by Robert Orme: 144

"The grubs have rarely more than two masts, although some have three; those of three are about 300 tons of burthen; but the others are not more than 150; they are built to draw very little water, being very broad in proportion to their length, narrowing however from the middle to the end, where instead of bows they have a prow, projecting like that of a Mediterranean galley, and covered with a strong deck level with the main deck of the vessel, from which, however, it is separated by a bulkhead which terminates the forecastle: as this construction sujets the grab to pitch violently when sailing against a head sea, the deck of the prow is not enclosed with sides as the rest of the vessel is, but remains bare, that the water which dashes upon it may pass off without interruption. On the main deck under the forecastle are mounted two pieces of cannon of nine or twelve pounders, which point forwards through the port holds cut in the bulk head, and fire over the prow; the cannon of the broadside are from six to nine pounders. The gallivats are large row-boats built like the grab, but of smaller dimensions, the largest rarely exceeding 70 tons: they have two masts, of which the mizen is very slight, the main mast bears only one sail, which is triangular and very large, the peak of it when hoisted being much higher than the mast itself. In general the gallivats are covered with a spar deck, made for lightness of bamboos split, and these only carry pettersroes fixed on swivels in the gunnel of the vessel; but those of the largest size have a fixed deck on which they mount six or eight pieces of cannon, from two to four pounders; they have forty or fifty stout oars and may be rowed four miles an hour." It is not difficult to understand why such clumsy vessels, manned by inexperienced sailors, should not be able to contend with the English on their peculiar element on equal terms. But we should note that Shivaji's sailors had on more than one occasion attacked Portuguese men of war with success.

Of the other vessels mentioned by Sabhasad, the Tarande was a sailing vessel of large dimensions, the Shivar was a flat-bottomed two masted craft without any deck, and the Pagar was only a well smoothed canoe. Most probably some of these crafts belonged to the mercantile navy. It may not be out of place to note here that Shivaji had a strong mercantile navy that plied between his ports and the coast towns of Arabia. Unlike many of his contemporaries, the great Maratha had realised that a strong naval power without a strong mercantile navy was an impossibility.

Besides doing police work against the Siddi's pirate fleet, Shivaji's navy was also employed in taking possession of foreign vessels wrecked on his coast and collecting duties from trading ships. In Shivaji's time it was considered the duty of the state to regulate prices of articles. 145 This was done mainly by regulating export and import duties. We have seen how, in the Peshwa period, every ship sailing through the territorial waters had to take a pass from the Admiral of the fleet. Whether such a custom prevailed in Shivaji's time also we do not know.

144 War in Indostan, I, 401-402.
The naval spirit roused by Shivaji, however, did not die with him. The Angrias maintained the naval reputation of Maharashtra, till the destruction of their fleet by the combined efforts of the Peshwas and the English. The Peshwas also had a fairly strong fleet for defending the western coast. The mercantile spirit of the Maratha traders also found a greater scope with the extension of the Maratha Empire and the Maratha influence. In Shivaji’s time merchantmen plying between Arabia and the Malabar coast, during the Peshwa period the Maratha traders actually settled in Arabian coast towns like Muscat. Their trading vessels visited China in the East and England in the West. The naval policy of Shivaji therefore bore ample fruit, though long after the Maratha Alfred had passed away.

CHAPTER V.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Shivaji’s judicial system need not detain us long. This particular branch of administration was not affected by the rise of the Peshwas, except that in Shivaji’s time the Majalasis were perhaps more frequently assembled than in the Peshwa period. The village panchayet tried all cases; the Balutases were summoned to give evidence; trial by ordeal was more frequent than we can now imagine and an appeal always lay to the chief Nyayadhish at the metropolis. I have dealt with this system at some length elsewhere and it will be my duty to take note here only of some additional information. In Mahajars of Shivaji’s period, we read of two functionaries, Sabha Naik who presided over the Majalasis and the Mahaprasnik who interrogated the parties. It is not however clear whether these officers were duly elected. It is quite possible that a well-respected old citizen would be informally acknowledged as the President of the Majalasi merely as a matter of courtesy, and perhaps a young and energetic member of the court would voluntarily undertake to interrogate the parties, to relieve his older-colleagues of that trouble. On the judgment paper the judges not only put their signature, but also such signs as that of Nangar, Tagri, Ghana and Katyar, according to their profession or station of life.

It may not be out of place here to take note of a peculiar ordeal described in the Shri Shivaji Pratap. In a case of alleged adultery, the judges put a big cauldron full of oil on a big fire. When the oil began to boil, they took two drops of blood one each from the veins of the man and the woman, and dropped them into the boiling liquid. But lo! the two drops would not mingle and the woman was honourably acquitted. We do not find any mention of such an ordeal anywhere else, and for all we know this peculiar test might have had its origin in the fertile brain of the gossiping author of Shri Shivaji Pratap. Moreover, the alleged trial is said to have taken place before Shivaji’s time.

Unlike the present rulers of Maharashtra, Shivaji had no organised Education Department. He granted suitable pensions to deserving scholars, and the duty of testing their merit was entrusted to the Pandit Rav. This system of Dakshana grant has survived Shivaji and the Peshwas. The Bombay Government have allotted a specified sum for Dakshana fellowships in several colleges of that presidency.

In his religious policy Shivaji was above all tolerant. While his European contemporaries were burning heretics, Shivaji had extorted from Khaufkhan an unwilling compliment for his toleration of Muhammadanism. Sabhasad tells us that Shivaji made adequate grants not only for Hindu temples and holy places, but also for tombs of Muhammadan saints and for mosques. Dr. Dellen, the French traveller who visited the Malabar coast towards the close of Shivaji’s reign, also testified to the liberal religious policy of the great Maratha ruler. Shivaji’s religious policy suited the needs of his people and was to a certain extent the product of his age.

We have seen that the civil and the military regulations of Shivaji were framed mainly to meet the needs of his times, and in this respect they were eminently successful. Engaged in a life-long war against his Muhammadan neighbours, Shivaji could not give his people that peace and tranquillity so necessary for the growth of commerce and industry. But he reformed the revenue system of his kingdom, organised a careful survey of his lands, and substituted a fairly enlightened and efficient government for the tyranny of semi-independent Revenue officers. He organised an army that shattered the foundation of the Mughal Empire in the South. He was the father of the Maratha navy, and the mercantile policy inaugurated by him had a very bright future. Born in 1627 he died at the age of 53 only, and during his short reign of 30 years he not only founded a kingdom but created a nation. Yet we cannot admit that Shivaji was the most original of Indian rulers. For his Revenue policy he was indebted to Malik Ambar. Some of his military regulations were copied from the Adilshahi code, and the system of branding horses in the cavalry was known in Hindustan even in Allaudin Khilji’s time. Shivaji however enforced strict method where formerly there was a lack of it. The slightest irregularity did not escape his keen eyes, and in personal attention to the minute details of government, he was, perhaps, not inferior to his great Mughal rival. We find him framing regulations about the proper style of official letters; we find him deliberating about the necessity of punctual payment of masons. He urges his cavalry officers to beware of the careless use of fire in the camp. They are warned to be more careful about storing hay and fodder for their animals. To the governor of a fort he issues instructions for regulating the price of salt and nuts; and we cannot but wonder when we find the same man starting a literary movement, destined afterwards to change the nature of his mother-tongue. He employed a number of scholars to find out Sanskrit synonyms for current Persian words—and the Raj Vyavahar Kosh was compiled in consequence.

It has often been asked why so many of Shivaji’s institutions failed to survive him, Professor Jidu Nath Sarkar attributes his failure to build up an enduring state mainly to caste rivalry. The caste system is not new to India and whatever may be its effect on the Maratha state it cannot be said that the fate of Shivaji’s civil and military institutions was much affected by it. The great bane of the country had been feudalism or the Jagir system and this flourished in spite of caste rivalry. Shivaji tried his best to abolish feudalism, but the great defect of his government was that it was an autocracy. Its success depended on the man at the helm. Sambhaji was an incompetent ruler and it did not take him long to undo his father’s work. Rajaram had the wisdom to appreciate his father’s institutions, but circumstances were against him. Driven from his paternal home and besieged in the fort of Jinji, he had to conciliate his allies in all possible ways.
His officers offered to conquer principalities in enemy possession on the sole condition that they should be allowed to hold their conquest in Jagir. Thus Rajaram helped to revive feudalism, and once it was revived Shivaji’s institutions were doomed to extinction. In the turmoil of war every law was held in abeyance, and when a new order dawned, after the struggle for existence was over, Shivaji’s institutions had become a memory.

LIFE SKETCH OF LALESHWARI—A GREAT HERMITESS OF KASHMIR.¹
BY PANDIT ANAND KOUL.

Kashmir by its geographical position, indicates in the best sense of the term, the head, nay, the brain, of India. It has been prolific not only in producing great kings, whose sway extended throughout the length and breadth of India and Central Asia, and great philosophers, grammarians, historians, astronomers and poets, who shone like luminaries in the firmament, but also in producing women of extraordinary talents and rare gifts. Yesovati, Sugandah, Didha and Kuta adorned the throne of the country and held it secure with great wisdom, playing their game most successfully against powerful enemies.

Lakeshvari, Rupabhavani and Jaman Ded were ascetics of the most sublime and exalted order with a halo of divinity about them. Lakeshvari, more popularly called by the homely and simple name of Lal Ded (Mother Lal), was one of those master spirits, who come at periodic intervals into this world and deliver a message of truth and peace, exhorting humanity to follow higher ideals of life and shun the frivolities of mortal earthly existence. She was an apostle of sweetness and light and a follower of the Shaiva philosophy. She is remembered with divine adoration by both Hindus and Muhammadans in Kashmir, and many stories of miracles, said to have been worked by her, are current among them. The ascetic Rupabhavani acknowledged her as her great preceptress—Lal nāma Lal parma guram. She was born about the middle of the 14th century of Christian era in the time of Sultan Alá-ud-din, the third Muhammadan king of Kashmir, who succeeded to the throne in 1347 a.d. Her parents lived at Pândrenthan (the ancient Purānadhishtán, the old capital) four miles to the south-east of Srinagar.

There is a curious legend about her birth. It is said that prior to her birth as Lakeshvari she was born somewhere in Kashmir and was married to a man living at Pândrenthan. There she gave birth to a son.

The priest of this family was one Sidh Sri Kanth. This man, by the way, descended in the direct line of pupils from Vasa Gupta, who flourished in the first half of the ninth century of Christian era in the time of king Avántivarman, and laid the foundation of Shaivism as a system of religion in Kashmir. Sidh Sri Kanth’s living descendant in the line of pupils at present is P. Mokund Rázdán, a learned Sanskrit scholar residing near the Raghu Náth temple at Srinagar.

On the eleventh day of her confinement Sidh Sri Kanth came to perform the kahaneither or cleansing ceremony. She enquired of him “What relationship has the new born baby with me?” Sidh said “What a strange question! Why, he is your son.” She said “No.” “What then is he?” he asked. She replied: “I am just now to die and

¹ [Many of the “Sayings” attributed to Lakeshvari in this article may be usefully compared, both as to text and translation, with Grierson and Barnett’s Lalla Vakhyani, Asiatic Society Monographs, Vol. XVII, 1920.—Ed.]
shall be reborn as a filly at the Marháma village with such and such marks. If you care to have the answer to your query, you may come to me at Marháma after one year from now and I shall give you the answer," The woman died just after uttering these words. Sidd, in order to satisfy this curiosity, went after one year to Marháma and searched for the filly. He found her and put the old question to her. She told him "Well, I would give you the answer, but I am to die just now, and am to be reborn as a pup with such and such marks at Bijbehára, and if you care to get the answer you may come to me at Bijbehára after six months from now and I shall give you the answer." After she had finished this talk a tiger jumped out of a bush and devoured the filly. Sidd's curiosity increased at this occurrence and after six months he went to Bijbehára. There he searched for the puppy and did find it. He put the same question to it, and it told him as before that it was to die just then and was to be reborn as such and such and such place, and he might come there to receive the answer. No sooner had it said this than a man riding on his pony passed by and the puppy came under the pony's hoofs and was killed. In this way Sidd was dismissed by her without having the answer he required until she took six rebirths in different places, and being thus baffled he gave up the idea of making further attempts to satisfy his curiosity. He then went to Wastarvan (a hill near Avantipur 15 miles from Srinagar) to perform peneances.

In the same family at Pandrenthan in which Laleshwarí had died on the eleventh day of her confinement, she took her seventh rebirth. When she was twelve years of age her marriage was arranged by the son of Sidd in a Pandit family surnamed Nícha Bát, living at the Drangabal Mohalla at Pámpur (the ancient Padmapura founded in 812-849 A.D. by Padma, Minister of King Ajatapida).

It may be stated here, by the way, that at Pámpur there is now no one of the Nícha Bát pedigree living, but at Srinagar (Chundapur Mohalla) there is one man named Shíva Bát, at present employed as an Assistant in the Sericulture Department, who is of this lineage. His ancestors lived at Pámpur. His goíra is Swáma Shándle.

The boy with whom Lal Ded was engaged had his father living, but had lost his mother, and his father had married a second wife. The date for the wedding was fixed. Just one day previous to that on which the wedding was to come off, Sidd returned from Wastarvan and he, being the priest of the girl's father, presided over the ceremony. While the ceremony was being performed, the bride whispered to Sidd: "That baby who was born to me and you were pursuing me in my several rebirths, anxious to know what relationship he bore to me, is this very boy who is the bridegroom here." Sidd recollection the matter and was much astonished.

However the marriage ceremony was finished. The bride was named Padmávati by her father-in-law. But the boy and Padmávati never lived together as husband and wife. The step-mother-in-law used to treat Padmávati very badly. The latter is held up as a model for patience, virtue and submissiveness by womankind. She bore the ill-treatment without grumbling. When giving her the daily meal, the mother-in-law used to put a stone in her plate over which a little food was spread, so that it might appear to those who chanced to see it that a brimful plate of food was given to the daughter-in-law. Padmávati never complained of it, nor made it known to anybody for twelve years, giving back the stone secretly to her mother-in-law, after doing with her scanty meal. After twelve years it got about in this way. A sheep had been slaughtered to perform the ceremony of grahashtáti in her father-in-law's house. One of the female neighbours met her while she was going to the river to fetch water, who told her in a jocular sort of way that she was to get a good feast that evening. Thereupon it escaped from her mouth "Haa d máirian kínah kath noshi nalcat tsálih nah zih"—meaning that whether they killed...
a big sheep or a small one it was all the same, the daughter-in-law always had the stone in her plate. Her father-in-law, who happened to be on the other side of the wall where she was standing with her neighbour friend, overheard this, and he wanted to find out if what the daughter-in-law said was right. When that evening his wife gave Padmávati her plate of food he suddenly went over and snatched it away from her hand and actually found the stone underneath a thin layer of rice. He got very angry with his wife for her cruel treatment towards the daughter-in-law. His wife thought that Padmávati must have informed him of this, as there could be no other person who knew about it. Oh, such audacity and such contumaciousness on the part of a daughter-in-law designed to bring on trouble to her mother-in-law! So she fretted and harboured more hatred than ever towards Padmávati and constantly spoke ill of her to her son in order to prejudice his mind against his wife. She span thread as fine as the fibres of the lotus stalk, yet her step mother-in-law would scold her for having spun it coarsely. At last when she brought this chapter of her life to a close by quitting her home. Fired as she was with divine love, she tore away her clothes and began to roam about naked. Just prior to her tearing away her clothes her lal or abdomen increased in size, so that her pubic region became pendulous answering the purpose of the loin cloth. Thenceforward she was called Lal, because of her pendulous pubes.

Lal Ded became the disciple of Siddh and learnt Yoga from him, but in course of time she far excelled him in practising it. Siddh’s house was at the Nambalbal Mohalla at Pámpur. There was a cave there in which he used to perform the worship of God. This cave does not exist now. The ghát at which he used to bathe is called Siddh-Yátr, and since then a sanctity is attached to it. It is among others a tirtha at which the pilgrims to Amār Náth bathe.

Lal Ded propounded the Yoga philosophy and also high moral truths in Kashmiri verse. These are called Lal Wákhí or Sávings of Lal and are, apart from being the utterances of a holy woman, expressive of grand and lofty thoughts, and spiritual laws—short, apt, sweet, thrilling, life-giving and pregnant with the greatest moral principles—aye, simply pearls and diamonds and “gems of the purest ray serene” of the Kashmiri literature. They are current coins of quotation, a volume being packed in a single saying. They touch the Kashmiri’s ear as well as the chord of his heart and are freely quoted by him as maxims on appropriate occasions in conversation, having moulded the national mind and set up a national ideal. As the Kashmiri language has undergone such change since he composed them and as they treat of abstruse knowledge of Yoga, they are difficult to be understood by the common people. One or two instances will suffice to show how deep and sublime is the philosophy contained in them. Over one hundred years ago there lived a saint named Mirza Kák at Híngalgund, twelve miles towards the south-east of Achilál. He once went to visit the shrine of Jwála Mukhi at Khrew and on his return, when nearing Pámpur his disciples asked him to explain the meaning of the following saying of Lal Ded:

Walh raingá artsun sakhar
Athi al paí wakhur heth
Yudwani zának parma-pad akhiur
He shikhar khe shikhar heth.

Arise, O Lady, make preparations for worship,
Keeping liquor, meat and bread with thee;
If thou knowest the highest Eternal Syllable (Brahm),
Take and eat them in company with Triumphant worshippers.
He explained it at great length for several hours. His disciples wondered at the superb and ennobling thought contained in this saying and still wondered in their minds how Lal Ded would have explained it had she been living. Mirza Kák knew by inspiration the desire of his disciples. He then, together with his disciples, went and squatted at the Lal Trág, halting there that night. At midnight a woman suddenly appeared before them. Mirza Kák bowed before her and made her sit after paying due reverence to her. She, of her own accord, began to explain the meaning of the above saying. What she expounded was by far deeper than that explained by Mirza Kák. After she finished she went away and disappeared. Mirza Kák’s disciples were amazed to see and hear all this. He told them that she was Lal Ded herself and had come to explain the meaning of the saying that he had explained during the day time, which they had desired in their minds to hear from Lal Ded herself.

About 60 years ago a learned Pandit, named Prakâsh Kukilu, wrote a commentary on the following four sayings in Sanskrit prose:

* Sahazas shám tak dam no gatshe
  Yatshih prâwak mûkhi dwâr
  Salilas lawan zan mîlî tih gatshe
  Totîh chhui durlah Sahazah vetsâr.

* Akui umkâr yus nûbî dârc
  Kumbai brahmándas sum gâre
  Akui mantar yus tsitas kare
  Tas sîs mantar kyâh kare.

* Abiyâsi sa viâsî laiwatî
  Gagnas sagan niyûl samutsratâ
  Shani gîl tah anûmaî matû
  Yuhui upadesh chhui bhatta.

* Wâk mánas kül akul nâ ate
  Tshupi mudrih âti nû pravesh
  Rozan Shiv Shakht nû ate
  Mutâiya kûnh tah suv upadesh.

God does not want meditations and austerities:
Through love alone canst thou get the abode of Bliss.
Thou mayst be lost like salt in water.
Still it is difficult for thee to know God.
One who keeps in mind one single umkâr.
Considers self as much as the universe:
One who remembers one single mantra.
What can thousand mantras do to him?
When by repeated practice (of Yoga) the visible objects go to absorption.
When the qualified universe gets merged within the ether.
Then remains none but the Supreme Being.
This is, O Brahman, the true doctrine.
Tell thy mind that there is no highness or lowness there;
There is no entry there by either silence or mystic attitude;
Neither Shiva nor Shakhti remain there.
If any one remains that is the true doctrine.
There were countless sayings of Lal Ded, but, as time went on, they were gradually one by one forgotten and lost. About 200 years ago, P. Básker Rázdán, grandfather of P. Manas Rázdán, a celebrated hermit of Kashmir, collected Sixty Sayings, which he translated into Sanskrit verse. They have recently been published by the Research Department of the State.

Another collection of 109 sayings (including the 60 collected by P. Básker Rázdán) was made by P. Lakshman Kák, another saint, who lived about 50 years ago. He wrote a commentary on Vedántic lines on them in Sanskrit prose. A copy of this collection was obtained by Sir George Grierson and Dr. Lionel D. Barnett which they have translated into English. This has recently been published by the Royal Asiatic Society, London. Their publication will, no doubt, prove of much importance to philologists, scholars of ancient learning and others. I have been fortunate to secure a collection of over 200 sayings of Lal Ded and am going to publish them shortly.

As is usual with spiritual geniuses, Lal Ded used to lead people from observation to reflection, making easy remonstrances at hypocrisy and mere show of religious ceremonies and formalities. Some instances are given below:

(1) One day Siddh, her spiritual Guru, was bathing in the river. At the same place, a little above him up-stream, Lal Ded began to scrub the outer sides of an earthen pot full of dirt. Siddh told her in a scorn at her flagrant simplicity that the pot could never be purified by cleaning only from outside. “How then could your body become pure by bathing,” was the ready retort, “so long as the inside of the body was not at the same time purified?” A Persian poet expresses this truth in the following couplet:—

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Jáma chi kuni kabúd u níli va siyáh} \\
\text{Díd sóf kuño qabú hamin posh u kulúh.} \\
\text{Why dost thou dye thy garment blue and black?} \\
\text{Purify thy heart, wearing thy usual garment and cap.}
\end{align*}
\]

While going about, Lal Ded was followed by a number of children, who used to shout mockingly at her, as is usual with youngsters when they see a strange person. But her spirit was ever unperturbed. One day she was passing by a shop of a cloth merchant followed by a crowd of noisy children. The cloth merchant was angry with them for teasing the hermitess and dispersed them. Lal Ded went up to his shop and asked him to give her a piece of longcloth. He at once brought out a piece and presented it to her. She told him to cut it exactly into two halves, so that they might be of equal weight. He did so, balancing the two pieces in a scale. She then put one piece on one shoulder and the other on the other shoulder, and went away. Now a person passing by would salute her and she made a knot in the piece of cloth on her left shoulder. Another person would shout disrespectfully to her and she would make a knot in the piece on her right shoulder. In this way during her peregrinations, many people met her, who either saluted or spoke disrespectfully to her, and she made knots respectively in the two pieces of cloth. In the evening she came back to the same cloth merchant and returned the cloth to him asking him to reweigh the two halves to see if either of them had lost or gained weight by the knots made. They were put in a scale and, of course, they balanced equally. Lal Ded then smilingly told him, “Why were you angry with the boys who were calling names to me. Respect or disrespect cannot make any difference to me, as the knots of either kind have made no difference to the cloth.”

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Gál garinum bol parinam} \\
\text{Dipnam tíh yas yuth rotec} \\
\text{Sahazah kusamau piú karinam} \\
\text{Buh amdani kas kyáh motec.}
\end{align*}
\]
Hásabol parinam sásá
Meh mani wásá khíd ná hiye
Yudwani Shanker bakhts ádá
Makuri sásá mál kyáh piye.

Yus ho málíh heden gelem maskharíh arem
Suh ho málíh manas kharem ná háh
Shiv panun velih anugre karem
Luka hund heden meh kárem kyáh.

Let them jeer or cheer me:
Let anybody say what he likes:
Let good persons worship me with flowers:
What can any one (of them) gain, I being pure?

Let them jeer me a thousand times,
My mind shall never be pained.
If I am a lover of God,
How can ashes make a mirror dirty (on the contrary it will make it cleaner).

Anybody mocking or scoffing at me
Shall not be disliked by my heart.
When my Shiva favours me,
What can the ridicule of the people do to me?

This has been rendered into Persian verse as below:—

Mará gar álami buhitán bikhwánad
Dil ander kinahe o dar namánad
Agar man Haq paraste rást básham
Bar ñínah chí khákister níshánad.

If the world talks ill of me,
My heart shall harbour no ill-will.
If I am a true worshipper of God,
Can ashes leave a stain on a mirror?

(2) Lal Ded once entered a temple in which her spiritual guru, Sidh, was worshipping the idols. She wanted to show to him that God was present everywhere and was not limited to the temple. Sidh asked her what she had come for and she told him that she wanted to answer the call of nature, and being naked she came into the temple for privacy. He hastily led her out telling her that it was a place where idols were worshipped and it would be sacrilegious to do in it what she intended to. She asked him to show her a place where there were no idols. He led her to a place and there Lal Ded removed some earth under which idols were found. Then he led her to another place and there too she removed the earth and idols were found. Then Lal Ded addressed to him:—

Diva wátá díver wátá
Herí bãh chhuñ ikwát
Páz kas karak húta bhátá
Kar nanas pavanás sangát.

3 Bawa Nanak when at Mecca was once found lying down with his feet towards the Shrine. The people reproved him for thus showing disrespect towards the house of God. He told them he was tired and could not move and they might therefore turn his feet to the direction away from the house of God. They then turned his feet but Mecca also moved towards the same direction.
Soi shelā chhai patas tah pithos  
Soi shelā chhai utam desh  
Soi shelā chhai pheravanis gratas  
Shiv chhai krithi tait sen upadesh.

Idol is of stone, temple is of stone;  
Above (temple) and below (idol) are one;  
Which of them wilt thou worship, O foolish Pandit?  
Cause thou the union of mind with soul.

The same stone is in the road and in the pedestal:  
The same stone is the sacred place:  
The same stone is the turning mill:  
Shiva is difficult to be attained, take a hint for guidance (from thy guru).

(To be continued.)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

NOTES FROM OLD FACTORY RECORDS.

24. Glass = Hour.

Sloop James, 10th of May 1685.

Honoured Sir, This to acquaint your Honour of our Sad misfortunes, for standing off to sea we Chano[d] to meet with fresh galls [gales] and great Sea and making Saile for to keep Company with the Rest of the fleet we sprung such a Leake that we are forced to keep pumping glasses and glasse [from hour to hour] which hath been the Cause of our putting Back again and fetched as far as Annor [Onore, Honavar] where we Ri[d att] an Anchor. I would desire to know your Honours further orders what we shall doe with the Vessell for what with a Carring [carrying] of sail and Ridding att an Anchor she will not bear up much oner without further Remedy. I rest your Honours very Humble and Obedient Servant to Command, William Dixon. (Records of Fort St. George: Letters to Fort St. George, 1684-86, III, 85.)  
R. C. T.

25. A Wail from Beneoolen.

28 September 1685. Letter from Benjamin Bloom and Council at York Fort [Beneoolen, Sumatra] to William Gifford and Council at Fort St. George. Wee shall now give your Honour &ea. An Account of our Woefull state and Condition which God grant better. Wee are by sickness all become Uncapable of helping one Another, and of the great number of people that came over not above thirty men well of them that Mr Ord left here, being Blacks and whites about 200, he taking about twenty souldiers and severall Black servants along with him. Of the English souldiers are dead here eleven; and of the Portequeue not above four, of the Black workmen not Above fifteen that is Capable of working. Of them are dead about forty and dayly die, for he that falls, it is hard for him to rise. All our servants are sick and dead, and att this minute not A Cook to gatt victualls ready for those that sitt att the Companies Table, and such have been our straites, that wee many times have fasted; the sick lye neglected, some cry for Remedies, but none to be had; those that could Eat have none to cook them Victualls, soe that I may say, the one Dies for Hunger, and the other for Remedies, soe that now we have not living Enough to bury the Dead, and if one is sick the other will not watch, for hee says better that one than two dies, soe that people dies and noe notice Taken thereof. (Records of Fort St. George: Letters to Fort St. George, 1684-85, III, 215, 216.)  
R. C. T.


20 November 1685. Letter from Thomas Ley and Council at Husky to William Gifford and Council at Fort St. George. Mr. Higginson wee can very ill spare, he being one of the most fittest men in India for the office he was in (and indeed any thing else). He has discharged his place with faithfulness and with all diligence in A curious ingenious method as your Honor &ea. will see by his works; wee cannot say enough to his praise, but seeing it is your order, and his desire, Bengall not agreeing with his constitution, he takes his passage towards you on the Shrewsbury. Wee have promis'd him to signifie all his care and pains to our Right Honble. Masters and hope they will take into consideration and give him Encouragement According to his deserts for what he has done here. (Records of Fort St. George: Letters to Fort St. George, 1684-5 III, 234-235.)  
R. C. T.
LIFE SKETCH OF LALESHWARI—A GREAT HERMITESS OF KASHMIR.

By PANDIT ANAND KOUL.

(Continued from p. 308.)

(3) Shekh Nūr Din alias Nund Rishi (called by Hindus Sahazânand), a great Muhammadan saint, was a contemporary of Lal Ded. It is said that when he was born (1377 A.D.) he would not suck milk of his mother. Lal Ded went and cried to him “Yina mandachhok nah tak chanah chhukha mandachhān?” (Thou wert not ashamed of coming, why then art thou ashamed of sucking?). Thereupon he began to suck. She asked his mother what her name was. “Sudar” was the reply. Lal Ded remarked—“Sudrasai chhih mukhta nerān” (verily pearls come out of the Sudar i.e., Ocean). When Shekh Nūr Din was grown up he, together with his disciple Bābā Nasar-ud-din, often held discourses with Lal Ded in Kashmiri verse which are clothed in mysticism. Her verses, however, show how superior she rose over both of them in religious wisdom. These are contained in the old Persian books called Nūr Nāma and Rish Nāma. One discourse is quoted below by way of an example:

Bābā Nasir-ud-din—

Siryas hyuh nah prakāsh kune
Gangih hyuh nah tirth kānh
Bāyis hyuh nah bāndav kune
Ranich hyuh nah sukh kānh.

Shekh Nūr Din—

Achhīn hyuh nah prakāsh kune
Kutheh hyuh nah tirth kānh
Chandas hyuh nah bāndav kune
Khanich hyuh nah sukh kānh.

Laleshwari—

Mayas hyuh nah prakāsh kune
Payas hyuh nah tirth kānh
Dayas hyuh nah bāndav kune
Bayas hyuh nah sukh kānh.

There is no light like that of the sun;
There is no pilgrimage like Ganga;
There is no relation like a brother;
There is no ease like that of a wife.

There is no light like that of the eyes;
There is no pilgrimage like that of the knees;
There is no relation like one’s pocket;
There is no ease like that of the cloak.

There is no light like that of the knowledge of God;
There is no pilgrimage like that of the search of God;
There is no relation compared to the Deity;
There is no ease like that got from the fear of God.
Many stories are current among the Kashmiris illustrative of the superhuman power of this hermitess. Some of them are narrated below:

(1) Lal Ded used to go out early in the morning, crossing the river without her feet dipping into the water and sat at the ghāṭ of Zinpura village at the place where there is the shrine of Nattā Keshav Bhairava, at present marked by a mulberry tree. There, after her ablution, she remained in communion with God. Her husband being suspicious of her, once went quietly after her to see where she had gone. He saw her going to, and sitting alone at, the above place. He never knew, nor he could read, her purpose. Leaving the house before the dawn and sitting alone on the river bank was, he thought, nothing short of madness. He got angry at this. When after meditation for some time, she returned with an earthen pot full of water on her head, he, in his rage, struck it with a stick. The pot broke into pieces, but the water was not spilt and remained perfectly still on her head. She then came into the house, filled all the empty pots with this water and yet it was not exhausted. Then she threw down the remainder of the water outside the house and a pond was formed of it. This pond exists even now and is called Lal Trāg.

(2) Lal Ded used to peregrinate in a nude condition and was constantly saying, ‘He only is a man who fears God, and there are very few such men about.’ One day Shāh Hamadān alias Mir Sayyid Ali, after whom the famous mosque in Srinagar is called and who came in Kashmir in 1379 and stayed here up to 1384 A.D., met her at Khāmpur, 10 miles to the south-west of Srinagar on the Shopian road, and she at once ran away. This was a strange thing for Lal Ded to do, but it was soon explained. ‘I have seen a man,’ she said to the astonished bāniya, into whose shop she had fled for refuge. The bāniya, however, turned her out. Then Lal Ded rushed to a baker’s shop and jumped into the oven, which at that time was fully heated for baking the bread. Hence the saying—‘Āyeyih wānis gayih kāndaras.’ (She came to a bāniya but went to a baker). When the baker saw this he fell down in a swoon thinking that, for certain, the king would hear of this and punish him. However, there was no need of fear, as Lal Ded presently appeared from the mouth of the oven, clad in clothes of gold, and fastened after Shāh Hamadān.

Lal Ded threw herself in the baker’s oven purposely in order to show to Shāh Hamadān that passing through the ordeal set up by Timur, the famous king of Central Asia (1378 A.D.), was an easy job for persons advanced in occult powers. This king was in the habit of going frequently through his capital city to ascertain the condition of his subjects. One night, while he was wandering in the city in the disguise of a beggar, the shrieks of a lad from a house attracted him and he entered it, when he came to know that the child and his parents had tasted no food for two days on account of abject poverty, and the shrieks of the child were due to the pangs of hunger. The disguised beggar felt so deeply for the starving family that he left the house with a promise to return soon with any eatable thing he might get by begging, and he fulfilled his promise by returning soon with a little bread which he handed over to the boy who was crying. The beggar secretly left a purse of gold coins in the compound of the house, and before leaving raised his hands towards the sky, praying loudly that the Great Allah might change the poor family into a rich one. At daybreak the mistress of the house got startled to find the purse and was immensely happy. One of the coins she brought with a joyful heart before a neighbouring Sayyid to get it
changed. The wicked Sayyid enquired and came to know of her possessing a purse of gold coins. He not only deprived her of her purse, but charged her of having stolen it from him. The case came up before Timur who well knew the source from which the old woman had got the contested gold. The Sayyid and his numerous witnesses who were also Sayyids took solemn oaths before Timur that the woman had stolen the bung. He, of course, dismissed the case and restored the purse to the poor woman. Indignant at the brazen-facedness of the Sayyids, he announced that all Sayyids residing in his kingdom must prove their purity by passing through the ordeal of riding a hot iron-horse. This dreadful test alarmed the Sayyids and they strove to escape it by flight. Only Mir Sayyid Ali, who was a saint of high order, is said to have gone successfully through the ordeal. He then came from Hamadan (Persia) to Kashmir in 1379 A.D. On seeing Lal Ded coming out of a furnace of fire attired in clothes of gold his pride of riding a fire-horse was humbled, and he became a constant companion of hers.

(3) Once there was a performance of actors at Pampur, to witness which a large crowd of people had gathered. Lal Ded also, in her usual nude condition, went to see it. Her father-in-law called her back to her house and scolded her for her want of modesty and decency. She excused herself by saying that there was no human being there, to avoid whose look it might have been necessary to cover herself. He laughed cynically at this. But she asked him to look out from the window if what she said was true or not. He looked out and lo! he saw no human being, but only a number of fowls, sheep and goats collected there.

(4) Once Sidh was performing the austere penances of chandrayun; that is to say, he had kept a fast which was to continue for 40 days. Lal Ded came to his house and enquired from his wife what he was doing. She replied—"Suh chhu karan zaf" (he is doing meditation). Lal Ded cried out: "Nah, Nanda Margik dhithas guris taf" (no, his pony got a kick at Nanda Marg). Sidh overheard this and was ashamed, as his mind had really gone astray in the midst of meditation, thinking at that moment of his pony which he had sent for grazing to Nanda Marg.3 Lal Ded then invited him to see how she was practising the penance. On the full-moon day she entered a well-cleaned room and standing up motionless, put an earthen pot underneath her feet and another on her head. As the moon waned her body diminished, until on the fifteenth day of the dark fortnight the two pots joined each other. Sidh was daily observing this. When the two pots closed he raised the upper pot, and found something like quick-silver in it trembling and then put down the lid again. As the moon waned, her body also began to increase, and on the full-moon day she was again what she was before. Sidh was astonished at this, and told her that he had lifted up the upper pot when they had met and had seen something like mercury trembling in the lower pot. He asked her in wonderment what it was and why it was trembling. She answered, hinting at the insignificance of his own vaunted penances—"It was I that was trembling lest even this austere penance might be unacceptable

3 A similar story is told of Bawā Nānak. He attended a prayer meeting at the request of a Muhammadan Sirdar. The congregation bent, knelt, and bowed while Bawā Nānak stood still. At the end he was asked why he did not join in the prayer and he remarked that the priest at whose bending, kneeling and bowing the congregation moved was all the while thinking of his own mare and therefore he was waiting till his mind turned towards God. The priest's mind had actually gone astray as stated by Bawā Nānak.
to God, for without His grace human acts have no merit."—nisi Dominus, frustra. Sidh then remarked—

Gau tāthā guras khaṭhī
Sui var dītam Divā.

The disciple has gone up higher than her spiritual preceptor.
O God grant, that I may become like her.

(5) One day Lal Ded played blind man’s buff with Shekh Nūr Din and Shāh Hamadān. She told them that if they failed to search her out, they should call her thrice by her name and she would reappear. They hid themselves one by one, and Lal Ded found out each one of them. Afterwards Lal Ded hid herself and though they tried their best to seek her out they failed. Then they called her thrice by her name and she suddenly reappeared before them. They enquired from her where she had hidden herself and she told them she had merged herself with the five tūvatās (elements), and it was impossible for them to seek her out.

(6) One day Shāh Hamadān, Shekh Nūr Din, Sidh and Lal Ded were sitting together discoursing on religious matters, when a cloud accompanied by a storm of wind gathered. Shāh Hamadān remarked that rain was coming. Shekh Nūr Din said, "No, a hail storm will occur." Sidh said, "No, snow will fall." Lal Ded rebuked them for making predictions, "Fuqr ai tah mākr kyāh" (If asceticism, why then mākr or hypocrisy). Mākr in Kashmiri also means little round poppy-seed-like frosted snow. No sooner had she uttered these words than mākr began to fall.

(7) Once Shāh Hamadān showed his occult powers to Lal Ded by placing a pot full of rice and water on his head, which at once got heated and the rice in it got boiled. Lal Ded, in order to humble his pride, showed him this power developed in herself to an immense degree. She took him to the river side, and dipping her hand in its water the whole river got heated and began to bubble.

Lal Ded died at an advanced age at Bijbehara, 28 miles to the south-east of Srinagar, just outside the Jama Masjid there, near its south-eastern corner. When she gave up her soul, it buoyed up like a flame of light in the air and then disappeared.

SIVĀJI’S RAID UPON SURAT IN 1664.
By William Foster, C.I.E.

Prefatory Note.

The sack of Surat by the Marāthas in January, 1664, was an event of such importance that no apology need be offered for printing two first-hand unofficial accounts of it, especially as the one is not easily accessible in a reliable form, to Indian historical students, while the other has not appeared in English before. These two documents are therefore printed below, merely premising that the English official account, contained in a letter from the President and Council at Surat to the East India Company, dated 28th January 1664, will be found in Sir George Forrest’s Selections from the Bombay Records, Home Series, vol. i (p. 24).

I.

The fullest and most graphic narrative, from the English side, is contained in a letter from the lately arrived chaplain, the Rev. John L’Escaliet, dated 26th January 1664. The letter, which was evidently addressed to some relative at Norwich, was communicated

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1 [The first of these was reprinted in this Journal as long ago as 1879 (ante, Vol. VIII, pp. 256 ff.), the copy then being taken from Wilkin’s edition of Sir Thomas Browne’s works. I am glad to have the opportunity, through Mr. Foster’s help, of printing a more correct version of L’Escaliet’s account.—E.P.]
to L'Escaliot's friend, the celebrated Dr. (afterwards Sir Thomas) Browne, who caused it to be copied into one of his note-books, now in the British Museum (Sloane MSS. No. 1861). This transcript was published in 1836 by Simon Wilkin in his edition of Browne's works; and the portion relating to Sivaji's raid is here extracted, following, however, the Sloane MS., as Wilkin's version contains several inaccuracies. It must be borne in mind that the MS. itself is only a copy, and occasional errors are to be expected.

"Thus far, dear Brother, I had wrote on Tuesday, the 5 of January, about ten in the morning, when on a sudden a strong alarm was brought to our house from the town, with news that Seva-Gee, Raya or principall governor (for such assume not the name of kings to themselves, but yet endeavour to bee as absolute, each in his province, as his sword can make him), was coming downe with an army of an uncertaine number upon Surat to pillage the city; which newes strooke no small consternation into the minde of a weake and efeminate people, in see much that on all hands there was nothing to bee seen but people flying for their lives and lamenting the loss of their estates. The richer sort, whose stocke of money was large enough to purchase that favour at the hands of the Governor of the Castle, made that their sanctuary and abandoned their dwellings to a merciless foe; which they might well enough have defended, with the rest of the town, had they had the hearts of men.

The same day a post comes in and tells them that the army was come within tenne course or English miles and made all hast forward; which put the cowardly and unfaithfull Governour of the town to send a servant to Sevagee to treat of some conditions of ransome. But Seva-Gee retaines the messenger and marches forwrads with all speed, and that night loged his camp about 5 miles English from the citie; and the Governour perceivving well that his messenger returned not again and that Seva-Gee did not intend to treat at that distance, he craves admission into the Castle and obtaineth it, and seeth deserted his towne.

The city of Surat is the only port on this side India which belongs to the Mogol, and stands upon a river commodious enough to admitt vessels of 1000 ton 7 milles up; at which distance from the sea there stands a reasonable strong castle, well manned and having great store of good guns mounted for the securing of the river. At a convenient distance on the north, east, and south sides of this castle is the city of Surrat, built of a large extent and very populos, rich in merchandize, as being the mart for the great empire of the Mogol, but ill contrived into narrow lanes and without any forme; and for buildings consists partly of brik (see houses of the richer sort), partly of wood; the maine
posts of which sort only are timber, the rest is built of bambooes (as they call them) or caines, such as those you make your angles [i.e., fishing-rods] of at Norwich, but very large, and these being tied together with the cords made of coconuts rinde, and being dawbed over with dirt, are the walls of the whole house and floors of the upper story of their houses. Now the number of the poore exceedingly surmounting the number of those of some quality, these bamboo houses are increased unmeasurably; so that in the greater part of the town scarce tow or three brick houses are to be seen in a street, and in some part of the town not one for many streets together. Those houses which are built of bricke are usually built strong, their walls of 2 or 2½ feet thick and the roofs of them flat and covered with a plaster like plaster of Paris, which makes most commodious places to take the evening aëre in the hotter seasons.

The whole town is unfortified, either by art or nature. Its situation is upon a large plain of many miles extent and their care hath beene so little to secure it by art that they have only made against the chiefest avenues of the town some weak and ill built gates, and for the rest in some parts a dry ditch easily passable by a footman, wanting a wall or other defence on the innerside: the rest is left so open that scarce any signe of a ditch is perceivable.

The people of the town are either the merchants (and those of all nations almost, as English, Dutch, Portingalls, Turkes, Arabs, Armenians, Persians, Jewes, Indians of several sorts, but principally Banians), or els Moores, the conquerors of the country, Hindues or the ancient inhabitants, or Persees, who are people fled out of Persia ages agoe and heere, and some miles up the country, settled in great numbers. The Banian is one who thinks it the greatest wickedness to kill any creature whatsoever that hath life, least possibly they might bee the death of their father or relation; and the Persee doth superstitiously adore the fire as his god, and thinks it an unpardonable sin to throw water upon it; so that if a house be fired, or their clothes upon their backs burning, they will, if they can, hinder any man from quenching it. The Moores are troubled with none of these superstitions, but yet through the unworthy covetousness of the Governour of the town they had noe body to head them nor none unto whome to joyne themselves, and soe fled away for company; whereas, if there had beene 500 men trayned and in a readyness, as by order from the King there ever should (whose pay the Governour puts into his owne poesket), the number to defend the citie would have amounted to some thousands. This was the condition of the city at the tyme of its invasion.

The invader Seva Gee is (as I have said) by extraction a Rayar or a Governour, of a small country on the coast southwards of Basine, and was formerly a tributary to the King of Vijapore, but being of an aspiring and ambitious minde, subtle, and withall a soldier, hee rebells against the King, and partly by fraud, partly by force, partly by corruption of the Kings governours of the Kings castles, seizeth many of them into his hands, and withall partes of a country for which the King of Vijapore paid tribute to the Mogol. His insolencies were so many, and his success soe great, that the King of Vijapore thought it high time to doeover his supression, or els all would bee lost. Hee raises his armies, but is worstede soe every where by the rebell that hee is
forced to conditions, to release homage to Sevegee of those landes wich hee held of him, and for the rest Sevagee was to make good his possession against the Mogol as well as hee could.

After some tyme of forbearance the Mogol demands his tribute from him of Vijapore, whom returns answer that hee had not possession of the tributary lands, but that they were detayned from him by his rebbell, whom was grown so strong for him. Upon this the Mogol makes warr both upon the King of Vijapore and Sevagee, but as yet without any considerable success. Many attempts hath been made, but still frutserated, either by the euning or valour or mony of Sevagee; but now of late Kuttup Chawne, 2 an Umbraw who possessed [passed?] by Surat since I arrived, with 5000 men and 14 ellephants, and had 9000 men more whic marched another way towa[r]ds their randevouz, as wee hear hath taken from him a strong castle and [made?] some impression into his country; to devert wich ware, it is probable he tooke this resolletion for invation of this country of Guzurat.

His person is describ'd by them whoe have seen him to bee of meanes stature, lower some what then I am, erect, and of an excellent proportion; active in excersise, and when ever hee speaks seems to smile; a quicke and percing eye, and whiter then any of his people. Hee is distrustfull, seacret, subtle, cruell, perfidious, insulting over whomever he getts into his power, absolute in his commands and in his punishments more then severe, death or dismembering being the punishment of every offence; if necessity require, venterous and desperate in execution of his resolves, as may appeare by this following instance.

The King [of] Vijapore 3 sends downe his unckell, a most accomplishe soldier, with 14,000 men into Sevagees country. The knowne valour and experience of the man made Sevagee conclude that his best way was to assassinate him in his owne armey by a suddan surprise. This conduct of this attempt, how dangerous soever, would have been undertaken by many of his men, of whose conduct hee might have asured himselfe, but it seems he would have the action wholly his owne. Hee therefore, with 400 as desperate as himselfe, enters the armee, undiscovered comes to the Generalls tent, falls in upon them, kills the guard, the Generalls sonn, wounds the father (howe hardly escaped), seizeth on his daughter and carries her away prisoner, and forceth his way backe through the whole armee and returns safe without any considerable loss. And afterward in dispight of all the King of Vijapore could doe, hee tooke Rajapore, a great port, plundered it, and seized our English merchants, Mr. Revington, Mr. Taylor, and digged up the English house for treasure, and kept the merchants in prison about eight months.

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2 Possibly Kutbuddin Khan, who took part in the subsequent campaign under Jai Singh.
3 An error for 'the Mogul Emperor.' The writer is also wrong in making the attack on Shâista Khan precede the capture of Râjâpur.
Wednesday the 6 January, about 11 in the morning, Savagee arrived neere a
great garden without the towne about 1/2 of a mile, and whilst hee was busied
in pitching his tents sent his horsemen into the outward streets of the towne
to fire the houses; soe that in less then halfe an hower wee might behold from
the tops of our house two great pillers of smoke, the certaine signs of a great diso-
lation, and soe thay continued burning that day and night. Thursday, 
Friday and Saturday still new fires raised, and every day neerer and neerer
approaching our quarter of the towne.

That the terror was great I know youe will easily beleeve. And upon his first
begining of his firing the remainder of the people fled as thicke as possible;
so that on Thursday the streets were almost empty, wich at other tymes are
exceeding thicke with people; and we the English in our house, the Duch in
theirs, and some few marchants of Turky and Armenia, neighbours to our
English house, possesed of a saw or place of reception for straingers, were
left by the Governour and his people to make what shift wee could to secure
ourselves from the enemy. This might the English and Duch have done,
leaveing the towne and going over the river to Swalley to our shipps, which
were then riding in Swalley Hole; but it was thought more like English men
to make ourselves ready to defende our lives and goods to the uttermost than
by a flight to leave mony, goods, house to merceless people, and were confirmd
in a resolution that the Duch alsoe deterr mined the same; though there was
noe possibility of relieving one another, the Duch house being on the other
side of [the] towne, almost an English mile asunder.

In order therfore to our better defence, the President, Sir George Oxinden, a
most worthy, discreet, courageous person, sent advice to our ships at Swalley
of our condition, with his desires to the captains to spare him out of their
ships what men thay could; and wee in the meantime endeavoured to fitt our
house soe well as wee could, sending out for what quantety of provision of
victuals, watter, and powder wee could gitt, of which wee gott a competent
store. Tow brass guns we procured that day from a marchant in towne of
about 300 [weight] a peice, and with old ship carriages mounted them and
made ports in our great gate for them to play out of to secure a shorte pasage
to our house. That afternoon wee sent aboard a ship in the river for guns,
and had tow of about 600 [weight] per peice sent up in next morning with short
convenient. Some are set to melt lead and make bullets, others with chezels
to cutt lead into slugs; no hand idle, but all imployed to strengthen every place,
as tyme would give leave, to the best advantage.

On Wedensday men arrive to the number of 40 odd and bring with them 2
brass guns more. Our 4 smaller guns are then carried up to the tope of the house
and 3 of them planted to secure 2 great streets; the 4[th] was bent upon a rich
churles house (Hogee Said Beeg [Hâji Zâhid Beg], of whom more by and by),
because it was equally of hight, and being possed by the enemy might have
beene dangerous to our house. Captaines are appointed, and every man quar-
terd and order taken for relieving one another upon necessity. A fresh
recrute of men coming of about 20 more, wee than began to consider what
houses neere us might bee most prejuditial, and on one side wee tooke possesion
of [a] pagod or Banian idol temple, which was just under our house (wich having taken, wee were much more secured on that quarter), on the other a Moorish Meseete [i.e., mosque], where several people were harboured and had windowes into our outward yard, was thought good to bee cleared and shutt up; wich was accordingly done by a party, [and] all the people sent to seeke some other place to harbour in.

Things being thuss reasonably well prepared, newes is brought us that Mr. Anthony Smith, a servant of the Compaynes, one whom hath beene Cheife in severall factoryes, was taken prisoner by Sevagee[s] soldieriers as he came ashore neere the Duch house and was coming to the English; an unfortunat accedent, wich made us all much concerned, knowing Sevagee[s] cruelty, and indeed gave him over as quite lost. Hee obtaynes leave some few houers after to send a note to the President, wherein hee aquants him with his condition, that hee being brought before Sevagee hee was asked what hee was and such like questions, and att last by Sevagee told that hee was not come to doe any personall hurte to the English or other marchants, but only to revenge himselfe of Orum Zeb (the Great Mogol) because hee had invaded his countrey [and] had killd some of his relations, and that he would only have the English and Duch give him some treasure and hee would not meddle with there houses; ells hee would doe them all mischeefe possible.

Mr. Smith desired him to sent a guard with him to the English house, least hee should finde any mollestation from his men, but hee answers as yet hee must not goe away, but comands him to bee carried to the rest of the marchants, where when hee came hee found the embassadour \(^5\) from the great King of Ethiopia unto Orum Zeb prisoner and pinioned, with a great number of Banians and others in the same condition. Having set there some tyme, about halfe an hower, hee is seised upon by a cupple of black rogues and pinioned, in that extreemity that hee hath brought away thee marks in his armes with him. This [is] what hee writ and part of what hee related when wee gott him again.

The President by the messenger (one of Sevagee[s] men, as wee imagined) returned answer that hee wounded at him that, professing peace, hee should detaine an English man prisoner, and that if hee would send him home, and not to suffer his people to come soe neere his house as to give cause of suspicion, hee would hurt none of his men; otherways hee was upon his owne defence.

Upon these tearmes wee were all Wednesdy and untill Thursday about 2 at afternoon, when perceiving tops of lances on the other side of a neighbour house and haveing called to the men to depart and not come soe neere us, but thay not stirring and intending (as wee concluded) to sett fier to the house on the quarter, whereby our house would have been in most eminient danger of being fiered alseoe, the President commanded 20 men, under the command of Mr. Gerrard Augier, brother to my Lord Augier, to sally forth upon them, and another party of about soe many more to make good their retreate. They did soe, and when thay facd them judg'd them to bee about 25 horsmen

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\(^5\) For this embassay, see Sarkar's History of Aurangzeb (vol. III, p. 137), Manucci (vol. II, p. 109), Bernier (p. 134), and Valentyne (book IV, part II, p. 206).
well mounted. They discharged at them and wounded one man and one hor e, and the rest faced about and fled, but made a shift to carry off their wounded man, but the horse fell, having gone a little way. What became of the wounded man we cannot tell; but Mr. Smith saw him brought into the army upon mends shoulders and showed there to Sevagee. Tow of our men were hurt, one shot slightly into the legg with an arrow; the other, rashly parting from the rest and running on before, was cut deep over the shoulder, but (thanks to God) in a faire way of recovery.

On Wedesday afternoone a party of the enemy came downe to Hoguee Said Beg's house (the then in the Castle: one of a prodigious estate) and brake open the undefended doores and ther continued all that night long and till next day that we sallyed out upon their men on the other quarter of our house. They appeared by tow or 3 at a tyme upon the tope of his house to spy what preparations we made, but as yet [we] had noe order to fier upon them. Wee heard them all night long beating and breaking open chests and doores with great maules, but were not much concern'd for him; for had the wretch had soe much heart as to have stood upon his gaurd, the 20 part of what they tooke from him would have hiered soe many men as would have secured all the rest. When they heard that we wear abroad in the streets, they immediatly in hast deserted the house and that (as it afterwards appeared) in such hast as to leave tow bags of mony drop downe behind them; yet with intention, as they told the people they mett (such poore wretches as had nothing to loose and knew not whether to flye) to returne next day and fier the house; but that was prevented.

On Friday morning the President sent unto the Castle to Hoguee Said Beg to know whither hee would permitt him to take possession of and secure a great company of warehouses of his adjoyning to our house and which would bee of great consequence to preserve both his goods and our house. Hee testified his willingness, and immediately from the tope of our house, by help of a ladder, we entred it and haveing found [that] the enemie, haveing beene all Wednesday afternoon and night till past Thursday noone plundering the great house, had likewise entred and begun to plunder his first warehouse but were scare, soe that little hurt was done. They had tyme to carry nothing that is as yet knowne of, and only broken open certaine vessels of quicksilver which there lay spilt about the warehouse in great quantety. Wee locked it up and put a gaurd in the roome next the street, whic through help of a belcone secured by thicke plank tyed to the belcone pillers, see close on to another as noe more space was left but for a muskett to play out, was see secured as no approch could bee made againe to the doore of his great house or any passage to the warehouse but what must come under dainger of our shott.

In the afternoone on Friday Sevagee sends Mr. Smith as his messenger to our house with propositions and threats, haveing first made him oblige himselfe to returne, and withall obliging himselfe when hee did returne that hee would doe him noe hurt, whatsoever mesage hee should bring. His mesage was to send him 3 lacks of rupees (every lack is 100,000 and every rupee is worth 2s. 3d.), or else let his men freely to doe their pleasure to Hoguee Said Beg's house; if
not, threatening to come and force us, and vowed to kill every person in the house and to dig up the houses foundation. To this it was answerd by the messenger that came along with Mr. Smith that, as for his 2 propositions, he desired tyme to mak answer to them till the morrow, they being of soe great moment; and as for Mr. Smith, that hee would and did keep him by force and hee should not returne till than, when, if hee could consent to either proposition, hee would send him.

Mr. Smith being thuss returned to us, youe may bee sure each man was inquisitive to know news; whoe told us for their number they do give themselves out to bee 10,000 and they were now at least a very considerable armey since the comming of tow Rayors with their men, whosse names hee knew not: that their horses were very good (and soe indeed those wich we saw were): that when hee came away hee could not [but] guess, by the mony heaped up in tow great heapes before Sevagee his tent, than that hee had plundered 20 or 25 lack of rupees: that the day when hee came away in the morning there was brought in neere upon 300 porters, laden each with 2 baggs of rupees, and some hee guessed to be gold; that they brought in 28 sere of large pearle, with many other jewels, great diamonds, rubies, and emeralds (40 sere make 37 pound weight), and these, with an increedable quantitie of mony, they found at the house of the reputed richest marchant in the wourld (his name is Verge Vora, his estate having beene esteemed to bee 80 lack of rupees): that they were still, every hower while hee was there, bringing in loods of mony from his house. His desire of mony is soe great that he spares noe barbour[ou]s cruelty to extort confessions from his prisoners; whips them most cruelly, threatens death, and often executeth it [if] they doe not produce soe much as hee thinks they may or disires they should; at least cutts off one hand, sometymes both.

A very great many there were who, hearing of his coming, went forth to him, thinking to faire the better, but found there fault to there cost: as one whore came to our house for cure. Hee went forth to meeke him and told him hee was come from about Agra with cloth and had brought 40 oxen loaded with it, and that hee came to present him with it all or elss what part hee should please to comand. Sevagee asked him if hee had noe mony. Hee answered that hee had not as yet sold any cloth since hee came to towne, and that hee had noe mony. The villaine made his right hand to bee cutt off immediatly and than bid him begone: hee had noe need of his cloth. The poore old man returns, findes his cloth burnt, and himselfe destitute of other harbor comes to the English house, where hee is dressed and fed.

But to proceed: Mr. Smith farther tells us that on Thursday their came a young fellow with some conditions from the Governour, wich pleased Sevagee not at all; soe that hee asked the fellow whether his maister, being now by him cooped up in his chamber, thought him a woman to accept such conditions. The fellow immediatly returns "and wee are not women: I have somewhat more to say to youe," draws his dagger, and runs full at Sevagee[s] breast. A fellow that stood by with a sword redy drawne striks betweene him and Sevagee
and strikes his hand almost of, see that [it] hung but by a piece of flesh. The fellow, having made his thirst at Sewaee with all his might, did not stoop but ran his bloody stumppp against Sewaee[s] breast and with [such] force, [that] both Sewaee and hee fell togather. The blood being seen upon Sewaee, the noise run through the camp that hee was killed and the crye went "kill the prisoners"; whereupon some were miserably hacked. But Sewaee having quitted himselfe, and hee that stood by having cloven the fellows skull, comand was givein to stay the execution and to bring the prisoners before him; which was immediately done, and Sewaee, according as it come in his minde, caused them to cutt of this mans head, that mans right hand, both the hands of a 3[rd]. It comes to Mr. Smith[s] turne, and his right hand being comanded to be cutt of, hee cryed out in Indostan to Sewaee rather to cutt of his head; unto which end his hatt was taken of, but Sewaee stopt execution, and soe (praised bee God) hee escaped. There were than about 4 heads and 24 hands cutt of.

After that Mr. Smith was come away and retayned by the President and they heard the answer, hee sends the ambassador of Ethiopia, whome hee had sett free upon dillivery of 12 horses and some other things sent by his king to Oron Zeb, to tell the English that hee did intend to vissitt us and to raise the house and kill every man of us. The President resolutely answers that wee were resly for him and resolved not to stire: let him come when hee pleased, and since hee had (as hee saide) resolved to come, hee bid him come one pore [pahar] (that is about the tyme of a watch) sooner then hee intended. With this answer the ambassadour went his way, and wee heard no farther from him any more but in the terrible noise of the fier and the hideous smoke which wee saw, but by Gods mercy came not soe neere us as to take hold of us (ever blessed be his name).

Thursday and Friday nights were the most terrible nights for fier. On Friday, after hee had ransaked and dug up Verge Voros house, hee fiered it and a great vast number more towards the Dutch house; a fier soe great as turnd the night into day, as before the smoke in the day tyme had almost turnd day into night, risse soe thicke as it darkened the sun like a great cloud. On Sunday morning about 10 a clocke (as they tell us) hee went his way, and that night lay 6 cours of, and next day at noone was passed over Brooch river. 6

There is a creedable information that hee hath shipt his treasure to carry into his owne country, and Sir George Oxenden hath sent a fregate to see if hee can light of them; which God grant. Wee kept our wach still till Tuesday.

I had forgote to writt you the manner of their cutting of mens hands, which was thuss. The person to suffer is pinioned as stright as possibly they can, and then, when the nod is given, a soldier come[s] with a white or blunt knife and throws the poore patient downe upon his face; than draws his hand backward

6 *Brooch River* is of course the Narbada; but it seems hardly credible that Siváji returned by such a roundabout route.
and sets his knee upon the prisoners backe and begins to hack and cutt on on side and other about the wrest. In the meanes tyme the poore man roaret exceedingly, kicking and bitting the ground for very anguish. When the villiane perceves the bone to bee laid bare on all sides, hee setteth the wrest to his knee and gives it a snap, and proceeds till hee hath hacked the hand quite of: which done, they force him to rise and make him run as long till through paine and loss of blood hee falls downe. They then unpinion him and the blood stops."

"(To be continued.)"

THE HISTORY OF THE NIZAM SHAHÍ KINGS OF AHMADNAGAR.

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL T. W. HAIG, C.S.I., C.M.G., C.B.E.

(Continued from p. 283.)

At this time one Husain Khan, who had risen from the dregs of the people to rank and honour and was enrolled among the king's servants, and of whose affairs an account will be given hereafter, conspired with other of the courtiers to compass the downfall of Changiz Khan and by means of money bribes, and fair promises, gained over to his side a party who, with him, made it their business to slander Changiz Khan, and daily perverted and misrepresented to the king all his acts until they estranged the king from him. Among other things they said that the whole army regarded themselves as the servants of Changiz Khan and would never parade at court until Changiz Khan appeared. In order to prove this charge, they raised one of the curtains of the royal pavilion on the side to which the king faced,

Husain Khan was the vile favourite of Murtaza Nizam Shah, and is better known by his later title of Shahb Khan. He first attracted the king's attention at the siege of Narana. According to Firishta, Shah Mirza Isfahani, the envoy of Ibrahim Qutb Shah, was the prime mover in the plot against Changiz Khan. He had offered Changiz Khan a bribe of 200,000 hams to dissuade his master from invading Bidar. Changiz Khan refused the bribe saying that his master supplied all his wants and that his intention was to overthrow the king of Bidar, who was a Sunni, in order that there might be but three kings in the Dakhan, all Shafs, who would live in amity and unite to oppose any aggression from Delhi. Shah Mirza, being thus foiled, turned his attention to the favourite, and told Husain Khan that Changiz Khan intended to seize Berar for himself and to establish himself as independent ruler of the country. Husain Khan lent a ready ear to these suggestions, for the king had ordered Changiz Khan to punish him for some insolence of which he had been guilty and Changiz Khan had seen that the punishment was sufficiently severe. Husain Khan now repeated to the king Shah Mirza's accusation against Changiz Khan, but the king rebuked him and told him that he knew that he had a grudge against Changiz Khan, whereupon Husain Khan referred him to Shah Mirza himself. The king sent secretly for Shah Mirza and questioned him. The envoy repeated his accusation and Murtaza, still loth to believe it, resolved to test Changiz Khan. He feigned to be weary of his sojourn in Berar and to be anxious to return to Ahmadnagar. Changiz Khan urged him to stay for six months more, in order that the newly conquered country might become accustomed to his rule, and then to return to his capital, leaving him in charge of the administration for a time. The king regarded this proposal as confirmation of Shah Mirza's charge and from that day his manner to Changiz Khan changed. Changiz Khan, observing the change, abstained from attending court, on the plea of sickness. This only increased the suspicion against him and his master sent to him Hakim Muhammad Migri, ostensibly to treat him, but really as the bearer of a poisoned draught. Changiz Khan took the draught and, as the poison was working, wrote a letter to his ungrateful master, protesting his fidelity and recommending to him some of the Foreign amirs and his own contingent of Foreigners. After his death some letters from Shah Mirza, which proved his innocence, were found among his papers, and the king, on reading them, was overcome with grief and shame, and caused Shah Mirza to be expelled from his camp—F. ii. 267-278.
and enabled him to see the truth of the fact which they had stated. The king was at this time already becoming suspicious of his wise minister and this charge had a great effect on his mind. One of the matters which made the king suspicious of his minister, was the following. The king always took great care to inquire into the affairs of the soldiers of his army and frequently sent trusted messengers among them with this object, and, without the knowledge of Changiz Khan, would send them bags of gold with strict injunctions that these gifts were to be kept secret. As a consequence, every individual soldier who was in any need freely brought his wants to the notice of the king and profited by his profuse liberality. All this could not long be concealed, and Changiz Khan, who also inquired into the affairs of the soldiers, soon discovered it. He, having in view the necessity of protecting the royal treasury from unnecessary and extravagant expenditure, turned back many who came to court with a view to receiving gifts, and this appeared to the king to be an act of great harshness, for he regarded it as abominable that the needy should be turned away from his court. Thus the king’s distrust of his minister, fomented by the conspirators, grew day by day, until matters reached such a pitch that Changiz Khan became apprehensive for his life, and, giving up all hope, threw himself on a bed of sickness and put far from him all ambition and all zeal in the royal service. All soon became aware of the change in the king’s disposition towards his minister and each formed his opinion on it, all believing that it was the king’s unprompted will that Changiz Khan should be disgraced. Changiz Khan’s sickness now increased and his limbs swelled and suppurated. The skilful physical Hakim Muhammad Misri, who was famous for his knowledge of his art and was a trusted and intimate servant of the king, treated the patient and bled him, although his friends in their sympathy would have prevented it. But all was of no avail. The king now, hearing of the condition of Changiz Khan, set out to visit him in the sickness which he himself had caused, but the messenger of death was on the wing and made no delay in his journey, and before the king could reach his minister, Changiz Khan died and his soul hastened to its home.

Changiz Khan was distinguished for wisdom and resourcefulness above all the vazirs of his age. He was brave and highminded and in the short time during which he held the office of vakil and pishva he raised the power of the Ahmadnagar kingdom to its zenith, adding a large kingdom like Berar, with all its forts and fortified posts, to the kingdom, treated with Ibrahimm Qutb Shâh and ‘Ali ‘Adil Shâh as inferiors, and had ever before him as an object, the conquest of the kingdom of Bidar; but in the end death disappointed him of the completion of his design. At the same time that Changiz Khan died, Tufal Khan died in the fort of Lohogafr and it was an extraordinary coincidence that the coffins of these two met on the banks of the Parandi as Tufal Khan was being carried for sepulture to Elichpur and Changiz Khan’s body was being borne to Ahmadnagar.

After the death of Changiz Khan the office of vakil and pishva was bestowed on the physician as skilful as Plato (Hakim Muhammad Misri) and Sayyid Murtaza was appointed Sar-i-naubat. The royal army then returned to the capital, marching with such speed that they covered a distance of eighteen gâ‘â, that is to say thirty-six leagues, in one stage. The king, on his return to Ahmadnagar bestowed favours on the Sayyids, the Maulavis, the learned men, and the people and inhabitants generally, and now that he had leisure for his designs of conquest, he also paid attention to the wants of the army and to the learned. Maulana sadr-ud-din Tahlaqani was at this time admitted to the intimacy of the king and so progress.

201 In the original MS. a blank is left here for the date. Firishta says (ii. 271) that Changiz Khan died in A.H. 983 (A.D. 1574-75) but does not mention the day or the month.
sed in the royal favour that in a short time there was none in the court more trusted or more intimate than he. The general opinion is that it was owing to his influence that Murtaza Niğam Shâh conceived a distaste for public business and for the society of the officers of state, as will be hereafter set forth.

Another who came into prominence at this time was the learned and accomplished Qâzî Beg Tihrâni, who was appointed to the high post of Vakîl. Sayyid Murtaza was promoted from the sar-i-naubatl of the left wing to the sar-i-naubatl of the right wing, and Salâhat Khân, an account of whom will be given hereafter, was appointed to the sar-i-naubatl of the left wing. In a short time Sayyid Murtaza was raised to the degree of amir, or rather to that of amir-ul-umara, and Salâhat Khân was appointed to the sar-i-naubatl of the right wing.

At this time the king withdrew himself from public business, and carried his avoidance of it so far that he entirely shunned the company of men.

Another person who obtained promotion about this time was Husain Khân, who at length became well known under the title of Sâhib Khân. He was at first a seller of fowls, and was employed in this capacity about the royal kitchen when the king's kindly glance fell upon him, and Murtaza Niğam Shâh pitying his wretched state, raised him from the dust of disgrace to the height of honour, and his power and influence became so great that, like all mean and lowly born people so raised, he became tyrannical and oppressive and stretched forth his hands to the shedding of the blood and the unveiling of the honour of bond and free, and had even a design of sharing the kingdom, thus raising strife and disturbances which led to the ruin of the kingdom and the dispersal of its subjects, and in the course of which he perished.

In his early days of office as vakîl, Sayyid Qâzî Beg managed the affairs of the kingdom with unlimited power, under commission from Murtaza Niğam Shâh giving him absolute authority to act in all matters in his name and purporting to transfer to him the king's responsibility to God for his dealings with his people.203

The king also commanded that a 'chain of justice' should be hung in the plain of the Kûla Chabûtra and that a court of justice composed of several of the leading officers of state should sit daily in that building to hear such cases as should be brought before them. Sayyid Qâzî Beg saw that this court of requests sat, as commanded by the king, and devoted his time to serving the interests of the king's subjects, whether small or great.

At this time Ghiyâs-ad-dîn Muhammad, entitled I'tibâr Khân, who was the envoy at the court of Murtaza Niğam Shâh from 'Ali 'Adâl Shâh, displayed a forged order, purporting to be under the hand of Murtaza Niğam Shâh, to the effect that the king had bestowed upon I'tibâr Khân the jewelled waistbelt which had been received in the royal treasury from the kingdom of Vijayanagar, and that it should be given to him without delay. Qâzî Beg and the rest of the great officers of state, regarding such a gift as in keeping with the king's generosity, yet agreed that some consideration was necessary before the belt was given to

203 Firiâhta says that Murtaza Niğam Shâh, on his return to Ahmadnagar from Berar, assembled the principal Foreign amirs and told them that he was not fit to rule, as he was incapable of discriminating between justice and injustice. He feared the judgment of God, and therefore proposed to retire from the world and attempt to atone by penance for the murder of Changiz Khân. He transferred the administration of his kingdom, with all the responsibility attached to it, to Sayyid Qâzî Beg Yazdi; he took them all to witness that he was no longer responsible for the administration, and he cited them to bear witness for him to this effect at the last day. He authorized Qâzî Beg, if he could not perform his duties alone, to associate to himself Amin-ul-Mulk, Mirâz Muhammad Taqî, and Qâzîm Beg. He then retired to the Baghdad palace, where Sâhib Khân was the only person admitted to his presence—F. ii. 271, 272.
I'tibār Khān, but Mu'tabar Khān, who then held the office of Divān, submitted a petition to the king to the effect that I'tibār Khān had produced what purported to be a royal order regarding this belt, but that as its value was so high that it was not considered that anybody save the king himself could worthily receive it, further orders were awaited. In reply to this the king wrote saying that he had no knowledge of any such order as that produced by I'tibār Khān, but that as I'tibār Khān had founded his hopes on the royal generosity, the belt should be delivered to him without delay and that he should not be accused of forgery. Mu'tabar Khān did not obey the royal command that this matter should be kept secret, but published all the circumstances, so that I'tibār Khān's forgery became known to all.

When the king heard of Murtazā Khān's disobedience he degraded him from the post of divān and imprisoned him, at the same time sending the belt to I'tibār Khān. It would, in short, be impossible to recount all Murtazā Nizām Shāh's acts of generosity and munificence.

Another officer who, after the return from Berar, attained the rank of amīr was Asad Khān, who had performed eminent services in the capture of the various fortresses of Berar, especially Narnāla, and had served the artillery extremely well. After attaining to the rank of amīr, he daily advanced in the royal favour until he ultimately became vakil and pāshā.

At this time news was received by the king that a person in Berar named Firuz Shāh giving himself out to be of the 'Imād Shāhī family, had risen in rebellion, collected the scattered remnants of Tufāl Khān's army and defeated the officers who held Berar on behalf of the king, so that most of the zamindārs had forsworn their allegiance to Ahmadnagar. The king appointed Sayyid Murtazā, who had then attained the rank of amīr and was governor and jāgirdār of Bīr, to the governorship of Berar, with the rank of amīr-ul-umārā investing him with a special robe of honour.

Sayyid Murtazā marched towards Berar, and when he reached Jāhnāpūr, Jamshīd Khān, with troops under his command, joined him, and the amīrs of Berar, as he approached that country, joined him. Sayyid Murtazā, with his large army, advanced into Berar and halted not until he reached the town of Bālāpūr. When Firuz Shāh heard of the advance of the army he, realizing that he could not withstand it, fled before it, pursued daily by Sayyid Murtazā and his troops, who were only one day's march behind him. At last, weary of ceaseless wandering, he threw himself into the fort of Āmner Charbī.203

While Firuz Shāh was thus throwing Berar into confusion, bands of misguided Gonds rose in rebellion and laid waste several of the border villages. Sayyid Murtazā therefore sent Mirzā Yadgār, Chandhā Khān, and some other officers to besiege Āmner Charbī, while he, with rest of the army, marched against the rebellious Gonds with the object of laying waste Gondwāra. He destroyed several of the villages and parganas of Gondwāra and carried fire and sword through that country, while the amīrs who had been left to besiege the fort, succeeded in capturing it and slew Firuz Shāh. Sayyid Murtazā, having completed the devastation of Gondwāra and utterly subdued the rebels, returned to Ahmādnagar and had the honour of being received by the king.

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203 This is Āmner on the Tāptī, in 21° 32' N. and 76° 51' E. known as Āmner-Jalpī from a neighbour pargana town, the two parganas being always mentioned together. The 'Gonds' here mentioned are the Korkus of the Melghāt, in northern Berar, and 'Gondwāra' is their country, the Melghāt. They are always called Gonds by Muhammadan writers, an error made by the British officials appointed to administer Berar on its assignment in 1853, and for some years afterwards. They differ from the Gonds both in race and language.
Shortly after this it was reported to the king that the emperor Akbar, with an im-merable army, had entered Málwa and was there engaged in fishing in the Narhada. The king, as a precautionary measure, secretly made over Muqaffar Husain Mirzâ Bāqiqrâ, who was then at Ahmadnagar, to Asad Khán and sent with him to the borders of Berar, a large number of officers, with their troops in order that they might be prepared to resist any invasion of his dominions. Orders were also issued to Sayyid Murtaza, directing him to march with the army of Berar to the frontier and to co-operate with Asad Khán in resisting any invader.

Asad Khán with Muqaffar Husain Mirzâ and the rest of the officers set out for the borders of Berar, and Sayyid Murtaza, in obedience to the orders which he had received, assembled the army of Berar and marched towards the frontier in order to be ready to oppose the emperor Akbar. The two armies met on the bank of the Purand, which is the boundary between Bâhrânpûr and Berar, and encamped there. The amirs now decided that the presence of Muqaffar Husain Mirzâ in their camp was undesirable, and they therefore made him over to Bâhrâ Khán and sent him to the town of Darâbîpûr in Berar.

When Mîrán Muhammad Shâh, Sultan of Bâhrânpûr, heard of the approach of the army of Ahmadnagar, he sent most of his amirs, with their troops, to its support, and the armies met on the banks of the Purand, the army of Bâhrânpûr remaining encamped on the north bank while Sayyid Murtaza and Asad Khán remained on the south bank. The main body of the royal army now moved from the capital and marched to Daulatâbâd where the royal pavilion was pitched on the bank of the Qâthuqiyâh tank. Sayyid Murtaza and Asad Khán kept daily watch on the frontier at the Purandâ river, but engaged daily in hunting, while prepared at all times for battle.

Akbar's spies continually reported to him these movements and he, surprised and perturbed at this preparedness, took counsel with his amirs and the officers of his army, saying that the Nizâm Shâhi army had taken the field before him and was now ostensibly engaged in hunting without displaying any fear or alarm, and inquiring whether any of his counsellors were in favour of war. All agreed that it would not be wise to fight, for if they should defeat the army of Ahmadnagar they would have performed no great feat, while if, on the other hand, they should be defeated they would have to endure the shame of it for ever. This advice commended itself to Akbar, and he retreated. Murtaza Nizâm Shâh, acting on the principle that peace was a good thing, sent Vâfâ Khán to the court of Akbar with rich and costly gifts and thus opened peaceful negotiations.

Asad Khán and Sayyid Murtaza then retired from the frontier and joined the royal camp at Daulatâbâd where they had an audience of the king, and the royal army then returned to Ahmadnagar. Sayyid Murtaza and his officers were dismissed with much honour to Berar.

261 This report was not quite correct. On Sep. 16, 1576, Akbar set out from Agra on his annual pilgrimage to Ajmer, arriving there on Sep. 27. He marched in person as far as Dâlpûr (22° 51' N. and 75° 23' E.) in the surâb of Ujjain, and on Feb. 27, 1577, dispatched a force under Qâthâd-dîn Khán to Ghânûdesh, where Râja 'Ali Khán, who had just succeeded Muhammad Shâh II, had withheld tribute, relying on help from Ahmadnagar. Râja 'Ali Khán made his submission and the force returned. Akbar having satisfied himself that all was quiet in the Dakân, returned to Fâtûpûr Sikrî, arriving there on May 9, 1577.

262 Muqaffar Husain, one of the rebellious Mirzâs, Akbar's distant cousins, had been taken by his mother to the Dakân after Akbar had defeated the Mirzâs in Gujarât.

263 There is no river of this name, and the Tâpî River, not the Purâ Naâtî, is the boundary between Berar and Ghânûdesh.

264 This should be Râja 'Ali Khán, who had now succeeded his brother Muhammad.

265 According to Firûzâba (ii. 272) Murtaza Nizâm Shâh marched to Daulatâbâd with a force so inadequate that his advisers protested, and begged him to await reinforcements.

The Qâthuqiyâh tank was a tank constructed by Qutbâ Khân, governor of Daulatâbâd for several years under Muhammad Tughluq (A.D. 1325-1351).
LXXXII.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE REBELLION OF MUṢAFFAR ḤUSAIN MIRZĀ IN BERAR, AND OF ITS SUPPRESSION.

After Muṣaffar Ḥusain Mirzā had been sent, as seemed good to the amirs, to the town of Daryánpúr, ambitious designs began to shape themselves in his heart and, with a party whom he had attracted to himself, he fled one dark night to the borders of Gujarát. Here he was joined by large numbers of men who had served in the armies of his father and his uncle, which were now scattered over the face of the land, but assembled around him on hearing that he was once more free. He thus, in a very short time, had command of five or six thousand good horse, Mughals and others, and marched with great pomp towards Berar. On the way thither he turned aside to the country of Mirzā Yādgār and captured several elephants and horses from his jāgīr. This exploit greatly increased his reputation and prestige and his approach caused great alarm among the amirs of Berar, who assembled round Sayyid Murtaḍā and busied themselves in making preparations for war. He, with his large army, marched to meet him. Muṣaffar maintained a correspondence in which the latter professed himself the friend, and even the servant of the former, but this was a mere blind and Sayyid Murtaḍā never relaxed for one moment his preparations for battle, and was ever watching his opportunity. The armies met near the village of Anjungāon. Some of the troops of Muṣaffar Ḥusain Mirzā, who had been seduced from their allegiance by Sayyid Murtaḍā, had undertaken to desert and oppose their master in the fight, and as soon as the armies were drawn up, these troops, without attempting to strike a blow for him, marched across the field and joined Sayyid Murtaḍā. This occurrence completely cowed the rest of the Mirzā’s troops, and they broke and fled, pursued by the army of Berar, who slew large numbers of them and captured many more. Muṣaffar Ḥusain Mirzā escaped from the field with much difficulty and fled to Burhánpúr, where he took refuge, but Mirān Muhammad Shah, the ruler of Burhanpúr, as soon as he heard of his arrival, seized him and imprisoned him and shortly afterwards sent him to Jalāl-ud-din Muhammad Akbar, his old enemy, by whom he was imprisoned for life in one of the fortresses of Hindūstán. The army of Berar returned from this expedition with much spoil, taking their prisoners with them. On their return the expedition was reported to the king and with the report went the prisoners and the heads of the slain. The amirs then dispersed to their jāgīrs. The king was much elated by the joyful news of the result of this affair and bestowed robes of honour and other favours and honours on Sayyid Murtaḍā and all the amirs who had participated in the victory.

LXXXIII.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE GENERAL MASSACRE ORDERED BY MURTAḌĀ NĪGĀM SHĀH.

A.D. 1577. In this year Murtaḍā Nīgām Shāh issued orders for a general massacre in his capital. It is a matter for great surprise that such an order should have been issued by a king so merciful and so forgiving, and therefore accounts of the reasons which led to its issue display many discrepancies. Some of these accounts will, however, be related here.

In this year an order for a general massacre in the capital was issued by the king to Qasīf Beg and the other officers of state. All the wise men of the time were astonished at this order, and each, as it liked him, endeavoured to find a reason to which he could attribute its issue, for such open and flagrant tyranny and injustice by a king who had hitherto been noted for his regard for human life, his good nature, and his clemency, appeared to be most strange and incomprehensible. Many reasons and grounds were assigned to the order by popular report and rumour, and I shall now mention a few of the less unreasonable.

209 In 31° 16' N. and 77° 22' E.
210 This is not quite correct. It was Raja Ṭāli Beg of Khāndesh who captured Muṣaffar Ḥusain Mirzā and handed him over to Akbar. The Mirzā did not pass the rest of his life in prison, though he was constantly in trouble.
211 Firishtā does not mention this massacre.
Some believed that at that time the king was wont to go nightly in disguise through the streets and bazaars of the city while he declined to see the officers in state by day, and that a rumour became the common talk of the city, and it is supposed by some that the king heard some of the lower classes discussing this matter between themselves one night, and, being annoyed by the rumour, issued an order for a general massacre of the lower classes: but a wise man will readily perceive the insufficiency of this reason, for it is inconceivable that a religious king who, as will have been seen from the account already given and as will be evident from what shall be related hereafter, was most scrupulous in executing justice and in observing the commands of the sacred law, should, regardless of the accounts to be rendered by him on the day of the judgment, order a general massacre of the people merely because he had heard a few persons discussing a false and groundless rumour, while the guilt or participation of the great majority of the inhabitants had never been proved.

Some say that at the time when the general massacre was ordered, some of the royal servants whose duties kept them in close attendance on the king, noticed that close to the sleeping chamber of the king a shed was erected and the likeness of a man's head, made in copper, studded with many iron nails, was set up in the midst of this shed or pavilion, and the issue of the order for the massacre was in some way connected with these arrangements; but this seems to be scarcely sufficient to account for the issue of the order.

Some again say that the king was one night strolling around his palace, when he met near his own private pavilion a man. The matter was inquired into and the man proved to be a khādī disguised as a groom, who had obtained access to the neighbourhood of the king's private apartments under the pretence of attending to the royal horses. The king was much enraged and issued an order for a massacre of three classes of the people, (1) the lampmen, who are called in the speech of the Dakan, Deoti, and who are entrusted with the duty of keeping watch at night, (2) the grooms, who are called Dings, in the disguise of one of whom the man had obtained access to the neighbourhood of the king's private apartments, and (3) the khādīs, i.e., the royal servants. It is evident that this reason for the massacre is more satisfactory than the others that have been given.

In any case by reason of some offence known only to the Knower of Secrets, about a thousand people were sent to the next world.

LXXXIV. — AS ACCOUNT OF THE DISPATCH OF SOME OF THE AMĪRS WITH THE ROYAL ARMY TO THE COUNTRY OF 'ALI 'ĀDIL SHĀH FOR THE PLUNDER AND DEVASTATION OF THAT COUNTRY, AND THAT KING'S RETREAT.²¹²

When 'Ali 'Ādil Shāh heard that Murtaḍā Nizām Shāh had withdrawn from all participation in public business and that Changiz Khān was no longer alive, he set himself once again to stir up strife and sent an army into the Ahmadnagar kingdom to plunder and lay waste the country and slay its inhabitants. Information of the approach of the army was brought to Sayyid Qāsī Beg and he, having contrived to gain access to the king, laid the matter before him. In accordance with the royal commands, several of the amīrs, such as Bāmī Khān, Muhammad Husein Mirza, one of the bravest and most experienced soldiers of his time, some account of whom already been given, 'Ādil Khān Beg, Shāhvardi Khān the Kurī, and Malik Muhammad Khān Huravī, each of whom was a very tiger in war, were sent with an army to meet and attack the invaders. This army marched with great rapidity into the 'Ādil Shāhī dominions, laying waste the country and slaying all whom they met.

'Ali 'Ādil Shāh and his army feared to meet this enemy and, retreating hastily, took refuge in Bijāpūr and remained shut up there, declining to come forth to fight, even though the invaders laid waste the country up to the walls and arrived at the Shāhpūr gate. As

²¹² Firiṭsha makes no mention of this campaign which has perhaps been invented by Sayyid 'Alī for the glory of the kingdom of Ahmadnagar. It is, however, highly probable that some frontier skirmishes took place about this time.
the defenders would neither come forth nor open the gate, the Nīmān Shāhi amīrs returned
to Abmadnagar with large quantities of spoil and were received at court with much honour.

At this time Nī'mat Khān Sammāni, who had been the ruler of that country and had been
raised from the corner of humility to the summit of honour, being appointed to the post of chāshmāgār with the title of Nī'mat Khān, and whose power and influence with the king increas-
ed daily, was ordered to lay out a garden and dig a water-course. In a very short time he had
laid out a splendid garden and built in it a fine garden house, but those at court who envied
him represented to the king that the design of the garden-house consisted of a series of
triangles. The king at once ordered it to be destroyed, and entrusted the construction of
a new garden-house to Salābat Khān, as will appear hereafter.

At this time also the king began to show such great favour to Husain Khān that he
became an object of envy to all the amīrs, vazīrs, and courtiers, and the king’s favour and
regard towards him continued to increase so that his power and influence became firmly
established, and although the king had contracted a great distaste for seeing the officers of state
and his soldiers, so that months, nay years, passed without their obtaining permission to pay
their respects, he was never happy but in the company of that base and accursed fellow.

At this time a quarrel arose between Husain Khān the Dakani, and Husain Khān Tūnī,
who was one of the bravest men of the age, regarding the title which they both bore, and
Husain Khān the Dakani marched against Husain Khān Tūnī with a large army and several
elephants. Husain Khān Tūnī, though he had only a small force, displayed no fear of the
overwhelming numbers of his enemies, but withstood them manfully and shot an arrow up
to the notch into the forehead of a fierce elephant which came upon him, thereby turning
it back. On seeing this, the whole of the army of Husain Khān Dakani fled, and Husain Khān
Tūnī pursued them and slew many.

When the king heard of this fight, he summoned Husain Khān Dakani and gave him the
title of Sāhib Khān, giving to Husain Khān Tūnī the title of Shīr Khān.213

The wretch, Sāhib Khān, having neither nobility of disposition, nor descent, was unworthy
of the honour to which he was exalted, and the favour shown to him led to nothing but to the
 vexation of the noble, the suffering of the good, and the advancement of the wicked, as will
shortly be set forth.

When Sayyid Qāzī Beg had exercised the full powers of eakīl and pishtar for three,
or, according to some, for four years, the hand of fate brought about his downfall. A quar-
rel between him and Sayyid Murtaza214 of such a nature as was bound to end in the ruin
of the noble, began, and each devoted all his efforts to the overthrowing of the power and
influence of the other, and made injurious reports to the king regarding the other. At length
Sayyid Murtaza had recourse to Sāhib Khān and gave him a large bribe to induce him to
bring about the downfall of Qāzī Beg. Sāhib Khān could influence the king as he would,
and he first caused Amīr-ul-Mulk to be dismissed from the office of eakīl and then induced the
king to dismiss Qāzī Beg from the office of eakīl and pishtar, to imprison him in a fortress, and
ultimately to banish him across the sea to Jahrum. Qāzī Beg at last died in the country of Lār.

(To be continued.)

213 See Fīrishtā, ii. 274. Sayyid Murtaza Sahīzadā had come with the army of Perar, in which
Husain Khān Tūnī, whom Fīrishtā calls Husain Khān Tāshīzī, both Tūnī and Tāshīzī being in towns in
Khurāṣān, held a command, to Abmadnagar, and the army was encamped near the Bāgh-i Hasht Bāhisht,
in which the king was. Husain Khān Dakani sent to Husain Khān Tāshīzī an incident message, bidding
him change his title, and, on his refusing to do so, attacked him with five or six thousand horse, Fīrishtā’s
account of the fight corresponds with that given here.

214 Fīrishtā does not attribute the downfall of Qāzī Beg to an intrigue between Sayyid Murtaza
and Sāhib Khān. He says that Qāzī Beg was imprisoned on a charge of having misappropriated 200,000
hams and jewels to the value of 10,000,000 hams from the royal treasury. Murtaza Nīmān Shāh refused to
recover the money from him, released him from prison, and sent him back to his own country. Jahrum,
mentioned below, is a town in Fārs—F. ii, 276.
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threaten, (v.t.) menace  iij-ana (ke);
tâ-rita (ke).

throat, (s.)  åkâ-örma (da). (v.i.)
clear one's throat  chirâna (ke); ðiar (ke).

throb, (v.i.) pulsate  nöt (ke).

throttle, (v.t.) åkâ-pëtemi (ke).

through, (postp.) 1. in ref. to jungle-
growth, plantation, etc.  pòrowa. He
is now going through the dense undergrowth
over there  6t ächûkî rûkemô tôbo-pòrowa
lûrke. 2. t. a shield, screen, wall, etc.
tûbuli. 3. t. water  ëkëngâ. 4. throughout, all through  dilu-rêatek.
He worked throughout the night  6t ëgûruq
dilu-rêatek onjômre. 5. because of...
onj-jîg. See Ex. at owing to.

throw, (v.t.) 1. any missile  dâpi
(ke); depi (ke). 2. t. a burning brand
pûgûri (ke). This is a common practice in
serious quarrels. See shoot with a gun.
3. t. aside or away  kör (ke); ar- waichari
(ke). Throw away the Arca shell  kûrada
l'åkâ-tâ kûrke. 4. t. down, (a) as in wrestling
  âjî-po-dîli (ke); (b) any object
ôiyo-pâ-(ke). 5. t. upwards in competition
(a game)  tûtemô (ke). See game.
6. t. Cyrena shells horizontally (a game)
åkâ-kêchi (ke). 7. t. overboard  òt-
jûra (ke).

thumb, (s.)  ong-kôro-dôga (da);
ûn-dôga (da).

thump, (v.t.) tâi (ke); taia (ke).

thunder, (s.)  pûlûga-la-gôrawanga
(da). (v.i.)  gôrawa (ke). See growl
and snore.

thus, (adv.)  kian-ári (da); kichi-
kan-wai (da).

thy, (poss. pron.)  ngia (da); ngar;
ngig; ngab; etc. See App. ii. Thy canoe:
Thy husband: ang ikyâte (da). Thy own,

thine  .  .  .  .  ngêkan; ngôyun. Thyself
  .  .  .  ngôyun-bâtâm; ngôyun-têmâr.
tick, (s.) the insect  chang-tâta (da).
tickle, (v.t.)  ab-kîto (ke).
tide, (s.) 1.  .  .  .  kâla (da). 2. high-
  .  .  .  kala-chànag (da); ër-lar-to-tëpere
(at the springs), (a) at full moon
  .  .  .  ëgar-kâla (da); (b) at new moon
  .  .  .  yêchar-kâla (da). 5. low-t. (at the springs),
  (a) at full moon  .  .  .  ëgar-pâdi (da);
  (b) at new moon  .  .  .  yêchar-pâdi (da).

flood-t. (at the springs), (a) before noon
  .  .  .  ëmûl-kâla (da); (b) after noon
  .  .  .  târ-bôrong-kâla (da) 7. ebb-t. (at the springs),
  (a) before noon  .  .  .  ëmûl-pâdi (da);
  (b) after noon  .  .  .  târ-bôrong-pâdi (da).
6. 7. Neap-t.  .  .  nûro (da); (by fishermen)
  .  .  .  kâla-jàbag (da). (i.e., tide-bad).

flow. 10. Ebb-t. (generic)  .  .  .  ela-bùnga (da);
  .  .  .  kâla-bûnga (da). See dry. 11. Low-t.
at day-break (on the third or fourth day after
the new and full moon) . . . . toya (da).
This is the favourite tide for collecting shell-
fish.) 12. t-rip  .  .  .  charat (da).

tie, (v.t.) See bind, fasten. 2. t. a knot
  .  .  .  ôko-båt (ke). 3. t. together
  .  .  .  paiûda (ke). 4. t. tie up  .  .  .  rûni (ke).
5. t. tightly  .  .  .  nilip (ke). 6. t. loosely
  .  .  .  kôloga (ke).
tight, (adj.) 1. not loose or slack
nilip (da). 2. (a) t. of a line or rope
  .  .  .  f-gôra (da); (b) of a bow-string
  .  .  .  ig-yaragap-bå (da). 3. t. (a) of a stopper
  .  .  .  wêga-bå (da). (b) of a knot  .  .  .  ôto-wêga-
  .  .  .  ba (da).

till, (v.t.) See cultivate.
till, (postp.) . . . lat.; leb; He slept till
noon  .  .  .  ô bôdo-châu lat mâmire (conj.)
tôba-tek. Wait here till I return from
hunting: tôba-tek dôl út' tek kûdlikë ngô kàri
  .  .  .  támî (ke). Till now, (adv.) as yet, hitherto
  .  .  .  ëgûkà See Ex. at ascend.

ö, indolent; â, pole; ô, pot; ò, awful; ëi, boil.
timid, adj. See shy.
tin, (s.) See metal.
under, (s.) chāpa-l'ig-fpya (da).
tinkle, (v.i.) tānga (ke). (onomatopoetic.)
tip, (s.) point, end naichama (da).
See beak and end, (a) t. of the nose.
ig-chorang-naichama (da). (b) t. of a finger.
āng-kōro-naichama (da). (c) t. of the tongue.
ākā-ētel-naichama (da). (d) t. of the tail.
ar-philchama (da).
tip-toes, stand on (v.i.) ara-laija (ke).
tipsy, (adj.) ig-lēlek-tāngga (da).
See drunk and sort.
tire, (v.i.) become fatigued dam-lākā-chām (ke).
tit-bit, (s.) ākā-rārnga (da). (v.i.) partake of ākā-rār (ke). See Ex. at search.
titter, (v.i.) tūg-wējo (ke).
to, (postp.) len; lat. I gave the bow to Punga: wai dō pūngā len kārama mānre.
he has gone to the jungle: ēl ērames lat līrre.
toad, (s.) Bufo melanosticus rōpan (da). 2. toad-stool (s.) pūluga-l'arālang (da).
tobacco, (s.) dried leaf chāka (da) (adopted since 1858 from Hindustani sūkha). 
today, (s.) ka-wai (da). (adv.) ka-wai (-len); ka-wai-bōdō-len.
together, (adv.) 1. (a) of animate objects ik (pl. stick). See accompany and with.
We walked together: meda mōtik nāwre (b) of inanimate objects, side by side.
pai-paipanga (da). I found the two bows together: wai dō kārama l'ēkāpā pai-paipanga őrōtre. 2. at the same moment of time.

a, idea, cut; ā, cor.; ā, casa; ā, father; s, fathom; ai, bite; au, house; āu, roote.
simultaneously... är-úbalik. Shout together!... är-úbalik krévà (ke)! Sing together!... är-úbalik rámit-tóyuke!

token, (s.) keepsake... gàntga-yómnga (da).

tomorrow, (s.)... wainga (da); (adv.) wainga-len; waingaya. 2. t. morning... lîiti (da). (adv.) lîitiya; lîiti-len. Where are you going tomorrow morning?... tekarichà ngó lîiti-len (or lîitihe)!
3. t. evening... wainga-dìila (da). (adv.) wainga-dìila-len (or ya). 4. the day after tomorrow... târ-wainga (da). (adv.) târ-wainga-len (or ya).

tongs, bamboo- (s.)... kai (da). See App. xiii.

tongue, (s.)... àkà-étel (da).

tonight, (s.)... ká-gùrug-len (lit. "this-night-to (or in)."

tonsil, (s.)... àkà-kôrotim (da).

too, (adv.) likewise... (ùl-)bêdîg. See also. You too struck him... ngó bêdîg en (or ad ab-)pêrek. (b) in excessive degree... ò-tag; ò-tàg; dòga-bòtabô. See much and Ex. at become. 1. too long... òtag-lápanga (da). This fish-arrow is too long for his bow:… àka kàrama lèb ùcha tîrît àtag-lápanga (da). 2. too short... àtag-òñâlama (da). 3. too much, in quantity or bulk... àtag-dògo (da). 4. too little, in quantity or number, too few... àtag-yabâ (da). 5. too many... àtag-úbaba (da). 6. too large, too big... àtag-bôdia (da). 7. too small (in size, ... àtag-kêtia (da). 8. too fat... àtag-pàta (da). 9. too thin... àtag-ùnab (da); àtag-màina (da); àtag-râdeha (da). See thin. It is getting too thin:... wài àtag-ràdeha lèdàkë. 10. too late... àtag-gôli (da). 11. too early, too soon... 1... àtag-jàlwa-lingi.


tooth, (s.)... ìg-tàg (da). My tooth is aching:... ìg-tàg chámke. 2. front t. (incisor)... àkà-tàg (da). 3 back t.

(molar)... ìkà-tòchàb (da). See toe (big). 4. eye-t... ìkà-nàichàma (da).
5. t. ache... tòg-chàm (da). 6. t. less... ig-líga (da); òkó-dèria (da). 7. t. pick... èkà-nàrcèpa (da). 8. point of tooth... àkà-tàg-làr-nàichàma (da).
(adj.) toothsome... àkà-ràjà-màich (da).
top, (s.) highest part, upper side... tot-èra (da). 2. t. of a hut... bùd-lót-èra (da). 3. t. or crown, of the head (also scalp)... èkà-kàka (da). 4. t. of a tree... àkà-tàng-lót-dàla (da). 5. t. of a hill (bòrmun-l) èkà-lót-bòeba (da). See summit. (adj.) top-heavy... gùkà-gùnanga (da). (postp.) on the t. of... tot-èra len. See above, over.
topsy-turvy (adv.)... àkà-ràjà-gínga (da).
torch, (s.)... tòg-pànta (da). See App. xiii. 2. Gurjun-wood t. lâpi (da). (v. t.) make a t. tòg-pàt (ke). 2. light a t... tòg-jài (ke); lâpi (ke). 3. t. light... tòg-làr-chàl (da); èr-chòngà (da). 4. t. light, fish by... tòg-làr-chàl-tek-yàt-tàj (ke).
torment, (v. t.) See torture.
tortoise, (s.)... èkàm-lànù (da). (found in the Nicobar, but not in the Andaman jungles). 2. hawk's-bill turtle (known as tortoise)-shell... tàu-lót-èj (da).
torture, (v. t.)... târ-tòn (ke).
total (s. and adj.) See Whole.
totally, (adv.) See altogether, entirely, quite.
touch, (v. t.)... tig-èni (ke). Why did you touch the infant's foot t: michalen ngó abàrèka l'òng-pàg len tìg-ènère ? 2. t. another with honey or other sticky substance... tìna (ke).
touchwood, (s.)... chàpa-l'ìg-ùpyà (da). (lit. fire-wood-sponge).
touchy, (adj.) irascible... àjì-ràl-tàla-ginga (da).
tough, (adj.) of meat, cord, wood, etc. ... chèba (da); lâtawa (da). 2. (of meat only)... nètemoba (da).
tow, (v. t.) See drag, haul.
towards, (postp.) to, in the direction of.
... áká-tár-chág : eb. The bear is coming
towards us: ót-yërenya makat-tár-chág-ônke.
The centipede is crawling towards you: not
towards us: kárarta ng'ëb iji-chák-tegiye
mebet yába (da).
toy (s.) ... ig-ërin nga (da).
trace, (v. t.) follow by tracks (a) of human
footprints ... án-pág-ëk (ke); chóloma
(ke). See Ex. at follow. (b) of animals ...
áká-kój (ke). (s.) 1. mark, sign, vestige
... ig-lëmya (da). I discovered no trace
of their presence on that island: kát tót-bóka
len état dórëg Vég-lëmya dót-bamre yába (da).
2. (a) of human footprints ... án-pág
(da). (b) of animals ... áká-kój (da).
track, (v. t.) See trace.
tract, (s.) See area, region.
tradition, (s.) ... ¿óko-tártáknga (da).
See Ex. at forefathers.
traffic (v. t.) ... i-gal (ke).
trail, (v. t. & a.) See trace, track.
train, (v. t.) (as a dog for hunting)
... áká-ti-daï (ke). See know. Trained (p.p.)
... áká-ti-daïre.
trample, (v. t.) tread under foot
... ót-ràddla (ke). I trampled on the centipede.
... wài da kárarta l'ót-ràddlare.
transfer, (v. t.) remove from one place to another ...
... ab-tó-jal (ke). As that out-rigger canoe has little accommodation for your
wife and family transfer them to my
large canoe: kà chárimga ngài-kyáte ákédig
bang-ába lat ér-chëpawu l'edàre dia bája bòdía
len ngàt-tó-jáalke. 2. t. one's home or quarters.
... See migrate.
transfix, (v.t.) (a) with an arrow ...
del-gòroba (ke); tót-táj-(ke). (latter with
ref. to two or more.) (b) with harpoon ...
... jéràl (ke). See pierce.
transparent, (adj.) ... ig-dàuwia (da);
ig-nálama (da). See clear.
transport, (v. t.) See convey.
trash, (s.) See refuse, rubbish.

travail, (v. i.) suffer pains of childbirth ...
... ik-ig-nà (ke); ad-gin (ke).
travel, (v. i.) (a) by land ...
... á-tinga-làmu (ke). (b) by water ...
... ótò-jûrëgjë (ke). See go (by water).

tray, (s.) wooden, for food ...
The pinna
shell (chídë) is used for the same purpose as
well as for pigments, when so required.
tread, (v. t.) step on, walk on ...
rùdlù (ke). I accidentally trod on your
foot: wài dò tárjëa ngàng (pág len) rù达尔ë.
See App. ii. Ex. of "Omissions."
treat, (v. t.) (a) hospitably, with humanity ...
... áká-kât-bëringa (ke); (b) churlishly
... áká-kât-jàbsë (ke).
tree, (s.) ... áká-tàng (da). 2. fruit-t ...
... áká-tàla (da). See Ex. at barren.
3. t. lizard. See lizard. 4. t. platform for
burials. See platform.
tremble, (v. i.) from fright or horror ...
yàa (ke); (excessively) yûyuka (ke).
2. quake, of the earth ...
... iji-lële (ke).
trepang, (s.) Holothuria edulis ...
pùrud (da).
trespass, (v. i.) on tribal territory ...
el-áká-tàr-jë (ke).

tribe, (s.) ... laga-dùru (da). All the
surviving members of Woi's tribe are assem-
bled here today: ka-ùi woi ke laga-dùru.
Vég-ìtenga ting-ùbai ka-wàiìka (or to-laìre)
The Chiefs of those tribes are old men:
Kàlaga-dùru Vég-kàlak ka-màìagà wài
al-choroga (da). 2. one of the same tribe,
elow tribesman ... ab-ngjìjì (da). Those
two grey-headed women are of the same
tribe: kàt' al-tóil-palí tópòr aìngjìjì (da).
trickle, (v. i.) as from a leaky bucket ...
... lâtu (ke).
tridacna crocea (s.) ... chòwal (da).
2. T. équamosa ... Kònop (da).
trigonostemon longifolius, (s.) ...
gàgma (da). Its leaves are crushed and
applied to the bodies of those suffering from
fever, by rubbing the skin.
trim, (v. t.) a canoe, bow, etc., with an adze... lóchumdi (ke).

trip, (v. t.) cause to stumble... entúchurpi (ke); ár-chhara-ga-eni (ke). (v. i.) stumble... túchurpi (ke).

trouble, (v. t.) give trouble, be troublesome... ab-wélap (ke); áká-wélap (ke). 2. take trouble... göra (ke). 3. (s.) difficulty, fatigue... óng-wélab (da). See Ex. at climb.

troublesome, (adj.) of animate objects... ab-táklanga (da). See Ex. at infancy (exclam.) How troublesome you are!... badi dūrumaba! How troublesome you are! let me speak: badi-dūrumaba! dó yápke. See let.

truly, (adv.) indeed... óba; óba-ya.

trust, (v. t.) rely upon... óko-lóma (ke).

trustworthy, (adj.) reliable... óko-lómagā (da).

truth, speak the (v. i.)... óba-yáp (ke).

try, (v. t.) test, prove. See test. (v. i.) attempt, endeavour... tár-táng (ke). He is trying to stitch: ót jánta (len) tár-tángke. (exclam.) Try it on! (defiantly)... ár-tá-lóg-ba!

tuft, (s.) curl of hair... ót-kitngā (da).

tug, (v. t.) See pull, draw, drag. t. in opposite directions... l-jój (ke). When we were tugging (the rope) in opposite directions they unexpectedly let go, where upon we all fell down: meda'fój nga bédig éda liipi m'épótoménare, kianchá maradúru la-pare.

tumble, (v. i.) fall... pá (ke). 2. t. owing to a push or jolt... ara-gódiai (ke).

tumour, (s.) See swelling... bótā (da). with prefix ab, ig, óng, etc., according to part referred to.

turbina pyrum (s.) See App. xii.

turbo marmoratus, etc. See App. xii.

turn, (v. t.)... ig-góli (ke). 2. t. a canoe, as when steering... ártúg-tápli (ke). See expire. 3. t. over (a) place upside down... áká-rógi (ke). Let us turn that canoe over, in order to caulk it: ká róko nátpga l'éb mócho makat-róqike. (b) a pig on its back for slaughter, or for packing in leaves preparatory to conveyance... ót-rógi (ke). 4. t. round and round... (ig); kádli (ke). (v. i.) turn... iji-góli (ke). 2. t. round and round... iji-kái (ke); ad-góli (ke). 3. t. as the tide (a) after flood... ákan-tópati (ke); (b) after eb... iji-úluma (ke). (s.) t. in rotation. See first, next and Ex. at pole and steer.

turtle, (s.) (a) green or edible, Chelonia virgata... yádi (da); (b) Hawk's bill, (Careta imbricata)... tâu (da). The former are preferred for food and are the more plentiful. 2. the larger of two or more large ones (a)... yádi-búkura (da); (b)... tâu-búkura (da). 3. the smaller of two or more small ones... (a)... yádi-likér (da); (b)... tâu-likér (da).

4. a small green one, larger than a "likér"... yádi-châu-lárérìnga (da). There is no equivalent term for a hawk's bill turtle.

5. a large male turtle (a)... yádi-búla-lókotma (da); (b)... tâu-búla-lókotma (da).

6. a large female turtle (a)... yádi-péro (da); (b)... tâu-péro (da).

7. a full-grown young green turtle (m. or f.)... yádi-árbód-lóyo-tólna (da). 8. t. that has laid eggs (a)... yádi-líjnìng (da); (b)... tâu-líjnìng (da). 9. fat description, said to be impotent (a)... yádi-péko (da); (b)... tâu-péko (da).

This description is preferred for food, the females of this class are called yádi (or tâu) l'ártóm (da) respectively. 10. t. (known as "tortoise")-shell (of commerce)... tâu (l'ót)-dî (da). 11. t. harpoon... kówái-lóko-dúnta (da). See App. xiii. 12. t.
net . . . . yoto-tepinga (da). See App. xiii.
(v. t.) t., hunt (a) by poling along the shore . . . . yadi-lohi (ke); (b) in deep water . . . . yadi-tu (ke); jiru-tu (ke).
(v. i.) obtain t. eggs when buried in the sand . . . . yadi-mola-kamaj (ke). See Scoop.

tusk, (s.) of boar . . . . . ig-pilicha (da).

tut ! . . . . . cho!

twice (adv.) . . . . ikpor.
twig, (s.) for burning . . . . tongta (da).
twilight, (s.) (a) at dawn . . . . (da) wanga (da); (b) at sunset . . . . el-akadanya (da); er-l-akadawia (da). See App. x.
twine, (v. t.) See twist. (s.) string . . . . mol-a (da). See smoke and note distinction.
tinkle, (v. i.) (a) of a star . . . . beola (ke); (b) wink or blink as the eye-lids . . . . ji-bebingik (ke).
twins, (s.) . . . . ab-didinga (da). The woman gave birth to twins yesterday: dileachana ab-didinga l’ab-etire.
twist, fibres 1. as in making fine lines . . . . kit (ke). 2. as in making a bowstring or harpoon-line . . . . ig-maia (ke).
two, (adj.) . . . . ikpor (da). Why did not you two go there together? . . . . michaden neged ikpor kato ngitikre yaiba (da)? See few.

ugly, (adj.) . . . . ig-mugu-jabag (da); i-ta (or dada)-jabag (da).
ucele, (s.) sore . . . . chum (da); with prefix, oti, ab, ong, etc., according to part referred to. See wound.
unable, (adj.) . . . . chak-jabag (da), with prefix ab, ar, ong, etc. according to part of the person referred to. See cannot.
unaccustomed, (adj.) . . . . i-chaglinga (da).

unacquainted with, (adj.) ignorant of (a) as of a language . . . . kalenga (da); (b) as of some art . . . . lunga-ba (da). We are unacquainted with (the art of) tattooing:

meda yilinga len langaba (da). See ignorant
unarmed, (adj.) . . . . chachanga-ba (da).
unashamed, (adj.) . . . . tek-inkga-ba (da).
unaware, (adj.) . . . . ti-dinja-ba (da).
unawares, (adv.) . . . . lilpi (da).
unbaked, (adj.) of a newly-moulded pot . . . . galpa (da).
unbroken, (adj.) sound . . . . ot-gorojim (da).
unbind, (v. t.) . . . . ot-welaaji (ke).
uncle, (s.) . . . . maia. See App. viii.
unclean, (adj.) . . . . See dirty.
uncensored, (adj.) . . . . ot-chatinga-ba (da).
unclothing, (v. t.) . . . . wiriiti (ke).
unclose, (v. t.), unfasten (e.g. a parcel) . . . . ot-welaaji (ke). See open.
unclothe, (v. t.) . . . . lupuji (ke).
unclothed, (p.p.) See naked.
unclothing, (adj.) . . . . mero-l’ar-tali-mare. 2. said either of day or moon-light night, when no clouds are seen . . . . erp’ar-lingire.

uncomfortable, (adj.) . . . . galatanga (da).
unconscious, (adj.) . . . . (ong.) letaringa (da); (ong-) letainga (da). See Ex. at during.
uncooked, (s.) . . . . rocha-ba (da).

See raw.

uncover, (v. t.) a bundle . . . . ot-ialpi (ke).
uncovered, (p.p.) of a bundle . . . .
ialpire. 2. bare, naked . . . . kalaka (da). with prefix, oti, ab, etc., according to part of the person referred to.
under, (postp.) underneath. 1. . . .
tar-mugum-len. My hand-net is under your sleeping-mat: nigia parepa tarmugum-len dia kud (da). See below. 2. under the shade of. See beneath . . . . ch-er-tegi-len, (s.) underside of mat . . . . ar-ete (da). See outside.

undergrowth, (s.) . . . rûkemo (da).
črem-bâ (da).
understand, (v.i.) daï (ke). I don't understand what he is saying: īg-yâñgâ târchî yâtê dô daïke yâba (da).
undo, (v.t.) See unfasten, unravel, undress, (v.t.) See take off, unclothe.
uneasy, (adj.) See anxious.
uneatable, (adj.) . . . mänknga-lôyû-ba (da).
uneven, (adj.) 1. not level, of land . . . ēr-l'ôt-kôtaq-yo (da). 2. rough, as the bark of a tree . . . ōt-rêñî (da). 3. not planed, of a bow or bucket . . . pórrnga-ba (da).
unexpectedly, (adv.) See suddenly.
unfasten, (v.t.) . . . ōt wêlaiij (ke).
unfathomable, (adj.) . . . jîru-dôga (da).
ar-wôdlinha (da).
unfavourable, (adj.) of wind or tide . . . àkâ-tângna (da); ār-dûdungâba (da); ār-lûadingba (c'â).
unfinished, (adj.) . . . ār-lûnga-ba (da).
unfit, (adj.) unsuitable . . . yôma-ba (da); nôma-ba (da); unfit for food . . . mänkngâ-lôyû-ba (da).
unfold, (v.t.) a mat . . . wirla (ke); lôrai (ke).
unforgiving, (adj.) . . . ép-tîg-lâinga-ba (da).
unfortunate, (adj.) . . . ōt-yâñgna-ba (da).
unfrequented, (adj.) . . . el-ôt-châtîma-ba (da).
unfriendly, (adj.) . . . ąko-dûbunnga-ba (da); īg-mûtîlinga-ba (da).
unfruitful, (adj.) of a tree . . . ār-bântângâ-ba (da).
unfurled, (v.t.) See unfold.
ungenorous, (adj.) 1. in regard to food . . . ōn-yât-jâbag (da). 2. in regard to presents . . . ūn-rân-ba (da).
illiberal.
unhappy, (adj.) . . . See depressed, sad.
unhook, (v.t.) . . . eb-tot-mânî (ke).
unhurt, (adj.) . . . tôlema (da).
uninhabitable, (adj.) . . . bûdunga-lôyû-ba (da).
uninhabited, (adj.) . . . bûd-l'âr-lû (da); bûd-l'ôt-kûlaka (da).
unison, in (adv.) concord of sound . . . ēr-ûbâ-lik. See Ex. at together.
unite, (v.t.) cause to adhere . . . ōyu-mâlî (ke). See adhere and stick.
unkind, (adj.) See unfriendly.
unknot, (v.t.) See unfasten and unravel.
unknown, (adj.) . . . tî-dàinga-ba (da).
unless, (conj.) if not . . . môda . . . yâba (da). See Ex. at hold. Unless you fetch him (then) he will not come: môda ngô ad abômokê yâbaâgâ ot ônke yâba (da).
unlike, (adj.) . . . ig-lâ (da).
unload, (v.t.) of a canoe . . . (ēr)-ôî (ke).
unloose, (v.t.) unfasten; . . . ōt-wêlaiij (ke).
unlucky, (adj.) . . . ōt-yâñgna-ba (da).
unluckily, (adv.) . . . ōt-yûb-yaba-len.
unmarried man, (adj.) (a) bachelor . . . ab-warâ (da). (b) not married ad-eninga-ba (da); ŭng-tâg-ba (da). See App. vii.
unmarried woman, (adj.) (a) spinster . . . ab-jadî-jôg (da). (b) not married . . . ab-îngâ-ba (da).
unornamented, (adj.) plain . . . ab-lôpa (da).
unpack, (v.t.) a bundle. See unloose
unknot.
unpalatable, (adj.) . . . See insipid.
unpleasant, (adj.) . . . See disagreeable.
unpopular, (adj.) of a person generally disliked . . . ōt-rê-ba (da).
unpunctual, (adj.) dilatory . . . ar-gô-linga (da).
unravel, (v.t.) . . . ōt-wârê (ke).
unripe, (adj.) of fruit . . . chim’iti (da), also applied to raw meat; pûtung-êj (da) (lit. black skin); tîrîpa (da) (lit. sour).
unroll, (v.t.) of a mat ..... (ót-)wirla (ke).

unsafe, See dangerous.

unsavoury, See tasteless, insipid, nasty.

unserviceable, (adj.) 1. of bamboo, cane, wood, leaves or weapons, through unsoundness ..... rūka (da). See bow, 2. of a canoe or log through age ..... būdana (da); nādel-bal (da). See worn out. 3. of any kind of jungle material through unsuitability for purpose required ..... kōta (da). 4. of iron or other metal owing to some defect ..... mō (da).

unskilful, (adj.) ..... ūn-jābag (da); ōng-yōmaba (da).

unstring, (v.t.) (a) a bow ..... á-tōlī (ke); (b) shells, etc., of personal ornaments ..... īnpuji (ke).

unsuccessful, (adj.) 1. in searching for any object animate or inanimate on land or sea ..... á-lāmainga (da); ig-naimanga (da). 2. in the pursuit of some object which has been sighted ..... á-lāmyanga (da). 3. in searching for something which has been lost ..... ār-elōt-nūyunga (da).

unsuitable, (adj.) ..... yōmaba (da).

See Ex. at bow of canoe and unfit.

untattooed, (adj.) ..... ab-lūta (da).

untested, (adj.) of a bow, etc. ..... yōngONGa-bal (da).

untie, (v.t.) See unfasten and unloose.

until, (conj.) ..... tōba-tek. Until we shot that pig we had no food: tōba-tek meda kārōgo lat taiyre mōtot paichalen yātāyō (da). (postp.) ..... leb; lat. We stayed there until noon: bōdo-chān lat med ilan tamir. See till.

until now, (adv.) ..... ūōgākā.

untrained, (adj.) ..... ūntig-jābag (da); ākā-ti-daingaba (da).

untrue, (adj.) ..... ā-tedinga (da); āha-yāhā (da). See of course.

untrustworthy, (adj.) ..... ōko-lōmanga-bal (da).

untruth, (s.) See lie, falsehood.

untwine, (v.i.) untwist ..... (ót-)wirla (ke).

unusual, (adj.) 1. not customary ..... ad-ūranga-bal (da); kānwai-yāba (da). See uncommon. 2. as to character, kind, size, etc. ..... ar-tāngaba (da).

unwashed, (adj.) ..... (ót-)chātngabal (da).

unwell, (adj.) ..... ad-ūjābag-tāngga (da).

See sick and sort.

unwholesome, (adj.) See unpalatable.

unwilling (adj.) reluctant ..... (ót-)kūk-tā-ōroki (da); (ót-)kūk-tārājābag (da). 2. unwilling to go ..... i-jēchenga (da).

up, (postp.) higher in place, upwards ..... tot-ēr-ā-len; ēhal-len. See spring, (adv.) up aloft, up there ..... tāng-len; mōρo-len. See above, bridge, overhead and sky. Up hill: kāgalæsa (da). Up to the present (adv.) ..... ūgākā. (exclam.)

Get up! ūōnu-ōbi!

upon, (postp.) See on.

upper, (adj.) uppermost ..... tot-ēr-ā-līgā (da). 2. Upper side of mat, etc., koktār (da). See inside, as when rolled it is inside. (s.) upper-arm ..... ig-kūrupi (da),

upright (adj.) See erect.

uproar, (s.) See quarrel.

uproot, (v.t.) ..... ar-lōtī (ke). See root up, extract.

upset, (v.t.) overturn, of a bucket, etc., ar-gōdāi (ke); ātō-wēdāi (ke). (v.i.) ara-gōdāi (ke); ātō-wēdāi (ke). See capsize and spill.

upside down, (adv.) ..... (ót-)wēdāiyā. (v.t.) turn upside down ..... ākā-rōgi (ke). Ātō-wēdāi (ke). See ex. at turn, (v.i.) ātō-wēdāi (ke).

upwards. See up.

urethra, (s.) ..... ālū-lār-lōg (da). See urine and channel.

urge, (v.t.) ..... ab-ŋe (ke).

urgent (adj.) pressing ..... ār-tīg-gūjunga (da).

urinate, (v.i.) ..... ār-ūl (ke).

urine, (s.) ..... ār-ūl (da).
us, (pron.) mëlōchik-len, (in constr. met.) mad; mat. Us all (a) of three or more met-ār-dūru-len. (b) of a community marat-dūru-len (e) of a large number matūbahā-len.

usage, (s.). See custom.

use-up, (v.t.) consume autinga (ke). I have used up the whole of my bees-wax in making this quantity of sealing-wax. man kāngatākūj i-teginga bēdiq vai dō dā aja-pij ting-ūbai autingare.

use of for the (postp.) ia-lōyu. I am making this bow for Woi's use vai dōl ācha kārama woi i' t'a lōyu köupe. What's the use of it? (lit. what kind (of) advantage?) mīchība pōlōk tāgke?

useful, (adj.) lōnga (da); ōng-yōmnga-lōyu.

useless, (adj.) ōng-tē (da); lōnga-ba (da). See unserviceable.

usually, (ady.) habitually, in the habit of ōko-jāranga (da). The ancestors of those Balawas usually lived in that neighbourhood kā balawā fōngkūlāk lōt-maiqua kōt'ōngpālen ōko-jāranga būdure. From the kitchen-middens we know that our ancestors usually ate (were in the habit of eating) oysters bād-tārām tek med'īdal-īdāike aña mōt maiqua lōīńa ōko-jāranga lēre.


uterus, (s.) ōt-ārain (da).

uvaria microanth, (s.) ārta-tāt (da). The fruit is eaten and the stem is used for the frame and handle of the hand-net. See App. xiii.

uvula, (s.) ākā-tedimo (da).

uxorious, (adj.) ōko-pōchotinga (da).

V

vacant, (adj.) unoccupied, of a hut. See empty.

vain, (adj.) conceited ābala (da).

valley, (s.) pārag (da).

valuable, (adj.) ār-inga (da).

d detailed, (adj.) ār-inga-ba (da).

vanish, (v.t.) ādāl-ōkō-ti-kāj (ke).

See disappear.

vanquish, (v.t.) otolā-ōmo (ke).

vapour, (s.) (a) jungle mist pūlīa (da). (b) steam bōag (da).

various, (adj.) (a) diverse. See different.

distinct, (b) several. See several.

vary, (v.t.) gōlai (ke).

vaunt, (v.t.) ara-gāli (ke).

vein, (s.) in anatomy yīnga (da). Prefix ōng, ar, etc., according to part of person referred to.

vengeance, (s.) ān-tī-len (da).

venom, (s.) tūg-la-chōto (da).

ventral fin, (s.) ākā-wād (da).

venture, (v.t.) i-tār-mil (ke). I am going to venture there to-morrow lītinga dōkāo d'ijilī d'itārmilke.

venturesome, (adj.) i-tār-mil (da); ōyun-tepe-gōringa (da).

venus meroeste, (s.) márēd (da). v. (!) another description mālto (da).

These shell-fish are cooked and eaten.

vermilion, (s.) chērama (da).

vertebra, (s.) 1. ab-gōroh-tā (da). See spine and bone. 2. ar-ēte-tā (da). See loin and behind, also App. ii. 3. cervical āt-lāpta (da).

vertigo, (s.) ālam-janga-yōma (da) ig-lēleka (da).

very, (adv.) 1. in a high degree tāpā (ya); bōtaba; deloba. e.g., very heavy inna deloba. very strong i-gōra bōtaba, very good shot (marksman) ān-tajnga tāpaya. He climbs very well. āl gātāke bōtaba. 2. actually. really āba (ya). e.g. the (this) very same ācha āba (ya). The very same man who came here yesterday died suddenly this morning dīlā kārīn būla ān-yāte ācha-āba dilmaya līlīpōkōtere. that very same kāt'āba (ya). very well! all right! wai! ōno!
vessel. steam- (s.) . . . . bérm-a-chëlewa (da). (b) sailing-v. . . . . chádi-chëlewa (da); Aka-chádi (da); chëlewa-l'akà-dàdi (da). The first two usually refer to small and the last to large sailing vessels

vestige, (s.). See trace.

vex, (v.t.). See annoy, irritate.

vibrate, (v.i.) as a bow-string . . . . atrás-kilti (ke).

vice, (s.) depravity . . . . ót-jàbàg-yòma (da). See quality.

vicinity, (s.). See neighbourhood.

vicious, (adj.) depraved . . . . ót-jàbàg (da).

vistuals, (s.) . . . . yàd (da), (in constr. yát); máknga-tà (da).

view, (s.) . . . . el-ót-wàlìga (da). From here there is a clear view: kàre-tek elót-wàlìga ót-tàlimare.


village, (s.) temporary (a) . . . . chàng (da), (b) permanent . . . . bàrài (da), also arge communal hut.

vìrgin, (s.) . . . . ót-lekings (da). See poor.

virtue, (s.) . . . . ót-bëringa-yòma (da). See quality.

virtuous, (adj.) moral, worthy, honourable . . . . ót-bëringa (da).

visible, (adj.) . . . . él-wàlak (da); ijì-wàlak-tëngìga (da). See Ex. at cloud.

visit, (v.t.) another under ordinary circumstances . . . . i-kàka (ke). See Ex. at once: ar-lòi (ke). See Ex. at something. 2. v. another for the sake of food or presents . . . . yát-lòi (ke). 3. v. an encampment in order to dance and sing . . . . jeg-ìk (ke). 4. v. a place under ordinary circumstances . . . . (ér) tál (ke). 5. v. a woman secretly at night . . . . lámù-kìni (ke). We visited that place yesterday for a dance: meda dììla kàló jeg-ìkù. He left yesterday in order to visit a place which he had not seen for a long time: a dììla adlòmtare ér mat-aigbáyìa l'igbáàdìnga-yàbà-lénlà gùndà l'édàrè.

visitor, (s.) . . . . i-kàkàngà (da).

voice, (s.) . . . . akà-tegi (da).

volley, (s.) of arrows or bullets . . . . ár-körgi (da).

voluntarily, (adv.) . . . . òkó-kùg-tëk.

volunteer, (v.i.) ab-yàr (ke).

vomit, (v.t.) . . . . akà-tùdìya (ke). (v.i.) ad-wè (ke), (s.) akà-wè (da).

voracious, (adj.) . . . . ig-ràlìga (da); ig-ròpongà (da).

voyage, make a (v.i.) . . . . ótò-jùrù-tegi (ke). See Ex. at should.

W

waddle, (v.i.) . . . . ótò-gìgià (ke).

wade, (v.i.) . . . . ad-ìkè (ke).

wag, (v.i.) swing to and fro . . . . ìjì-yìrí-xà (ke). The dog's tail is wagging: bìbì l'ar-ìjìchìgàm ìjì-yìrí-xà (ke).

waist, (s.) . . . . ótò-kinàb (da). Waist-belts in general . . . . ár-ëtaingà (da). For the different varieties worn by one or both sexes see belt and App. xiii. One not wearing any w-belt . . . . ah-lúpà (da). See unornamented. w-belt charm, worn round the waist . . . . ótò-chàngà (da). (v.i.) w-belt, take off . . . . lúp (ke); lòpùji (ke).

wait, (v.t.). See await (v.i.) rest in expectation . . . . tòbàte-kójì (ke). 2. remain, stay . . . . támì (ke), wait a little! tòlàba! See already. Wait a little! there's a little remaining to do (it's nearly finished): wàì tòlàba / kànyà.

wake, (v.t. and v.i.). See awake, awaken.

wale, (s.) mark of a stripe . . . . ìtìtìngà (da). See stripe.

walk, (v.i.) . . . . nàì (ke). If one were to start for the coast at day-break one might perhaps, by walking all day, reach it in the evening: móda ìla-nàmìngà bùd tél tót-gòra-len nììngà-bèdèg tìlìk dììla-len dàlaq (ke). 2. w. on tip toes . . . . ára-ñìjìà (ke); ára-ñà (ke). 3. w. round, make a circuit. See go round. 4. take a walk or go for a walk . . . . yàngà (ke); ì-ùl (ke); ìlìgààbà (ke).
wall, (s.) (temporary) leaf (a) bigadinga (da). This is erected on the weather side of a hut as protection from rain or keen wind; (b) kómla (da). This is a similar erection but extends all round the hut when further protection is needed; it is also applied to walls in civilized buildings.

wallow, (v.i.) of a pig ad-lada (ke); ad-yátara (ke). See dirt, mud.

walnut-tree, (s.) (Indian) Albizzia Lebbek chátó (da).

wander, (v.i.) roam, stray ēr-lúma (ke).

wane, (v.i.) of the moon ōgar-lár ēr-ōdowà (ke).

waning moon, (s.) ōgar-lár-ōdowângâ (da).

want, (v.t.) desire, feel need of en-ā (ke). reflex. (this must not be confounded with “en-ā (ke)”, cause to give “which is unrellexive.”) Do you want my bow? an ngó dí à karáma nge-ndè èké. As we are going to visit that small island we want your canoe; kót-ló-kichà lá ér-tálaqí lédârâ méd’ niyà níkó m’et-ke. See crave, desire and just. (v.i.) be needy, be lacking pítal (ke).

wanting, (p.a.) lacking, missing pítainga (da). As many more have just arrived pork will be wanting (lacking) tún-jíbabé at-gói akát-tí-díóngâ lédârâ reg-dàma pítainga (da).

warm, (adj.) ùyà (da).

warm, (v.t.) anything ót-ùyà (ke). (e.g. cooked food). (v.i.) warm one’s self ad-ùyà (ke).

warn, (v.t.) give notice of danger ab-chéálí (ke); ékan-tig-óyu (ke). 2. caution yábngà-l’ítái (ke). 3. w. off, beckon away ab (or i-ka) (ke).

warp, (v.t.) en-tóka (ke). (v.i.) tóka (ke).

wart, (s.) òlâ (da). with prefix ab, óng. etc., according to, part of the body referred to.

was, (v.i.) edârâ, the perf. form of the obsolete verb edâké (to be) Punga when a young man was strong: wài pìngâ

abúra bédì yóra lédârâ. 2. verb. suffix ka. See p. 6. footnote 15.

wash, (v.t.) chát (ke). 2. by merely pouring water over another ab-élá (ke). (v.i.) ad-chát (ke). 2. by pouring water over one’s self ad-élá (ke).

See bathe.

wasp, (s.) tól-yükâr (da). 2. mason’s wasp bútma (da).

waste, (v.t.) squander en-té (ke). (v.i.) lose bulk maina (ke).

watch, (v.t.) look after an encampment during the absence of others igláàlái (ke); el-âkà (or ér-l’ig)-bâdí (ke). (v.i.) keep w. ótò (or iij-lálaí (ke). See look out.

watchful, (adj.) on the watch igláalângâ (da); ēr-gèlëp (or gèlëngâ (da). See also vigilant.

water, (s.) fresh (in contradistinction to sea-water) ñu (da). 2. spring-w. bén (da); salt-w. râta (da).


low-w. See tide. w-fall ñu-ina-l’ár-châr (da). See spring. w-fowl télýu (da). 10. w. hen bârá (da); 11. w. holder. See bucket and App. xiii. (adj.) w-tight ár-kôla (da). (adv.) by water (a) if by sea jùru-en; (b) if by creek jîglen. (v.t.) ákà-yîrîp (ke), (v.i.) of the eyes t’la-wëjëri (ke). See tear and issue. 2. of the mouth ákà-râjí (ke).

See saliva. 3. draw w. at pool or stream. ik-ôlu (ke).

wave, (s.) of the sea pátârâ (da).

wave, (v.t.) brandish ig-wil (ke).

wax, (s.) bees-(a) white ája-pîj (da). (b) black tôbul-pîj (da); lëre (da). See App. xiii. and Ex. at caulk. 2. sealing-wax kángà-tâ-búj (da). See comb and Ex. at use-up. 3. ear-w. ákà-yá-mûró-win (da). (v.t.) make wax l’-tëgï (ke). See Ex. at use up.

wax, (v.i.) of the moon ōgar-lâwalâga (ke). See App. x.
way, (s.) road, path . . . . tinga (da). Which way (by which path) are you going?
tenchá tinga tek ngá likke? On the w. (a) by land . . . . tinga-len. (b) by creek . . . . jí-g-len; (c) by sea . . . . jí-rú-len. On the way there we saw several turtles and porpoises, but did not harpoon any: kúlik jí-rú-len meda yádi ól'édig chójá jí-baba iti-gádiggeré, dôna d'átre yába (da) (adv.) All the way . . . . tinga-dúru (da). See Ex. at each. In this way . . . . kí-an-ári (da). Do it in this way: kí-an-ári óiyo (ke). In that way: kí-an-úba (da). See App. I. (v.i) make way . . . . ad-óchári (ke). 2. make a w. (a path) . . . . tinga-l’ót-wal (ke). 3. clear the w. . . . tinga-ɓúj (ke). 4. show the w. . . . tinga-ći (ke). 5. describe (tell) the w. . . . tinga-l’itái (ke). 6. lead the way . . . tinga-l’hóko (or l’ót)-lá (ke).

waylay, (v.t.) . . . . är-jiríba (ke).

we, (pron.) . . . . mólochik (in constr. mó’l’); meda; med’; m’. We all (of three or more) . . . . mó’é-dúru (da); med’-árdúru (da); már-árdúru (da). We all (of a community or tribe) . . . . már-árdúru (da). We all (of a large number of persons) . . . . mát-úba (da). None of us have (lit. “we all have not”) ever ascended Barren Island volcano: már-árdúru taili-chápa-len eda káyátre yába (da).

weak, (adj.) of animate objects . . . . ab-málái (da); ab-tóroki (ca). 2. of inanimate objects . . . . málái (da); tóroki (da).

wealthy, (adj.) . . . . ari-héjirí (ke).

wean an infant, (v.t.) . . . . ká-mráij-
1’ig-ána (ke). (Lit. milk-forbid.)

wear, (v.t.) any ornaments or clothing . . . . ab-yóm (ke); ab-láti (ke). 2. on the head . . . . iji-gó (ke); ig-yóm (ke); 3. round the waist . . . . ár-étaí (ke); ár-yóm (ke). 4. round the neck . . . . ákan-étaí (ke); aká-yóm (ke). 5. round the arms . . . . i-chó (ke). 6. round the legs . . . . är-chó (ke).

Weary. See fatigued.

weather, (s.) lit. sky . . . . móró (da). See calm, clear, cold, fine, hot, stormy.

What kind of weather had you while staying at Mpöö? ngó mpöö ngólinga bédi kichika móró (da)? To day the weather is favourable for turtle hunting: ka-wáí yádi jóbinga l’eb móró bérínga (da).


weave, (v.t.) . . . . t’é-pi (ke).

web, (s.) spider’s . . . . nágóngá-kúd (da).

web-footed, (adj.) . . . . péketo (da).

wed, (v.t. and v.i.) See marry.

wedding, (s.) . . . . ad-eri (da).

wedge, (s.) . . . . i-táninga (da).


weep, (v.i.) . . . . t’é-kik (ke). 1. See cry.

2. weep bitterly . . . . t’é-la-(ig-) réta (ke), with special ref. to their custom of expressing their joy at reunion with relatives or friends after a long separation by sitting with their arms round, one another’s necks and sobbing for even an hour or more. When he heard (lit. on hearing the news,) that his wife was dead he wept bitterly: ól ékan pail okólínga tártí idáninga bédi t’íla.

weight, (v.t.) ascertain heaviness of . . . . (i-) tár-tál (ke). See measure.

weight, (s.) heaviness . . . . iná-yómá (da), see quality; dálá (da).

well, (s.) fresh-water hole . . . . iná-l’ig-
bang (da).


2. well-behaved . . . . óko-túbunga (da).

3. w-made (a) of a human-being . . . . ab-
cháu-béríngara (da); ab-dála-béríngara (da)-
(b) of a weapon, utensil, etc . . . . ig-
béríngara (da). 4. w-polished . . . . chúlu-
béríngara (da); gelígama-béríngara (da). See abscond and polish. (adv. and conj.) as well as (a) not less than . . . . är-tá-lóg-

lik. See Ex. at “as well as.” (b) together with . . . . öl-bédig. Well done! . . . . káká-tek! tát!

west, (s.) . . . . tår-múgu (da). See south for S. W. wind and S. W. monsoon.

wet, (adj.) (a) from rain . . . . öto-pûlure. (b) from other causes . . . . öto-inare. (c) drenched in water-logged canoe . . . . öto-dûnure. (v.i.) get wet, (a) from exposure to rain . . . . öto-pûlu (ke). (b) from water in a canoe . . . . öto-dûnu (ke). (c) from other causes . . . . öto-ina (ke). (s.) Wet monsoon. See monsoon.

whale, (s.) Physceter macrocephalus . . . . biriga-tà (da). This morning, while we were all bringing in the turtles which we had netted during the night, a whale suddenly rose to the surface near us caused the canoe to capsize, whereupon all the turtles escaped: dîlnaya mar’dàru yàdî-lông-kalâk gärng-yà yîto-tëpinga-ten pânê-yàte akat-wêrnga-bâtig biriga-tà lîpi laqà ýalângu rôko l’en-ölto-rôgire, kîanchâ yàdi yàrdîru la adôteire.


Give me whatever is fit to eat, I’m hungry, min mûkna-tônu-yàte d’en â, woi d’âkà-gärngà (da). (b) all that (lit. what is bad also?) . . . . michima jábâg-bâtig. Bring me whatever you can from that place: kató-tek michima-jábâg-bâtig den tôyuke.

whatever time, at (rel.) at such time as . . . . kîanch-ê-úbalik. See Ex. at same and time.

whelie, (v.t.) coax, cajole . . . . ngète (ke). He wheedled you all yesterday: öl dîla ney ardîru ngètère.

whelze, (v.i.) breathe huskily . . . . ûnyu (ke).

when, (adv.) (a) at what time (interrog.) . . . . tain (da). When are you going home?: tain ngô wëjke? (exclam.) (Pray) when did I do it? (as when accused of some offence) . . . . tain wàno! at such time as (rel.) . . . . kîanch-ê-úbalik. See Ex. at time. (c) whenever, at the very time that, whenever (rel.) . . . . òna. When he is angry (then) I am afraid: òna ô tîgrêlu ngô d’addàk. (contin. part.) at the time that, while . . . . nga-bâtig. He fell when climbing: öl gûntungu-bûtig päre. See while.

whence, (adv.) from what place (interrog.) . . . . michima (êr) -tek; tekarichâ-tek.

Whence have you come? ngô michima-êr tek ônre? (rel.) . . . . mîn-tek. Whence Woi came thence am I come: mîn-tek woi ônre öl-bêtig-tek dîl.

whenever, (adv.) See when (c), time (12), and Ex. at same.

where, (adv.) (a) at what place (interrog.) . . . . tân (da). Where is it?: ba tân ? Where is he living?: ó tân bûndîke? (b) to what place, whither . . . . tekarichâ (da).

Where are you (going)? : tekarichâ ngô? (e) wherever (rel.) . . . . mînya. Where you go there also will Bira go: mînya ngô lîrke öl-bêtig bîr’ya. See also Ex. at there and App. i.

whereabout, (adv.) . . . . michima-êcrya.

whereupon, (adv.) in consequence of which . . . . kîanchâ (da). See Ex. at tug and whale.

0, indolent: ö, pole: ò; pot: ó, awful: öî, boil.
whet, (v. t.) sharpen (a) in ref. to a blade, tool, etc. ... ig-jít (ke), see sharpen; (b) in ref. to the tusks of a boar ... ig-rír (ke).

whet-stone, (s.) ... tálag (da). See App. xiii.

whether, (pron.) (a) which ... tenchá (da). Whether is the larger the sun or the moon? tenchá bódia an bódó an ógar (da)? (b) (conj.) if, in case ... an. Whether he is angry or not, never mind: an ól tigrél an yába, úchin dáke.

which (a) (interrog. pron.) ... tenchá (da). Which stone hurt your foot? tenchá tailí la ng'óngre? See App. ii. Omissions, also hurt and Ex. at how and that (dem. pron.) (b) (rel. pron.) ... áte (da); yáte (da). The canoe which you see is mine: róko ng'íg-bádiq-áte wai dá (da).

while, (cont. part.) denoting during or at the time that, when ... nga-bédig. It is not customary to hunt pigs while it is raining: ýũn la pánga-bédig de anga bi anwa yi (da). See when, (a) long while ... árla-úbaba (da); árla-árdúru (da), (adv.) a long while ago: matayıýábaya. See time, meanwhile (meantime, in the) ... tóbap-tık.

whirl, (v. t.) spin, rotate ... ig-kétí (ke). (v. i.) ... iji-kétí (ke).

whirlpool. See eddy.

whirlwind, (s.) ... árwa-lélengá (da).

whisker, (s.) ... ig-áá-píj (da). (cheek hair).

whisper, (v. t.) (a) face to face ... ig-yál-pá (ke). (b) into another's ear ... aká-yál-pá (ke). (v. i.) speak in a whisper ... iji-yál-pá (ke) iji-térêma (ke).

whistle, (v. t.) with the lips ... kókok (ke). (s.) kókok (da). I heard a whistle just now: wai dó dála kókok l'áká-tegi-l'ráaire.

white, (adj.) (a) of inanimate objects ... (ig-) ólówía (da). (b) of animals and birds ... ót-ólówía (da). (c) of European complexion ... k-térêmya (da). (s.) 1. (a) w. of the eye ... i (or ig-) dal-l'ót-ólówía (da); (b) w. of an egg ... móló-l'ót-elepaíj (da). 2. white ant (termite) ... héderá (da). 3. w. hair ... ig (or ót)-tól (da). 4. w. haired person ... ab-tól (da). (v. t.) make white ... ig (or ót)-ólówía (ke). (v. i.) ... iji (or ót) ólówía (ke).

whither, (adv.) (a) to what place (interrog.) ... tekaríchá (da). Whither are you going? tekaríchá ngóke? See Ex. 1 at go. (b) (rel.) Whithersoever ... min-len. See Ex. at thither, and App. i.

who, (pron.) (a) (interrog.) ... miyá (da); miya (da); (honorific) mijola; mijola. Who gave you these fish-arrows?: miyá úcha rátá-long-kálak ngen mãñre?, miya is also used in an indefinite negative sense. See Ex. at none. Who knows! (goodness knows! ... úchin!) (When is he coming? ól tain inke?) Who knows! úchin! (b) (rel.) ... áte (da); yáte (da). See when, (a) long while ... árwa-úbaba (da); árwa-árdúru (da), (adv.) a long while ago: matayıýábaya. See time, meanwhile (meantime, in the) ... tóbap-tık.

whole, (s.) all, total quantity or number ... ár (a) dúru (da); úma (da); tingúbai (da). See Ex. at use-up. (adj.) (a) sound ... ót-gorójim (da); (b) entire. all ... dóga (da). The whole day: bódo-dóga (da).

whose (pron.) ... miyia (da); miyá (da). Whose skull (is this)? : miyá'ót-chéta (da)? For its employment in an indefinite negative sense, See Ex. at none.

why, (adv.) (a) wherefore ... michalen; michalen. Why are you hoarse?: michalen ng'íglérwinga (da)? (b) for what cause or purpose ... badíg; micha-leb. Why are you going there?: badíg ngó kátík (ke)?: Why do you give me the paddle?: micha-leb ngó dén wáligma mãñke?: (exclam.) Why do you worry me?: (what a nuisance you are!): badíg dårůmaba!

wicked, (adj.) sinful ... yúbdanga (da). It is wicked to murder and steal: ab-piré-katinga ólédig tápngó wai yúbdanga (da).

wickedness, (s.) sin ... yúbdá (da).
wickerwork (s.)... tépi (da). w. frame
for cooking-pot... rámata (da). See
App. xiii.

wide, (adj.)... pán (da); péketo (da).
That sounding-board is very wide: káto
pákuta-yemngga péketo dóga (da).

widow. (s.)... ar-léba-pail (da); chán-
arléba (da). Widower, (s.)... ar-léba-
búla (da); mai-ar-léba (da).

width. (s.)... pán-yóma (da); péketo-
yóma (da). See quality.

wife, (s.) (a) newly-married (during first
few months only)... ik-yáte (pail) (da).
p. pron. dai, ngai, ai, etc. See App. ii,
and viii. My newly-married wife is away
collecting shell-fish: dai ik-yáte áká-tá l'ót-
ejngna l'édáre ab-yóba (da). (b) (after that
period)... ab-pail (da). Your wife and
infant son are sound asleep: ngab-pail óblé-
dig nga óta (vaij) árla-l'ítig-ritake. Our wives
were absent yesterday: mat-pail (lóng-kálak)
dlëna at-yóba (da). Note distinction between
wife ("ab-pail") and woman ("á-pail").

wild, (adj.) not domesticated. See savage.

will, (v. aux.) See shall.

willing, (adj.)... kúk-tá-órokgga (da).
He is willing to accompany us there: waj
ó kátki m'ítik kúk-tá-órokgga (da). lit. he
thither with us willing (is).

win. (v. t.) in fight... otofá-ómo
(ke). See beat. (v. i.) w. in a race...
otofá (l'édá) (ke). See first and be.

winee. (v. i.)... ñér'adla (ke).

wind, (v. t.) coil... ót-kódó (ke); ót-
kót (ke); (s.)... ólnga (da); wúlnga (da)
in compound words tå (da). Ex. N. E.
wind... púlnga-tá (da); pappid-tá (da);
S. W. w... gúmul-tá (da); déria-tá
(da); S. E. w... chíla-tá (da)] N. W.
w... chíla-jótama (da). windfall. (a)
of fruit... túru-tanga (da). (b) (figur)
... ad-múg-wèlejngga (da). favorable
(following)—w... ar-ulnga (da). head-
w... áká-táungga (da). w. on the beam
... párítú-úngga (da).

wine, (s.) also any spirituous liquor...
rog (da). possibly adopted from the English
word "grog."

wing (s.) of bird or bat... ig-ácha-tá
(da); ig-wát (da). See quill.

wink, (v. t.)... ig-némel (ke). (v. i.)
iji-némel (ke).

winter, (s.) cool season... pápar (-wáb)
(da).

wipe. (v. t.) (a) what is wet... rár
(ke). (b) w. what is dirty... gúj-rár
(ke). Wipe the eyes of the infant that has
been crying: ab-déréka t'ékik-ité l'ig-rár
(ke).

wire, (s.)... l'érijit (da). word adopted
since discovery of wire in wrecks.

wise, (adj.)... múgu-tig (or ti)-dai
(da). See forehead and know.

wish, (v. t.) want, have desire for, feel
need of... en-á (ke) reflex. See want.
(v. t.) (v. i.) feel desire, have a wish...
lat (ke). I too wish to accompany you:
dól bédig ngik lat (ke). Do you all wish
to go hunting?: an ngarat-dúru delenga
lat (ke)? See long (v. i.).

with. (postp.) 1 together with, in the
company of... ik (pl. itik). With me:
dik; with thee: ngik; with him (or her):
ìk; with us: mitik; with you (pl.): ngitik;
with them: itik. See Ex. at willing. 2.
in the care, or possession of, among...
ót (pl. ótót) paicha-len. See Ex. at among
and bundle. He sat down with us: ól
mótot-paihala áká-dôire. 3. by the use,
or exercise of... tek. He struck the
snake's head with great force: ól jébo l'ót
chéta gúra dógga tek pârekre. He hit me on
the leg with a stick: ól púun tek d'ar-pârekre.
See App. ii. "Omissions," châg (leg) being
understood. 4. by means of... tám-
tek. He scooped the canoe with an adze:
ól yólo tám-tek róko kópre. 5. against,
in opposition to... eb. My father is
still angry with me: dab chábil ñáká del.
jíi-rêlke.
wither. (v. i.) of tree or flower růka (ke). See rot. w., of a flower or vegetable maini (ke). withered, (p. a.) (a) of a limb ar-dama-ba (da). (lit. flesh-none.) (b) of boughs, leaves, etc., when fit for burning růcha (da). (e) of fallen leaves suitable for bedding rûnga (da).

within. (postp.) inside. See Ex. at inside and without.

without. (prep.) not having, in absence of. See Ex. at order, 2. (postp.) (a) lacking; destitute of. pitainga (ya). (See want) yaba-len (lit. not-to). The escaped prisoner without taking any food put out to sea on a kâmba raft ot-chûre ad-iñi-yâte yôt pitainga; pô-chônga len ôto-jûmare. Without a harpoon how can we spear a turtle? kowai-a la pitainga kichikâchî medîjâ di jêra-like! All my fellow-countrymen are beardless (heard-without); mitig-bûdeu lâdrânu sai adâl-pâj la pitainga. He came without a bow; öl kûrama yâbalen ônro, (b) with the exception of. ijiya. See Ex. at except. (c) outside. wâlak-len. My pot is quite clean within and without (inside and out.); itu bûj kakîr-len öl-bêdig wâlak-len chûtîga abâya, 3. (conj.) unless. See unless. 4. (adv.) without causeôt-kâla. You abused him without cause ngûlôt-kâla ad ab-tôgore. without doubt (question, or fail) et-lâmû-tek; wai-kan; ëba-yâba-ba. See Ex. at certainly, of course, yes.

witness. (s.) one competent to give evidence (a) as being a spectator êr-lig-bûdîguna-yâte (da). (lit. place-see-who) (b) from acquaintance with the facts mûn-ti-dainga-yâte (da). (lit. something-know-who).

woe is me! (interj.) wâda-dô-lê! (ory of distracted mother or wife at time of bereavement).

woman. (s.) ë-pail (da). See App. viii.

womb. (s.) òt-ârain (da).


wood. (s.) the hard substance of the tree, etc. pûtu (da).

wood-pecker. (s.) Mulleripicus Hodgini kóí (da).

word. (s.) yâbanga (da). That's a difficult word; kâ yâbanga voi ot-kûtûnga (da).

work. (v. i.) (a) of a sedentary nature, e.g., making canoes, implements, weapons, etc. ôn-yôm (ke). (b) e.g., fetching supplies of food, water, jungle material, etc. tôp (ke). Golat's father said (thus) to him "as you have worked well to-day I excuse you the rest (of the work) but your younger brother must finish it to-morrow"; golat l'abmaiole en kichikâ-vai lâdrâ (re) ngô kowai bêringa ânyômanga lâdrâô ngô kichikâhâl âôle dôna wai-keu-ôngakâ-kâm ëba-wenik ngôkêdiike."(p.n.) engaged in work, working, etc. ânyômanga (da); tôpanga (da). (s.) ôn-yôm (da); tôp (da).

world. (s.) ërema (da). This refers only to their own islands which they formerly believed to comprise the whole earth. Now other countries are spoken of as "ôt-baina-ërema (da)," or "ërema-l'-ôt-bain (da)." See foreign. (Note the association with the word for jungle, their islands being originally entirely forest-clad.)

worm, earth. (s.) will-dûm (da).

worm-eaten. (p.n.) öl-àr-rûmre, the name of the insect being ö (da). See perforate

worn out. (p. a.) (a) decrepit (adv.) âr-tê (da); âr-ta (da). (b) physically exhausted (p. p.) dama-lâkâ-châmre; (e) of inanimate objects from use or age ârtâmre. See old and unserviceable.

worry. (v. t.) See annoy, tease (v. i.)

ara-tariki (ke).

worse. (adj.) bad in greater degree.

tek-(ab-) jâbag (da). My canoe is worse.
wreck, ship- (s.) (a) due to stranding . . . .
chéléwa-l’ad-yóboli-yâte (da); (b) due to
foundering . . . . chéléwa-l’ad-tób-áte (da);
(c) due to collision or being otherwise dam-
gaded . . . . chéléwa-l’óto-kújuri (or tóbúli)
yâte (da). (d) due to fire . . . . chéléwa-
l’ókan-jóí-yâte (da), (v. 1.) suffer ship-wreck
. . . . á-ad kújra (ke).

wrestle, (v. i.) . . . . ad-lé (ke). Our
fathers both fell while wrestling : mat-máiaga
adlèngá-bédig ıkpor pàre.

wriggle, (v. i.) of worm or snake . . .
ñàra (ke). The worm is not dead, it is
still wriggling: wílídím okó-lingá-ba ́gákà
ñàra (ke).

wring, (v. t.) See twist and make bow-
string and twine.

wrinkle, (s.) on brow . . . . ọt-barnga
(da). (v. t.) contract into furrows owing to
glare of sun . . . . ig näred (ke).

wrisket, (s.) . . . . ọng-tógo (da).

wrisklet, (s.) . . . . ọng-tógo-chőnga (da)
See App. xiii.

write, (v. t.) . . . . yiti (ke); chhiti-yiti
(ke) (lit. tattoo-letter from hindustani
chhiti). The Officer in charge (of us) is
always writing: mamjóla árlalen chhiti-yiti
(ke). See sir.

writhe, (v. i.) with pain . . . . ad-kör
(ke); nára (ke).

wrong, (adj.) (a) not according to rule
or right . . . . tólata-ba (da); (b) incorrect,
inaccurate . . . . ́uba-yába (da).

yam, (s.) wild- (generic term) . . . .
yád (da), (in constr. ýát); (specific) ýát-bang (da).
(lit. “dug-up food” in contradistinction
to the specific words for fruit and fish: six
species are recognized, viz. (a) góno (da);
(b) cháti (da), both abundant and much
relished; (c) kád (da), plentiful and relished,
but requires long soaking before being
cooked: (d) bóto (da), scarce and grows
long and thin; (e) malág (da), scarce; (f)
tági (da), found only on stony land.
yarn, (s.) extravagant story... ar-chinga (da).
yawn, (v. i.)... āpa (ke). (s.) āpa (da).
year, (s.) a cycle of the seasons... tālik (da). See again.
yearly, (adv.)... tālik-tālik.
yearn, (v. i.) desire earnestly... i-gāri (ke); See long.
yell, (v. i.)... ara-pêtek (ke); ara-pêtek (ke). See scream.
yellow, (adj.)... tērawa (da).

yes, (adv.) 1. answering question affirmatively... ōno (da); 5. Are you well to-day?... an ngō kawai ad-hiringa (da)?
Yes... ōno. with emphasis... ūba-yāba-ba (da). (lit. “True-not-not.”) Have you ever speared turtles off Kyd Island?... an nga dūrā-tāng-ya eda yādī ĵēralire? Yes, certainly (I have)... ūba-yāba-ba (da). 3. denoting assent to a proposition... ūba (da). That man is a good shot... kā hūla ūn-yāb (da). Yes (he is)... ūba (da). 4. denoting assent to a request (also in place of ōno in affirming a proposition)... wai (da). See agree. Run and tell him... ngō kājŋa bēdīg en tārchī. Yes (all right)... wai. Shall I give him your bow... an dōl en nga kārama māngabo? Yes... wai.

yesterday, (s.)... dīlēa. (adv.) (a) yesterday morning... dīlēa-wāngalen; dīlēa-dīma-len; dīlēa-lil-len. See App. ix
(b) yesterday evening... dīlēa-dīlalen. He himself took your bucket away yesterday evening... wai ʻol dīlēa-dīlalen nga dākar tī-jī-tre. (s.) day before yesterday... tār-dīlēa. (adv.)... tār-dīlēa-len.

yet, 1. (adv.) hitherto, as yet... ūgākā. See Ex. at fatten. He has not yet returned... ʻol ūgākā wījre yāba (da).
2. (conj.) nevertheless... ūba-ārek. Although he is sick yet he is hunting... ēdāia ʻol abyedēke, ūrek ʻol deleke.
yolk of egg, (s.)... mōl′o-l′ot-chērama (da).
yonder, (adj.)... kāto-wālak (da). Yonder hut is mine... kāto-wālak būd wai dīa (da). (adv.)... kāto-wālak-len.
you, (pron.) (nom. pl.)... ngōlōichik (in constr. ngōl′); ngōdā; ngedī′; ng′. See App. ii. (obj. pl.)... ngōlōichik-len (in constr. nget); ngat; ngad. You all, of three or more... ngōl′ārd-dūru (da); ngōd′ārd-dūru (da); ng′ārd-dūru (da). See steer, 3. You all, of a community or tribe... ng′ar-ārd-dūru (da). You all, of a large number of persons... ng′at-ūbaba (da).
young, (s.) offspring of animals... bā (da). (adj.)... ab-gō (da). See new.
Younger... tek—ab-gō (da). Woi is younger than Bia; bā tek wōi ab-gō (da).
Youngest... ab-gōi-l′iglā (da). Of all these children my little son is the youngest... kā līgala ārd-dūru tek dīa ōta ab-gōi-l′iglā (da).
your, (poss. pron.), (sing). See thy. 2. (plur.)... ēta (da); ētat; ngat; ang; ngai; ng′; etc. See App. ii. 3. of a community... ngarat-ārd-dūru (da).
yours, (pron. adj.) your own... ngēkan; ngōyut.
yourselves, (pron.) ngōyut-batām; ngōyut-tēmar. among yourselves... ng′ōyut-būd-bēdīg. Why are you whispering among yourselves? michalen ng′ōyut-būd-bēdīg yē-pāke? See also App. ii.
youth, (s.) young person. See App. vii, 2. early life... ab-wāra-yōma (da); ab-wāra-l′idal (da), signifying respectively the state and period of adolescence. I encountered the Jarawas in my youth; dō d′ab-wāra-l′idal-len jārawa jētire.

Z
zeal, (s.)... l′-rat (da)
zealous, (adj.)... l′ratnga (da).
zigzag, (s. & adj.)... tākya (da).
ADDENDUM. 1

Interrupt, (v. t.) .... tár-chiura (ke).
See hinder, question.

Intertwine, See twine.

Interview, (s.) .... ig-átna (da).

Interweave, (v. t.) See weave.

Intestine, (s.) 1. the large .... ar-mál-wit (da). 2. intestines. See entrails.

Into, (postp.) .... koktår-len.

Intoxicated, (adj.) See drunk.

Intoxicating, (p. a.) heady .... tétanga (da).

Introduce, (v. t.) .... šk-iji-yáp (ke).
He introduced me to, his (own) parents: šl ékan maiol-chánol len d'šk-iji-yêtre.

Inundate, (v. t.) .... oplâ--totpi (ke).

Invent a name, (v. t.) .... ékan-tig-ôyu (ke). When the natives of India bring us something new, we usually invent a name (for it): châugala got min tôyu-yâte med' ôko-jâranga ékan-tig-ôyuke.

Invisible, (adj.) 1. concealed, as an ant after entering a hole .... âr-lôttre. 2. owing to some intervening object, as a hill or tree ....... iji-mâreere.

Invite, (v. t.) .... ar-ñger (ke).

Iron, (s.) .... éla-tâ (da); éle-tâ (da); tôlbôd-tâ (da). See brass, metal.

Irritable, (adj.) easily provoked .... iji-rêlít-lâleidigha (da).

Irritate, (v. t.) .... wâlap (ke). See annoy.

Isidoe, (s.) bêwa (da). See note at Gorgonidae.

Island, (s.) .... töt-bôka (da).

Islet, (s.) .... töt-kalicha (da).

1 The following items were unfortunately omitted in setting up the text at p. 70.
**APPENDIX I.**

**PHILOLOGICAL HARP.**

*N.B.*—All words which in their bulk form have the suffix "da" are indicated in this and the following Appendices by a hyphen being substituted for the "da", e.g., oucha-(this) for oucha (da).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>This</td>
<td>oucha-</td>
<td>kā-</td>
<td>Who</td>
<td>min-āte</td>
<td>That same</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(intens.)</td>
<td>oucha-wai</td>
<td>(intens.) kāto-ōl</td>
<td>mējē-</td>
<td>yālo-9</td>
<td>ouch-bēdig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>That</td>
<td>ǒl (lo)</td>
<td>kāto-</td>
<td>Which</td>
<td>ōte-</td>
<td>That same</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>oucha</td>
<td>kōto-ōl</td>
<td>lēchā-</td>
<td>(or yālo外面)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>What</td>
<td>mēchīna-</td>
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<td>mēchīna-</td>
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<td>Interrogative.</td>
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<td>mēchīna-</td>
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<td>Where</td>
<td></td>
<td>mōn-ya-</td>
<td>That same</td>
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<td>-tān-</td>
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<td>ya-</td>
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<td>There</td>
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<td>Time.</td>
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<td>Now (1)</td>
<td>ouchik-</td>
<td>kā-wai</td>
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<tr>
<td>(2) gōi; gōla; dāla; (3) kā-gōi</td>
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<td>Then (4)</td>
<td>ouchibaiya</td>
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<td>(5) ouchibaiya</td>
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<td>(6) ōgā-</td>
<td>ouchibaiya</td>
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<td>(7) ōgā-tek</td>
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<td>When</td>
<td>tāin</td>
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<td>Whenever</td>
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<td>At the same time, then</td>
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<td>Place.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hither</td>
<td>kāch</td>
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<td>Hence</td>
<td>ōchik-</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hence</td>
<td>kārik; kūrin-tek</td>
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<td>Hereabout</td>
<td>ar-tāg-</td>
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<tr>
<td>Whereabouts</td>
<td>ōchum-</td>
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<tr>
<td>Whereabouts</td>
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<td>Manner.</td>
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<td>Thus, in this way</td>
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<td>(4) kāri; kīchikan-wai</td>
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<td>In that way</td>
<td>ékāra-</td>
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<td>What manner</td>
<td>kīchikan-</td>
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<tr>
<td>Likeness.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Like this</td>
<td>ǒl (or kāto-naikan; kīchikan</td>
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<tr>
<td>Like that</td>
<td>kāto-</td>
<td></td>
<td>kīchikan-</td>
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<tr>
<td>Quantity.</td>
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<tr>
<td>This (or so) much</td>
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<td></td>
<td>kāt-</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>That much</td>
<td>kāto-</td>
<td></td>
<td>tānt-tān-</td>
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<tr>
<td>How much.</td>
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<tr>
<td>How many</td>
<td>kā-cha-</td>
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<tr>
<td>Number.</td>
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<tr>
<td>This (or so) many</td>
<td></td>
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<td>kā-cha-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>That many</td>
<td>kā-cha-</td>
<td></td>
<td>kīchikan-tān-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*For examples of use see Dictionary.*

(a) This scheme is taken from Forber's well-known Hindustani Grammar (p. 68).  

*Notes.*—(1) The present time. (2) the immediate past. (3) the immediate future. (4) specific time in the past. (5) indefinite past. (6) specific time in the future. (7) indefinite future. (8) the latter honorific. (9) the latter preferably after a vowel.
APPENDIX II.

VARIOUS FORMS OF THE PERSONAL AND POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS IN
RELATION TO GENERAL AND SPECIFIC OBJECTS.

Personal Pronouns with Examples of Use.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I</th>
<th>dóllá</th>
<th>In construction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thou</td>
<td>ngóllá</td>
<td>ngó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He, she, it</td>
<td>óllá</td>
<td>ó</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We

| You  | ngóóíchik | ngó | ngóda | ngó | ngó |
| They | óóíchik | ó | eda | ed | ed |

Ex. :—Who is calling me ? : mía d’árñêre-ke ? I : dóllá. He is coming : ól ón-ke. We shot the pig : meda reg taj-re. You struck me : nga dad abpárek-re. He gave (it) to me : wai ñona den ãre. We are all hungry : möl’ãrdurú maksat-gâringa. When are you (pl.) returning home ? : tain ngód wej-ke ? You are the only marksman in that village : ká bárrij-len ng’ûnyûh ìjilá.

Imperative: —dó ; ngó ; ó ; mëcho ; ngócho ; ócho. Ex.—Let me sleep : dó mâmike ; Sleep (thou) : (ngó) mâmì-ke ; Let him sleep : ó mâmì-ke ; Let us sleep : mëcho mâmì-ke ; Sleep (yo) : ngócho mâmì-ke ; Let them sleep : ócho mâmì-ke.

| Me    | dól(la)-len | dën | dau | dai |
| Thee | ngól(la)-len | ngen | ngañ | ngñi |
| Him, her, it | óll(la)-len | en | ad | ai |
| Us   | mölóíchik-len | met | mal | mat |
| You  | ngóóíchik-len | ngët | ngañ | ngñi |
| Them | óóíchik-len | et | ai | at |

Ex.:—To whom shall I give this pot? : dó mija-len úcha bój mán-ke? To me : dól(la)-len.

He brought me a bow : ó den kárama thyu-re.
I am leaving you (sing.) behind : wai dó ngaí ìji-ke.
You abused us for nothing : ngó’ôlkálya mad abtógo-re.

1 These are used in the past tense only, and even then only by purists.
2 Honorifically “ mía” is substituted. See p. 69.
3 Is sometimes used for the 1st pers. sing. See Ex. at “ I” (p. 74).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(a)</th>
<th>(b)</th>
<th>(c)</th>
<th>(d)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Myself</strong></td>
<td>dòyun-</td>
<td>dékan</td>
<td>dìji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Thyself</strong></td>
<td>ngòyun-</td>
<td>ngòkan</td>
<td>ngijí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Him (her or it)self</strong></td>
<td>èyun-</td>
<td>èkan</td>
<td>iji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ourselves</strong></td>
<td>mòyun-</td>
<td>mèkan</td>
<td>mìjit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Yourselves</strong></td>
<td>ngòyun-</td>
<td>ngòkan</td>
<td>ngijí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Themselves</strong></td>
<td>èyun-</td>
<td>èkan</td>
<td>iji</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) Punga himself made this bucket: púng'èyun-tèmar úcha dákár tânc-ré. That lad himself harpooned all these turtles: kálâká káqâqà l'èyun-balám ùch'ârdâru yâdi dâù-ré.

(b) See hurt (v.i.) and Ex. at self.

(c) Never mind! they will take it away themselves to night: âchin-dâke! wai ed'ijíl gîrûg-ya ik-ke.

(d) See Ex. at barter.

**Possessive Pronouns.**

Of these there are three classes, viz;—those employed in relation to (1) non-human and inanimate objects, (2) human objects and recognized terms of relationship (see App. VIII), and (3) certain organs or parts of the human or animal body, as well as what is incorporeal, viz: soul, spirit, ghost and the seat of the affections and passions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1.</th>
<th>2.</th>
<th>3.*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>My</td>
<td>ðia-</td>
<td>ðia-</td>
<td>ðia-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thy</td>
<td>n³t-a-</td>
<td>n³t-a-</td>
<td>n³t-a-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>His, her, its</td>
<td>ðia-</td>
<td>ðia-</td>
<td>ðia-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>......’s</td>
<td>ðia-</td>
<td>ðia-</td>
<td>ðia-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Our</td>
<td>ðia-</td>
<td>ðia-</td>
<td>ðia-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Your</td>
<td>ðia-</td>
<td>ðia-</td>
<td>ðia-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Their</td>
<td>ðia-</td>
<td>ðia-</td>
<td>ðia-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* These are employed respectively with words indicating:

- (d) body, back, spine, thigh, calf (of leg), elbow, knee, rib, stomach, bowels, liver, spleen, lap.
- (e) leg, hip, loin, bladder, abdomen, belly.
- (f) mouth, chin, lip, throat, palate, tongue, gullet, jaw-bone, saliva, breath.
- (g) shoulder, arm, breast, face, temple, cheek, nose, ear, eye, tear, gum, tooth.
- (h) hand, finger, thumb, wrist, knuckle, palm, sole, nail, foot, toe, heel, ankle, kidney.
- (i) head, brain, occiput, scalp, neck, nape, chest, lung, bosom, soul, spirit, ghost, heart
- (a) the organ, and (b) the seat of the affections, etc.
- (j) waist only.
Examples of use:—

Class 1. My bow: dīa kārama-. Your hut: ngīa būd-. Golat’s canoe: gōlat 喹a rōko-, Wologa’s fish-arrow: wōloq’la tōblōd-. Our turtle: mēta yādi-. Their sow: ;base Vog-. The pig’s food: rēg l’la yāt-.


(b) Your wife (one lately married): ngai tk-yāte-. (c) Our husbands (married within, say, three months): am tk-yōte-. See App. VIII.

Class 3. (d) My body: dāb chāw-. Your knees: ngat lō-. (e) His leg: ar chāg-. Our hips: marat chōrog-. (f) Thy mouth: ngākū bāng-. Their jawbones: akit ēkib-. (g) Thy face: ngig mūgu-. Wōlo’s teeth: wōi l’itig tūg-. (h) Wologa’s foot: wōlog’onq pāg-. Our hands: mōtot kōro-. (i) Thy forehead: ngōt mūgu-. Their heads: ṭōt chēla-. My father’s spirit: d’ab-maiola l’ot chāngala. Your soul: ngōt yōlo-. Your heart (bosom, seat of the affections, etc.): ngōt kāg-. Our hearts (the organ): mōtot kūk-tā-bana-. (j) Thy waist: ngōto kīnab-. Our women’s waists: mētat (ā) pail l’ōlot kīnab-.

From the determinate use of possessive pronouns in Class 3 arises the custom of omitting the name of the part of the body referred to after a possessive pronoun, where it is more or less clear what it must be. This is especially the case when the word could refer to many parts of the human body, sufficiently distinguished by the form of the possessive pronoun, as pīd; pīj-(hair), ēd.; ēj-(skin), tā-(bone), ti-(blood), gēmar-(sweat), yēlīn-ya-(vein, muscle), nōnga-(pulse), mūn- (brain, marrow, pus). When any doubt is felt or precision is essential the full phrase is used. Examples of omissions:—(1) mōtot chēla pīj. (the hair of our heads). This is contracted into mōtot pīj. On reference to Class 3 (i) it is obvious that reference is made only to the head. (2) ngakat pai ēj- (the skin of your lips) might be contracted into ngakat ēj- unless it may happen to be necessary to avoid risk of chin being referred to. (3) dīg gūd tā- (the bone of my arm). With the arm outstretched this might be contracted to dīg tā- without risk of ambiguity. (4) ngar chāg ti-. (the blood of thy leg) might be expressed by ngar tī-, and no doubt would arise if the limb had either been previously mentioned, pointed to or was bleeding at the time.
APPENDIX II—contd.

In the construction of certain compound words further examples are furnished of the same nature, e. g., kārama-l'ot-chāma-, upper nock of bow [lit. bow-its (head i. e.) upper-nock]; kārama-l'ar-chāma-, lower nock of bow [lit. bow-its (leg i. e.) lower-nock]; wōlo-l'ig-yōd-, edge of adze [lit. adze-its (tooth)-edge]; yāl-l'ig-jōg-, fish's-gill [lit. fish-its (cheek)-slit, i. e. gill].

| My own; mine | dékan | dōyun | Ex.—My own bow: dékan kārama-. |
| Thy own; thine | ngēkan | ngōyun | With your (pl.) own hands: ngōyun kōro-tek. |
| His (her or its) own | ēkan | ōyun | This Jarawa's own hut: ūcha jārawa lēkan chāng-. |
| ......'s own | lēkan | lōyun | The pāg's own feet: reg lōyun pāg-. |
| Our own; ours | mēkan | möyut | |
| Your own, yours | ngēkan | ngōyut | |
| Their own, theirs | ēkan | ōyut | |
| ......'s own | lēkan | lōyut | |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>On.... account</th>
<th>On...own account</th>
<th>For....sake.</th>
<th>For.... needs.</th>
<th>Owing to .... action or intervention.</th>
<th>On.... behalf.</th>
<th>In....stead or place.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>my</td>
<td>d'ik</td>
<td>d'a</td>
<td>d'ul; d'en</td>
<td>d'at</td>
<td>d'ōng-jīg</td>
<td>d'ōyu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thy</td>
<td>ng'ik</td>
<td>ng'a</td>
<td>ng'ul; ng'en</td>
<td>ng'at</td>
<td>ng'ōng-jīg</td>
<td>ng'ōyu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>his, her</td>
<td>ik</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>āl; en</td>
<td>at</td>
<td>āng-jīg</td>
<td>ōyu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>......'s</td>
<td>l'ik</td>
<td>l'a</td>
<td>l'āl; l'en</td>
<td>l'at</td>
<td>l'ōng-jīg</td>
<td>lōyu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>our</td>
<td>m'itik</td>
<td>m'a</td>
<td>m'ālat; m'et</td>
<td>m'at</td>
<td>m'ōiot-jīg</td>
<td>m'ōyu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your</td>
<td>ng'itik</td>
<td>ng'a</td>
<td>ng'ālat; ng'et</td>
<td>ng'at</td>
<td>ng'ōiot-jīg</td>
<td>ng'ōyu</td>
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<tr>
<td>their</td>
<td>ĕtik</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>ēlāt; ēt</td>
<td>ētat</td>
<td>ēiot-jīg</td>
<td>ēyu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>......'s</td>
<td>l'ētik</td>
<td>l'a</td>
<td>l'ēlāt; l'ēt</td>
<td>l'ētat</td>
<td>l'ōiot-jīg</td>
<td>lōyu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For examples of use, see (in Dictionary) make (compel), hunt, dance, give, gather, barter, owing to, instead and for.
Plate VI.

Natives of Little Andaman with Canoe.
(Note the distinctive tassel-like "apron" worn by the women of this tribe.)
## APPENDIX III.

### LIST OF TERMS INDICATING ORDINAL NUMBERS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>of two</th>
<th>of three</th>
<th>of four</th>
<th>of five</th>
<th>of six</th>
<th>of any greater number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st, as in a race</td>
<td>oto-lá-</td>
<td>oto-lá-</td>
<td>oto-lá-</td>
<td>oto-lá-</td>
<td>oto-lá-</td>
<td>oto-lá-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>tá-r-ólo. 1</td>
<td>mígu-chál</td>
<td>ár-ólo.</td>
<td>ár-ólo.</td>
<td>ár-ólo.</td>
<td>ár-tónau.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5th</td>
<td>tá-r-ólo.</td>
<td>tá-r-ólo.</td>
<td>tá-r-ólo.</td>
<td>tá-r-ólo.</td>
<td>tá-r-ólo.</td>
<td>tá-r-ólo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Last but one</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Last</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Notes.**—1. lit. "the last."  
2. lit. "between."  
3. lit. "the next."

In referring to a row or line of animate or inanimate objects:—

The first, ....... oko-táp-  
,, second ...... tóko-yólo-  
,, next, ......... tá-r-jana-  
,, middle one ... mígu-chál-  
,, last one ...... ár-to-káparinga-

In respect to terms denoting **Cardinal numbers** the only specific ones are (ab-) úba-tál- or (ab-) úba-dóga- ("ab" is expressed for human objects only), one, and ik-pór-, two. The latter word is also used to indicate "a few." In order to express a greater number the terms employed are usually (a) for human objects:—ár-dúru-, several (is also used to denote "many" and "all"); jeg-cháu- (lit. "collected-body"), many (also "several" or "an assemblage"); jíbaba-, very many and at-úbaba-, innumerable; (b) for animals:—ár-dúru-, several, many and ót-úbaba-, innumerable; and (c) for inanimate objects:—ár-dúru-, several, many; jíbaba-, very many; and úbaba-, innumerable.

In order to express a certain small number with exactness, as, say, nine, a man—and only the more intelligent are capable of this—will proceed as follows:—tapping his nose with the tip of the little finger of either hand he will say "úba-tál," then, with the next finger, "ikpór-,", after which, continuing to tap with each successive finger, he will utter "án-ka" ("and this") until the forefinger of the second hand is employed, when both hands, with the second thumb clenched, are held up and the necessary number of digits exposed to view, whereupon the word "ár-dúru." (all) is pronounced.
APPENDIX IV.

LIST OF INTERJECTIONS, EXCLAMATIONS AND PHRASES.

Ah! . . . . ai!
Alas! . . . . wada! ; kualeh!
All right! (aye-aye! very well!) . . . . ő! (abbr. for őno); wai!
At last! . . . . tālik-lēde! (lit. year-last, implying a year's gone by); ā-ve!
Avault! (implying disgust) . . . . jeng!

Be off! . . . . uchik-wai-ön!
Be off at once! . . . . uchik (or kālik)-wai réo! (see App. I).
Beware! (take care!, look out!) . . . . ā, ucha!
Bravo! (well done!) . . . . kāka-tek! ; tāl!
Bring it at once! . . . . kach-ik-rēo!

Come here! . . . . min-kaich!
(Now) confess! . . . . jeg-ō!

Don't be in such a hurry! . . . . é-lebe!
Don't dawdle! time flies! . . . . ting-gujuba! et-adjawike!
Don't do so! (let it alone!) . . . . ārek-tōhatek-dāke!
Don't fidget! . . . . ng'iği-ōjolike-dāke!
Don't mention its name! . . . . ākā-tār-ágereke-dāke!
Don't move! (keep still!) . . . . ng'ad-rū!
Don't pull the long bow! (don't exaggerate!) . . . . yūba (ng' or l') ārchike-dāke!

Get up! . . . . őyu-bōi!
Give (me)! (when begging.) . . . . ğē!
Go away! . . . . uchik-wai-ön!
Good gracious! . . . . kualeh!
Goodness knows! (who knows ?) . . . . učin!

Hark! . . . . a! ; ākun-dāi!
Here it is! (on finding something searched for) . . . . kam-da-kam!
How big it is! (man speaking) . . . . ai, pi-bi! ; badi-ūcha!

Ditto (woman , ) . . . . wada, pi-bi!
How small it is! (what a tiny!) (man speaking) . . . . ai-ch-taih! (or chu-taih!)

Ditto (woman , ) . . . . wada-ch-taih! (or chu-taih!)

How very big he is! . . . . ucha-ta-d'gays!

Ditto small he is! . . . . ucha-ta-kēliā!
How slow you are! . . . . badi-kai'a!
Hullo! ; hie! . . . . hé!
Hurrah! . . . . wē-tē! ; yē-lo!
Hush! (silence!) . . . . mūla! ; tu-bo! ; um! ; āh!
APPENDIX IV—contd.

I never did! (denial) .... kâ-bà!
Indeed! (is that so?) ... an-ûba!; an-wai!
Is it possible? (indeed !) .... ba-ôcho!; an-ûba!; an-wai!
It hurts! .... iji!; e-yi!
It's getting late! .... ting-gûjuba!
It's lost! (I can't find it) .... âkâ-tûlaba!
It's nearly ready! .... kanya!
It's no matter! (never mind!) .... âchin-dâke!; kichikan-âdra-dâke!

Just so! .... kichikan-ûba!

Keep still! (don't fidget!) .... ng'îji-ijolike-dâke!
Ditto (don't move!) .... ng'âl-nû (ke)!

Leave off! (drop it!) .... kichi-kâtikya!
Let it be! (let it alone!) .... ârek-tôbatek-dâke!
Look here! .... mina-ûcha!
Look sharp! .... kuro-(ngô) !; (ng')âr-yère!
Look out! (keep your eyes open!) .... wai-gêlib!

Mark my words! (pay attention to what I say) .... ûcha!
May no snake bite you! .... jôbo-la-ngông-châpi-kok!

Nonsense! .... cho!; tot!; by men only, .... pé-tek!, and, by women only ....
   gê-na-tek!
Ditto (uttered incredulously) .... kak!

Of course! (so it is!) .... ana keta!
Of course it is! .... keta-wai-ô!
Off! (as when starting a race) .... pôrot!
Oh! (as when startled) .... yi-no-no!
Oh! (as in sudden pain) .... yâh!

Pay attention (to what is being said)! .... ûcha!

(B) quick! .... (ng')âr-yère!; ku-ro!

(For) shame! .... tek-bôtaba!
(Now) shoot! (as in instructing another) .... olo-wai!; jeg!
So it is! (you're quite right!) .... ana-keta!
Stop! (halt!) .... gôgli!; kâpi!
Stop! (leave off!, cease!) .... kichi-kâtikya!

Thank goodness! .... wê-ê!; yê-to!
That's enough! .... kîanwai-dâke!
That's nice! (of any agreeable odour) .... pû-ê!
That's right! .... kâ-bëringa!

There's lots of time! (no need for hurry) .... ârla-ûba-ta!
Time flies! (hurry up!) .... el-aîjâwike!
Try it on! (uttered defiantly) .... (ng')âr-tâ-lôj-bu!
Tut! (nonsense!) .... cho!
(Get) up!... ēyū-bōi!

Wait a bit!... (wai-) tōlaba!
Well done!... tāt / kāka-tek!
What a big (pig)!... bādi-ūcha (reg!)
What a nuisance you are!... bādi (or ba-tig)-dūrāma-ba!
What a pity!... widi!
What a stench!... bādi-chuṅgē!
What do you mean? (what are you up to)?... ba ngō minke?; michima-ngōke?
What do you mean (by such conduct)?... ngō-dār-tōrnga-ta!
What’s the matter?... michimake?; michibake?
What’s been the matter with you?... ba-ngā-michibare?
What’s your name?... ling-tār-ēni!
(Pray) when did I do it? (as when accused of some offence)... tain-wan-o?
Who knows? (goodness knows!)... tōchīn!
Why are you worrying me?... ba-dīg-dūrāma-ba?
Woe is me! (cry of distracted mother or wife when bereaved)... wada-ţō-ţē!
Wonderful!... ba-dī!

You don’t expect me to believe that!... kak!
You’re as blind as a bat!... ng’idal-ţū-be!
You’re very late!... bādi-tār-chēbada!
You’re wasting my time (you’re hindering me)... dō d’ōng-ngūtakē! lit. I’m hooking my feet (or hands).
You fool!... tāt!
Fig. a. Showing the two descriptions of Canoes. (See p. 37).

Fig. b. Types of Inmates of the "Home" at Port Blair. (cir. 1900).
Deva-parvata—Same as Devagiri (Śiva P., I, 58).


Devapura—Rajim on the confluence of the Mahānadi and the Pairi in the Raipur District, Central India: 24 miles south-east of the town of Raipur. It was visited by Rāmāchandra (called also Rājivalochana, whence the name Rajim) to save his brother Śatrughna from death (Padma P., Pāṭalā, ch. 27, vs. 58, 59). The temple of Rāmāchandra contains an inscription of the eighth century A.D.

Devarājśtra—The Maratha country; it was conquered by Samudra Gupta at about 340 A.D.

Devikā—1. The river Devā in Oudh. It is another name for the Sarajū or Gogra (Bengal and Agra Guide and Gazetteer, 1841, vol. 11, pp. 120, 252, map). The southern portion of the Sarajū is called Devikā or Devā, whereas the northern portion is called Kālinādi after its junction with that river in Kumaun. But the Devikā is mentioned as a distinct river between the Gomati (Gumti) and the Sarajū (Kālikā P., ch. 23). The junction of the Gaṇjak (Devikā) Sarajū, and the Ganges forms the Triveni, where the fight between the crocodile and the elephant took place (Varāha P., ch. 144 and Mbh., Adi P., ch. 29). See Viśāla-chhatra. The Sarajū now joins the Ganges at Singhi near Chapra. 2. A river in the Punjab: it appears to be an affluent of the Ravi (Vāmanā P., chs. 81, 84; Mbh., Vana P., ch. 82; Matsya P., ch. 113). This river flowed through the country of Sauvira (Agni P., ch. 200), which, according to Alberuni, was the country round Multan: see Sauvira. It has its source in the Maināka (Sevalik) range (Kālikā P., ch. 23, vs. 137, 138). It also flowed through the country of Madra (Vishṇu-dhramottara Purāṇa, Pt. I, ch. 167, v. 15). Mūlavāhana (Multan) was situated on the Devikā (Skanda P., Prabhāsa Kh., Prabhāsa-Kshetra-Māhātā, ch. 278). It has been identified with the river Deeg, a tributary of the Ravi on its right bank (Pargiter’s Mārkandeya P., ch. 57, p. 292), and this identification appears to be confirmed by the Vāmanā P., chs. 84, 89.

Devikotā—Same as Šūritapura.

Devi-pātana—Forty-six miles north-east of Gonda in Oudh: it is one of the fifty-two Paṭhas where Sati’s right arm is said to have fallen.

Dhanakaṭaka—Dharaṇikot in the Krishna or Guntur District in the Madras Presidency: it is one mile to the west of the small town of Amarāvati (Amaraot) and eighteen miles in a direct line to the west of Bejwada, on the south bank of the Krishṇā (Cunningham’s Geography of Ancient India, p. 530). Ferguson identifies it with Bejwada (JRAI, 1880, p. 99), but this identification does not appear to be correct. Dhanakaṭaka or Dharaṇikot is a place of considerable note from at least 200 B.C. It was the capital of that dynasty of kings who were the Andhrabhṛitiyas of the Purāṇas and Śatakaṛṇiś of the inscriptions and who were popularly known as the Satavāhanas or its corruption Śālivāhanas (Hemachandra’s Prakṛita Grammar), which name, however, did not belong to any particular individual. The founder of this dynasty was Simuka called variously Śīndhuka, Śīuka and Śipraka, who ascended the throne in B.C. 73 after subverting the Kanva dynasty of the Purāṇas. Though the capital of the Andhrabhṛitiyas was Dhanakaṭaka, which is called Dhanakaṭcheka in the Cave Inscriptions, yet the younger princes of this dynasty often reigned at Paṭihān on the Godāvari, while the elder ones reigned at Dhanakaṭaka. When the throne at the principal seat became vacant, the Paṭihān
princes succeeded. Thus while Gautamiputra Satakarni, the most powerful monarch of the dynasty reigned at Dhanakastaka from 133 to 154 A.D., his son Pulamäyi reigned at Paññanta from 130 to 154 A.D., and after his father’s death at Dhanakastaka for four years (see Kośala-Dakṣiṇa). Gautamiputra and Pulamäyi overthrew the Śaka king Nāhāpāna or his successor who reigned at Jirnagāra and after that, they defeated the Śaka king Jayadāman, son of Chāshana, who was at first a Kaṭhārapa and then a Mahākāthārapa and occupied Ujjaini, his capital (Dr. Bhandarkar’s Early History of the Deccan). It possessed a university which was established by Nāgājuna, the founder of the Mahāyāna school of Buddhism, in the first or second century A.D. (For Buddhist Universities, see Nālandā). Dhanakastaka is a corruption of Sudhanya-kaṭaka (see Havell’s Ancient and Medieval Architecture of India, p. 140).

Dhanapura—Joharganj, twenty-four miles from Ghazipur.

Dhanushkodi-tirtha—Same as Dhanu-tirtha.

Dhanu-tirtha—On the eastern extremity of the island of Rāmeśvaram in the Palk's Strait, ten or twelve miles from the temple of Rāmeśvara. It was caused by Lakshmaṇa piercing the water with his bow. It is called Dhanushkodi Tirtha in the Skanda Purāṇa (Setubandha-khaṇḍa). Cape Kory of Ptolemy, where the island of Rāmeśvaram terminates, is the Sanskrit word Kori or Dhanub-kōti meaning the tip or corner of a bow (see McCrindle’s Ptolemy, p. 60). Its identification with the Paumen passage is not correct.

Dhānyavatipura—Same as Dhanakṣetra.

Dharagara—Dowlatabad in the Nizam’s territory; the Tagara of the Greeks. It has been variously identified by various writers with Junir, Kulparga, Kollapur, and Dharur (in Nizam’s territory). See Tagara.

Dhārāṅga—Dhar in Malwa, the capital of Rājā Bhoja. The Deogar inscription shows that he flourished in the ninth century. For the history of Rājā Bhoja and his ancestors, see Epigraphia Indica, vol. I, p. 222; Merutunga Āchāryya’s Prabandhachintamani; JASB, 1861, p. 194. In his court flourished Kālidāsa, the author of the Nalodaya, Jayadeva, the author of the drama Prasanna Rāghava and others (Bhoja prabandha).

Dharmapattana—1. Śrāvasti, or the present village of Sahet-mahet: it was the capital of North-Kośala. (Trikāṇḍaśeṣha). 2. Calicut (Sewell’s Sketch of the Dynasties of Southern India, p. 57).

Dharmaprishtha—Same as Dharmāraṇya, four miles from Buddha-Gayā.

Dharmapura—Dharmapura, north of Nasik.

Dharmāranya—1. Four miles from Buddha-Gayā in the district of Gayā. It is the Dharmāranya of the Buddhist records, visited by numerous pilgrims (List of Ancient Monuments in the Patañja Division, p. 64; Garuda Purāṇa, ch. 83; Mbh., Vana, ch. 84). A temple sacred to Dharmasūrya exists at this place. It contains the celebrated place of pilgrimage called Brahmasara (Mbh., Vana, ch. 84). 2. By some it is considered to have comprised the portions of the districts of Bañal and Ghazipur (Dr. Führer’s MAI., Padma P., Svarāga, ch. 6 and Arch. S. Rep., vol. XXII). See Brigrū-śrama. 3. Moharapura or ancient Moherakapura, fourteen miles to the north of Vindhyāchala (town) in the district of Mirzapur. Three miles to the north of Moharapura is the place where Indra performed austerities after being cursed by Gautama Rāghi, the husband of Ahalāyā [Skanda P., Brahma kh. (Dharmāranya kh.), 35-37]. 4. On the Himālaya, on the
southern bank of the river Mandakini (Kurma P., ch. 14). 5. Kanya-Asrama near Koja in Rajputana was also called Dharmarastra (Mbh., Vana, ch. 82). See Kanya-Asrama.

Dharmadaya—The river Damudā in Bengal.

Dhavalagiri—The Dhauli hill in the sub-division of Khurda in Orissa, on which one of the Edicts of Asoka is inscribed. Dhauala or Dhavali is five miles from the Khandagiri range which is situated four or five miles to the west of Bhuvanesvara, containing many caves of the Buddhist period. But it is difficult to ascertain how the name of Dhauli has been derived by some authorities from Dhaivali. In the last tablet of the Dhauli inscriptions, it is mentioned that “the Dubalahi tupa,” or in other words, the stupas for the Durbala or weak, were founded for undisturbed meditation. Hence the name of Dhauli appears to have been derived from Durbala or Dubalā monastery of that place. The hill, as it appears from the inscription, was situated in Tosala (see the first tablet of the inscription), and Tosala has been identified with “Tosalā-Kosalā” of the Brahmanda Purana (ch. 49) or simply Kosala of the Brihat Samskrt (see Examination of the Inscriptions at Dhauli in Cuttack by J. Prinsep in the JASB., 1838, pp. 448-452). The Girnar and Dhauli inscriptions of Asoka are identical in substance: in fact the Dhauli inscription is the duplicate of the Girnar inscription in language and alphabet (see JASB., 1838, pp. 158, 160, 219, 276-279). For the inscriptions on the Khandagiri hill, see JASB., 1837, p. 1090.

Dhundhra—Amer, the ancient capital of Jaipur. Kuvalâśva, the great-grandfather of Nikumbha and one of the ancestors of Râmacandra of Ayodhyâ, killed the demon Dhundhu and was therefore called Dhundhumara; the whole country of Jaipur, especially Amer, was called Dhundhara after his name. It was included in Marudhanva (Mbh., Vana, chs. 201-203).


Dipavati—The island of Divar on the north of the island of Goa, containing, at old Narvem on the bank of the Pañchaganga, the temple of Mahâdeva Satpa-Kotishvara established by the Satpa Rishis (Skanda P., Sahyadri kh.; Ind. Ant., III, 1874, p. 194).


Dramila—Most probably, it is the same as Damila [Hemchandra’s Sthavirâvalicharita (Jacobi’s ed.) XI, 285]. But according to Dr. Fleet, Dramila was the Drâvīda country of the Pallavas on the east coast; Kâśchi was its capital (Bom. Gaz., vol. I, pt. II, p. 281).

Dravida—Same as Drâvīda.

Drâvīda—Part of the Deccan from Madras to Seringapatam and Cape Comorin; the country south of the river Pennar or rather Tripati (JRAS., 1846, p. 15). Its capital was Kâśchipura (Mans, ch. X, and Daśakumdracharita, ch. 6). It was also called Chola (Bühler’s Intro. to Vikramâditya-charita, p. 27, note 7). At the time of the Mahâbhârata (Vana, 118) its northern boundary was the Godâvarî.

Drishadhvati—The Caggar (Ghagar) which flowed through Ambala and Sirhind, now lost in the sands of Rajputana (Elphinstone and Tod, JASB., VI, p. 181). General Cunningham has identified it with the river Rakshī which flows by the south-east of Thaneswar (Arch. S. Rep., vol. XIV). It formed the southern boundary of Kurukshetra (see Kurukshetra). The Dyishadhvati has been identified with the modern Chitrang, Chautang, or Chitang, which runs parallel to the Sarasvati (Imperial Gazetteer of India, p. 26;
Rapson's *Ancient India*, p. 61). This identification appears to be correct (*JRAS*, 1893, p. 53). The river flows through Phalaki-vana (*Vāmana P.*, ch. 36).

Dronāchala—The Doonagiri mountain in Kumaon (*JASB*, XVII, p. 617; *Devi Purāṇa*, ch. 39), see *Kūrma*chala.

Dudh-gaṅga—The river Dauli in Garwal, a tributary of the Mandākini or Mandāgni.

Durdūra—Same as *Dardura* (*Markanda*, p. 57).

Durgā—A tributary of the Sābarmati in Gujarat (*Padma P.*, uttara, ch. 60; *Brahmāṇḍa P.*, ch. 49).

Durjayaśīga—Darjeeling, which contains a temple of the Mahādeva called Durja-grapha. Darjiling is a corruption of Durjayaśīga. But some derive the name from Durjeling, a cave of the mystic thunderbolt or "Dorje" on Observatory Hill (Dr. Waddell's *Among the Himalayas*, p. 50).

Durjya—Same as *Manimālipuri* (*Mbh.*, Vana, ch. 96: Nīlakantaša's commentary).

Durvaśa-ārama—I. The hermitage of Rishi Durvaśa is pointed out on the highest peak of a hill called the Kāli Pāhā (Khaḍi Pāhā: Martin's *Eastern India*, vol. II, p. 167), a limestone rock which is worked for chalk. It is two miles to the north of Colgong (Kahalgāon or Kalahagrāma from the pugnacious character of the Rishi) in the district of Bhagalpur and two miles to the south of Pātharghāṭa, the name of a spur of the Colgong range jutting into the Ganges, about twenty-five miles from Bhagalpur. The Pātharghāṭa hill (ancient Silā-saṅgama or properly speaking Bikramasāli Saṅgāma) contains seven rock-cut caves of a very ancient date with niches for the images of the deities, referred to by Huen Tsiang when he visited Champa in the seventh century. Figures of the Buddhist period are scattered in the court-yard of the temple of Baṭesvaranātha Mahādeva just by the side of one of the caves. A flight of stone steps leads from the Ganges to the temple on the hill (*JASB*, 1909, p. 10). See *Colgong* in pt. 11. 2. Durvaśa's hermitage was also at Dubhur, in the hills, seven miles north-east of Rajauli, in the sub-division of Nowdah in the district of Gayā (*Grierson's Notes on the District of Gayā*).

Dvaipāyana-hrada—Same as *Rāma-hrada*. The lake was called Dvaiḍapāyana-hrada on account of an island in its middle: this island contained a sacred well called Chandrakūpā which was visited by pilgrims from all parts of India at the time of the eclipse of the moon.

Dvaita-vana—Deoband, about fifty miles to the north of Mirat in the Saharanpur district, United Provinces, 2½ miles to the west of the east Kāli-nadi and about 16 miles from Muzaffarnagar, where Yudhishtīra retired with his brothers after the loss of his kingdom at the gaming table (*Mahābhārata*, Vana, ch. 24; *Calcutta Review*, 1877, p. 78, note). Half a mile from the town is a small lake called Devī Kuṭā, the banks of which are covered with temples, ghāṭas and Sati monuments, much frequented by pilgrims (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. IV). Dvaita-vana is the birth-place of Jaimini, the founder of the Mimāṃsā school of philosophy.

Dvārakāśī—Same as *Dvārakēṣvāri*.

Dvārāsamudra—Hullabid, the capital of Mysore in the twelfth century.

Dvāravatī—I. Dwarka in Gujarat. Krishṇa made it his capital after his flight from Mathurā when he was harassed by Jarāśindhu, king of Magadha. 2 Siam (Phayre). According to Dr. Takakusu, Dvāravatī represents Ayūthya (or Ayudhya) the ancient capital of Siam (*Introduction to Iturig’s Record of the Buddhist Religion*, p. 11). 3. Dvārāsamudra or modern Halebid in the Hassan district of Mysore: see *Chera* (Rice's *Mysore and Coorg*, II, 17, 18.)
Dvarikā—I. Dwarka in Gujarat. Same as Dvāravatī. It is said to have been destroyed by the ocean just after the ascent of Śrī-Kṛishṇa to heaven. It contains the temple of Nāgaśa, one of the twelve Great Liṅgas of Mahādeva (see Amareśvarā). 2. The capital of Kamboja (Rhys Davids' Buddhist India, p. 28).

Dvārakāśvari—The river Dālākig xor Bīṣṇupur in Bengal, one of the branches of the Rūpanārayaṇa (K. ch.).

E

Ekachakrā—Dr. Führer (MAI.) has identified it with Chakarnagar, sixteen miles south-west of Itawah. (Mbh., Ādi P., ch. 158). Its identification with Arrah by General Cunningham (Arch. S. Rep., vol. III, 1871-72) is incorrect.

Ekāmrakānana—Bhūvaneśvara on the river Gandhavatī, twenty miles from Cuttack in Orissa (Brahma P., ch. 40). The building of the temple at Bhūvaneśvara was commenced by Yayāṭi Kṛṣṇa, the founder of the Kṛṣṇa dynasty, who ascended the throne of Orissa after expelling the Yavanas or Buddhists in 473 A.D., and was completed about a century after Lalāṭendu Kṛṣṇa. Under the name of Kaliṅga-nagarā, Bhūvaneśvara was the capital of Orissa from the sixth century B.C. to the time of Yayāṭi Kṛṣṇa in the middle of the fifth century A.D. (Dr. R. Mitra's Antiquities of Orissa, vol. II, p. 62). Same as Harakshettra. It appears, however, that the place was covered with jungle before Yayāṭi Kṛṣṇa commenced building the temples at Bhūvaneśvara towards the close of his reign; he died in 526 A.D. At the time of Lalāṭendu Kṛṣṇa (623-677 A.D.), it again became the capital: it contained seven Sāhis and forty-two streets. The temples of Bhūvaneśvara (a Hari-hara image), Mukteśvara, Gauri and Paraśurāma, which still exist, contain much workmanship of great artistic value. The tank called Devi-pāda-harā, having 108 small temples of Yoginis on all its sides, is said to have been the place where Bhagavati crushed down the two demons Kṛitti and Vāsā with her feet (Bhūvaneśvarā Māhatmyā). The Bindu Sarovara is the most sacred tank in Bhūvaneśvara dug by the queen of Lalāṭendu Kṛṣṇa. The ruins of the ancient palace of Yayāṭi Kṛṣṇa still exist by the side of the road leading from the Railway Station near the Rāmeśvara temple. Lalāṭendu Kṛṣṇa is said to have erected a palace to the south of the temple of Bhūvaneśvara (Dr. R. Mitra's Antiquities of Orissa, vol. II, p. 83; Stirling's Orissa in JASB., 1837, p. 756).

Elapura—Elur or Ellora. The cave temple of Kailāśa was constructed on the hills by Kṛishṇa Rāja of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty of Bādāmi, who reigned between 753 and 775 A.D. (Dr. Bhandarkar's Early History of the Dekkan). General Cunningham (Ancient Geography of India) identifies Elapura with Veraval in Gujarat, but this identification does not appear to be correct. Elapura is evidently a corruption of Ibalapura. See Ibalapura.

Embolina (of the Greeks)—The fort of Amb, near Balimah, sixty miles above Attock, opposite to Darbund on the Indus, conquered by Alexander the Great.

Eraṇḍapalla—Khandes; it was conquered by Samudra Gupta.

Eraṇḍi—The river Uṛi of Or, a tributary of the Nerbuda in the Baroda State [Padma P., Svarga (Ādi), ch. 9] near the junction of which, Kārnali is situated. The junction is a sacred place of pilgrimage.

G

Gabidhumat—Kudarkote, twenty-four miles to the north-east of Itawah and thirty-six miles from Sankisa in the district of Furukkabad. It was governed by Hari Datta at the time of Śrīharsha or Śilāditya II of Kanauj (Ep. Ind., vol. I, p. 180).
Gadhipura—Kanauj. It was the capital of Gādhi Rājā, the father of the Rishi Visvāmitra.

Gajasāhvaya-nagara—Same as Hastināpura (Bhāgavata, ch. X, p. 68).

Gajendra-moksha—1. Sonepur, at the confluence of the Ganges and the Gāndak, where the fight took place between the elephant and the alligator (see Visālā-ehhatra and Harihara-kshetra). 2. A place of pilgrimage on the bank of the Tāmrapaṇi, twenty miles to the west of Timnevelly, visited by Chaitanya (Chaitanya-charitāmṛta, II, 9). The Vāmanā Purāṇa (ch. 84) places it at the Trīkūṭa mountain.

Gālava-āśrama—1. The hermitage of Rishi Gālava, three miles from Jaipur; 2. On the Chitrakūṭa mountain (Bṛhad-Siva P., I, ch. 83).

Galikā—Same as Gaṅdakī (Padma P., chs. 44, 52).

Gambhirā—The river Gambhirā, a tributary of the river Sipra in Malwa, mentioned by Kālidāsa in his Meghadūta (I, 42).

Gaṅa-muktēsvara—Gaṅ- Muktēsvara on the Ganges in the district of Mirat. It was a quarter of the ancient Haṣṭināpura where Gaṇeṣa worshipped Mahādeva [Asia. Res., XIV, p. 457 (Wilford)].

Gaṅ-kshetra—See Bījal-kshetra.

Gaṅḍakī—The river Gaṅḍakī. It rises in the Sapta Gaṅḍakī or Dhavālāgiri range of the Himalaya, which is the southern boundary of Central Tibet, the remote source being called Dāmodarakunda, and enters the plains at a spot called Tribeni Ghaṭ (see Sapta-Gaṅḍakī). The river is said to have been formed from the sweat of the cheeks (Gaṅḍa) of Vishṇu who performed austerities near its source and hence the river is called Gaṅḍakī (Varāha P., ch. 144). The source of the river is not far from Śālagrāma, which was the hermitage of Bharata and Pulaha. The temple of Muktinātha (an image of Nārāyaṇa) is on the south of Śālagrāma. Hence the river is called the Śālagrāma and Nārāyaṇ (Varāha P., ch. 144). See Muktinātha. The river now joins the Ganges at Sonepur in the district of Muzaffarpur in Bihar where the celebrated fair is held (see Visālā-ehhatra Gajendra-moksha, Harihara-kshetra and Triveni).

Gandhahasti-stupa—Bakraur on the Phalgu, opposite to Buddha-Gaya, visited by Huien Tsiang. Maltāngi, which is a corruption of Mātaṅga Liṅga appertained formerly to Gandha-hasti stupa (Mātaṅga meaning an elephant). This Buddhist place of pilgrimage has now been appropriated by the Hindus under the name of Mātaṅga-āśrama and it now contains a liṅga of the Mahādeva called Mātaṅgesa and a tank called Mātaṅga-vāpl. See Gayā.

Gandhamadāna—A part of the Rudra Himalaya, and according to Hindu geographers, it is a part of the Kailāsa range (Vikramorevasi, Act IV). It is on the southern side of the Kailāsa mountain (Kālīkā P., ch. 82). At the plantain forest of this mountain, Hanumāna resided. Badarikāśrama is situated on this mountain (Varāha P., ch. 48 and Mbh., Vana P., chs. 145, 157; Śānti P., ch. 335). The portion of the mountains of Garwal through which the Alakñandā flows is called Gandhamadāna (Mārkandeya Purāṇa, ch. 57; Skanda P., Viṣṇu Kh., III, 6). Gandhamadāna is also said to be watered by the Mandakini (Vikramorevasi, Act IV). A fragment of this mountain, said to have been brought by Hanumāna, is pointed out near Ramesvaram in Southern India.

Gāndhāra—The country of Gāndhāra lies along the Kabul river between the Khoaspe (Kunar) and the Indus, comprising the districts of Peshawar and Rawalpindi in the northern Punjab. Its capitals were Purushapura now called Peshawar, and Takshashilā.
the Taxila of Alexander's historians. Ptolemy makes the Indus the western boundary of Gandarī. In the Behistun inscription which was inscribed by the order of Darius, king of Persia, in 516 B.C., in the fifth year of his reign, Gadara or Gandhāra is mentioned among the conquered countries of Darius (for a copy of the Inscription, see Rawlinson's Herodotus, vol. III, p. 590). The Gandarians and the Dadíce were united under one commander in the army of Xerxes (Herodotus, VII, 6). It is the Kiantolo of Hiuen Tsiang, the Kundara Gandhīride of Strabo and other ancient Greek geographers. In the Ain-i-Akbari, it forms the district of Pukely, lying between Kāsmīr and Attŏck [JASB., vol. XV (1846)]. Gandhāra not only comprised the modern districts of Peshawar and Rawalpindī, but also Swat and Hoti Murdān or what is called the Eusofzai country, that is the country between the Indus and the Panjcura, where at Ranigat, Sanghāo and Nuttu, discoveries were made of excellent Buddhist architecture and sculptures of the time of Kanishka, i.e., of the first century of the Christian era, through the labours of Major Cole (Memorandum of Ancient Monuments of Eusofzai). Ancient sculptures have also been discovered at Jamal Giri in the Eusofzai Pargana of the Peshawar district, Jamal Giri being thirty miles distant from Peshawar [JASB., (1852) p. 606]. The Eusofzai country is bounded on the north by Chitral and Yasin, on the west by Bejwār and the Swat river, on the east by the Indus, and on the south by the Kābul river (Arch. S. Rep., vol. V). Pushkārāvati or Pushkālavati (Pukely) was its most ancient capital, which the Rāmāyana placed in Gandhārā-ṛṣa. The Kathā-sarīrī-sāgara (ch. XXXVII) calls Pushkālawati the capital of the Vidyādhāras. Gandhāra of the Mahābhārata and of the Buddhist period, therefore, is the corruption of Gandhārav-ṛṣa of Valmīkī (Rāmāyana, Uttarā kh., chs. 113 and 114). Major Cole says that the Corinthian style of architecture reproduces itself all over Eusofzai, the Doric in Kāsmīr, and the Ionic at Taxila or Shahderi between Attŏck and Rawalpindī (Second Report of the Curator of Ancient Monuments in India for 1882-83, p. cxvi). Asoka sent here a Buddhist missionary named Majhīnātika in 245 B.C. (Mahāvamsa, ch. XII). Gandhāra was included in the kingdom of Chandra Gupta and Asoka, and it seems that Agathodēes conquered the country and expelled the Mauyāyas. According to Col. Rawlinson, the Gandarians of the Indus seem to have first emigrated to Kandahar in the fifth century A.D. (Herodotus, vol. I, p. 675, note).

Gandhārav-ṛṣa—Gandhāra, which is evidently a corruption of Gandhārav-ṛṣa (see Gandhāra).

Gandhavatī—A small branch of the Sīpra, on which the temple of Mahākāla in Ujjain is situated (Meghadūta, pt. I, v. 34).

Gaṅgā—The Gaṅgās (Ṛg-Veda, X, 75; Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, VIII, 14, 4). The course of the Gaṅgās is described with some detail in the Brihad-Dharma P., (Madhyā kh., ch. 22). The main stream of the river originally passed southwards, after leaving Jahnū-ṛṣrama at Sultanganj, through the channel of the Bhāgirathī which with the Jellongī forms the river Hāgā from Shībganj above Boalia. There are six Jahnus which are allegorical representations of changes in the course of the Gaṅgās: 1st, at Ghairavghātī below Gaṅgatri at the junction of the Bhāgirathī and Jahnīvari (Fraser’s Himalaya Mountains, p. 476; Rām. I, 43); 2nd, at Kānyakubjā or Kanauj (Vishṇu-dharmottara P., I, ch. 28); 3rd, at Jahnīvari in Sultanganj on the west of Bhaagalpur (Arch. S. Rep. XV, p. 29, Brihad-dharma P. Purva kh., ch. 6; JASB., XXXIII, 360); 4th, at Shībganj above Rampur-Boalia; 5th, at Gour near Malda (Martin’s Eastern India) III, 81; Hamilton’s East India Gazetteer, s. v. Gour; 6th, at Jannagar (Brahmāpītalā) 4 miles to the west of Nadia. (Navadīśa-Parikramā; Chunder’s Travels of a Hindu, vol. I): see my pamphlet entitled Early Course of the Ganges forming chapter VIII in Major Hirst’s Report on the Nadia
Rivers, 1915, ch. viii. The Ganges after flowing past Triveni, Chagda, Guria, Parupur, Raigaon and Diamond Harbour through Adi gaiga or Tolly’s Nala falls into the sea near Sagar Island [ Rev. J. Long’s Banks of the Bhagirathi in Calcutta Review. vi. (1846); p. 403; Cotton’s Calcutta: Old and New]. See Kausiki.

Ganga—It is the name of the country of Radha as well as of its capital Saptagrama which is called Gange by Ptolemy and the “Port of the Ganges” in the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea in the province of Bengal. Gange is mentioned in Ptolemy as the capital of the Gangerides who were evidently the people of Radha which was situated on the western side of the Ganges (see McCrindle’s Ptolemy and his Commerce and Navigation of the Erythraean Sea, p. 140). Ganga as a country is mentioned in the Karhad Plate Inscription of Krishna III (see Epigraphia Indica, vol. IV, p. 278) and also in the Harishara and Belur inscriptions (Rice’s Mysore Inscriptions, pp 70, 222). In the first mentioned inscription, Ganga is placed between Kaliya and Magadha. Mr. Schoff in his notes on the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea, p. 255, says “the name (Ganges) is applied in the same paragraph to district, river, and town” and according to him, by the district is meant Bengal. But considering the situation of the town Ganga, the district must mean Radha, as Saptagrama (the town Ganga), in the first and second centuries of the Christian era was the chief town of Radha and not of the whole Bengal, (JASB., 1910, p. 599). See Radha. Perhaps Ganga was the Gangayani of the later Vedic period, of which the king was Chitra (Kausitaki Upanishad, I, 1). The Gaiga dynasty ruled over the south of Mysore (see Talakada) and Coorg, with Salem, Coimbatore, the Nilgiri and parts of Malabar from the second to the ninth century a.d.: Coimbatore and Salem were called the Kongu country (Rice’s Mysore Inscriptions, Nos. 151—157 and pp. 70, 222, 262). A branch of the family ruled over Orissa (Ibid., Intro., XLVII) who evidently conquered Radha or the present districts of Hingli, Midnapore, &c., and from them, i.e., the Gaiga dynasty, as well as from its situation on the western bank of the Ganges, it was called Ganga. Choragaiga killed the Mandara king on the bank of the Ganges after his conquest of Utkala, and Mandara has been identified by some with Sumha or Radha (JASB., 1895, p. 139, note; 1896, p. 241). Hence there can be no doubt that Radha was ruled over by the Ganga kings of Orissa in the 12th century. Ganga was perhaps the country of Ganga or Gagiga of the Kausitaki Upanishad (I, 1), of which the king was Chitra, who was called Gagigayaani being the son of Gagiga (variant Gaiga), i.e., king of Gagiga or Gaiga.

Gaagadvara—Haridvar (see Mayapur).

Gagasesara—Same as Sagarsaigama (Mbh., Vana, ch. 113).

Gaagotri—A spot in the Rudra Himalaya in Garwal, supposed by the ancient Hindus to have been the source of the Ganges, though it has been traced further north by Captain Hodgson (Asia. Res., vol. XIV). There is a temple of Gaaga Devi. One kos from Gaagotri and two kos from Meani-ki-Gad there is a spot called Patangiri, which is said to be the place where the five Panaivas remained for twelve years worshipping Mahadeva, and where perhaps Draupadi and four of the Panaivas died (Mbh., Mahaprasthanika P., ch. 2). After that Yudhishthira left this place and ascended Savgarlohini, a peak of the sacred hill whence the Ganges flows. The Rudra Himalaya has five principal peaks called Rudra Himalaya (the eastern peak), Burarpuri, Bisenpur, Udgarrikanta and Savgarlohini (the western and nearest peak). These form a sort of semi-circular hollow of very considerable extent filled with eternal snow, from the gradual dissolution of the lower parts of which the principal part of the stream is generated (Fraser’s Tour through the Himalaya Mountains, pp. 466, 470, 471; Martin’s Indian Empire, vol. III, pp. 11, 21). See Sumeru-parvata.
Garga-śrama—1. Gagason, the reputed site of the hermitage of Rishi Garga, situated in the Rai Bareli district, opposite to Asni, across the Ganges. 2. The Lodh Moona forest in Kumaon is also said to be the hermitage of the Rishi: the river Gugas rises in this forest and falls into the Dhauli. See Kārmāchala (JASB., XVII, p. 617).

Garjapura—Ghaziipur (according to General Cunningham, Anc. Geo.). This part of the country was visited by Fa Hian in the fifth century. General Cunningham infers the ancient name of Garjapura (which is not found in any ancient work) from the modern name Ghazipur and hence his identification is faulty. It formed a part of the ancient Dharmāraṇya (Führer MAI.). See Dharmāraṇya and Ghaziipur in Pt. II, of this work.

Gauḍa—1. The whole of Bengal was denominated Eastern Gauḍa from its capital of the same name, the ruins of which lie near Malda at a distance of about ten miles (see Lakṣmanaṇavati). It was situated on the left bank of the Ganges which has now receded from it four and half miles, and in some places twelve miles. It was the capital of Deva Pāla, Mahendra Pāla, Adiṣura, Ballāla Ṣena, and the Muhammadan rulers from 1204 up to about the close of the sixteenth century. It is said to have been founded in A. D. 648 when Bengal became independent of the Magadha kingdom, the former capital of Bengal being Puṇḍravaradhaṇa. James Prinsep supposes that Gauḍa was founded in 1086 (JASB., vol. V), but it is mentioned by Bāna in the Harshacharita. For further particulars, see Gour in Pt. II. All the country south of Aṅga to the sea was called Gauḍa (The Literary Remains of Dr. Bhau Daji). 2. Uttara Kośala the capital of which was Śravasti, was also called Gauḍa or Northern Gauḍa (Karma P., Pt. I, ch. 4; Liṅga P., Pt. I, ch. 65). Gauḍa, a sub-division of Uttara Kośala, forty-two miles south of Śravasti, is a corruption of Gauḍa (according to General Cunningham, Anc. Geo., p. 408). The tradition respecting the famous tooth-brush trees (daṇṭa-dhāvana) of Buddha still exists at Gauḍa (Führer’s MAI.). Gauḍa may also be a corruption of Gonaradda. See Gonaradda. 3. Gondwana was the Western Gauḍa. 4. The Southern Gauḍa was the bank of the Kāverī (Padma P., Pāṭala, ch. 28).

Gauḍa-parvata—The Gaṅgotoṛi mountain, at the foot of which Bindusāra (q. v.) is situated (Matsya P., I, ch. 121).

Gauri—The river Panjkora (the Gouraios or Gouræus of the Greeks) which unites with the river Swat to form the Landoi, an affluent of the Kabul river [Mbh., Bk. VI; Alexander’s Exploits on the Western Banks of the Indus], by M. A. Court in JASB. (1839), p. 307; and McCrindle’s Invasion of India, p. 66]. The Panjkora rising in Gilgit, flows between the Khonar (Choes of Arrian, called also Khameh) and the Swat [JASB. (1839), p. 306]. Panjkora is evidently a corruption of Pañchagauḍa from the name of a town of that name situated on the bank of this river [JASB. (1852), p. 215]. See Pañchagauḍa-karpata.

Gaurikūṇḍa—1. A holy place at a very short distance below Gaṅgotoṛi, where the Kedār-Gaṅgā debouches into the Bhagirathi (Fraser’s Himāla Mountains, p. 466). Below Gaurikūṇḍa, there is a small temple dedicated to the goddess Gaṅgā. The temple is situated precisely on the sacred stone on which Bhagiratha performed asceticism to bring down the goddess (Ibid., p. 468). 2. A sacred lake on the Kailāsa mountain, which is the source of rivers Sindhu and Sarajū (Rāmānanda Bhārati’s Himārāja). 3. There is another sacred pool known by the name of Gaurikūṇḍa which is one day’s journey from Kedārnāth (Fraser’s Himāla Mountains, p. 301), or about eight miles to the south of the latter, containing a spring of hot water. 4. A hot spring on the bank of the Kāli-gaṅgā on the boundary of Nepal and the British district of Almora.
Gauri-saṅkara—Mount Everest in Nepal according to Schlagintweit, but locally it is not known by that name (Dr. Waddell, *Among the Himalayans*, p. 37). Captain Wood's measurement has proved that Gauri-Saṅkara of the Nepalese cannot be Mount Everest (Dr. Waddell's *Lhasa and its Mysteries*, p. 76).


Gautama-āśrama—1. Ahalyasthāna in the village of Ahiari, pargana Jarail, twenty-four miles to the south-west of Janakpur in Tirhut. 2. Godna (Godāna) near Revelganj, six miles west of Chhapra on the Saraju; the Ganges once flowed by the side of this village. The Gautama-āśrama at Godna, which is said to have been the hermitage of Rishi Gautama, the author of the Nyāya-darsana, derived its name, however, according to Dr. Hoey from the fact that at this place Gautama (Buddha) crossed over the Ganges after leaving Pāñaliputra by the gate which was afterwards called the Gautama gate [JASB., vol. LXIX (1900), pp. 77, 78—Dr. Hoey's *Identification of Kuśināra Vaiśāli* &c.]. But Patna is four miles to the south-east of Godna; hence it is not probable that Buddha crossed over the river at this place. 3. Áhiroli near Buxar (*Brikat-Nāriya Purāṇa*, ch. IX). 4. Tryambaka near the source of the river Godāvari (*Śiva P.*, Bk. I, ch. 54). The Rāmāyaṇḍa, however, places the hermitage of Rishi Gautama near Janakpur.


Gautami-gaṅga—Same as Gautami.

Gayā—It is situated between the Ramālī hill on the north and the Brahmavari hill on the south, on the bank of the river Phalgū. The town comprises the modern town of Shahebganj on the northern side and the ancient town of Gayā on the southern side. In the southern portion of the town, called Chakrabadha in the Chaitanya-Bhāgavata (ch.12) is situated the celebrated temple of Vishṇupada, which was erected some two hundred years ago by Ahalyābāī, the daughter-in-law of Mulhar Rao Holkar of Indore, on the site of a more ancient temple; the Vishṇupada had been set up prior to Fa Hian's visit. The temple of Maṅgalā Gauri, one of the fifty-two Pīthas, where Sati's breast is said to have fallen, is situated on a spur of the Brahmavari range called the Bhāsnāth (Devī-Bhāgavata, Pt. VII, chs. 30 and 38). For the sacred places in Gayā, see *Vāyu Purāṇa*, II, chs. 105 ff. which form the *Gayā-māhātmya*. Buddha Gayā (see *Urvilva*) is six miles to the south of Gayā. The Barabar hills contain four caves dedicated by Asoka to the Ājīvakas, a sect which followed the doctrine of Mahāliputta Gosāla, and the three caves on the Nāgarjuni hills were dedicated by Asoka's grandson Dasaratha to the same sect: for Dasarattha's and other inscriptions in the Nāgarjuni hill, see JASB., 1837, pp. 676—680. Gayā was one of the first places which received the doctrine of Buddha during the lifetime of the saint, and became the head-quarters of his religion. But it appears that it passed from the Buddhists to the Hindus between the second and fourth centuries of the Christian era, and in 404 A. D., Fa Hian found that "all within the city was desolate and desert"; and when Huien Tsiang visited it in 637 A. D., he found it to be a thriving Hindu town "well defended, difficult of access, and occupied by a thousand families of Brāhmaṇas, all descendants of a single Rishi", who were evidently the "Gayālis." The story of Gayāsura of the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, according to Dr. R. L. Mitra (*Buddha-Gayā*, p. 17), is an allegorical representation of the expulsion of Buddhism from Gayā, which was the
head-quarters of the Buddhist faith. From Vishñupada, Dharmārañya, including Mātaγga-vāpi, now called Maltangi, is six miles, Brahmāsara one mile south-west, Godalola one mile south near Māraṇpur, and Uttara-Manasa one mile north. Dakṣinā-Mānas is near Devagāh (Mbh., Vana, ch. 84; Agni P., ch. 115). The temple of Jagannātha at Umanganagar (Umgā), and those of Śūrya at Deo (Deota Śūrya) and Kuch near Tikari in the district of Gayā are old, containing inscriptions (JASB., 1847, pp. 656, 1220). For further particulars, see Gayā in Pt. II.

Gayānabhi.—Jāipur in Orissa. Gayāsura, a demon overthrown by Vishnu, was of such a bulky stature that when stretched on the ground his head rested at Gayā, his navel at Jāipur and his feet at a place called Pīhāpur, forty miles from Rājmahendri. A well or natural fountain at Jāipur is pointed out as the centre of the navel (Stirling’s Orissa).

Gayāpada.—Pīhāpur, forty miles from Rājmahendri where Gayāsura’s feet rested when he was overthrown by Vishnu.

Gayāśīrsha.—1. Gayā. 2. The mount Gayāśīrsha, called Gayāśisa in the Buddhist annals, is according to General Cunningham the Brahmayoni hill in Gayā, where Buddha preached his “burning” sermon called the Aditya paryāya-Sūtra (Mahāvagga, I, 21). Gayāśīrsha is properly a low spur of the Brahmayoni hill, about a mile in area, forming the site of the old town of Gayā (R. L. Mitra’s Buddha Gayā; and Mahāvagga, Pt. 1, ch. 22). It is mentioned as a place of pilgrimage in the Agni Purāṇa (ch. 219, v. 64) along with other places of pilgrimage at Gayā.

Gayāśīsa.—See Gayāśīrsha.

Gehamara.—Gahmār (E. I. Railway) in the district of Ghazipur. It was the abode of Mura, a daitya, who was killed by Kṛishna (Führer’s MAI., and Arch. S. Rep., Vol. XXII, p. 88). The scene of the battle is placed at Sveta-dvipa (Vāmana P., chs. 60, 61).

Gharāpur—The island of Elephanta, six miles from Bombay; it is also called Purī (Fergusson’s Cave Temples of India, p. 465). It was a celebrated place of pilgrimage from the third to the tenth century A. D.

Gharghara—The river Ghagra or Gogra, which rises in Kumaon and joins the sarajū (Padma P., Bhūmi kh., ch. 24; Asia Res., XIV, 411).


Girikarnika—The river Sabarmati in Gujarāt (Padma P., Uttara, ch. 52).

Girinagara—Gīnar, one of the hills known by the name of Jūnagar at a small distance from the town of Jūnagar, sacred to the Jainas as containing the temples of Nemināth and Parāśvanāth (Tawney: Prabhanda-hinchāntamaṇi, p. 201). The name of Girinagara is mentioned in the Brihat Samhitā (XIV, 11), and in the Rudradāmana inscription of Girnar [Ind. Ant. VII., (1878), p. 257]; for a description of the hill and the temples, see JASB., (1838) pp. 334, 872-882. It was the hermitage of Rishi Dattātreya. In one of the edicts of Asoka inscribed on the rocks of Jūnagar are found the names of five Greek (Yona or Yavana) kings: “Antiyoko” or Antiocchus (Theos of Syria), “Turamāya” or Ptolemy (Philadelphus of Egypt), “Antikini” or Antigonus (Gonatus of Macedon), “Maka” or Magas (of Cyrene), and “Alikasudara” or Alexander (II of Epirus). Girnar is situated in Bāstrapatha-kṣetra. The Prabhāsa Khaṇḍa (Bāstrapatha-mahātmāya, chs. I, XI) of the Skanda Purāṇa gives an account of its sanctity.
The river Palásini, known as Svarṣarekhā flows by the foot of the hill. Arishṭanemi or Neminātha, the twenty-second Tirthaṅkara of the Jaines, was worshipped by the Digambara sect; he was born at Sauryapura or Sauripura or Mathurā and is said to be a contemporary and cousin of Krishṇa, being the son of Rājimagi, the daughter of Ugrasena. He died at Girnar at a very old age and his symbol was the Saṅkhā or Conch-shell (Uttarādhyayana in SBE, XLV, p. 112). He was the guru or spiritual guide of king Dattātreya, who was his first convert (Antiquities of Kathiawad and Kachh, p. 175; Brīhat-Saṅhitā, ch. 14). Junagar itself was called Girinagara: this name was subsequently transferred to the mountain (Corp. Ins. Ind., III, 57). It was the capital of the Scythian viceroy (Kshatrāpa), who early in the second century A.D., became independent of the Saka king of Sakastra or Sistan, which means “the land of Sse” or Sakas (Dr. Rhys Davids’ Buddhist India). The Girnar or Junagar or Rudra Dāman inscription contains an account of Rudra Dāman’s ancestors (JASB., 1883, p. 340). The names of Maurya Chandragupta and his grandson Asoka occur in this inscription (for a transcript of the inscription, see Ind. Ant., VII, p. 260). The mount Girnar contains a foot-print known as Gurudatta-charana which is said to have been left there by Krishṇa. It was visited by Chaitanya [Govinda Dāsa’s Kadhal (Diary)]. It was also called Raivatataka mountain. It is described in the Siṣupālavadha (C. IV).

Girivṛājapura—1. Rājgir in Bihar, the ancient capital of Magadha at the time of the Mahābhārata (Sabhā, ch. 21), where Jūrāsindhu and his descendants resided. The name of Girivṛaja is very rarely used in Buddhist works (SBE, X, 67): it was generally called Rājagrīha. It is sixty-two miles from Patna and fourteen miles south of Bihar (town). It was founded by Rājā Vasu and was therefore called Vasumati (Rāmāyana, Ṭadi, ch. 32). It is surrounded by five hills called in the Mahābhārata (Sabhā, ch. 21) Baihāra, Barāha, Brīshabha, Rishi-giri, and Chaityaka, but they are now called Baibhāra-giri, Bipula-giri, Ratnakūṭa, Girivṛaja-giri, and Ratnāchala. In the Pāli books, the five hills are called Gijjhakuṭa, Isigili, Veabhāra, Vepulla, and Pānḍava. Baibhāra has been identified by General Cunningham with Baibhāra-giri, the Veabhāra mountain of the Pāli annals; Rishi-giri with Ratnakūṭa (also called Ratnagiri), the Pānḍava mountain of the Pāli annals; Chaitya with Bipula-giri—the Vepulla mountain of the Pāli annals; and Barāha with Girivṛaja-giri. A part of this hill is called Gijjhakuṭa; hence Brīshabha may be identified with Ratnāchala. Girivṛaja-giri includes the Udaya-giri and Sona-giri. Udayagiri joins Ratnagiri at its south-eastern corner, and Sona-giri is between Udaya-giri and Girivṛaja-giri. Girivṛajapura is the Kusumapura or Rājagrīha of the Buddhist period. It is bounded on the north by Baibhāra-giri and Bipula-giri (the former on the western side and the latter on the eastern side); on the east by Bipula-giri, and Ratnagiri or Ratnakūṭa; on the west by a portion of the Baibhāra-giri called Chakra and Ratnāchala; and on the south by Udaya-giri, Sona-giri, and Girivṛaja-giri. Girivṛaja-pura had four gates: first, between Baibhāra-giri and Bipula-giri on the northern side, called the Sūrya-dvāra (sun-gate); it was protected by Jarā Rākhashi; second, between Girivṛaja-giri and Ratnāchala called the Gaja-dvāra (elephant-gate); third, between Ratnagiri (or Ratnakūṭa) and Udaya-giri; fourth, between Ratnāchala and Chakra, a portion of the Baibhāra hill. The river Sarasvati flows through the hill-begirt city and passes out by the side of the northern gate. The river Bān-gaṅgā is on the s
Rājgir. At the time of the Rāmāyaṇa (see Ādi, ch. 32) the river Sone flowed through the town. Jarāsindhu’s palace was situated on the western side of the valley in the space between Baibhāra-giri and Ratnāchala. The Rangbhum or the wrestling ground of Jarāsindhu is at the foot of the Baibhāra hill, a mile to the west of the Sonabhāṇḍār cave. Bhūma Sen’s Ukhara or the Malla-bhāśmi at the foot of the Sona-giri, close to a low ledge of laterite forming a terrace, is pointed out as the place where Bhūma and Jarāsindhu wrestled and the latter was killed after a fight of thirteen days. The indentations and cavities peculiar to such formations are supposed to be the marks left by the wrestlers. Southwards towards Udaya-giri, the road is formed by the bare rock in which occur many short inscriptions in the shell pattern [JASB., (1847) p. 559]. Traditionally the princes were confined by Jarāsindhu at the foot of the Sona-giri. Six miles from Rājgir is situated the Giriya hill containing the celebrated tower called Jarāsindhu-kā-Baithak formerly called the Haṃsa stūpa (see Indrasīla-guha). The Paṅchāna river flows by the side of this hill. Bhūma, Arjuna, and Krīṣṇa crossed the Paṅchāna river and entered Jarāsindhu’s town in disguise by scaling the Giriya hill, a spur of the Bipula or Chaitiyaka range (Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. V, p. 85). There is, however, a pair of foot-prints within a small temple on the slope of the Baibhāra hill on its northern side which are pointed out as the foot-prints of Krīṣṇa, and are said to have been left by him when he entered Rājgir. They reconnoitred the town from Goratha hill, which is now called the Bāthāri-kā-Pahād, appearing from a distance to have three peaks, five or six miles to the west of Rājgir and north of Sandol Pahaś, a hill larger than the Bāthāri hill (Mbh., Sahā P., ch. 20). At the foot of the Baibhāra hill on the north and at a short distance from the northern gate, there are seven Kuṇḍas or hot springs called Vyāsa, Mārkana, Sapt-Rishi or Saptadāhāra, Brahma, Kaśyapa-rishi, Gaṅgā-Jamunā, and Ananta. At a short distance to the east of these Kuṇḍas, there are five hot springs called Sūrya, Chandramā, Ganesā, Rāma and Śīta. To the east of this latter group of Kuṇḍas is a hot-spring called Śrīgī-rishi-kunḍa now called Makhdum-kunḍa after the name of a Muhammadan saint Makhdum Shah, called also Sharfuddin Ahmad, at the foot of the Bipula hill on its northern side. Close to the side of this spring is Makhdum Shah’s Chilīea or a small cavern for worship. Just over the entrance to the Chilīea, there is a huge slanting rock said to have been rolled down by two brothers Rāol and Lāttā to kill the saint, but it was arrested in its course by his look. This story is evidently a replica of the Buddhist account about Devadatta hurling at Buddha a block of stone which was arrested in its course by two other blocks. There are the temple of Jāra Devī near the northern gate and Jainu temples of Mahāvīra, Pārasnathā, and other Tirthaṅkaras on the Baibhāra, Bipula, Udaya, and Sona-giri hills. Buddha resided in a cave of Pāndava-giri (which is called Rata-giri on the eastern side of the town) when he first came to Rājagriha [Sutta-nipāta, ‘Pabbajjasutta,’ SBE., vol. X; JASB. (1838), p., 810]. Here he became the disciple of Arāda first and then of Rudraka; but dissatisfied with their teachings, he left Rājagriha (Aśvaghoṣha’s Buddha-charita). While he was residing in a cave called Krīṣṇāśilā on the eastern side of Pāṇḍava-giri, he was visited by king Bimbisāra (Mahāvagga, ‘Pabbajjasutta’, 12; and Lalita-vistara, ch. 16). The Sonabhāṇḍār cave on the southern face of the Baibhāra hill within the valley or the ancient town of Rājagriha (incorrectly identified by General Cunningham with the Saptaparnī cave where the first
Buddhist synod was held [Arch. S. Rep., vol. III; Fergusson's Cave Temples of India, p. 49] has been identified by Mr. Beglar with the "Stone Cavern" of Fa Hian, where Buddha used to sit in profound meditation. At a short distance to the east is another cell where Ananda practised meditation. When Ananda was frightened by Mara, Buddha through a cleft in the rock introduced his hand and stroked Ananda on the shoulder and removed his fear (Arch. S. Rep., vol. 3). There are still thirteen socket holes in front of Buddha's cave (the Sonbhanga cave) indicating that a hall existed there where Buddha "delivered the law" as Fa Hian calls it. In the curve formed by the Bipula and Ratnagiri hills, near the northern gate, was situated a mango-garden formerly belonging to Ambapali and then to Jivaka, the court-physician to king Bimbisara, in which the latter built a vihara and gave it to Buddha and his 1250 disciples (SBE., vol. XVII; Samanããphala Sutta, and Fa Hian's Fo-kwo-ki). Cunningham also places Devadatta's house within the curve (Arch. S. Rep., vol. III), but the location is very doubtful. Devadatta's cave was situated outside the old city on the north and at a distance of three li to the east (Legge's Fa Hian, p. XXX). It can be easily identified with Makhdum Shah's Chiwa which was formerly called Sriñi-rishi's kunda. Devadatta, Buddha's first cousin, created a schism in the Buddhist order nine or ten years before Buddha's death, and his followers were called Gotamaka. It was he who instigated Ajatasatru to kill his father (Rhys David's Buddhist India; Spence Hardy's Manual of Buddhism; Sarnjiva-Jatuka in the Jatakas, vol. I). The Beuvana Vihara called also Karanda Beuvana Vihara, which was given by Bimbisara to Buddha and where Buddha usually resided when he visited Ràjgir, was situated at a distance of three hundred paces from the extreme east toe of the Baibhara hill (i.e. outside the valley and on the northern side of the Baibhara hill). In this Vihara, Sariputra, whose real name was Upanishya, (Kern, Saddharma-pundarika. SBE. XXI, p. 89), and Maudgalyana (called also Kolita) became Buddha's disciples, having learnt first the doctrines from Asvajit in the celebrated couples which mean, 'Tathagata has explained the cause of all things which have proceeded from a cause, and the great Sramañña has likewise explained the cause of their cessation.' They had been formerly the disciples of Sarnjaya Vairaghi Putra of Ràjgir. Near it was the Pippala cave where Buddha used to sit in deep meditation (Dhyana) after his midday meal. This cave is at a short distance from the Jain temple on the top of the Baibhara hill, down a narrow ledge on the west. The Saptaparñi (called also Saptaparña and Sattaparñi) caves have been identified by Mr. Beglar with a group of caves situated at a distance of about a mile to the west of the Pippala cave and the northern side of the Baibhara hill, where the first Buddhist synod was held after the Nirvana of Buddha under the presidency of Mahakasyapa (Vinaya Texts, pp. 370-385; SBE., vol. XX; Arch. S. Rep., vol. VIII). The Smaśānam or cemetery was two or three li to the north of Beuvana vihara, in a forest called Sitavana (Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. I; Avadana Kalpalata, ch. 9, slk. 19), which may be identified with Vasu-Ràjákâ-Gad, Vasu Ràjá being the grandfather of Jarasandhu and father of Brijadraha. Bimbisara, in accordance with his promise that in whichever house a fire occurred through negligence, the owner thereof should be expelled and placed in the cemetery, abandoned his palace at Ràjgir in the valley as it caught fire and went to reside at the cemetery; but apprehending an attack from the king of Vaisali, or according to some account, from Chañda Pajjota, king of Ujjayini, in this unprotected place which was not at all fortified, he commenced to build the new town of Ràjagriha, which is at a distance of one mile to the north of old Ràjagriha and was completed by his son Ajatasatru. Near the
western gate of the new Rājgir was situated the Stūpa which was built by Ajātašatru over the relics of Buddha obtained by him as his share (Legge’s Fa Hian, ch. 28). Thus the old Rājgir was abandoned, and new Rājgir became the capital of Magadh for a short period. Buddha died in the eighth year of the reign of Ajātašatru. The seat of government was removed to Pataliputra in the reign of Udayi or Udayāśva, the grandson of Ajātašatru, who reigned from 519—503 B.C. The celebrated Bikramasālā Vihāra was according to General Cunningham, situated at Silāo, a village six miles to the north of Rājgir on the river Pañchāna where a high mound still exists, but this identification does not appear to be correct (see Bikramasālā Vihāra). Badgāon or ancient Nālandā, the celebrated seat of Buddhist learning, is seven miles to the north of Rājgir. It still contains the ruins of the Buddhist Vihāras and Stūpas. Nigrantha Jātātiputra (Nigamā Nālha-putta), who resided at Rājagrīha in the Chaitya of Guṇaśila (Kalpasūtra, Samacharita) at the time of Buddha with five other Tīrthaṅkaras named Purāṇa-Kassapa, Makkhaliputta Gosāla, Ajita-kesakambala, Sañjaya Belatṭhapattra and Pakudhaka-chāyana (Mahāvagga, ch. VI, p. 31), has been identified with Mahāvīra, the twenty-fourth or the last Tīrthaṅkara of the Jainas. It was at his instigation that Śīruṇa, a householder of Rājagrīha attempted to kill Buddha in a burning pit and with poisonous food (Avadāna Kalpalata, ch. 8). Gosāla Makkhaliputta was the founder of the Pāṭivaka sect (Dr. Horeenle’s Uvasagadasao, introduction, p. XIII and Appendix, I, 2). Pāvāpuri, where Mahāvīra died, is at a distance of ten miles to the south-west of Rājgir. Buddha, while in Rājgir, lived at Grīdharkūta, Gautama-Nyagrodha-ārāma, Chauraprapāta, Saptaparni cave, Krishna-silā by the side of Rishi-giri, Sapt-sauḍikā cave, in the Sitavana-kūṭa, Jivaka’s Mango-garden, Tapoda-ārāma and Mrigavana of Madrakukshi (Mahāparinibbāna Sutta, ch. 3). For further particulars, see Rājgir in Pt II of this work 2. Rājgir, the capital of Kekaya, on the north of the Bias in the Punjab (Rāmāyana, Ayodhya K., ch. 68). Cunningham identifies Girivrāja, the capital of Kekaya with Jalālpur, the ancient name of which was Girjak (Arch. S. Rep., II): this identification has been adopted by Mr. Pargiter (Markandeya P., p. 318 note).

Giriyek—An ancient Buddhist village on the Pañchāna river, on the southern border of the district of Patna (see Indrasālī-gaḥa). Across the Pañchāna river is the Giriyek-hill which is the same as Grīdharkūṭa hill, the Indrasāli-gaḥa of Hiuen Tsiang (Cunningham’s Anc. Geo., p. 471). The Pañchāna river is perhaps the ancient Sappini (Sarpīṇī) mentioned by Buddhaghosha in his commentary on Mahāvagga, ch. 11, p. 12. The Sappini is said to have its source in the Grīdharkūṭa mountain (see Pañchānanda). Giriyek is the “Hill of the Isolated Rock” of Fa Hian, but Mr. Broadley has identified it with the “rocky peak at Bihar” (Ind. Ant., I, 19).

Goddā—The Godāvari river (Halāyudha’s Abhidhānaratnamālā, III, 52, Aufrecht’s ed.).

Godāvari—The river Godāvari has its source in Brahmagiri, situated on the side of a village called Tryamvaka, which is twenty miles from Nasik (Saura P., ch. 69; Brahma P., chs. 77, 79). Brahmagiri was visited by Chaitanya (Chaitanya-Charitāmṛta). Some suppose that the river has its source in the neighbouring mountain called Jaṭāphāṭhā. In Tryambaka, there is a tank called Kuśāvartta, under which the Godāvari is said to flow after issuing from the mountain. The portion of the Godāvari on which Tryamvaka is situated is called Gautami (see Gautami). Every twelfth year, pilgrims from all parts of India resort to this village for the purpose of bathing in this sacred tank
and worshipping Tryamvakeśvara, one of the twelve Great Liṅgas of Mahādeva (Śīva P., Pt. I., ch. 54; Varāha P., chs. 79, 80): see Amaresvara. Rāmachandra is said to have crossed the river on his way to Laṅkā at Bhadrāchalam in the Godāvari district where a temple marks the spot.

Godhana-giri—Same as Garbha Hill (Bāna Bhaṭṭa’s Harshacharita, ch. VI).

Gokarna—1. Gendia, a town in the province of North-Kanara, Karwar district, thirty miles from Goa between Karwar and Kumta. It is a celebrated place of pilgrimage (Mbh., Ādi P., ch. 219; Raghunāśa, VIII; Śīva P., Bk. III, ch. 15). It contains the temple of Mahādeva Mahābalesvara established by Rāvana. It is thirty miles south of Sadāsheogad which is three miles south of Goa [Newbold: JASB., vol. XV (1846), p. 228]. Here, Saṅkarachāryya defeated in controversy Nīkaṇṭha, a Śaiva (Saṅkaravijaya, ch. 15).

2. Bhāgiratha, king of Ayodhyā, is said to have performed austerities at Gokarna to bring down the Ganges (Rāmdāraṇa, Bāla K., ch. 42). This Gokarna is evidently the modern Gomukh, two miles beyond Gaṅgottri. According to the Varāha Purāṇa (ch. 170), Gokarna is situated on the Sarasvati-saṅgama or confluence of the river Sarasvati.

Gokula—Same as Vraja or Mahāvana (Padma P., Pāṭāla, ch. 40; Ādi P., chs. 12, 15), or Purāṇa-Gokul where Kṛishṇa was reared up. Nanda, the foster-father of Kṛishṇa, removed from Gokula to Brindāvana to escape molestations from the myridons of Kaṁsa (Ādi P., ch. 3). Mahāvana or Purāṇa-Gokul is six miles from Mathurā, and contains places associated with the early life of Kṛishṇa. Vallabha-chāryya, who was a contemporary of Chaitanya and known also by the name of Vallabha Bhaṭṭa of Āmbalagrama (q. v.), and who founded the Vallabha-chārya sect of Vaishnavas, built new Gokula in imitation of Mahāvana, where, in the temple of Syāma Lāla, Yaśodā, wife of Nanda, is said to have given birth to Māyā Devi, and where Nanda’s palace was converted into a mosque at the time of Aurangzeb (Chaitanya Charitāmsita, II, 19; also Growse’s Mathurā); see Braja. The village of new Gokula is one mile to the south of Mahāvana on the eastern bank of the Jamuna [Lochana Dās’s Chaitanyakamaṅgala (Atul Gosvāmi’s ed.) III, p. 181].

Gomanta-giri—1. An isolated mountain in the Western Ghats, where Kṛishṇa and Balarāma defeated Jarāśindhu (Harivanśa, ch. 42). There is a Tīrtha called Goraksha on the top of Gomanta-giri. The mountain is situated in the country about Goa i.e., the Konkan, called the country of Gomanta (Padma P., Ādi Kh., ch. 6). The Harivanśa (chs. 98 and 99) locates a mountain Gomanta-giri in North Kanara. 2. The Raivata hill in Gujarat was also called Gomanta (Mbhb., Sahbhā, ch. 14).

Gomati—1. The river Gomti in Oudh (Rāmdāraṇa, Ayodhyā, ch. 49). Lucknow stands on this river. 2. The river Godāvari near its source where the temple of Tryamvaka is situated (Śīva P., Bk. 1, ch. 54). It is also called Gotami, from Rishi Gautama who had his hermitage at this place (Ibid., ch. 54). 3. A river in Gujarat on which Dvārakā is situated (Skanda P., Avanti Kh., ch. 60). 4. A branch of the Chambal in Malwa on which Rintambur is situated (Meghadūta, Pt. I, v. 47). 5. The Gomati river in Arachosia of Afghanistan (Rig Veda, X, 75 and Lassen Ind. Alt.). It falls into the Indus between Dera Ismael Khan and Pāhāqpur. 6. A river in the Kamgra district, Punjab (Ind. Ant., XXII, p. 178).
Gomukhi—According to Capt. Raper (Asiatic Researches, vol. XI, p. 506) and Major Thorn (Memoir of the War in India, p. 504), it is situated two miles beyond Gaṅgotri. It is a large rock called Cow's Mouth by the Hindus from its resemblance to the head and body of that animal. But see Fraser's Himala Mountains, p. 473. Go-mukhi is perhaps the Go-karna of the Rāmāyaṇa, I, 42.

Gonanda—Same as Gonarredda (2). (Brahmāṇḍa P., ch. 49; cf. Matsya P., ch. 113.)

Gonarredda—1. The Punjab, so called from Gonarredda, king of Kāśmīr, who conquered it. 2. Gonda in Oudh is a corruption of Gonarredda, the birth-place of Patañjali the celebrated author of the Mahābhāṣya; hence he was called Gonarreddiyya. See Gauda.

Gauda. He lived in the middle of the second century before the Christian era, and was a contemporary of Pushpamitra, king of Magadha, and wrote his Mahābhāṣya between 140 and 120 B.C. During his time, Menander, the Greek king of Sākala in the Punjab, invaded Ayodhya (Goldstücker's Pāṇini, pp. 234, 235; Matsya P., ch. 113; Bhandarkar, Ind. Ant., II, 70). 3. A town situated between Ujjayini and Vidiśa or Bhilsa (Sutta-nipāta: Vattthagātā).


Gopakavāna—Goa. It was also called Gopakapattana or Gopakapura. It was ruled by the Kadamba dynasty (Dr. Bühler's Introduction to the Vikramāṇkadeva-charita, p. 34 note).

Gopārāṣṭra—Same as Goparāṣṭra. The Igatpur sub-division of the district of Nasik (Mbh., Bhishma, ch. 9; Ind. Ant., vol. IX). According to Garrett it is the same as Kuva; Southern Koṅkana (Garrett's Class. Die.).

Goparata—Guptara, a place of pilgrimage on the bank of the Sarajû at Fyzabad in Oudh, where Rāmachandra is said to have died (Rāmāyaṇa, Uttara K., ch. 110). Near the temple of Guptara Mahādeva, a place is pointed out where Rāmachandra is said to have breathed his last.

Goratha Hill—Bāthi-kā-pahāḍ, a small isolated hill about five or six miles to the west of the valley of old Rājagriha, appearing from a distance to have three peaks, from which Bhima, Arjuna, and Kṛṣṇa reconnoitred the beautiful capital of Magadha (Mbh., Sabhā P., ch. 20). It is on the north of Sandol hill which is larger than the Bāthi-kā-pahāḍ.

Gosinga parvata—1. A mountain near Nishadabhūmi (Narwar) in Central India (Mahābhārata, Sabbā, 31). Same as Gopādri (2). 2. Kohmari Spur, near Ujāt in Eastern Turkistan, visited by Huien Tsiang, 13 miles from Khotan. It was a celebrated place of pilgrimage in Buddhist Khotan, which contained a monastery and a cave where an Arhat resided (Dr. Stein's Sāryāburi Point of Khotan). 3. The Gopushchha mountain in Nepal near Katmandu upon which the temple of Svayambhunātha is situated (Swayambhu Purāṇa, ch. I).

Goya-ṛśtra—Goya-ṛśtra is evidently a corruption of Goparāṣṭra of the Mahābhārata (Bhishma P., ch. IX). It is the Kauba (Goya) of Ptolemy. See Goparāṣṭra. The
shrines of Sapta-Kōṭśvarā Mahādeva was established by the Sapta Rishis at Narvem in the island of Divar (Dipavati) on the north of Goa Island proper (Ind. Ant., III, 194).

Govardhana—1. Mount Govardhana, eighteen miles from Brindāvan in the district of Mathura. In the village called Pālītho, Kṛishṇa is said to have taken up the mount on his little finger and held it as an umbrella over the heads of his cattle and his townsmen to protect them from the deluge of rain poured upon them by Indra (Mbh., Udyoga, ch. 129). See Vraja-mandala. 2. The district of Nasik in the Bombay Presidency (Bhandarkar’s Early History of the Dekkan; Mahāvastuvadāna in Dr. R. L. Mitra’s Sanskrit Literature of Nepal, p. 160). See Govardhanapura.

Govardhana-matha—One of the four Mathas established by Saṅkarācāryya at Jagannātha in Orissa (see Śrīnagārī).

Govardhanapura—Govardhan, a village near Nasik in the Bombay Presidency (Mārkandeya P., ch. 57; Dr. Bhandarkar’s Early History of the Dekkan, p. 3).

Govisana—It is evidently the Kiu-pi-shwong-na of Huen Tsiang, which has been restored by Julien to Govisana; it is 400 li to the south-east of Matipura or the present Mundore, a town in Western Rohilkhand near Bignor (Mbh., Bhishma P., ch. 17).

Grīḍhrakūṭa-parvata—According to General Cunningham it is a part of the Saila-giri, the Vulture-peak of Fa Hian and Indrasilā-guhā of Huen Tsiang (see Indrasilā-guhā). It lies two miles and a half to the south-east of new Rajgir. Sailagiri is evidently a spur of the Ratnakūṭa or Ratnagiri, but the name of Sailagiri is not known to the inhabitants of this place. Buddha performed austerities here for some time after leaving the Pāṇḍava-giri cave, and in his subsequent sojourn, he delivered here many of his excellent Sūtras. Devadatta hurled a block of stone from the top of this hill to kill Buddha while he was walking below in meditation (Chullavagga, Pt. vii, ch. 3, but see Girivrajapura).

Buddha resided in the garden of Jivaka, the physician, at the foot of the mountain and here he was visited by the king Ajātaśatru and by his minister Varshākāra, which led to the foundation of Pātaliputra (Cunningham’s Stupa of Bharhat, p. 89 and Mahāparimābhāna Sutta). It is also called Giriyek hill.

Guhyaśvari—The temple of Guhyāśvari, which is claimed both by the Hindus and Northern Buddhists as their own deity, is situated on the left bank of the Bāgmati, about a quarter of a mile above the temple of Pasupatinātha and three miles north-east of Kāsmāṇḍu (Wright’s Hist. of Nepal, p. 79; Devī-Bhāgavata, vii, 38). See Nepāla.

Gunamatī-vihāra—The Gunamati monastery, which was visited by Huen Tsiang, was situated on the Kunva hill at Dharawat in the sub-division of Jahanabad in the District of Gayā. The twelve-armed statue of Bhairava at that place is really an ancient Buddhist statue of Avalokiteswara (Grierson, Notes on the District of Gayā).

Guptahari—Same as Gopratāra (Skanda P., Ayodhyā-Māhāt, ch. vi).

Gupta-kāśi—1. Bhuvanesvara in Orissa. 2. In Soṇitapura (see Soṇitapura).

Gurjara—Gujarat and the greater part of Khandesh and Malwa (Conder’s Modern Traveller, vol. x, p 130). In the seventh century, at the time of Huen Tsiang, the name was not extended to the peninsula of Gujarat, which was then known only by the name of Saurāṣṭra. The modern district of Marwar was then known by the name of Gurjara. It appears from the Periplus that the south-eastern portion of Gujarat about the mouth of the Nerbudda was called Ābhira, the Aberia of the Greeks. Gujarat was
called "Cambay" by the early English travellers. For further particulars, see Guzerat in Pt. II of this work. For the Chalukya kings of Gujarat from Mularāja to Kumārapāla, see the Baḍnagar Inscription in Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 293.

Gurupāda-giri—Gurpa hill in the district of Gaya, about 100 miles from Bodh-Gaya, where Mahā-Kāśyapa attained Nirvāṇa (Legge's Fa Hian, ch. xxxiii). It is also called Kukkutāpāda-giri [see An account of the Gurpa Hill in JASB. (1906), p. 77]. By "Mahā-Kāśyapa" is meant not the celebrated disciple of Buddha who presided over the first Buddhist synod after Buddha's death, but Kāśyapa Buddha who preceded Śākyamuni (Legge's Fa Hian, ch. xxxiii). But see Kukkutāpāda-giri. This hill is called Gurupadaka hill in the Divyāvadāna Mālā (Dr. R. Mitra's Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal, p. 308; Divyavadāna, Cowell's ed., p. 61) where Maitreya, the future Buddha, would preach the religion.

H

Haihaya—Khandesh, parts of Aurangabad and South Malwa. It was the kingdom of Kārttaviryañjuna, who was killed by Paraśurāma (see Tamasa). Its capital was Māshyamati, now called Maheshvar or Chuli-Maheshvar (Rāmāyaṇa, Uttra, ch. 36). Same as Anupadesa (Mbh., Vana, 114, Skanda P., Nāgara kh., ch. 66), Mahesha and Mahishaka.

Hainavata-varsha.—The name of India before it was called Bharatavarsha (Liṅga P., Pt. I, ch. 45). See Bharatavarsha.

Hainavati—1. Same as Rishikulya (Hemakosha). 2. The river Ravi in the Punjab (Matsya P., oh. 115). 3. The original name of the river Sutlej, which fell in a hundred streams at the sight of Vaishñava, and since then it is called Satadru (Mbh., Ádi P., ch. 179). 4. The river Āravati (Irawadi) in the Panjab (Matsya P., chs. 115, 116).

Hamsasavati—Pegu, built by the two brothers Samala and Bimala (JASB., (1859), p. 478.)

Hamsadvāra—Same as Kraunuha-randhra (Meghaduta, Pt. I, v. 58).

Hamsa-stūpa—Jarāśindhu-kā-Baitthak in Giriyek near Rajgir in Bihar, visited by Huên Tsiang. It is a dagoba [Dehagopa or Dhātugarbha or tope (stūpa)] erected, according to him, in honour of a Hamsa (goose) which sacrificed itself to relieve the wants of a starving community of a Buddhist Bhikhus of the Hinayāna school. There was formerly an excellent road which led up to the mountain-top. This road was constructed by Bimbisāra when he visited Buddha at this place; the remains of the road still exist.

Haradvāra—Same as Haridvāra.


Harakela—Baṅga or East Bengal (Hemachandra's Abhidhāna-chintāmanī).

Harakshetra—Bhuvanesvara in Orissa. It was the site of a capital city founded by Rājā Yayāti Keśari, who reigned in Orissa in the latter part of the fifth century. Same as Ekamrakānana.

Haramukta—The mount Haramuk in Kāśmīra, twenty miles to the north of Srinagar (Dr. Stein's Bājataravīṇi, II, p. 407).

Hārddapitha—Baidyanātha in the Santal Parganas in Bengal. It is one of the fifty-two Pithas where Sati's heart is said to have fallen, though there is no memonto
of any kind associated with the occurrence [Dr. R. L. Mitra, On the Temples of Deoghar in JASB. (1883), p. 172; Tantra-chudamani.]

Haridvara.—See Kanakhala. It stands on the right bank of the Ganges, at the very point where it bursts through the Siwalik hills and debouches upon the plains nearly two hundred miles from its source. It is in the district of Shaharanpur and was situated on the eastern confines of the kingdom of Suguna. It is also called Gaṅgādvāra which contains the shrine of Nakulesvara Mahādeva (Kārma P., II, ch. 42)


Hariharanāṭhā-pura.—Harihara or Kuṇḍalur at the junction of the river Haridrā with the Tūṅgabhadrā: a celebrated place of pilgrimage (Padma P., Uttara, ch. 62; Rice's Mysore Inscrip., Intro.). It was visited by Nityānanda, the celebrated disciple of Chaitanya.

Hari-ksetra.—Harikāntam Sellār on the river Pennar, a place of pilgrimage visited by Chaitanya (Chaitanya-Bhāgavata, ch. 6).

Hārita-āstama.—Ekaliṅga, situated in a defile about six miles north of Udaipur in Rajputana. It was the hermitage of Rishi Hārita, the author of one of the Samhitās.

Haritakivana.—A part of Baidyanātha in the Santal Parganas in Bengal now called Harājūdi (Baidyanāthamātmya); see Chitabhūmi.

Harivarsha.—It included the western portion of Thibet (Kālikā P., ch. 82; Mbh., Sabhā P., ch. 51). Same as Uttara-kuru (Mbh., Sabhā, ch. 28).

Haryo.—Hassan-Abdul in the Punjab: it was also called Haro.

Hastaka-vapra.—Hāṭhab near Bhaonagar in Gujarat: it is the “Asṭacampra” of the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea, and Astakapra of Ptolemy, (see Bomb. Gaz., vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 539).

Hastimati.—The river Hautmati, a tributary of the Sabarmati in Gujarat (Padma P., Uttara, ch. 55).

Hastināpura.—The capital of the Kuru. north-east of Delhi, entirely diluviated by the Ganges. It was situated twenty-two miles north-east of Mirat and south-west of Bijnor on the right bank of the Ganges. Nichakshu, the grandson of Janamejaya of the Mahābhārata, removed his capital to Kausāmbī after the destruction of Hastināpura (Vishnu P., pt. IV, ch. 21). Gadmuksēvar, containing the temple of Mukhtēśvara. Mahādeva was a quarter of ancient Hastināpura. See Gaṇamuktesvara.

Hastisoma.—The river Hatsu, a tributary of the Mahānadi [Padma P., Svarga (Adi), ch. 3].

Hātaka.—1. Undes or Hāṭadēśa where the lake Mānasasarovara is situated (Mbh., Sabhā P., ch. 27). The Guhyakas (perhaps the ancestors of the Gurkhās) lived at this place. 2. A Kēśetra or sacred area in the district of Ahmadabad in which was situated Chamatkārapura, once the capital of Ānartta-deśa, seventy miles to the south-east of Skihpur (Skīnda P., Nāgara kh). See Chamatkārapura.
Hatyâharana—Hattisharan, twenty-eight miles south-east of Hardoi in Oudh. Râmachandra is said to have expiated his sin for killing Râvana, who was a Brâhman’s son, by bathing at this place.

Hayamukha—Cunningham has identified this with Daundia khera on the northern bank of the Ganges, about 104 miles north-west of Allahabad (Jaimini-Bhârata, ch. 22; Cunningham’s Anc. Geo., p. 337). Beal considers that the identification is not satisfactory (Records of Western Countries, I, 229). It was visited by Hiuen Tsiaiang.

Hemakûta—1. Called also Hemaparvata. It is another name for the Kailâsa mountain which is the abode of Kuvera, the king of the Yakshas (Mbh., Bhishma P., ch. 6; Kurma P., I, 48). This appears to be confirmed by Kâlidâsa (Âkuntala, Act vii). 2. The Bandarpuchchha range of the Himalaya in which the rivers Alakânanda, Ganges and Jamuna have their source (Varâha P., ch. 82). It should be observed that the Kailâsa, and Bandarpuchcha ranges were called by the general name of Kailâsa. See Kailâsa.

Hidamba—Câchar, named after a Râja of Kâmarupa in Assam, who built a palace at Khaspur at the foot of the northern range of hills [Bengal and Agra Guide and Gazetteer (1841), vol. 11, p. 97].

Himâdrî—The Himalaya mountain.

Himalaya—The Himalaya mountain, (see Himâvan).

Himâvan—Same as Himalaya (Mârkaṇḍeya P., chs. 54, 55). According to the Purânas, Himâvan or the Himalaya range is to the south of Mânasa-sarovara (Varâha P., ch. 78).

Himavanta—Majhima, Kassapagotta, and Dundubhisara were sent as missionaries to Himavanta by Asoka (Mahâvamsa, ch. xiii). Their ashes were found in a tope at Sanchi (Cunningham, Bhilsa Tope, p. 287). By some, it has been identified with Tibet, but Ferguson identifies it with Nepal (Fergusson’s Cave Temples of India, p. 17).

Hîngulâ—Hîngulâ (Devi-Bhâgavata, vii, 38), situated at the extremity of the range of mountains in Beluchistan called by the name of Hîngulâ, about twenty miles or a day’s journey from the sea-coast, on the bank of the Aghor or Hîngulâ or Hingol river (the Tomeros of Alexander’s historians) near its mouth. It is one of the fifty-two pîthas or places celebrated as the spots on which fell Sati’s dismembered limbs. Sati’s brahmârandhra is said to have fallen at this place (Tantra Chudâmanâ). The goddess Durgâ is known here by the name of Mahâmâyâ or Koṭṭari. According to Captain Hart, who visited the temple, it is situated in a narrow gorge, the mountains on each side of which rise perpendicularly to nearly a thousand feet. It is a low mud edifice, built at one end of a natural cave of small dimensions, and contains only a tomb-shaped stone, called the goddess Mata or Mahâmâyâ [Account of a Journey from Karachi to Hîngulâ in JASB., IX (1840), p. 134; Brief History of Kalat by Major Robert Leech in JASB., (1843), p. 473]. Sir T. Holdich considers that the shrine had been in existence before the days of Alexander, “for the shrine is sacred to the goddess Nana [now identified with Siva by the Hindus]” which, Assurbanipal (Sardanapalus of the Greeks) king of Assyria, removed from Susa in 645 B.C., to the original sanctuary at Urâkâ (now Warka in Mesopotamia), the goddess being Assyrian. (The Greek Retreat from India in the Journal of the Society of Arts, vol. XLIX ;
Rawlinson's *Five Great Monarchies*, IV, p. 344). The temple is said to be a low mud edifice, containing a shapeless stone situated in a cavern (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. XVII). The *zirrat* is so ancient that both Hindus and Muhammadans claim it without recognising its prehistoric origin. The goddess is known to the Muhammadans by the name of Nani (*Imperial Gazetteer*, vol. xiii, p. 142). The Aghor river is the boundary between the territory of the Yam of Bella and that of the Khan of Khelat. The name given to the stream above the peak in the Hara mountains is Hingool. It is called Aghor from the mountains to the sea. On the way from Karachi, between the port of Souamee and the Aghor river, there are three hills which throw up jets of liquid mud called Chandra-kâpa. The village nearest to Hinglaj is Urmura or Hurmura, situated on the coast at a distance of two days' march (*JASB.*, IX, p. 134).


**Hiranyavâhu**—The river Sona, the Erannoboas of the Greeks (*Amarakosha*). See Sona. The modern Chândan was erroneously identified by Major Franklin with Erreen Bhowah: it runs south of Bhagalpur and joins the Ganges to the west of Champânagar. Chândan was also called Chandrâvatî (*see* Franklin's *Site of Ancient Pulibothra*, p. 20, and *Uttara Purâna* quoted by him). The name of Chândan however has some connection with Chând Sadâgar (*see* Champâpuri).


**Hiranya-parvata**—Monghir (*see* Mudgala-giri).

**Hiranyapura**—Herdum or Hindaum in the Jeypur state, seventy-one miles to the south-west of Agra, where Vishnu is said to have incarnated as Prisimha Deva and killed Hiranyakasipu, the father of Prahlâda (*Padma P.*, Srîshî, ch. 6). But *see* Mulasthânapura.

**Hiranyavati**—The Little (Chhoța) Gaṇḍak, same as Ajitavati near Kuśinârâ or Kuśîngara (*Mahâparinirvâna Sûtra*). It flows through the district of Gorakhpur about eight miles west of the Great Gaṇḍak and falls into the Gogra (Sarayû).

**Hisadrus**—The river Sutlej in the Punjab.

**Hîdâni**—The river Brahmaputra (*Wilford, Asiatic Researches*, vol. XIV, p. 444). But this identification does not appear to be correct. It is described as situated between Kekaya on the west and the river Śatadru (Sutlej) on the east. Bharata crossed this river on his way to Oudh from Kekaya (*Râmâyana, Ayodh.*, ch. 71).

**Hrîshiketa**—Rishikes, a mountain twenty-four miles to the north of Hardwar, which was the hermitage of Devadatta (*Varāha P.*, ch. 146). It is situated on the bank of the Bâgtrathi on the road from Haridwar to Badrinâth.

**Hôna-desa**—1. The country round Sâkala or Sealkot in the Punjab, as Mihirakula, a Hun, made it his capital. 2. The country round Mûnasa-sarovara.

**Hupian**—The capital of Parsusthâna, the country of the Parsus, a warlike tribe mentioned by Pârîsin. Hupian is the present Opian, a little to the north of Charikar at the entrance of a path over the north-east of the Paghman or Pamghan range (Cunningham’s *Asiatic Geog.* p. 20). It was the site of Alexandria, a town founded by Alexander.
the Great, the Alasanda of the Mahâvaṁśa and the birth-place of Menander (the Milinda of the Buddhist writers), the celebrated Bactrian king (McCandless's *Invasion of India*, p. 332). Opian is perhaps a corruption of Upanīvesa or properly Kshatriya-Upanīvesa, a country situated on the north of India (*Matsya P.*, 113).

**Hushkapura**—Uskur on the left bank of the Vitastā opposite to Bārāmāla in Kāśmīra.

It was founded by king Hushka, the brother of Kanishka. Uskur is also called Uskara (Cunningham's *Anc. Geog.*, p. 99).

**Hydaspas**—The Greek name of the river Jhelum in the Punjab.

**Hydroates**—The Greek name of the river Ravi in the Punjab.

**Hypanis**—The Greek name of the river Bias in the Punjab.

**Hypasis**—The Greek name of the river Bias in the Punjab.

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**Ikshumati**—The river Kālinadi (East) which flows through Kumaun, Rohilkhand, and the district of Kanauj (*Rāmāyana*, Ayodhya, ch. 68).

**Ilvalapura**—Ellora, Seven miles from Daulatabad in the Nizam's Dominions and 44 miles from Nandgaon on the G. I. P. Railway. It is said to have been the residence of the Daitiya Ilvala whose brother Bātāpi was killed by Rishi Agastya at Bātāpīpurā while on his way to the south. It is the same as *Elapura*, which is evidently a corruption of Ilvalapura. See *Elapura*. The Viśvakarmā Cave (Chaitya) at Ellora, and the viharas attached to it are supposed by Fergusson to belong to a period from 600 to 750 A.D. when the last trace of Buddhism disappeared from Western India. The Kailāsa temple which is the “chief glory” of Ellora, was caused to be carved by Krishna I, king of Bādāmi, on the model of the Vitūpāksa temple at Pattadakal to celebrate his conquests in the 8th century A.D. (Havlī's *Ancient and Medieval Architecture*, p. 193). It is the same as *Deva-Parvata* (or giri), and Sivālaya of the *Siva P.* (I, ch. 58). For its sanctity, see *Sivālaya*.

**Indrāṇi**—Near Katwa, district Burdwan, Bengal, on the river Ajaya (*K. ch. 195*).

**Indraprastha**—Old Delhi. It is also called Brihasthala in the *Mahābhārata*. The city of Indraprastha was built on the banks of the Jamuna, between the more modern Kotli of Firoz Shah, and Humayun's tomb, about two miles south of modern Delhi. The river has now shifted its course more than a mile eastwards. The Nigambod Ghat on the banks of the Jamuna near the Nigambod gate of Shahjahan's Delhi, just outside the fort close to Selimgaḍ, and the temple of Nilachatīrī is believed to have been erected by Yudhishṭhīra on the occasion of performing a *homa*, are believed to have formed part of the ancient capital. It was also called Khāṇḍava-prastha, and formed part of Khāṇḍava-vana (see *Khāṇḍava-vana*). The name Indraprastha is preserved in that of Indrapat, one of the popular names of the fort *Purāra. Kūla*, which is still pointed out as the fort of Yudhishṭhīra and his brothers. The fort was repaired or built on the original Hindu foundations by Humayun and was called Dīnpānū (Arch. S. Rep., vol. IV). It now contains the Keelā Koni
mosque which was commenced by Humayun and completed by Sher Shah, and also the Sher Manjil or the palace of Sher Shah, which was used as a library by Humayun on his reaccession to the throne, and in which he met with his death by an accidental fall. Indraprastha was the capital of Yudhisthīra, who became king in the year 653 of the Kali era, called also the Yudhishṭhīra era. According to Āryabhata and Varāhamihira, the Kali age began in 3101 B.C. A large extent of land between the Delhi and Ajmer gates of modern or Shahjahan’s Delhi and about sixteen miles in length contained at different periods the site of old Delhi which was shifted from time to time according to the whims and caprices of different monarchs. Just after leaving the Delhi gate, there is Firoz Shah’s Kotila containing a pillar of Aśoka [for the inscription on the pillar see JASB. (1837), p. 577], which is one of the few remnants of Firoz Shah’s capital Firuzabad. Another Aśoka pillar is on the ridge in a broken condition. The next place is Indrapat or Yudhisthīra’s Indraprastha. Just outside the fort is a gate called Lal Darwāzā, the ancient Kābuli Darwāzā of Sher Shah’s Delhi, which now gives entrance to an ancient mosque. At some distance is Humayun’s tomb built by Akbar, containing also the tomb of Hamida Banu Begum, and also those of Jahandar Shah, Farrukhsiyar, Alamgir II, Rāfi-ud-Daula Rāfi-ud-Dijarat, and Dara. Beyond it is a village called Nizamuddin Aulia after the name of a saint who flourished at the time of Ghiasuddin Tughlak. The village contains a baoli (well), the beautiful marble tombs of Nizamuddin Aulia, Mahomed Shah, Jahānara Begum, the poet Khusru and Prince Mirza Jahangir, son of Akbar II. These tombs are enclosed with beautiful marble fret-work screens, one of which is provided with a marble door. There is also a mosque called Jumat Khana built by the Emperor Alauddin. Beyond Nizamuddin Aulia Chausath Khambs containing the tomb of Akbar’s foster brother and General Mobarak called Aziz Khan. The Mausoleum of Safdar Jung, the son of Sadat Khan, Nawab of Oudh and Vizir of Ahmad Shah, was erected by his son Shuja-ud-Daula. Tughlakabad contains the ruins of a big fort built by Ghiasuddin Tughlak whose tomb was raised by his crazy son Muhammad Tughlak just outside the southern wall of the city. Besides, there is the Kutub Minar, the tower of victory, with Prithvi-Rāj’s Yajñāśālā in the neighbourhood converted into a mosque, in the courtyard of which stands the celebrated Iron Pillar. This and the Lālkoji with Jogamāyā’s temple, the Butkhana and Altamash’s tomb are within the Delhi of Prithvi-Rāj. Close to the Kutub Minar is the Alai Darwāzā or the gateway of Allauddin, perhaps, of his capital, and near it is the marble tomb of Imam Zemin, the spiritual guide of Humayun. Near the Ajmer gate is the Jantar-Mantar or the Observatory of Jaí Singh of Jaipur. Within Shahjahanabad or modern Delhi is the fort with its celebrated Dewan-I-Am Rang-Mahal, Mamtaz-Mahal, Shahpur palace, and the Pearl Mosque. The Jumma Masjid was constructed by Shahjahan. The Sonari Mosque (Mosque of Raushan-ud-Daula) is situated immediately to the west of the Kotwali from which Nādir Shah ordered the massacre of Delhi. For further particulars, see Delhi in Pt. II, of this work.

Indrapura—Indore, five miles to the north-west of Dibhai in the Anupashahar subdivision of the Bulandshahr district, United Provinces. It is mentioned in an inscription of the time of Skandagupta, the date being 465 A.D. (Corp. Ins. Ind., III, p. 70). Perhaps this Indrapura is mentioned in the Śaṅkaravijaya of Ananda Giri by the name of Indraprasthapura.
THE STORY OF HIR AND RANJHA.

BY WARIS SHAH 1776 A.D.

(Translated by G.C. Usborne with prefatory remarks by Sir R.C. Temple, Bt.)

Prefatory Remarks.

My friends, Mr. M. Longworth Dames and Sir George Grierson, have sent me the translation of the poem, very celebrated in the Panjab, by Waris Shah, known as Hir and Ranjha, for publication as a supplement to the Indian Antiquary. It is with great pleasure that I accede to their request.

The translation is by the late C.F. Usborne of the Indian Civil Service whose untimely death, in the words of Sir George Grierson, "was a blow to the serious study of Panjabi." To it is attached "A Critical Analysis" by "Muitani," who, from internal evidence afforded by the MS. itself, must have been Usborne. My friends were indebted to the good offices of his brother-in-law, Mr. H.D. Watson, also of the Indian Civil Service, for the MS.

In volume II (1885) of my Legends of the Panjab, four separate stories relate to this great love tale—an Oriental Romeo and Juliet story. On page 177 will be found the Legend of 'Abdu'llah Shâh of Samîn; on p. 494, Ismâ'îl Khân’s Grandmother; on p. 499, The Bracelet-Maker of Jhang; on p. 507, The Marriage of Hir and Ranjha; and at p. 1 of vol. III will be found the analogous tale of Mirzâ and Sâhib Bâ.

As the Legends of the Panjab are now out of print, it may be as well if I quote here my notes on the above tales, though made 35 years ago.

'Abdu'llah Shâh was a local Balochi saint at Sarûn, near Derâ Ghâzi Khân, and I printed his legend because of its references to the story of Hir and Ranjha. In doing so I made the following remarks: "The story is chiefly remarkable for the introduction of the heroes of the very favourite Panjabi tale of Hir and Ranjha in the after-world. Ranjha is represented as still following his original occupation of a buffalo-herdsman, and as supplying milk to the Prophet."

"The story of Hir and Ranjha is of world-wide celebrity in the Panjâb, and will be given in full later in these volumes. Hir was the daughter of Chûchak, a Syâl of Rangpûr, in the Muzaffargarh District. Ranjha’s true name was Didho; he was by caste a Ranjha Jâtt, and is known almost exclusively by his caste name, which also takes the diminutive forms Ranjhuâ, Ranjheqâ, and Ranjheq. His father Manjû was a Chaudhri, or Revenue Collector, and local magnate at Takht Hazâra, in the Gujrânwâlâ District.

"The Syâls are of Râjput origin, and claim higher rank than the surrounding Jâtt tribes, to whom they will not give their daughters in marriage, although they may marry Jâtt women. Thus, though Hir and Ranjha were both Muhammadians, their love was illicit, and ended disastrously. The pride of the Syâls is illustrated by another celebrated love story, "Sâhib Bâ and Mirzâ," which will also be given in full later, on the scene of which is at Khîwâ near Jhang. It is even now an insult to a Syâl to mention either Hir or Sâhib Bâ, and no Syâl will remain present while either of these stories is being recited. They are, however, celebrated in the Panjâb as the types of constant lovers, much in the same way as Abelard and Héloïse in modern Europe, or as Laili and Majnûn in Arabic, and Farhâd and Shirin in Persian story. Hir’s tomb is about half a mile from the civil station of Jhang, and is marked on the survey map as "Mookurba Heer," which stands for "Maqbara-i-Hir," or Hir’s monument. It is a brick building, resembling in style the ordinary Musalmân tomb of the 16th century, with the exception that instead of being covered by a dome it is open to the sky. There are niches or windows on the four sides. That on the west is closed, while the other three are open, the reason assigned being that the wind should blow on Hir from every direction except that of her home, Rangpûr, where she was murdered. The tomb stands close to an old bed of the Chenâb, and it is related that at the time of
Hir's death the river was still flowing in this old bed, and that Hir appeared in a vision to a merchant who was travelling past in a boat, telling him to build her tomb in this place, and to build it so that the rain of heaven should always fall on it. This was done after Hir's body had been placed in the tomb; but before it was closed, Rânjhâ appeared, and, entering the tomb alive, was buried with her. This is not in accordance with the poem, but is the account given by Bhûtâ Vais, an old Jât in charge of the tomb. A melâ, or fair, of some local celebrity, is held at the tomb in the month of Mâgh (February). Hir and Rânjhâ are commonly said to have flourished 700 or 800 years ago, but others assign them to Akbar's time (16th century A.D.) and the architecture of the tomb is in accordance with this supposition.

The first poem in their honour is said to have been composed by Namodar Paš-wârî of Jhang, but the most celebrated is the poem of Wâris Shâh, a native of Takht Hazâra in Gujrânwâlâ, Rânjhâ's native place. It even now forms a favourite subject for local bards.

I printed the story of Ismâ'îl Khân's Grandmother because of its close relationship to that of Hir and Rânjhâ. It was evidently meant to account for the care taken of the tomb of Hir and Rânjhâ, near Jhang, by the grandmother of the then Siyâl Râs (Chief), Muhammad Ismâ'îl Khân of Jhang, an act against the tradition of her tribe. The object of the story of The Bracelet-Maker of Jhang was to glorify the shrine or tomb of Hir and Rânjhâ. The last of my legends, The Marriage of Hir and Rânjhâ, related only half of the whole tale and stopped at the point where Rânjhâ gets possession of Hir, omitting the latter half relating to the murder of Hir, though this was the most important part of it, and was the portion which has given it such fame. The object of this tale was to bestow a fictitious value on Rânjhâ by making him out to be a wonder-working faqir of the type of the greater saints and rendering his doings as fabulous as possible. No doubt the existence of the shrine to Hir and Rânjhâ at Jhang accounted for this legend.

My remarks on the story of Mirzâ and Sâhibân may be of interest in connection with those made above.

"This is a very celebrated in the Jhang and Montgomery Districts, and thence throughout the Panjâb, because of the feuds which the elopement of the heroine, Sâhibân, with her cousin Mirzâ led to between the Mahnis (Syâls) and the Chadhars of Khîlwa in the Jhang District and the Khârâls of Dânâbâd in the Montgomery District. The story generally told is as follows: Mirzâ was sent to his relative the Mahni chief of Khîlwa, who had a daughter Sâhibân. Sâhibân was betrothed to a youth of the Chadhar tribe, but before she could be married to him she eloped with Mirzâ towards Dânâbâd. Before they reached this place, however, their pursuers, the Mahnis and the Chadhars, overtook them, killed Mirzâ and strangled Sâhibân. The Khârâls thereupon attacked the Mahnis and the Chadhars, defeated them and recovered the corpses of Mirzâ and Sâhibân, which they buried at Dânâbâd. The feuds, however, lasted a long while so that it became to be considered unlucky to possess daughters, and thus they led to extensive female infanticide by strangulation, in memory of the manner of Sâhibân's death. As regards the Khârâls, this was only put down by the English within the last forty years. The Syâls to the present day resent a reference to Sâhibân as they do to Hir, the heroine of the tale of Hir and Rânjhâ given in the previous volume."

Mr. Usborne in a short note prefixed to his MS., writing from Battle, Sussex, August 1917, says: "I was proposing to combine with it a reprint of some verse translations of Panjâbî Lyrics published in 1906 in India. No circulation in England, though well reviewed in Spectator and Athenæum. I could also arrange with the Art School, Lahore, for about 6 or 12 illustrations in old Mogul Style."

This arrangement can alas! never be made now.
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BY WARIS SHAH.

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EPILOGUE.
INVOCATION.

Praise be to God who made Love the foundation of the world; God himself was the first lover for he loved the Prophet Muhammad. Praise be to the Prophet whom God hath raised from the dust of the earth to great dignity! God hath cleansed him from the sins of the world! When the Almighty desired his presence he sent a swift steed to bear him to Heaven and gave him Gabriel, chief of the Angels, to be his messenger. Verily the power of the Prophet is great, whereby he broke the moon in twain with his finger. To the four Friends of the Prophet also be praise, even to Abu Bakr, Umar, Usman, and Ali. They are like unto four jewels sparkling on the hand of the Prophet. Each outshineth the other in beauty.

Let us also praise the holiness of Pirns; without the help of holy men our boat cannot reach the shore. Praise to Mohiuddin the Pir of Wari, the beloved of Allah. He can score out even the writing of the Pen of Destiny. Praise also to the beloved Pir Chishti Shak根基. When Shak根基 made his abode at Pakpattan, the Panjáb was delivered of all its troubles.

In truth it is meet and proper to praise God and invoke the help of Saints and Prophets before essaying this story of Love.

My Friends came to me and said: "Write for us afresh the forgotten story of the Love of Hir." So we have written it right cunningly and plucked a new rose in the Garden of Poetry. Even as a sweet smell cometh out of musk so is the fragrance of Love distilled from the beauty of our verse. We have awoken the forgotten tale of Hir and Ránjha. We have bridled the steed of genius, set Love on his back, and let him loose on the field.

CHAPTER 1.

(Ránjha quarrels with his brothers and their wives and leaves his home in Takht Hazára.)

Takht Hazára is a pleasant place on the banks of the Chenáb. There streams are flowing and gardens smiling. It is as a Paradise on earth. It is the abode of the Ránjhas who live there in proud luxury. Their young men are heedless and handsome and care naught at all for any man. They lord it with earrings in their ears and new shawls over their shoulders. They are proud of their beauty and each one out-rivals the other in his glory.

Manjú Chaudhri was chief landowner in the village. He had eight sons and two daughters. He lived in wealth and happiness with his family, esteemed by his brethren and honoured by all. Of all his sons Ránjha was the most beloved by his father; and as his father loved him, so his brethren hated him. For fear of their father they would not wound him openly but their secret taunts pierced his heart, even as snakes strike sleeping men in the dark.

Now it came to pass on the NIGHT OF NIGHTS that the leaves of the Tree of Life were shaken and by the decree of God Manjú died. And Ránjha's brothers and their
wives redoubled their taunts, saying: "You eat the bread of idleness and drink two men's share of buttermilk." And they meditated in their hearts some device by which they might be rid of him.

So they sent for the Qâzi and the assembly of the elders to measure the family lands. They gave bribes to the Qâzi and thus the good land was given to the brothers and the barren and inhospitable fell to the portion of Rânjha: and Rânjha's enemies flapped their arms exultantly and said: -- "Now Rânjha's brethren have entangled him in a net!" And they jeered at the Jât, saying: -- "How can a man plough who wears long hair and anoints his head with curds? What woman will marry such a ne'er-do-well?" And his brothers jeered saying: -- "He wears a big looking-glass on his thumb like a woman. He plays on the flute all day and sings all night. Let the boy quarrel about the land if he so wills. His strength will not avail against us who are many."

So Rânjha heavy in heart, took out his yoke of oxen to the field to plough; but his soul was sad within him, and the sun smote him sore. And being tired of ploughing, when he came to a shady place, he took the yoke pegs out from the yoke and lay down to rest, and Sâhibâ his brother's wife brought him food. And he told of his sorrows to Sâhibâ his brother's wife:

"Sister, I do not like this ploughing; the soil is hard, my hands are blistered and my feet are exceeding sore. The good days when my father was alive are alas! gone and now evil days have fallen upon me."

And Sâhibâ replied tauntingly: -- "Verily you were your father's darling but the very shame of your mother." Whereupon Rânjha's anger was hot within him and he replied: "It is truly written in the Holy Qurâân: -- 'Women are ever deceivers.' Did not women befool Râjâ Bhoj, put a bit in his mouth and drive him like a donkey round the place? Did not a woman destroy the Kauros and Pandos? Did not a woman kill Râvan? It is you who have stirred up strifes: it you who have separated me from my brethren. I used to be happy day and night with my friends, but now your evil tongues have raised up the smoke of contention. You women make men into rams so that they fight with one another." Sâhibâ replied: "You eat too much milk and rice, hence you are proud and overbearing. You are the only blot on our family. If you would leave your home and go hungry for a time, perhaps you might give up this devilry. You are idle and do no work. You prowl about the village making eyes at the girls. The other women of the village taunt us at the spinning parties and say we are in love with you. For women fall in love with such beauty as yours even as flies are caught in honey. Day and night the women run after you. Your love has ruined many households."

Thereupon Rânjha was wroth and spoke angry words to his sisters-in-law, saying: -- "All the world knows that you are the most quarrelsome women in the village, and as for your beauty, it is such that your husbands need not fear that any men will want to run away with you."

The eyes of Sâhibâ reddened with rage and her black curls glistened like angry cobras: -- "If we are not good enough for you," said she, "go and marry one of the Siâl girls; go and play your flute among their houses and entrap some of their women. If you don't like our beauty go and marry Hîr. Seek her day and night that you may entrap her. You
can beguile women even out of the palace of Râñjha Kokilân. If you cannot get her out of the door by day, pull down the back wall and take her away by night.”

Râñjha replied: “Men who have sisters-in-law like you should drown them in the deep stream. I will bring back Hir of the Siâls in marriage and women like you shall be her hand-maidens.” And he turned and went away in a rage; and Sâhibân looking over her shoulder, said to him: “You should be quiet about this marriage business, or the beauty of Hir will fade and you will be too late.”

So Râñjha with his flute under his arm left his father’s country declaring that he would no longer eat or drink in Takht Hazâra. And it came to pass that a herdsman ran and told his brethren, and they said to him: “Râñjha, tell us what has befallen you that you quit our home. Our wives are your maidservants and we are your slaves.”

And his brothers’ wives besought him saying: “We shed tears of blood when you talk of departing. We give our life and our property and ourselves as a sacrifice for you.” Râñjha replied: “Why do you try to make me change my mind? For many days the food and water of Takht Hazâra have been hateful to me. First with your taunts you burnt my heart and separated me from my brethren, and now you turn round and say smooth things. You cannot prevail. My mind is firm. The drum of my departure has sounded and I will leave the home of my fathers.”

So Râñjha quarrelled with his brethren and left Takht Hazâra.

CHAPTER 2.

(Râñjha reaches the Mosque.)

After much journeying he reached a mosque, which was as beautiful as Holy Mecca or the great Mosque at Jerusalem. And hunger and cold fell upon him and weariness of travel. Then he took up his flute and played, and strange things happened. Some became senseless and others’ hearts yearned when they heard the music. Not a man or woman remained in the village. They all thronged round the mosque. Last of all out came the mulâdâ who was a very bag of quarrels. And the mulâdâ seeing Râñjha said: “Who is this infidel with long hair? This is no place for rogues. Cut off your long hair so that you may be acceptable in God’s sight.”

Râñjha retorted to the mulâdâ: “You have a long beard like a venerable Shaikh, yet you behave like a devil. Why do you send innocent travellers and poor faqîrs like me away? You sit in the pulpit with the Qurân in front of you, yet your mind is set on iniquity. You lead the village women astray; you are as a bull among cows.” The mulâdâ replied: “Mosques are God’s houses and evil livers are not admitted therein. You have abandoned prayer and keep long hair and scented moustaches. Such men we beat out of mosques. Dogs and beggars are alike impure, and both should be whipped.” To which Râñjha gave reply: “O deputy of Allâh, may your sins be forgiven and in your mercy grant pardon to my faults. Tell me, O learned in wisdom, what is clean and what is unclean? What is right and what is wrong? What is prayer made of and of what is it built? How many ears and noses has prayer? What is its length and size and with what is it caparisoned? To whom was prayer ordained in the beginning?”
Whereupon the mullah protested that he knew all the doctrines of the faith and all the prayers ordained for believers, and could lead the pious across the bridge of salvation, "but," said he, "lewdf fellows like Rânjha should be spurned from the assemblies of honest men."

Hearing this, Rânjha jested, right merrily at the mullah's morals and his bawdy tricks, so that his hearers were much astonished and not a few were mightily pleased. And he teased the mullah sorely saying:—" Mullahs run after women in mosques and cultivate land like laymen. They are like curses clinging to the House of God. They are like blind men, lepers and cripples, always waiting greedily for a death in the house, so that they may take the dead man's raiment. They arise at midnight; their fat bellies are smitten with hunger and they cry for something to eat. Under the shelter of Holy Writ they curse the living, and when poor wayfarers and strangers come to beg for succour they cry:—"Begone, begone!"

The mullah's face was blackened. He hung his head and there was no spirit left in him. So he said to Rânjha:—"Remember God and cover your knees. I give you leave to pass the night in the mosque, but see to it, foolish Jât, that you leave it with covered head at early dawn, or I will summon four lusty scoundrels who will belabour you with cudgels and thrust you out of the assembly."

So Rânjha slept in the mosque during the night and at early dawn he set forth on his travels. In his heart he remembered Hir and his mind was set on how he might compass his desire.

As he set out, the skirt of night was lifted and the yellow dawn appeared. The sparrow chirruped and the starlings began to sing. The men took their oxen out to plough, and the girls brought their milking stools and cleaned their milk cans. The women of the household began to grind corn, while others kneaded flour with their hands: the noise of the grinding stones was heard in every courtyard.

CHAPTER 3.

(Rânjha reaches the banks of the Chenáb.)

At the third watch of the day, when the sun began to slope to the west, Rânjha reached the bank of the River Chenáb. Many travellers were assembled at the ferry waiting for Luddan the ferryman to take them across. Now Luddan was as fat as a leather bag full of honey, such as trader folk bring home when they come with merchandise from Kashmir. Rânjha said:—"Master ferryman, for the love of God take me across the river." And Luddan smote his fat paunch, laughed, and with a bawdy oath replied:—"We know naught of God's love. We ply this ferry for gain." And Rânjha entreated him saying:—"I sorely need to reach my journey's end with despatch. I myself will take an ear. Luddan replied:—"He who is for yonder shore, let him pay his pence. Him who gives his pence we will take across; even though he be a dacoit or thief we will not repeat his name, but we chase away all beggars, faqirs and those who eat unlawful meats like dogs. Those who attempt to enter our boat forcibly we throw into the river. Even the son of a Pir like Wâris,1 we will not take into our boat for nothing." At last Rânjha, weary of entreating the ferryman, sat down in a corner by himself. He drew out his flute and played

1 Reference to the poet.
the sad music of separation from one's beloved; and he wept hot tears as he thought of the evil fortune that had befallen him. Hearing his sweet music, all the men and women left the ferry and sat round Rânjha. The two wives of Luddan took his feet in their hands and pressed them. And Luddan's heart was angry within him, and he muttered:—"This youth is a wizard. He has cast some spell over my wives." And he appealed to the villagers around him saying:—"Save us from the wiles of this Jât. He will beguile all our women-folk away."

But they heeded not his word, so powerful was the flute's enchantment. Then Rânjha having solaced his soul with music, paid no heed to the entreaties of the folk at the ferry, but taking his shoes in his hand, set his feet in the river. And the people said:—"Sir, go not down into the river! The stream of the Chenab runs deep and strong. Even long poles cannot touch its bottom. One's life is lost at the mere sight of the waves of the Chenab."

Luddan's wives tried to prevail on him to return and caught the skirts of his clothing. But Rânjha replied to them:—"It is best that those in trouble should die. They that are happy do not quit their homes. My parents are dead and I have been tormented as Joseph was tormented by his brethren." So Rânjha tied his clothes on his head and putting pride away from his soul, called on the names of God and Khvāja Khizr, the prophet of the Waters, and essayed to cross the river.

But the people ran and caught him and brought him back, saying:—"Friend, enter not the river or you will be drowned. We ourselves will carry you on our shoulders. We are your servants and you dwell as it were in the apple of our eye."

So they caught Rânjha by the arms, put him in the boat and seated him on the couch of Hîr. And Rânjha made much questioning concerning the couch and the fine linen thereon. And the people answered:—"This is the couch of a Jât damsel, the daughter of Mihr Chûchak. She is as lovely as the moon. The Queen of the Fairies always seeks God's protection from her beauty. Those who have become a prey to her charms can find no shelter on earth. Her beauty slays rich Khojas and Khatris 2 in the bazaar, like a murderous Kizilbâsh trooper riding out of the royal camp armed with a sword. Luddan and his boatmen are afraid of her, even as a goat fears the wolf. She is the pride of the Siâl assembly. Her name is HîR. (Quoth the poet! "This is not a boat but a marriage procession.")"

So Rânjha bid all the passers-by sit on the couch, boys and men, rich and poor. They surrounded him like moths round a lamp. And Luddan repented him that he had not taken Rânjha across at first, "For, I fear," said he, "that this robber of the Chenab may by his magic beguile away my wives from me."

Now the shepherds took the news to the village that a young man was singing in the boat:—"Flowers drop from his mouth when he speaks. Luddan's wives are in love with him, and he sits on Hîr's couch." And the people of the ferry asked Rânjha his story:—"Whence have you come? Why have you left your home? You seem very delicate. Has nobody given you any food, not even a drop of milk to drink? So Rânjha told his story unto the people, saying:—"I was the darling of my parents, but see now the work of God, in what strange wise fate has dealt with me."

2 The merchant class in N. India
CHAPTER 4.

(Hir and her companions come to the Ferry.)

How can the poet describe the girl friends of Hir? They were fair and bright with beauty. Lovers became like moths round the lamp of their loveliness. Their eyes were pencilled with the collyrium of Ceylon and Kandahâr. Their eyebrows were like the bows of Lahore and their eyelashes like the arrows thereof. Neither the Chinese nor those of the North can rival the features of the Siâls. When they walked hand in hand down to the river their lovers were slain in battalions. The music of their bangles echoed as they walked. Their foreheads were as fair as the porch of a mosque.

Last of all came Hir surrounded by her friends even as an eagle floats through the air. She was proud of her beauty and handfuls of pearls swung from her ears. The ring from her nose shone like the polar star. Her beauty was as mighty as the onset of a storm. When the red shift on her breast quivered in the sun, whosoever saw it forgot both Heaven and Earth.

Poet, how can you praise the beauty of Hir? Her eyes were as soft with love as the eyes of a deer or a narcissus; her cheeks were as bright as roses. Her features were as lovely as the curves of a manuscript written by a cunning scribe. When her eyes flashed it was as if the armies of the Panjâb had fallen upon Hindûstân. Her lips were red as a ruby and her chin like an apple of the north. Her teeth were like pearls and beautiful as the seeds of a pomegranate. Her nose was like the blade of Husain’s sword; her locks were like black cobras sitting on the treasures of the Desert. She stood like a cypress in the garden of Paradise. Her thighs were as white as camphor and her leg as shapely as the pillar of a minaret. To look at her was as the vision of the Night of Nights (lailatul-kadîr-shabrat). The redness of her lips made a man cry “Oh God! Oh God!” The onset of her beauty was as if armies from Kandahâr had swept over the Panjâb.

Thus Hir and her girl friends came to the river to bathe. The tinkling of their anklets was heard from afar. They thundered like a cloud when they drew near the boat. They descended on the boatmen as a hail storm sweeps over a field. They belaboured Luddan the ferryman with their whips. They ordered the guards of the ferry to be bound hand and foot. Hir spoke straightway and said:—“Luddan, you black-faced rogue, why have you defiled my couch? Whom have you allowed to sleep on my bed? Have you no respect for me or fear of God that you have done this thing?”

So they ran to the boat and looked at the couch and, behold, a comely youth was sleeping thereon with a red shawl over his shoulders. And Luddan lifted up his hands and said:—“Spare us, Lady, we are innocent. We did not invite the lad to sleep on your bed; he has come here himself without our invitation. The songs that he sings have cast a spell over our hearts. Be not proud of your beauty, Queen, nor be overbearing to your servants. Even tyrants fear God. Take heed that you become not like Zulaika when her eyes fell on the beauty of Joseph.”

And Hir made answer in her anger:—“This lad takes no heed of aught that may befall him. Does he not know that this is the kingdom of my father Chûchak! I care for no one, be he a lion, an elephant or the son of a noble. Does he think he is the son of Nâdhu Shâh or that he is the Pir of Baghdad? I have a thousand slaves like him and I care not a whit for such as he.

And Hir turning to Rânjha said:—“Sleeper, arise from my bed. Who are you and why have you chosen my sleeping place? One whole watch of the day have I been waiting
with my girl friends. Tell me, why are you sleeping so soundly? Have evil days befallen you that you run the risk of being flogged? Has sleep not come to you all night long that you sleep so sound a slumber? Or have you needlessly slept on my bed thinking there was no master thereof forsooth?

And Hir cried aloud in her wrath to her maidservants to belabour him with cudgels. The queen in her wrath was furious to behold.

CHAPTER 5.

(The meeting of Rânjha and Hir.)

And Rânjha opened his eyes and beheld Hir and said:—"Be gentle with me, Sweet-heart."

And Hir's heart melted within her even as the snows of Kashmir melt under the tyrannous sun of June.

Rânjha had his flute under his arm and earrings were in his ears. His beauty was as the beauty of the full moon. Their four eyes met and clashed in the battlefield of Love. The heart of Hir swelled with happiness even as a loaf swells with leaven. She sat in his lap as lovingly as arrows nestle in the embrace of the quiver. They conversed happily one with the other. Love triumphant rode on the field of victory. The soul of Hir was sore perplexed within her. She abandoned the pride of her beauty and became submissive unto Rânjha.

"It is well," quoth she, "that I did not beat you or say anything that was unbecoming."

(Poet Wâris, none can withstand when eyes fight with eyes in the tourney of Love.)

Rânjha replied:—"This world is a dream. Even you, proud Lady, will have to die. You should not be unkind to strangers or treat poor men with haughtiness. Take back your couch and quilt and I will depart hence and be no more seen."

And Hir made reply:—"This couch, Hir and everything of mine is yours. Surely I did not reproach you. I clasp my hands in front of you. I swear I never lifted a finger against my Lord. I have been wandering masterless amongst my friends, and now God has sent me Rânjha to be my Master."

And Rânjha replied:—"Oh beautiful Lady! Lovers, faqirs and black cobras cannot be brought to submission without incantations. The wine of your beauty has intoxicated me, but you walk disdainfully."

Hir replied:—"I am your slave. Tell me, Friend! Whence have you come? Has some proud woman driven you from your home? Whither and why are you wandering? What is your name? Of what caste are you? Who is the wedded wife you have left behind, for whom you are sorrowing? Your eyes are as soft as the eyes of a deer. Flowers drop from your mouth as you speak. I am even as your slave. Tell me friend, would it please you to graze my father's buffaloes? The herd belongs to my father, but you will be my servant. Does that plan suit my Lord's fancy? When you drink of my father's grey buffaloes' milk you will forget all your sad songs."

Rânjha replied:—"Girl, I am Rânjha and a Jâit by caste. I come from Takht Hazâra, I am favourite son to Chaudhri Mauju. On his death evil days befell me. My brothers by cunning stole the best fields. My portion was stones and bushes, and no rain fell thereon. My brothers burnt me with their taunts until I became like to roasted meat. If your loveliness so please I will graze the herd under the shadow of your eyes, and do whatsoever your heart wishes. But how shall I be able to meet you? Let us devise some plan lest you go away with your girl friends, desert me and kill me in my helplessness."

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Hir replied with folded hands:—"I will remain your slave, and all my handmaidens will do your bidding. Is not the forest a meet place for the clashing of four eyes and the meeting of four lips? Journeys end in lovers' meeting. God has given me the cowherd for my lover and I have forgotten the love I had for all my old friends and acquaintances."

Rânjha replied:—"Hir, you will sit among your girl friends at the spinning parties. I shall wander alone and disconsolate in the courtyard, and no one will take any heed of me. Do not feed me on bread and then deceive me, and expel me from the courtyard. Hir do not beguile me. If you mean to be true, keep to your plighted word. Do not first be kind to a stranger and then turn your back upon him."

Hir replied:—"I swear by my Father—and may my Mother die—if I turn my face from you. Without you I declare food to be abhorrent to me. I will never give my love to any other man. Sitting on water I swear by Khwâja Khizr, the god of the waters:—May I turn into a pig if I break the oath of Love. May I be a leper and lose my sight and limbs if ever I seek any husband save Rânjha."

And Rânjha replied:—"Hir, the way of Love is difficult, and my heart is perplexed within me. Love is more fearful than a sword or spear or the triple venom of the chusela snake. Pledge me your faith that you intend to be true. Remember that on the day of Resurrection those who have broken faith will meet those whose trust they have betrayed."

CHAPTER 8.

(Rânjha becomes Chûchak's cowherd.)

So Hir pledged her faith and Rânjha trusting in her stood before Mîhr Chûchak. Hir went into the presence of her father and made Rânjha stand beside her.

(Quoth the Poet: "See what a net of deceit Hir, the Jâś girl, has spread!")

And Hir said:—"My father, hail! May my life be sacrificed for you, under the shadow of whose protection my youth has passed happily in the Sandal Bâr. Verily have I swung on cords of silk in the gardens of beauty! My father, I have found a servant who can tend our buffaloes."

And Chûchak replied smilingly:—"Who is this boy and whence has he come? His body looks so soft that if you touch him a bruise will come. He is not fit for buffaloes work. He seems of such gentle birth that methinks he will consider the buffaloes his own and himself no one's servant. The splendour of God shines in his face. It is not meet that he should be a herdsman."

And Hir replied to her father:—"My father, Rânjha is of gentle birth. He is the son of a Chaudhri of Takht Hazâra. 'Tis a real jewel that I have found."

And Chûchak said:—"He seems to be a mere lad, but he has wise eyes and a kindly disposition. But why is he sad and why has he left his home? Is he meditating any deceit in his heart?"

And Hir replied with subtilty:—"My Father, he is as learned as Solomon, and he can shew the very beard of Plato. He has cunning to trace out thefts and he speaks with wisdom in the assembly of the elders. He can decide thousands of disputes and he is learned in the wisdom of the Dogar Jâts. He can swim buffaloes across the river and recover stolen cattle. He keeps all the herd as it were in the apple of his eye. He is one in a thousand in a country where thieves are many and good servants scarce. He stands steadfast in his duty as a wrestler stands firm in the midst of the arena."

And Chûchak replied with tenderness to Hir:—"You are championing his cause with zeal. We will see how the boy turns out. We accept what you say; the boy can be given charge of the buffaloes, but bid him take care, as it is no easy task to tend buffaloes in the Bâr."
(Quoth the poet: "Lovers are fortunate whose tangled affairs have been put straight by the kindness of God.")

Then Hir came and told her mother:—"Mother, the difficulty that has so long beset us has at last been settled. The herd will no longer be masterless nor go astray in the forest. I have entrapped a Jât, a real jewel. I entreated him kindly and beguiled him with sweet talk and I have at length persuaded him to be shepherd of our cattle."

And thus it came to pass that after a little Hir came to Rânjha and consoled him with sweet talk. And the boys of the village laughed and said to Rânjha:—"Now you will live on milk and cream all your life long."

And Hir said:—"You should not mind the jests of these rude boys. I will bring your butter and sugar and sweet bread. Go and drive the buffaloes into the forest and trust in God. I and my sixty maids will accompany you and together we will track the footprints of the lost cattle."

CHAPTER 7.
(Rânjha meets the Five Pîrs in the forest.)

God showed his mercy and the Bâr was covered with green, even with innumerable grasses and herbs. The buffaloes formed into a black line like a snake and set out for the forest and Rânjha took upon himself the task of a herdsman. He called on the name of God and entered the forest. And the sun smote him sore and he was in great tribulation.

Good fortune however came to him and he met the Five Pîrs in the way. First came Khwâja Khizr, god of all the waters, then Shakarganj, the holy saint of Pâkpatan. Then Shâhâbâz Qalandar, the holy saint of Uch, and Zakaria, saint of Multân, and Sayyid Jallâl of Bukhâra, whom men also call Makhdûm Jahânân. And Rânjha saw by their countenances that they were holy men and besought their help.

The Pîrs replied:—"Child, eat your fill and drink grey buffaloes' milk and live on the fat of the land. Dismiss all sadness from your mind. God himself will set your affairs right."

And Rânjha replied:—"Sirs, I am in great distress. You are mediators with God and I salaam before you seven times. I beseech you bestow the girl Hir upon me, for the fire of Love is devouring me."

The holy Pîrs answered and said:—"Child, all your wishes will be fulfilled; your arrow will hit the target, and your boat will reach the shore. Hir has been bestowed on you by the Darbâr of God. My child, remember the Five Pîrs in the time of your distress."

Thus by the grace of God and the kindness of the Five Pîrs, Hir, the Jât girl, was bestowed on Rânjha.

(Quoth the poet: "When the days of good fortune come, all the pîrs, fakîrs and amîrs are ready to help.")

The Five Pîrs were gracious unto Rânjha. Khizr gave him a turban tuft, Sayyid Jallâl a dagger, Zakaria a stick and blanket, Lâlâ Shâhâbâz a ring, and Shakarganj a kerchief. And they said:—"No one will do you harm. God has made you the owner of these cattle."

And the buffaloes streamed out into the forest and were the glory of the land, even as swans are the glory of a lake. There were black buffaloes, grey buffaloes and brown. Some had horns upturned, others drooping, others curly horns. Some were lazy and mild tempered; others were fat and lusty and of fiery spirit. They gambolled and jumped and threshed their tails from side to side. They swam in deep water. Their soft eyes were like lotus buds and their teeth like rows of pearls. Rânjha drove the cattle into the forest and they were happy with him and hearkened to his voice, and he drove them whithersoever he listed.
CHAPTER 8.

(Hir and Rânjha meet in the forest.)

Hir Jaṭṭi set out from Jhang Siāl. She came as a cloud of beauty from Paradise to fertilise the Sandal Desert, or as the soul coming to awaken the body. She came to fulfil the eagerness of her heart, for she was possessed with love for Rânjha. She brought him boiled rice, sugar and butter and milk, and she said with weeping eyes:—“I have been searching for you all over the forest.” And she served him with all manner of attention. And Rânjha told Hir that according to Muhammadan law the promises of women were not to be trusted:—

“God himself hath said in the holy Qurān: ‘Verily your deceit is great.’ Satan is the Lord of evil spirits and women. Women falsify the truth and feel no shame. The word of women, boys, hemp-smokers and bhang-drinkers cannot be trusted. Only if you intend to keep your word, Hir, can the son of Mauju endure the humiliation of being a servant.”

Hir replied:—“Do not upbraid women. None can be so persistent or steadfast as a woman. For the love of Joseph Zulaika renounced her kingdom. For the love of Māhiwāl Sohni was drowned in the river. Is not the love of Laila known throughout the world and does not the grass grow green on her tomb to this day? Sassi died a martyr in the burning sands and Shirin died too for the sake of her lover Farhad. Had not prophets and saints mothers that bore them? Was not Eve Adam’s equal? Men cannot be as bold as women. Ask Wāris the poet, he knows this well. As God and the Prophet are true, I give you my plighted word that I will be your slave as long as blood runs in my veins. I am yours to do with as you will. You may sell me in the bazar if it so pleases you.” So Hir comforted Rânjha with sweet words and poured out all her soul to him. She said:—“We shall be surrounded by enemies and you must confront all troubles with patience. The waves of the Ocean of Love are heavy with fate. They will either take us ashore or drown us. But beware of Kaidu, my wicked uncle. He is like Satan and bent on mischief. The world will reproach us and those who are ignorant will cast taunts at us, but the true lover sacrifices his life for his beloved. Lovers have no support but God.”

Thus every day Hir used to take a bowl of rice and pudding to Rânjha in the forest, and she swore to be true to him. She gave up her spinning and no longer sat with her girl friends. She was with Rânjha all the day. She set aside the blanket of shame. And the folk of the village put their fingers in their mouths in amazement, beholding her wantonness.

(Quoth the poet:—“Those who commit sin will burn in Hell.”)

The news spread over the whole of Jhang that Hir had fallen in love with a shepherd and that she went to visit him every day in the forest.

CHAPTER 9.

(Hir’s mother is angry with her and Kaidu finds her in the forest with Rânjha.)

When Hir came back from the forest, her mother rebuked her saying:—“The taunts of the village-folk have consumed us utterly. Would that no daughter Hir had been born to me! If you cease not from wickedness your father Chûchak and your brother Sultân will cut you in pieces.”
And Hir replied:—“Listen Milki, my mother! as long as breath remains in my body I will not leave Rânjha. Yea! though they carve me into little pieces and I become a martyr at Karbala. And so I shall go to meet the famous lovers of old, I shall see Laila, and Majnu and Sassi who was drowned in the river.”

And Milki was wroth with Hir and said:—“This then is the reward your father and I receive for the love we have bestowed on our daughter. We thought we had planted a rose in our garden but it is a prickly thorn. You visit Rânjha daily in the forest and take him food and cake and pasty. You heed not what your parents say. Daughters who are disobedient to their parents are not daughters but prostitutes.”

But Hir would not listen to her mother and continued to visit Rânjha in the forest.

Meanwhile Kaidu the cripple, Hir’s uncle, constantly urged Chûchak to chastise Hir. He kept watch over her footsteps as a spy. He smelt the savour of the pasty and he secretly followed Hir when she went to the forest. At last the cunning of the cripple succeeded. Hir had gone to the river to fetch water and Rânjha was sitting alone, so Kaidu in the guise of a mendicant faqir came to him and begged for alms in the name of God. And Rânjha, thinking he was truly a holy man, gave him half of his pasty. Kaidu gave him a faqir’s blessing and retired towards the village.

When Hir came back from the river she asked Rânjha where the other half of the pasty was, and he told her that a crippled faqir had come and begged in God’s name, and as he seemed a saintly man she had given him half the pasty. Hir replied:—“Rânjha, where have your wits gone? That was no saintly faqir but my Satanic uncle Kaidu who goes about to destroy me. Did I not warn you? He is as evil as Satan. He separates husbands from wives and mothers from daughters. He is a great hypocrite, for what he sets up with his hands by day he kicks down by night with his feet. He will put in motion the well-gear of destruction and will drop ak juice into our milk.” Rânjha replied to Hir:—“Kaidu has only just left and he cannot be far away. Go and stop him on some pretence.”

The heart of Hir was scorched with anger against Kaidu so she ran and overtook him in the way and fell on him in her wrath like a tigress. She tore off his faqir’s cap and ropes of beads and threw them on the ground. She thrashed him even as a washerman beats his clothes on the washing-board. She thundered in her wrath:—“Give me back the pasty if you wish your life to be spared; else I will bind you hand and foot and hang you to a tree. Why do you pick quarrels with girls? Half of the pasty fell on the ground: the other half Kaidu snatched from Hir, and having secured his prize, the cripple ran off as fast as his crooked legs would carry him to the village.

Then Kaidu came before the council of the village elders and said:—“See, here are the pieces of pasty which Hir gave to Rânjha. Will you now believe when I tell you she is a shameless hussy? Why does somebody not tell Chûchak to chastise her? She is bringing shame and humiliation on the kindred. Chûchak should have repented the day on which he engaged this cowherd. His wits must have forsaken him that he has not turned Rânjha away.” And they came and told Chûchak what Kaidu had been saying in the assembly of the elders.

And Chûchak was wroth and said:—“Kaidu is a tale-bearer and a liar: he chases moths all day. He thinks he becomes a perfect faqir by wearing a rosary. He thinks the girdle makes the dareesh. Why does he wag the tongue of slander against Hir? She
only goes to the forest to play with her girl friends." But the women of the village mocked at Milki saying:—"Your daughter is a bad girl and our hearts are burnt with shame like roasted meat. The drum of her shame has been beaten throughout the whole valley of the Chenab. If we speak to her she is insolent to us. She has the pride of a princess. She goes to the forest under the pretence of going to the mosque with a Qurān under her arm. People think she is reading in the mosque, but she is getting another lesson from a different chapter. She is a bad example to the village and we are beginning to be anxious about our own daughters."

And Kaidu said to Milki:—"For God's sake get your daughter married. The Qāzi always says:—'Marry a naughty girl as soon as you can.' Or else break her head and cut her into small pieces, as she is a disgrace to the village. Why do you not plaster her mouth up, as you plaster up your cornbins?"

And Milki was at last tortured to frenzy by these taunts, and said to Mittu the barber woman: "Go and call that Hussy Hir and say her mother wants her." So Mittu went and called Hir. And Hir appeared and laughingly said to her mother:—"See, I am here." And Milki said: "You bad girl. You should be drowned in the deep stream for causing such a scandal. Grown up daughters who venture outside their father's house should be thrown down the well. You are so fond of your lover, Hir, that we shall have to find a husband for you. If your brother comes to hear of your goings on, he will hurry on your betrothal or he will hack you in pieces with his sword. Why have you cut off the nose of the family and covered us with disgrace? Come, Mittu, take off her ornaments. What is the good of giving jewellery to a girl like this? She is tarnishing the honor of Jhang Siāl. We will dismiss the cowherd to-night. What do we want cowherds for?"

And Hir replied:—"Mother I am very fortunate in that God has sent this cowherd to your house. All men thank God when they get such a treasure given them. What the Pen of Destiny has written has come to pass. Why do you noise abroad the whole affair? Do you not know that three things should be kept secret, fire, a sword, and Love?"

Thus Hir withstood her parents to their faces and refused to give up Rānjha. And Milki said to Chūchak:—"See how the girl withstands us to our faces. All our kith and kin put their fingers in their mouths with amazement and talk sarcastically about us. She has levelled the pride of the Siāls to the dust."

And Chūchak replied:—"Give her away at once. Thrust her out from the village. She is altogether abominable. Why did you not suffocate her when she was born, Milki, or poison her when she was a baby?"

CHAPTER 10.

(Scandal spreads in the village and Chūchak dismisses Rānjha and then recalls him.)

So when Rānjha brought the cows back that night Chūchak was wroth, and he called Rānjha and in the presence of all his kinsfolk rebuked him saying:—"Friend, give up the buffaloes and go away! You have become a subject for scandal and evil tale-bearing. Tell
me, brethren of the Śiás, what use have we for a cowherd like this? I did not engage him to be a bull among my cows. I meant him to take buffaloes and not girls into the forest; We eat taunts all day long on his account."

Thereupon Rānjaḥa threw down his shepherd’s crook and blanket and quitted Chūchak’s herd of cattle, even as a thief leaves the hole in the wall when he hears the watchman’s footsteps. And he spake to Chūchak in his anger: — "May thieves take away your buffaloes and dacoits run away with your calves. What do I care for your buffaloes or your daughter? For twelve years I have been grazing your buffaloes and now you turn me away without wages. You are looting me like a bánia (Hindu trader) whose ledger stays quietly in his shop while the interest swells into a mountain. So your daughter stayed in your house and you got my services for nothing." So Rānjaḥa in a rage shook the dust of the Śiás off his feet and gave up the service of Chūchak.

But as soon as Rānjaḥa had gone, the buffaloes refused to graze any longer. Some were lost, some were drowned: others were devoured by tigers or got lost on the further bank of the river. The Śiás made attempt to recover their cattle but to no purpose, so Chūchak repented of his decision saying: — "The buffaloes will not graze. We are worn out with our exertions." And Hir said to her mother: — "My father has turned the cowherd away and see the poor condition into which the cattle have fallen. People do not think my father has dealt fairly with the cowherd."

And Milki said to Chūchak: — "All the people curse us for having turned the cowherd out without paying him his wages. Had he asked for his wages you would have had to pay him a whole bag full of money. Go and beseech him to come back. Tell him Hir is disquieted by his absence."

Chūchak said to Milki, his wife: — "Go you and pacify him. Tell him to graze the buffaloes till Hir’s marriage. Let him enjoy happiness. Who knows what may befall between now and then? We Játs are known to be sharp customers. We must get him by hook or by crook."

So Milki went to her brothers’ and their wives’ courtyard and enquired where Rānjaḥa had gone, and having found him she entreated him saying: — "Do not fret over much about the quarrel you had with Chūchak. Parents and children often fall out in such small matters. Come back and milk our buffaloes, and spread Hir’s couch. Since you have gone she has been much displeased with us. Only you can pacify her. Our cattle, our wealth, the Śiás and Hir herself are all yours." And Hir said to Rānjaḥa: — "You should hearken to my mother for is she not the mother of your beloved? My parents have not yet decided on my betrothal, and marriage is a long way off. Who knows which side the camel will sit down?"

So Rānjaḥa hearkened to the words of Hir’s mother, and once more became Chūchak’s herdsman, and he drove the cattle into the forest; and he bathed and called on the name of God. And Hir brought him roasted barley and wheat flour mixed with sherbet, and she bowed herself before him. Love in person ministered to Rānjaḥa.

One day the Five Pirs appeared before him, and Rānjaḥa bowed himself to the ground, and Hir was with him. And the Pirs said: — "Children, we salute you. Remember God. Do not tarnish the word of Love. Rānjaḥa you are Hir’s, and Hir is yours. A pearl and a ruby have come together. Your Love will cause trouble and strife in the world. The world will taunt you, but be brave and steadfast. Do not abandon love and remember God day and night."

3 I.e., Which way the wind will blow.
CHAPTER 11.

(The Kazi admonishes Hir but she refuses to give up Ranjha.)

Now when Hir came back from the forest her parents sent for the Kazi and the Kazi sat between Chuchak and Milki, and Hir was made to sit in front of the Kazi.

And the Kazi said: "Child with all gentleness we give you counsel. Take heed unto our words with patience. It is not becoming for the daughter of Chuchak to talk to cowherds and penniless coolies. You should sit in the assemblies of women in their spinning parties. Turn your red spinning wheel and sing the merry songs of the Chenab. Your demeanour should be meek and modest, remembering the dignity of your father and his family. For Jats carry weight in the world and girls should think of their parents. They should not gad abroad. In a few days the messengers of your wedding will be here. The preparations for the marriage are all but complete. The Kheras will bring a marriage procession in a few days to take you to the house of your husband."

And Hir replied to her father: "As wine-bibbers cannot desert the bottle, as opium-eaters cannot live without opium, so I cannot live without Ranjha. As the stain of mango juice cannot be washed away from clothes, so the stain of love cannot be erased when once the heart has fallen a victim. Love is like baldness. You cannot get rid of it even in twelve years."

Thereupon Chuchak said to Milki: "You have spoilt your daughter with too much kindness. She listens to nobody’s advice. Rip open her belly with a sickle; pierce her eyes with a needle, and smash her head with a milking stool.

The Kazi said: "Those who do not obey their parents will be burnt alive. The girl seems to welcome death and the stake. Girl, you should beware of Love. Under pain of Love Sohni drowned herself in the river. Sassi died a martyr in the desert. When fathers become angered they hew their daughters in pieces. They bind them hand and foot and cast them into a deep pit. If we say the word you will be done to death at once. If evil doers are killed, God does not avenge their death."

And Hir replied to the Kazi: "Woe to that nation that destroys its daughters. It will be accursed and utterly perish from off the earth. The blood of the victims will bear testimony. Those who kill their daughters will be accounted sinners in the day of resurrection. God will say, 'Eat them, as you have killed them with your own hands.' I will be submissive in all things to my parents, but do not ask me to give up the shepherd. I have pledged my faith to him. Mother, if you wish for happiness in this world, give Hir in marriage to Ranjha. It is easy to give advice, but difficult to pursue the path of Love."

And Milki replied: "My daughter, all the people taunt us when they see your wicked ways. You are a black-faced wanton. You are thinking of Ranjha all the time. You weary the body and soul of your parents with sharp words. You bark like a bitch day and night."

And Sultan, Hir’s brother came forward and said: "Mother, she puts us to disgrace in the whole world. Do not keep such a bad daughter. Give her poison and get rid of her at once. If she does not obey you and sit in purdah, I will kill her. Do not let the shepherd into this compound or I will cut him into little pieces. Mother, if you do not bring your daughter into submission I will burn the house down."

4 See page 15. 5 Female infanticide is not uncommon in India.
Hir replied to her brother: "Dear brother, my life is yours. When four eyes have met and clashed in Love, the course of Love cannot be stopped. My fate was written by the Pen of Destiny on the first Day of Days. The Pen and the Tablet of Destiny prostrated themselves before Love. How can poor Hir withstand it? All the Jat girls of Jhang are in love with him. My dear brother you should pray to God that all the girls should follow the example of Hir. You should sacrifice a thousand sisters at the feet of Love."

And the Kazi yet again urged Hir to desist from her evil ways saying that girls who disobeyed their parents would be losers in the day of Judgment. And Hir made answer to the Kazi: "Lovers cannot disburden themselves of the burden of love. Know, Kazi that I will never accept a Khera in marriage even though I am bound with iron chains or ropes. If I turn my face from Rānjhā and desert Love to-morrow I shall be disbarred in the Resurrection from the company of Lovers. To this burden of shame I will never consent. I deem the infamy of the world as a pleasure as long as I keep the Love of Rānjhā. Waris, I shall be called the Hir of Rānjhā in heaven, in the assembly of Fātimā the daughter of the prophet."

And the Kazi was wroth and said: "Nobody can stop or stay this wicked girl. Hir's pride knows no bounds. She must be given away in marriage at once."

And Hir called aside one of her girl friends and sent her to Rānjhā at once with the following message: "My parents and the Kazi are oppressing me and my life is being taken from me even as sugar is pressed out of a sugar mill. You, friend, are living happily but an army of sorrows is invading me."

And the girl went and gave this message to Rānjhā and told him to comfort Hir as she was being humiliated.

CHAPTER 12.

(Rānjhā has audience of the Five Pirs and Mīthī discourses on Love.)

And Rānjhā when he heard this was sad and desired in his heart to call on the Five Pirs; so he bathed in the river and then took his flute and began to play. And he stood before the Five Pirs with folded hands and weeping eyes, and he prayed: "For God's sake, help me, or my love will be ruined." And the Five Pirs at once came to his help, saying: "We have seen in our dream that your mind has been perplexed and your soul sore troubled within you." And the Pirs said: "Sing to us two or three songs as our heart is yearning for song."

So Rānjhā began to sing before the Five Pirs. He took his flute and cunningly ran his fingers over the notes. He played the seven modes, even the modes of Kharj, Rakhab, Sanehar, Panebam, Maddam, Durat, and Nikaoli, and with much skill he kept time to the beats of the drum, and he also played many variations on these tunes, even from Urab unto Gaddi Dum. And he sang all the songs that men sing, even the song of Bishenpatti and the songs that the women of the Manja sing, the song of Sohni and Mahiwal and the songs the hillmen sing. He declaimed the shrill verses of Kabit, the songs of the Gujars and the songs of the women of the east. And with the singing and the music he became as one in a trance. He swayed like a cobra. And the hearts of the Five Pirs were moved hearing Rānjhā sing, and they said: "Ask any favour of us and we will give it."
Rânjha replied: "Admit me to your holy order; make me a Malang and give me Hir as my Malangai and Mate." And the Pirs said: "We will be your helpers. Hir is yours but use her not as a wife, as men use women. Do not desert her nor take her away from her parents house for she is no penniless girl nor a girl of mean birth, and remember to cast your eyes on no other woman than Hir."

And Rânjha being perplexed in heart went to Mithi the barber woman and asked her concerning the ways of women and Love. And Mithi replied: "The way of Love is hard and the path is tortuous. The taste of Love is as bitter as poison. The very letters of Love - ISHQ are like the coils of a snake and only very wise men know its secrets. Love to the potter woman is part of the days work like eating and drinking; the love of a shepherdess is fierce like a wolf; the love of a Sikh woman is as violent as the current of the Chenab, The love of a shriff woman is as clear cut as the year 37 on the coins of Muhammad Shah. The Bengali woman's love is fitful. The Hindustani's is childish. A little girl's love is fretful and peevish; she is always taunting and reproaching her lover. Kanjars know not what love is. God's curse on the casual light-o'loves. Touch them not. The love of a Khatri woman is as soft as dough. The hill woman loves openly but the Peshawar woman in secret. But hark ye. The birth place of Love is among the Sials. Jhang is the father of Love and the Chenab is its mother. Did not Love exist from the beginning of the world? Did not God love Muhammad? Did not the holy saints know Love even Adam and Eve, and Zakaria who got caught in a tree and sawn asunder? Did not Abraham love Ishmael? Was not God displeased with King Solomon and did not He cast him down from his throne in his displeasure, in the twinkling of an eye? Love also slew Hasan and Hosain the holy martyrs, and is not the list of earthly Lovers long and famous—even Mirza and Sahiba, Chander, Badan, Sherin, Kamrup, Sassi and Punnoo, Laila and Majnun, Sohni and Mahiwal, Joseph and Zuleika."

And Rânjha and Hir took counsel how they might conceal their plans from Hir's parents; so they decided to take Mithi the barber woman into their confidence so that they might meet in Mithi's house. And Hir slipped five gold coins into Mithi's hands and made her promise not to tell the secret to the other girls. And Mithi's heart grew warm when she saw the money. Verily without money there is no kith or kin or kindness in the world Without money there is no wit nor wisdom. With the help of money the fool is the equal of the wise man. Wuri, if you trust in God, he will give you your portion of the good things of this world.

Mithi's house was near the watering place of the cattle, a little aside in a quiet corner. It was full of quilts and beds and soft coverlets, and Mithi used to scatter flowers for Rânjha and Hir to walk on. Rânjha's orders were obeyed throughout the house and he was treated with as much honour as a son-in-law. And Hir used to come during the night and stay till one watch of the night remained and then slip back to her own house. In the morning Rânjha drove the buffaloes out to graze in the forest. Under the pretence of bathing, Hir and her girl friends used to meet him in the forest on the banks of the Chenab. And the banks of the Chenab laughed and shook with their merry making. Rânjha played on the flute and Hir and her girl friends sang the merry songs of the Chenab. Sonia, the goldsmith girl wrung the water out of her dripping hair and shook it over Rânjha, and then kissed him and ran away laughing. The daughter of Sadoo the weaver clung to him as a leather water-bag clings to the back of the water-carrier, and Miran and Bibi, the daughters of Fatto
the wood-seller ran and caught Hir and Rânjha and pressed their two faces together. Sanpatti, the shepherd’s daughter, mocked them, and when Rânjha ran after her she dived into the water like a tall water-fowl and escaped. Some stood like cranes among the tall reeds; others swam like otters. Some waddled to the banks like a crocodile: others floated on the water like dead fishes. Hir swam round Rânjha alone and floated towards him with roguish glances. With much cunning she set herself to catch that fish of Takht Hazara.

But the shepherds heard of these things and came and told the news to Kaidu; and Kaidu said to Milki: “Your daughter is a daughter of shame. She plays with the shepherd in the pools of the Chenab river. She has tainted the honour of the country side. We have tried all we can, both her parents and the Kazi and I, but we can do nothing with her.”

So Milki sent Anil the barber, Alfoo the shoemaker, Jammoo the ploughman and Doodoo the baker to fetch Hir. And they went and said to Hir: “Your mother is very angry with you. Chuchak and the assembly of elders will thrash you.”

And to Rânjha they said: “A great calamity will befall you as Milki threatens to kill you. The Sials are so filled with wrath that they have not kindled fire on their hearths the whole day. The whole tribe is angry. The Sials have determined to kill you.

So Hir came and salaamed to her mother, and her mother said to her: “You shameless hussy, you loud tongued abandoned harlot, you slit-nosed prostitute with cat’s eyes. You are a pool of filthy water as dirty as the bottom of a tank. You can teach the cows to frisk when the bulls come after them and you must know full well how bull buffaloes run after the cows. Fine mating there has been in the forest. You have dragged the name and fame of your family on the mud. You have caused your scandal to be noised abroad in every street and alley of the village.”

And Hir replied angrily to her mother: “The mouth of a liar is a foul thing. Why are you speaking lies? Mother, what is the good of this overmuch talk? The cowherd was in the jungle and I was playing with my girl friends. Whose she ass have I stolen? Why has this storm burst on my head? Why publish in the four corners of the city what is only known to a few? May pain rot and disease consume the unfortunate daughter of Milki. I will not give up Rânjha even if my great grandfather comes and tries to make me do so.”

And Milki was silent before Hir as she saw that Hir was determined and that her heart was fixed, and that she had no fear of death at all. And Kaidu, the lame, the tale-bearer, the son of Satan, went about the village with his wicked half-closed eyes saying: “you fools why do you not take my advice? Nobody will give you better counsel. I tell you the girl walks arm in arm with Rânjha all day in the forest. If you do not take care he will run away with her, and where will be the honour of the Sials?”

CHAPTER 13.

(Hir thrashes Kaidu and Kaidu complains to the village elders.)

And Hir’s girl friends came to her saying: “Your evil uncle is stirring up the whole assembly of elders against you. He has noised the whole affair in the bazaar by beat of drum. If this goes unheeded who will call you Hir? He should be taught a lesson which he will not forget. So Hir took counsel together with her girls, and at her bidding they waited for an opportunity and caught Kaidu and surrounded him like a potter
catches his ass. They tore off his beggar’s girdle and threw him on the ground. They beat him on the back and over the head. Their blows resounded like the hammers of the coppersmiths. They pulled out his hair and blackened his face with soot. They broke his cups and cooking pots.

Kaidu cried out like a thief in the hands of the constable, and in his rage he bit them, scratched them and tore their clothes into ribbons. But the girls crowded round him and kept him at bay, even as the Police guards encircle Lahore. They then burnt his hut and let the dogs and the chickens loose all over his property.

And with blazing torches they went off triumphantly to announce their victory to Hfr. How can I describe the prowess of these fair beauties? It was as if the royal armies had returned to Lahore after subduing Muttera. And Kaidu with blood flowing from his wounds and with torn clothes raised a great hue and cry saying: “I come for justice. Administer justice. O assembly of elders! They have set fire to my hut. Dogs and cocks and hens have looted my opium and bhang. They have broken my pots and pans and the bowl my master gave me. They have thrashed me and humbled me before the whole world. I am wearied with weeping. I will lay my complaint before the whole world. I will seek justice from the Kazi.”

And Chuchak turned to Kaidu and said: “Go away cripple. You are the prince of rogues and are always seeking quarrels. You worry people and then come and howl before the elders. You tease girls and then try and get them into trouble.”

And the elders sent for the girls and asked them why they had beaten the poor lame fakir. “Had they detected him in any wrong doing?”

The girls put their fingers into their mouths with amazement and replied: “He is a lewd and wicked fellow. He pinches our cheeks and handles us in a mighty unbecoming fashion. He spits our coming and goings and he chases us as a bull chases a buffalo.”

Then Hfr and her companions came before Milki and complained saying: “We are your humble servants. Kaidu is a mad dog to be spurned. Why do you not drive him away? We have not touched him. Why do you not believe us? It is indeed a strange word. He treats us outrageously and picks a quarrel with us, and then you go and console him with soft words. You are kind to a quarrelsome knave like him and make your daughters stand before the village elders. This is a new kind of justice. We are your humble obedient servants.”

And Kaidu again made a great hue and cry before the assembly and asked for redress and justice. And the elders advised him to be patient and quiet, saying: “The girls have behaved exceedingly foolishly. The fakir has been very hardly dealt with.” Then they scolded the girls and consoled the cripple, promising to build him a new hut and to give him more ‘post’ and ‘bhang’ and all the things the girls had destroyed. And Kaidu grumbled and was discontented in his heart and muttered: “These elders have lost faith and have abandoned justice. They shew partiality to their daughters. It is a poor consolation they have given me. Verily it is a case of: ‘A blind king and oppressing officials.’”

And Chuchak answered Kaidu sharply and said: “Our village elders are not men without shame or fear of God. We do the thing that is just, and hate the thing that is evil. Let me see with mine own eyes that your story is true and I will cut the throat of the wicked jade and turn the shepherd out of the country.”
And Kaidu muttered to himself: "I will grind Hir's flesh into small pieces like bhang, and I will make a rope of the hair of the shepherd." And he replied to Chuchak: "If you do not beat her after seeing her shame with your own eyes, then the assembly of elders are liars." So Kaidu revolved in his own mind how he might catch Hir and Ranjha in the forest and bring Chuchak to see them, for he reflected: "Who will punish his daughter merely on what I say? Who will set the village on fire to avenge the loss of one sheep?"

So Kaidu lay in ambush in the forest like a closed fist. He hid himself like a dog in the bushes. The next morning Ranjha drove the cattle into the forest, and after two watches of the day had gone, Hir and her companions in their scarlet clothes came into the forest. The forest was all ablaze with the beauty of the Sial girls. And the girls played "Toss the red handkerchief" (Lal Kachorni) together and then went back to their homes. Ranjha and Hir stayed behind and slept together peacefully in the forest. And Kaidu spying them together alone ran off to the village as fast as his crippled legs would carry him, and said to the assembly of the elders: "Come and see strange things in the forest."

CHAPTER 14.

(Chuchak finds Ranjha and Hir in the forest.)

Chuchak muttered to himself: "We have been dishonoured before the whole assembly." And he saddled his horse and took a spear in his hand. It shone like lightning. The clatter of his galloping sounded from afar in the forest. And Hir heard the noise and was afraid of the coming of her father. And she said to Ranjha: "Get up, my father is coming." Then she wept and said: "I shall not come again here so forgive me." And she hurried from Ranjha's side.

Mehr Chuchak was tortured to frenzy on seeing them alone in the forest. He said: "See the tyranny of God. Women are roaming about here alone in the forest." Shame pierced his heart. He quivered with rage and said: "I will break your legs in two and cut off your head. Only thus will the scandal be stopped."

And Hir turned towards Ranjha and said: "Shepherd, leave your buffaloes and go away to your home. No one in future will care for you or bring your food. Forgive me, my father, for what has happened. I am your own dear daughter and it is not meet for men of gentle birth to bring about their own disgrace by publishing abroad their daughter's defects."

Chuchak stood bewildered like a saint that has drunken deeply of bhang, and he bethought him that Hir ought to be given away in marriage soon.

Now when Ranjha became a shepherd and tended the buffaloes of Chuchak, news was taken to his brethren in Tahkt Hazara. The brothers of Ranjha wrote to the Sials saying: "You have employed the son of Mauju Chandri as a shepherd. How strange are the doings of Almighty God. He left us in anger and we have been searching for him day and night. All his fields have been made ready for cultivation; we have bushels of grain ready for him when he returns; the produce of all these years that he has been away. He has been in our minds always, and our wives who were his comrades are weeping for him. He has cut off our nose by becoming a grazer of buffaloes. We shall be grateful to you if you will send him back; otherwise we shall have to come with a special embassage to lay our request before you."
And Chuchak replied: "We have employed Rânjha as Hir’s servant. Had he been an evil man, we should have expelled him. The whole village stands in awe of him and all the shepherds obey him. Why have you turned such a young man as this out of your house? He is neither lame nor lazy nor clumsy fingered. We will not turn him out, but if he wishes to see his brothers no one will prevent him."

And Rânjha’s brothers and their wives wrote tauntingly to Hir and said: "If you want boys to debase, we can supply you with plenty. It is a matter of amazement how much debauchery is being taught nowadays. You have robbed us of our brother-in-law whose face was like the moon. You should pick out a bigger man for your love intrigues. This boy Rânjha is too young to know what love means." Now Hir had the letter read out to her and she told the contents to Rânjha, and after consulting him, she caused the following answer to be written on her behalf.

"Your letter has been received. We are shocked at its contents. We have employed Rânjha as a grazier of buffaloes and we will not let him go. The once plucked Bel flower cannot be reset on the branch. Broken glass cannot be united. The bones that have once been thrown in the Ganges cannot return. Past times can never come back. The contract of love once entered on cannot be broken."

And Rânjha’s sisters-in-law replied to Hir: "If you wish to challenge us on the score of beauty we are ready to accept the challenge. We are all of us beautiful and all our lives we have been servants of our dear Rânjha. He is like the moon to us and we are like the Pleiades to him. He beats and abuses us but still we are his servants. You may take another slave from us in his stead and we shall be grateful. We have been sore distressed by his absence and we are like swans separated from the herd."

To this letter Hir replied as follows without the knowledge of Chuchak: "Greetings. What you ask me about Rânjha is impossible. I swear on the Koran I cannot give him up. Why are you so fond of him? His love is with me. In the assembly of the girls we sing songs about him. You are fine sisters-in-law. You are always squabbling with him. Your taunts have made him as thin as a piece of board."

To this Rânjha’s sisters-in-law made reply: "He belonged to us but you stole him. You rob us of our money bags and then play the usurer over us. You come to borrow a light and then claim to be mistress of the house. The simpleton fell into your wily clutches like a blind mouse hunting for food in an empty corn bin. May the curse of the Poet Waris Shah fall upon you, Hir, for you have robbed us of our dear brother-in-law."

And Hir replied: "Did Rânjha’s sisters-in-law love him so much when they turned him out of his father’s house? Did not his brothers expel him for a few roods of land? He slipped away from his home in despair even as a pearl slips off a silken thread. He roams all day in thick forests and has sold his soul to this sinful personage. He refuses to go however much you exert yourselves. You can let his brothers know that we do not intend to restore him even for hundreds of thousands of rupees."

CHAPTER 15.

(Chuchak proposes to get Hir married.)

Now during all this time Chuchak was perplexed in his heart about his daughter Hir; and he called his relations and castefellows together in an assembly to consult about Hir’s marriage. He was undecided whether to give her in marriage to Rânjha or elsewhere.
Chuchak was determined to marry her somewhere to avert disgrace, and his brethren agreed with him, but they urged that Sial had never given their daughters to the Râñja tribe and that they would be disgraced if they give their daughter to such lowly and needy folk. The brotherhood recommended an alliance with the house of the Kheras as being Jats of good lineage whom Chuchak would be proud to own as relations. They said that the Kheras had already sent their barbers to propose the betrothal. So Chuchak took the advice of the brotherhood and announced the betrothal to his friends and relations. The women of his household beat drums and gave presents to the minstrels and gave them bowls of sugar. They sang songs and made merry. The Kheras received the news with great joy. They assembled in crowds and danced with delight. They distributed dishes of milk and rice. But when Hir and Rânja heard the merriment, sorrow fell upon them and their heart turned to cursing. Hir was angry with her mother for betrothing her against her will and said she would never go with the Kheras however much her mother tried to make her. "When did I ask you for a husband," she exclaimed: "Why do you try to conceal designs which cannot long remain hidden. You have betrothed a swan to an owl. You have mated a fairy to a bull."

And Hir said to Rânja: "Great Tyranny has fallen upon us. Let us go away to some distant part of the country, for when once I am admitted into the house of the Kheras they will never allow me to come back. We have been fighting on the battle-field of Love. It does not become a gallant warrior to desert the battle-field."

Rânja replied: "Love does not taste well if it is composed of theft and stealth and abduction. You are asking me to run away like a thief that has been found out."

Now the girls of Jhang Sial assembled together and came before Rânja and asked: "How fares it with you now? You have been grazing buffaloes day and night and now all the preparations for the marriage have been made and the barbers have delivered their message all over the country. Foolish man, ask the girl why she is treating you like this. You should say to her: 'If you intended to turn your face from me why did you made me undergo such hardships? You have helped me on to the roof and now you kick away the ladder. That must be all, Hir, our friendship must now end.'"

Rânja replied to the girls and said: "The uttering of many words is folly; all ills must be borne with patience. If God is good, the Khera and Hir Sial will never mate together. The patience of the heart is victorious over the world. You chattering women know nothing of Love. Verily Love is a bitter herb and sour to eat. Patience alone can mend the cloven sky. Those who keep silent always succeed."

And Hir's girls came and said to her: "You have been insincere and have deserted your faith. Your Lover Rânja is ready to throw away his shepherd's stick and blanket and to leave your father's country. If you intended to break faith with him why did you first encourage him and then break his heart? He has borne the taunts of the whole world for your sake and you have been a great tyrant. Remember that the throne of God trembles when a man is deprived of his right."

And Hir replied to the girls: "Hide him under your sheet and bring him to me disguised as a girl, but do not let my parents know. We shall then be face to face and you can decide like a true judge. Those who have been true will be acquitted and those who have been false will be blamed. I have been telling this lover of mine to run away with me but he missed his chance. Why does he turn round now and bewail his lot?"

So one night the girls brought Rânja disguised as a girl, and Hir and Rânja once again pledged their troth to be true to one another.
CHAPTER 16.

(Hir is married to Saida against her will.)

Meanwhile the Kheras asked the Brahmans to consult the augury of the Stars and to fix the marriage.

The Brahmans fixed Virwati (Thursday) in the month of Sawan for the wedding. But Rânjha all this time was sad in his heart. Meanwhile all the kitchens were busy making preparations for the feast, and fine flour, sugar and butter melted into each other’s embrace as an affectionate sister-in-law embraces her brother-in-law.

There were all sorts of pilao and soups, and all kinds and varieties of rice, even Mushki and Basputti and Musagir and Begami and Sonputti. And they brought baskets of clothes of all kinds—huge plates of every sort of sweetmeat and divers fruits. And there was no end to the ornaments, armlets, anklets, necklaces, earrings and nose rings which were prepared as a dowry for the Bride.

There were large dishes and small dishes. There were surma boxes for the bride to paint her eyes. There were drinking bowls of all sizes, frying pans, kneading dishes, spoons, rolling pins, milk cans and dinner trays, all of costly and regal magnificence. The lovers of the guests turned green with jealousy when they saw the abundance of good things. The potter women brought earthen pots and the bakers brought fuel from the forest. The water carriers rushed about drawing water from the wells. Men with ropes and poles were carrying large cooking-pots and others were carrying old fashioned guns and culverts. A large host of people came to enjoy Chuchak’s hospitality. There were multitudes of barbers cooking the food. Chuchak has gained credit in the world and the people are praying for his long life and prosperity.

And Rânjha left his buffaloes and sat in a corner sad at heart.

Meanwhile flocks of beautiful women lined the tops of all the houses to watch the marriage procession. They were as delicate as fairies and as beautiful as houris. Their fairy forms must have been compounded of musk and perfume. They exchanged ribald songs and pleasantries with the women of the bridegroom’s party. They flashed their beautiful red eyes and sang in sweet tones. They uncovered their heads and shoulders and showed their rounded breasts. They gazed at their own beauty in their thumb looking-glasses. They were tantalising their maddened lovers. They clapped their hands and danced and sang songs of welcome to the Bridegroom. They greeted every body as they passed with some new song.

The crowd and the noise was as great as at the Fairs of Pakpattan or Nigah or Rattan or Thanman, where women flock to kiss the tomb of the saint and attain the achievement of their desires.

The girls went wild with jealousy when they saw the costly robes of the married Sial women. Then came the musicians, the dancing girls and the jesters and the minstrels with trumpets and cymbals even from Kashmir and the Dekkan. The horses neighed and the ground quivered with the trampling of many hoofs. There were grey horses, piebald horses, dun and roans, and chestnuts groomed to shine like the sun and gorgeously caparisoned. Their ears were quivering with excitement. They were ridden by handsome Khema youths, and the dancing girls sang and declaimed with amorous gestures, and they danced like peacocks. The men beating the drum chanted songs. The riders had spears in their hands and were merry with good drink. The folds of their turbans were soaked in saffron. The saddle bells tinkled as the horses neighed and caracoled. Thus the marriage procession came from Rangpur to Jhang and they halted at the
village guest house. And mats were brought for them to sit on and huqqas of gold and silver and brass were brought for them to smoke. Garlands were flung round their necks. The minstrels sang to them and the Kheras distributed money to the minstrels with lavish hands.

When the procession arrived Rânjha’s soul and his heart was scorched like roasted meat, and he said to himself sadly: “Saida is drunk with joy to-day though he has not touched wine. Saida has become a Nawab and Hir his princess—who cares for poor Rânjha the shepherd. Death is better than life without my beloved.” And the people in their pity for Rânjha said “Chuchak has been cruel. He has broken his word and disgraced his Faith.”

Meanwhile the members of the marriage procession girded on their belts and proceeded to the house of the bride. The oilmen held their torches in their hands to light the way for the procession and the barbers presented dishes of sweets to the bridegroom’s party. Then five rupees and a shawl were given to the Kheras. When the relations of the bride and the bridegroom met they put the bridegroom and his best man on horseback.

Then the fire works began. Three were stars and catherine wheels, bombs, balloons, and coloured rain rockets, and set pieces of elephants, stags, peacocks, coloured circles, and moving thrones and revolving moons. All the neighbourhood flocked to see the fireworks. After the fireworks came the dinner, and rice and sugar and butter were distributed in big dishes, and the singing women sang songs and were given money.

The bride and bridegroom were made to sit facing each other and each one put “surna” in the other’s eyes, and the fun waxed fast and furious and the girls pestered the bridegroom with jokes and riddles and questions. They gave him a sheaf of wheat and ‘asked him if he could weave a basket. They made the bride close her fist and asked the bridegroom if he could open it. They threw a pair of women’s petticoats over his head. ‘Try and lift this heavy cup with one finger,’ shouted one girl, ‘bring us some stallions’ milk,’ said another. ‘How can you work a well without bullocks?’ said a third. ‘Can you pitch a tent without poles? Can you put an elephant into a saucer?’ said another. They tickled him under the chin and asked jeeringly, why he had brought his old mother along. To whom did he want to marry her? Was he hunting for a husband for his sister among their shepherds? At whom was his best man’s mother casting her eyes. “We can get the very cowherd you want for your mother.”

And Saida replied mockingly: “You are as lively and as wise as Belkis the wife of Solomon herself and your wit burns us up entirely. Go to Dhonkal and you’ll see a tent pitched without poles. Yes, I can make a well go without bullocks—take off your clothes and jump in. I have already married your cowherd’s sister and we can supply lusty men to suit all of you. I am ready to take all of you home with me.” Thus they jested and feasted at the marriage feast of Hir and Saida.

The Kazi who was to solemnise the marriage was given a seat on the floor. They appointed two witnesses and an attorney and prepared to offer prayers. They told Hir the five principles of Islam and made her recite the “Kalma.” They told her the definition of Faith and made her repeat “there is only one God and Muhammad is his Prophet.” They made her read the six Kalmas and taught her the Five Times of Prayer. And Hir the Sial said angrily to the Kazi: “Why bother your head to pick a quarrel? I do not intend to turn my face away from Rânjha. What have Kazis and the “Shara” to do with True religion? There is a big well in Hell into which Kazis will be thrown by God.”

The Kazi again admonished Hir but she was displeased and refused to say a word to him. The Kazi said to Hir: “You should obey the orders of your religion, if you wish to live.”
Hir replied: "I shall cry out in the Court of God that my mother betrothed me to Rânjha and has broken her promise....My love is known to the Dhul Bashak (the cobra that supports the world), to the Pen and the Tablet of Destiny and to the whole earth and Sky."

The Kazi said: "Proud Beauty, wrapped in musk and insolence. The prophet has ordained marriage and God has said in his holy writ "MARRY." Obey the bidding of your parents and accept the Khera as your husband. Are you the queen of Jamshid or the daughter of Nadhu Shah that we should be afraid to tell you the truth? I will beat you with the whips of the Shara (the holy scriptures) and administer the justice of Umar Khatib."

Hir replied: "Where the love of Rânjha has entered there is no place for the authority of the Kheras. If I turn my face from Rânjha what shelter will there be for me in the day of judgment?"

The Kazi was wroth with Hir for her obstinacy and he asked her angrily: "Tell me who solemnised your marriage with Rânjha, and who were your witnesses? Who was your attorney? Without witnesses a marriage is invalid. These are the clear directions of the law of Muhammad."

And Hir asked the Kazi: "Who taught you the law? You have no true knowledge of it. The soul of the Prophet solemnised our marriage. By the order of God, the polar star [Kutub also mean the chief of the saints] was my attorney. The angels Gabriel, Michael, Israel and Israfil were the four witnesses." Thus for a whole watch of the day did Kazi admonish Hir and urged her to accept the marriage arranged by her parents. But she would not listen and steadfastly refused to be the wife of anyone but Rânjha. The arguments and threats of the Kazi were of no avail for the colour of Ain Shin and Kaf [the three arabic letters (١٧٧) ISHK spell Love] had entered into her soul.

And Chuchak said to the Kazi: "Listen to me. The marriage procession of the Kheras is sitting at my door, and if the marriage is not accomplished I shall be disgraced and the face of the Sials will be blackened. All the folk of my own household are questioning me. My kith and kin from afar off are asking why the marriage ceremony has not begun. There is no man whom I respect and trust as I trust you. I will give you anything you ask if you will bring this affair to a successful conclusion."

The Kazi replied: "You can only gain your object by deceit. The powerful and mighty have a way of their own. It only Pirs, fakirs and saints who are afraid of using violence. Tell the bride's attorney that consent to the marriage must be wrung from Hir, even against her will. Let us gag her and read the marriage service."

(Quoth the poet: "Kazis have no fear of God and eat the bread of iniquity").

The Kazi said: "Make haste, Chuchak, and bring your kith and kin. Call the witnesses and the attorney. I will solemnise the marriage. If Rânjha the shepherd makes any trouble we will cast him into the fire."

So the Kazi, by guile, against Hir's will solemnised the marriage. The witnesses and the attorney ran away afterwards as a camel flees on seeing a lion. And Hir said to the Kazi: "May the curse of God fall on you and all such rogues and liars. If you are so anxious to give a bride to the Kheras, why not give your own daughter to them? God's curse on all Kazis and bribetakers."
CHAPTER 17.

(Hir is taken to Rangpur.)

Thus was Hir married by stratagem and put into the wedding palanquin by force. She was put into the doli (palanquin) moaning and crying. The Kheras took her off as thieves drive off stolen cattle. When Hir was put into the palanquin she made bitter lamentation even as a swan separated from the flock, and she cried out to Rānjha and said: "To-day your wealth has been looted by Kheras. Takht Hazara and Jhang are left masterless. These are the wages of deceit with which the Sials have repaid you for your grazing. Who will take care of you when I am away? You will wander in misery and loneliness. Oh, Rānjha, see my long hair has fallen down all over my breast in my misery. My jewellery is unkempt and uncared for. The bull, the snake (Bashak Nag), the earth and the sky have turned against me to destroy me. Other brides have bought clothes of green, red and yellow but I wear only mournful white." Thus did Hir lament on being parted from Rānjha.

Meanwhile the buffaloes were ill at ease without their master Rānjha. They gathered together on the bank of the river and lifted their mouths in protest. They pushed folk hither and thither with their horns and broke the pots and the pans of the village. Then the people bade them conciliate Rānjha by kissing his feet.

And all night the Kheras marched with the palanquin of Hir, and at dawn they reached the forest, being nightly pleased with the bride they were carrying off. And they halted and sat down to eat and drink and be merry. And they prepared to go hunting.

But Rānjha who had followed the procession sat apart and his heart was sore within him. But no one paid any attention to him.

The Kheras rode after deer and hunted lions and foxes and showed much cunning with their bows and arrows. And they roasted the meat that they had killed and set aside a portion for Hir. And Hir finding herself alone and the Kheras merry making, made a signal to Rānjha, called him into her palanquin and embraced him tenderly.

One of the Kheras noticed this and brought news to the rest and they were very wrathful. But Hir broke her necklace and pretended she had called Rānjha to help her pick up the pieces. She added that if any one touched him, even with the end of a feather, she would poison herself. Whereupon the Kheras kept silence and urged the procession to move on. And at last the palanquin reached the village of Rangpur and the women came out to greet the bride and sang songs of welcome. The girls lifted the bride out of the palanquin and poured oil over the threshold. Hir's mother-in-law swung water round the bride's head and drank it and gave thanks to God. They drew aside her veil and placed a Koran and five gold mohurs in front of her, and her mother-in-law and husband's sister laughed and made the midwife sit by her side. They gave presents to the midwife and other menials. When they espied Rānjha sitting near, they snatched the basket from his head and frightened him away. The village women congratulated Saida's mother on the bride. But Hir kept her own secret in her heart and she alone knew it. Rānjha's heart was sore within him. He drew near to Hir by stealth and spoke to her. She protested that Fate was too strong for her and that she could do nothing for Rānjha. Whereupon Rānjha upbraided Hir for first encouraging him and then abandoning him.

Hir replied: "Rānjha, this love of ours must last for all our life long. The Five Pirs stand witness between you and me. I swear I will never be the wife of Saida. If he approaches me I will turn away from him. Surely the Five Pirs will punish him if he tries to come near me. Listen, I have a plan how we may meet again. I will write to you
that you should come and see me in the disguise of a fakir (religious mendicant). Abandon all your caste and position. Shave your head and become a wandering beggar. In this guise you will be able to have a glimpse of me. If you do not come and see me my soul will vanish away."

[There follows in the text a tirade against Jats generally and against the Sial Jats in particular. As bringing out the weak points of the Jats it is of some ethnological and historical interest, but it has nothing much to do with the story so it is omitted here.]

CHAPTER 18.

(Hir is unhappy in her new home.)

One day it was agreed that Gana or "Hunt the bracelet" should be played and all the Jat girls were sent for to join in the game. They all danced with joy in the village when the news was sent round. They were all brides and fragrant with the odours of musk, and rose and jessamine. It was as if a garden was full of 'champa' and 'chabel' flowers. Their beauty shone like the radiance of the moon. Their faces were as shapely as the cupola of a mosque. There is no happiness in the world like the joy of bride and bridegroom. Saida sat on a red firestool and the brides of the village sat round him. They flocked round Hir and brought her a basin of milk with a bracelet at the bottom. They danced round her shaking it and asking her to dive for the bracelet. The other brides and bridegrooms threw their bracelets in and the fun waxed fast and furious. But Hir remained pale and glum. When they seized her hand and put it in the basin it was as cold and lifeless as the arm of a corpse. So finding that Hir was cold and dispirited and would not join in the game, the girls all gave up playing and went away sadly to their homes. The women of the village were displeased with Hir. But she sat mute refusing to look at [Saida and tears flowed from her eyes like rain from the black clouds of the monsoon.

Meanwhile the Kazi was saying to Chuchak: "You are fortunate in that all your difficulties and troubles have vanished now that Hir has been placed in the house of the Kheras. All is silence in Jhang Sial and all are happy in Rangpur. All authority has deserted Rânjha and nobody pays any attention to him now. And Rânjha's sisters-in-law discussed the affair in Takht Hazara and they laughed at the discomfiture of Rânjha. And they wrote him messages saying: "The decree of fate must be borne. There is no trusting girls. The Kheras have plucked the flower that you used to guard so tenderly and for whose sake you wandered so many years in dense forests full of tigers and lions. Come back to us while there is yet time. We will offer a golden crest on the sacred tomb when you set your foot in our courtyard. We will present offerings to the gods if you come back to Hazara. We will dedicate a saucepan to the name of Ali. We will hold a wrestling match and we will offer garlands to Ghazi Pir. Have we not promised to light the lamps in honour of Khwaja Khizr if you return to us?"

And Rânjha replied: "Sisters, when autumn withers the flower, the humming bird has to live on hope. When the garden dries up, the nightingales wander about the jungle hoping that some bud will blossom somewhere. Only the son of a churl will run away from Love. The true knight stakes his life for Love and scatters destruction on those who oppose him."

So Rânjha resolved to become a fakir and get his ears bored and to bring back Hir captive or perish in the attempt. And Rânjha's sisters-in-law at Hazara, when they received
this reply sat in silence and then they said: "Rânjha will never come back." Meanwhile Hir languished in the house of her father-in-law. She refused to put on jewellery or gay clothes. She ate no food and lay awake all night thinking of Rânjha.

And Sehti her husband’s sister spake to her saying: "Sister, what spell has overcome you? You are getting weaker every day. Your colour is fading away. You have become like a dried and parched straw and all your bones stand out. Your conversation is gloomy. Tell me the secret of your heart that I may cure it. [So Hir told Sehti all her story and Sehti sat by Hir and consoled her saying she too had a lover, Murad Baksh a camel driver, and that somehow they must contrive to help each other in their troubles.]

One night Saida full of delight placed his foot on Hir’s bed. Hir thrust him away saying: "I have not yet said my prayers." But Saida was wilful and would not heed, so Hir in her distress prayed to her Pir (Holy man or Saint). The Pir at once appeared and Hir said: "I am the betrothed of Rânjha. My love is pledged to him." So the Pir chastised Saida, broke his bones and tied up his hands and feet. And Saida fell down at the feet of the Pir and begged for mercy saying: "I have sinned."

At the dawn of day Hir took a bath in the courtyard and she sat with her head drooping downwards in grief thinking of Rânjha. Her heart inclined to God and she remembered her Pir. She meditated on the unity of God and dispelled all idolatry from her mind. Thus wrapped in the deepest contemplation she sat motionless as a statue. When the Five Pirs saw Hir sitting in devout meditation they at once appeared by the order of God. They awakened her by placing their wand on her shoulder and they said: "Child get up. What grief has overcome you?"

And Hir gave a deep sigh and tears came from her eyes as she replied: "The love of the Jat whom you gave to me has made me mad. The love of the shepherd has ruined me. God has made you my protector and I come to the Pirs for help in my trouble."

The Pirs were overcome with compassion, and using their spiritual power of ecstasy, they presented the image of Rânjha before Hir, saying: "Child, spread out your skirt and receive the object of your wish," and they added, "He will meet you in person very soon for so it has been ordained by God."

[Here follows in the original a lamentation put into the mouth of Hir in the form of a Barah Mah, i.e., a lamentation of the twelve months. It is not a very good specimen of this kind of composition. There is a specimen of a Barah Mah in Macauliffe’s translation of the Granth.]

CHAPTER 19.

(Hir sends a message to Rânjha.)

After a year had passed a Jat girl of Rangpur was returning to Jhang Sial to visit her own home and she came to Hir and offered to take any message she might want to send to her parents.

"Shall I tell them," said she, "how you like your husband and how you get on with his relations."

And Hir replied: "He is to me as thorns are to silk. The Pen of Destiny has been cruel to me. What can I do? Give my salaam to my homefolk with folded hands and in the garments of humility and say: You have given me over into the hands of enemies. May my parents be drowned in the deep stream. I will have nothing to do with them. Then seek out Rânjha and say to him: ‘Come to me or I shall die. I have thrown dust on
the head of the Kheras and spat in the face of Saida.’ I long to meet him and have
given offerings to the tomb of Husan and Husain, to Shuda, Ghazi and Bhola Pir that
my prayer may be fulfilled.”

When the girl reached Jhang of the Sials she asked the folk there: “Where is the boy
who used to graze Chuchak’s buffaloes and comes from Hazara? The boy who weeps and
talks like a madman, who threw away his blanket and flute and lost his wits. The boy who
is known among Lovers as Rânjha and who wears the garland of Love on his head. Who
has been ruined by Love and wanders distractedly in the courtyards of the weebegone,
because the Kheras have taken away his Hir?” And the girls replied: “He is now a grown-
up lad and has given up all affections of the world. He roams about in the forest where
there are wolves and tigers. No one speaks to him. Who would touch a snake if he were
ignorant of casting spells? Sister, you had better talk to him yourself. We have no
influence with him at all.”

[Various tedious letters in the original are omitted.]

So the girl went in search of Rânjha and said to him: “Râ is on the point of death
Her last breath is hovering on her lips. You have cast some spell over her. She shows no
affection for her husband’s house, although they have made all efforts to please her. She
will not allow Saida to touch her and she will not go near him. She counts the stars all
night and thinks of you. Go back to her disguised as a Jogi (religious medicant), and manage to
meet her somehow. All things reach the appointed end when God is kind.”

And Rânjha, when he heard this message, rejoiced exceedingly, and he called the Mullah to
him and said: “Write for me to Râr and tell her the pangs of separation that I endure.
Write: ‘You have taken rest in your newly found home. I am on thorns and burning
embers. The fire of Love when once lit burns earth and sky. By deceit you induced me to
graze your buffaloes. Verily women can pull down the stars from heaven. Such is their
guile.” Write it down, Sir Mullah, every bit. Omit no part of my complaint. Write as love
wrote to lover with a full heart. . . . Write that nobody cares for me now that Râr has
turned her face from me. The peacocks have flown away, and I have to live among owls.”

The drum of Love beat loudly in the ears of Rânjha when he thought upon Hir and he
pondered much how he might meet her, and he said to himself: “The river of Love is deep
but a boat must be fashioned to cross it. Hir is the secret booty which the robber can only
attain by self-sacrifice. I must disguise myself as a fakir and this delicate body which has
been fed on butter must be smeared over with the dust and ashes that become a fakir. I
will go and learn some spell from a Jogi. I will have my ears bored and become his
disciple. I will go and find some perfect fakir who can upset even Fate itself. I will
cut myself in pieces as it were a comb, so that I may comb the locks of my beloved.

CHAPTER 20.
(Rânjha decides to become a Jogi.)

So Rânjha set off for Tilla the hill where Balnath the Jogi dwelt, for he said to himself:
“Balnath surely knows the way of salvation.”

And as he went from village to village he invited those who wished to join him and
become a fakir and he said: “Brothers come with me and be a fakir. You have
nothing to do but beg and eat. You get your ears bored and put some ashes on your
body and all the world reveres you as a saint. Without toil or labour you can be as eminent as Nadir Shah. The mysteries of birth and the sadnesses of death have no concern for the fakir. He sleeps in the mosque free from the cares of this impure world and begs and eats. He can scold people and incur no blame. If you call yourself a Pir or a fakir everybody is your servant."

At last, after many days journeying, Rânjha reached Tilla, the hill on which Balnath lived and Rânjha bowed his head and placed a piece of gur (sugar) before Balnath as an offering, and clasped the feet of all the jogis. . . . They were all engaged in religious contemplation and prayers. They were reading Gyan Gita Bhagvat and Bharat; and Rânjha folded his hands before Balnath and said: "Make me your fakir. Let me be your chela (pupil) and you be my Pir. The straight path to God is inaccessible without the intervention of Murshids (teachers), even as rice cannot be cooked without milk."

And Balnath looked at Rânjha and found he was a lad of pleasing countenance and of a comely wit, and doubts arose in his heart and he said to Rânjha: "My lad, your looks are saucy and you have commanding airs. Your demeanour is not that of a servant but of one whom others obey. Only those whose souls are submissive can become Jogis. You are more fitted to play the peacock and to strut in the assemblies of young coxcombs. You have a silken shawl over your shoulder; you have painted your eyes with lampblack; you play on the flute and stare at women. You tie cows up and milk them. In vain you try and flatter the Guru (holy man).

Oh Jat, tell me the truth what has befallen you that you wish to relinquish the pleasures of life and become a fakir? Jog is a very troublesome task. The taste of Jog is bitter and sour. You will have to dress as a Jogi, to wear dirty clothes, long hair, cropped skull and to beg your way through life. You will have to meditate on your guru and hold your breath in your midmost throat. You will have to give up the pleasures of birth, to cease to rejoice when friends come or to grieve when they die. You will have to abstain from casting eyes on women. You will have to become divinely intoxicated by taking kand, mul, post, opium and other narcotic drugs. You will have to think the world a mere vision. You will have to go on long pilgrimages to Jagannath, Godavari, Ganges and Jumna. Jog is no easy task. You Jats cannot attain Jog."

And Rânjha replied to Balnath: "I accept all your conditions. I beseech you to give me Jog and to drown me in the deep waters of Fakir (The state of being a fakir). I swear I have given up women and earthly affairs. Do not, Guru, pierce me again and again. You should not break the heart of one who falls helpless on your threshold."

But Balnath still had doubts in his heart, and he said to Rânjha: "What is the good of begging if man has not belief? Only those in love with death can acquire Jog. Good men subdue their passions by riding on the horse of patience and holding the reins of remembrance. Jog means to be dead while alive. One has to sing the song of nonentity using one's meagre body as a guitar. One's self has to be entirely absorbed. It is no child's play. You will never be able to undergo Jog. What is the use of asking for it? Child, listen, God has made his abode in this body of dust. He is in everything as a thread runs through the beads. He is the breath of life in the living. He is as it were the spirit of bhang and opium. He is in the life of the world as colour is in the mendhi (Indigo). He permeates everything, even as the blood runs through all the body of men."
THE SCATTERGOODS AND THE EAST INDIA COMPANY, 1619-1723.

A COLLECTION OF MSS. COMMUNICATED BY
BERNARD P. SCATTERGOOD, M.A., F.S.A.

Edited and supplemented from contemporary records by Sir Richard Temple, Bt.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE BY THE EDITOR.

I am indebted to the generosity of Mr. Bernard P. Scattergood for the use of a series of papers discovered by him and of high value to students of Anglo-Indian history in the 17th and 18th centuries. Mr. Scattergood has occupied many years in collecting a mass of information regarding the Scattergoods, from the earliest times to the present day, and he has compiled elaborate pedigrees of the different branches of the family. While following up the details of a lawsuit in which the executors of John Scattergood, East India Merchant, were concerned, two large bundles of papers, each containing several parcels, were disinterred at the Public Record Office. These have been examined, classified and transcribed, under Mr. Scattergood’s direction, by Miss Dorothy Shilton and Mr. Richard Holworthy, and the whole of the documents relating to India and the East have been placed at my disposal. The letters, journals, and accounts comprised in the bundles throw valuable light upon the methods of trade in India, Persia and China, and on the lives of Englishmen under the Company’s jurisdiction in those regions during the last half of the 17th and first half of the 18th century.

The papers forming the collection unearthed at the Public Record Office were the property of John Scattergood, the last of the name who had direct connection with the East India Company. For information regarding his predecessors, servants of, or shareholders in, the Company, ample material exists among the records at the India Office and in Mr. Scattergood’s voluminous notes. It is thus possible to present, in chronological order, the lives of five members of the Scattergood family in so far as they were connected with India and the East India Company.

I propose to divide these papers into five sections as follows:

I. Anthony Scattergood and his connection with the East India Company at home, 1619.

II. Francis Scattergood of Ellaston, co. Staffs, and his service with the East India Company abroad, 1640-1647.

III. Roger Scattergood of Ellaston and London, Merchant-Taylor, and his commercial dealings with the East India Company at home, 1659-1679.

IV. John Scattergood, Merchant and servant of the East India Company, his career in Madras and Bengal, 1672-1681.

V. John Scattergood junior, Free Merchant, his life in India, Persia and China 1697-1723, including

1. Journal of an expedition from Isfahān to Gombroon (Bandar ‘Abbās) in 1708, with account of expenditure.

2. Descriptions of the islands of Junkceylon (Malay Peninsula) and Divi (near Masulipatam), c. 1715.

3. Correspondence with the Company’s servants and others in India, China and England, 1711-1723.

4. Accounts, commercial and shipping transactions, miscellaneous papers, documents in Gujarātī, Armenian, Chinese, Portuguese, &c.
Like the "Correspondence of Richard Edwards" (1669-1679), now appearing in *Bengal Past and Present*, and the "Bowrey Papers" (1689-1712), which it is hoped will be accessible to the public before very long, the Scattergood MSS. supplement the official records and furnish a vivid picture of the life of Anglo-Indians and of their relations with the Company—in this case at a period singularly barren of really human documents.—R. C. T.]

I.

**ANTHONY SCATTERGOOD AND HIS CONNECTION WITH THE EAST INDIA COMPANY AT HOME, 1619.**

Anthony Scattergood, baptised at St. Alkmund’s, Derby, on the 15th March 1593-4, was the eldest son of Richard Scattergood and Margaret Bate, and grandson of John Scattergood of Little Chester, near Derby, probably by Mary Lyster, his first wife.

In May 1612 Anthony Scattergood was bound apprentice for seven years to Edward Harrison, grocer, his uncle by marriage, and on the expiration of his apprenticeship, in November 1619, became "a sworn freeman" of the Grocers Company.¹ A few months previously, while still "bound" to Edward Harrison, he was "admitted and sworn Free Brother" of the East India Company, "by service" and paid his fine of 10s. to the poor box.² He was thus entitled to be a purchaser of the Company’s stock, but there is no record to say whether he availed himself of the privilege. A few years later, on the 17th July 1625, he was buried in his native parish of St. Alkmund’s, Derby. He was "a young man of great hope," but his early death may account for the absence of any further mention of him in the Company’s records.³

II.

**FRANCIS SCATTERGOOD OF ELLASTON, CO. Staffs., HIS SERVICE WITH THE EAST INDIA COMPANY, 1640—1647.**

Francis Scattergood appears to have been the third son of John Scattergood of Chadsden and Ellaston, co. Staffs., Attorney-at-law (1586-1662), and Elizabeth Baker alias Stables.⁴ He was baptised at Ellaston on the 8th March 1613-14. Of his early life nothing is known. He married his wife Elizabeth some time previous to 1640, probably about 1639, just before he entered the Company’s service. In the Scattergood pedigree at the Heralds College (Press-mark K. 1, Visitation of Northants and Rutland, 1681), which is subscribed by his brother Dr. Anthony Scattergood,⁵ Rector of Winwick and Yelvertoft, co. Northants, Francis is described as having “died young or unmarried;” but Dr. Anthony’s memory must have led him astray on this point, as it certainly did on one or two others.⁶

There is no record of any petition by Francis Scattergood for employment in the East. He is first mentioned on the 11th December 1640 at a Court of Committees, when "The Court took into consideration the electing and settling of their Pursers, Pursers Mates, Stewards, and Stewards Mates, and having at a former Court entered into this business but not perfected the same, they now taking a review of what they had formerly done, and

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¹ Particulars supplied by Mr. Scattergood.
² *Court Minutes*, IV, 345 (India Office Records).
³ Information from Mr. Scattergood.
⁴ From the evidence contained in Mr. Scattergood’s papers, there is strong presumption for this statement, but actual proof is wanting.
⁵ For an account of Dr. Anthony Scattergood and of his son, the Rev. Samuel Scattergood, see the *Dictionary of National Biography*.
⁶ Particulars supplied by Mr. Scattergood.
observing those that are wanting, elected and settled the persons hereafter following, viz. for Stewards, elected Thomas Coke for the London and for their Mates Francis Scattergood for the London.  

It seems probable that Francis Scattergood's introduction to the Company was brought about through the influence of some distant relatives. His great-grandfather's cousin, an Anthony Scattergood (not identical with No. 1) had come up from Derbyshire to London in the 16th century and had become a citizen and freeman of the Grocers Company. He died in 1592 (will, P. C. C. Harrington, 64) and was buried at the Church of St. Lawrence Jury. His executor was his brother, Richard Scattergood of Little Chester, near Derby (and later of Sudbury), father of the Anthony Scattergood already noticed, who, it will be remembered, became a free brother of the East India Company.

The London, to which Francis Scattergood was appointed, was commanded by John Proud, master, and was at first destined for Surat, but on leaving the dock in January 1641, she "gott a brush in [grazed] her keele," and was ordered to be brought back. It was found that the damage sustained was too great for her to be "fitted" for Surat, and her destination was altered to Bantam in Java. On the 24th March she was reported to be at Gravesend, ready to sail; but though there is no record of a further change of plan, the original orders must have been repeated, for eventually the ship sailed to Surat, where she arrived at the end of September 1641. While at Surat, Francis Scattergood seems to have been transferred to the Company's ship Supply which made voyages to and from Persia in 1641 and 1642. At any rate, he sailed in that ship for Sumatra in April 1643 and reached Achin Road on the 25th May.

On the 17th December 1643, Walter Clarke, agent on board the Supply, wrote to the Company:—

"Our houe and godowne [warehouse at Achin] being apted [suitably prepared] for our goods reception, this ther conveigned them, but not Sonner unbailed, but Sould a great part of them, which are not in these books brought to accompt, and I doubt not, but by this time little is left, which this yeare will find markets. With Mr. Bowman, for his assistance, I left Thomas Fitch, Francis Scattergood, with another civell man belonging to our shipp, likewise a yong man who came from Bengal one a Juncke. His name is William Dawes. the man is very temperate, not addicted for ought I could perceave to any knowne Vice. He writeth very well, and hath some insight in accompts. Him I have entertained untill the ensuinge yeare, for that if it should please God to afflict Mr. Bowman with Sickness, from which noe man that comes thither is fre, he may have some one to assist him in writtinge what he may direct, neither of the other beings usefull for more then Guardians to watch by night, which must not be neglected there."

From a letter of the Council at Surat to the Company, dated 27th January 1643-4,12 we learn that the goods left in charge of Maximilian Bowman, Thomas Fitch and Francis Scattergood at Achin amounted to 50,000 mahmudis or about £2,500 sterling, reckoning the mahmudis at a shilling, the value given to it by Terry in 1655.

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7 Court Minutes, XVII. 365, 366, 367, (India Office Records).
8 Information supplied by Mr. Scattergood.
9 S. B. Salabury, Court Minutes of the E. I. Co., 1640-1643, pp. 133, 134, 135.
10 See W. Foster, English Factories, 1642-1645, s. v. London and Supply.
11 Original Correspondence (in future designated O. C.). No. 1852 (India Office Records).
12 O. C., 1888.
Three years later, on the 25th January 1646-7, the Surat Council reported to the Company that "Acheen factorie" was "cleared," and that all the Company's servants had been dispersed, "Francis Scattergood and a Seaman excepted, left there to keep your Warehouse." This statement does not appear to be correct, as in a "List of Factors Etc. [and other] names in India, Persia, Etc.," for 1647, we find, "In Acheen, Phillip Wylde, Thomas Reynardson, Francis Scattergood, John Rose," and in a later list, the salaries of the four abovenamed are entered as £70, £60, £15, and £12 per annum respectively.

Moreover, copies of two letters written from Acheen in January and February 1646-7 and signed by Phillip Wylde and Francis Scattergood are in existence, but the originals from which they were taken were so badly damaged that very little can be gathered from the broken sentences remaining. In the letter of the 28th January, Wylde and Scattergood refer to a communication of the 30th October 1646, despatched by the Seaport, and intimate that the January missive will be conveyed by a ship belonging to Courteen's Association. They remark that trade has been very dull, that "Great quantitie of Pepper and Timne is Expected this yeare . . . the former worth 5½ tole [tael] the Bahar, the Latter tole 13; 10 mass a Bahar. Of these . . . shall endeavour to buy so soone as the Cloth findes sale."

In their letter of the 3rd February 1646-7, Wylde and Scattergood beg to be supplied with three "housservants (honest if possible) by the next," because "we are soe great a house hold and seldom above 2 of our Company in health." They remark that "Camphor is this year cheaper," that their last letter owed its conveyance to "the Esquire Cour[teens]'s" Friendship, and that Captain John Smart was "very sick." The fragmentary phrases, "your Licence from Sur[rat]," "of sallary," "per annum" possibly form part of a request for higher pay. A postscript adds that "Captain John Smart at writing herof Departed this Life and William Cork (a young youth) succeeds him in place."

Less than three months later, on the 20th April 1647, Francis Scattergood signed his will and most likely died shortly after. The will, preserved at Somerset House, runs as follows:

"In the name of God Amen, I Francis Scattergood being very sicke and weak ye yet in perfect memory thanks be to God make this my last will and testament in manner and form following


16 Factory Records, Surat, vol. 102a (India Office Records). 17 The originals, which were contained in a volume of Bombay Records, were unfortunately lost at sea.

18 For an account of the inception of the Courteen venture in India, under Sir William Courteen, see Mr. W. Foster's Introduction to E. B. Fainsbury's Court Minutes, 1635-1639, pp. xiv-xix.

19 Bahar, a weight varying in different districts. Thomas Bowrey gives the weight of the Acheen bahar, c. 1676, as "396 l. 11 oz. 14 gr. Averdupoore" (Countries round the Bay of Bengal, ed. Temple, p. 241, n. 4).

20 13 tole, 10 mace. Taking the mace as a quarter dollar and 16 mace to the tole, the tole = 4 dollars, and the price of tin = 84 dollars or approximately Rs. 109 for approximately 5 cwt.; we say Rs. 33 per cwt. = at 2-6 per Rs., £ 82. 10s. per ton. The pepper bahar was quite differently estimated as to weight.

21 William Courteen junior.

22 P. C. C. 117 Essex (Wills proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, preserved at Somerset House, London).
First I commend my soul to the allmighty my maker and Jesus Christ my redeemer
Secondly my body to the earth to receive such Christian burial as this place affords
And for my worldly estate I bequeath as followeth
Oweing by Leonard Flint to mee fortie three mass [mace] the which I freely
give him, as also five shirts and see many Chela purtagall Briches as is in my Chest
I give unto Phillip Wilde all my printed bookes as also a Parrat my Rapier and
Creace.

The former being satisfied I bequeath unto my wife Elizabeth Scattergood all my
wages due to me from my honorable Imploiers the East India Company as also
whatsoever shall be found of myne after my decease which will appeare by Inventory
In witnes of the premisses I have hereunto set my hand and set the twenty eighth
day of Aprill Anno Domini 1647

Signed and sealed in the presence of us

William Harrison
the mark of Tho. Bissell"

The will was proved on the 20th July 1648 by "Elizabeth Scattergood relict."

Francis Scattergood must have availed himself of all opportunities of increasing the
pittance allowed him by the Company, for among his effects sent from Achin to Surat by
Thomas Reynardson in November 1647 were "one Chest of Turtles-Shell" [tortoise-shell] and
"1 Farell of pearle, with a Jemaull ring."

In January 1647-8 the Council at Surat pprised the Company of Scattergood's death.

"Dead men. At A[c]heena Francis Scattergood, John Boze [I Rose] and Leonard
Flint, the two latter seamen left there by the Queens Commaund to keepe your house
when Mr. Turner Esqr. Came away from thence, are all deceased."

Leonard Flint, then, did not live to enjoy his legacy for more than a few months, and
the "purtagall briches" probably descended to another messmate.

On receipt of the news of her husband's death, Elizabeth Scattergood appears to have
petitioned the Company for his arrears of salary. On the 22nd December 1648 we find that

"It was at this Court ordeed that Elizabeth Scattergood should receive 10 li. of the
wages of her husband Francis Scattergood deceased in India, Mr. Stileman giving bond
to repay the same, in case when the Accompts come home there shall not so much
appear to bee due unto the said Scattergood."

23 Apparently the testator means cotton breeches like those worn by the converts (chela, disciple) of the Portuguese.
24 Malay, kris, a dagger.
25 O. C. 2648.
26 Jemaull (for Arabic jamāl) ring is an interesting instance of folk etymology. The gimbal (gemal.
gimbal) ring was a linked ring, so constructed as to admit of being divided into two (and sometimes three)
rings, taking its name from the Latin gemellus, a twin. In India the term seems to have been turned by
Europeans into gimāl and connected with the Oriental term jamāl, beauty, and with them to have
meant "beauty ring."
27 Achin at this date was governed by Paduka Sri, daughter of Iskandar Mūda (Mahkota 'Alam) and
widow of Iskandar Thāni (Allāud-dīn Mahāya Shāh). See Travels of Peter Mundy, ed. Temple, vol. III,
Pt. 1, pp. 117, 119 (footnotes).
28 O. C. 2662.
29 Court Minutes, XX. 314 (India Office Records).
Francis Scattergood left no heirs. His only son, whom he never saw, and of whose existence he probably never heard, was baptised on the 28th April 1641 and was buried five days later. His widow Elizabeth is apparently identical with the Elizabeth Scattergood who was married at Winwick, co. Northampton, on the 24th June 1652, of which parish her brother-in-law, Dr. Anthony Scattergood, mentioned above, was Rector.30

III.

Roger Scattergood of Ellaston and London, Merchant-Taylor: his commercial dealings with the East India Company, 1659—1680.

Roger Scattergood, who was baptised at Ellaston on the 11th January 1623-4, was the seventh son and eighth child of John Scattergood of Chadsden and Ellaston, co. Stafford, and therefore most probably a brother of Francis Scattergood noticed above (No. II).

He served his apprenticeship as a linendraper to Richard Arden of Newgate Market from 1641 to 1648, became a freeman of the Merchant Taylors Company in 1649 and a liveryman in 1655-6. Before the latter date he had married Catherine,31 daughter of William Westby of Mowbricke, Lancashire, and was living in Newgate Market, near the prison.32

The first recorded mention of Roger Scattergood in connection with the East India Company is on the 29th July 165933 when he purchased goods at a Court of Sales to the value of £717-10s., “to pay at 3:6 months from primo September next.” From 1659 until 1663 he continued to make large purchases at the Company’s sales, the amounts, in round numbers being as follows:—34

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<td>1659—£ 2000</td>
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Some of the names, by which the various kinds of piece-goods figuring in Roger Scattergood’s sale accounts were known, have been explained in Yule’s Hobson-Jobson and Foster’s English Factories. Others have not been traced to their source. I give below an alphabetical list of the goods and a summary of the information I have collected regarding each kind of material.


There are frequent mentions of “baftas” in the Company’s records from 1605 onwards. The term appears to have been extended and applied to various kinds and textures of cotton cloth; for besides fine quality Broach (Baroch) “baftas,” broad, narrow, white and coloured “bafts,” “Synda” and “Caile Velha baftas,” (bāfta from Sinh and Old Kiyal, near Taticorin) which appear among Roger Scattergood’s purchases, we find “baftas made of Guzzees [gazé, coarse cotton cloth].” Foster, Engl. Fact., 1646-1650, p. 82.

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30 Information supplied by Mr. Scattergood.
31 She was the granddaughter of Richard Fleetwood of Penwortham, co. Lancs., through whom she claimed a double Royal Descent, on the one side from Edward III, through Joan Beaufort and the Nevilles and the Stanleys, and on the other through the whole line of Welsh Kings back to Maelgwn Hiraeth and the nephew of King Arthur.
32 Information supplied by Mr. Scattergood, who also informs me that Roger’s sister-in-law, Dorothy Westby, married Christopher Birkhead, citizen and goldsmith of London (d. 1680), father of Christopher Birkhead, elected writer for Bengal in 1716, to whom John Scattergood junior (No. V) acted as mentor on his first arrival in India.
33 Home Series, Miscellaneous, vol. 6 (India Office Records).
34 These amounts have been arrived at by collecting the various entries in the sales lists contained in Home Series, Misc., vol. 6, and in the Court Minutes of the dates as above.
That Gujarât produced the best bâfsa is shown by the Company's order to Surat in 1653 for as many calicoes as could be provided, especially "Gujarat baftaes." Foster, op. cit., 1651-1654, p. 196. The term bâfsa in India is now applied to silk as well as cotton fabrics. See Yusuf Ali, Monograph on Silk Fabrics, quoted by Yule Hobson-Jobson, s.v. Bafta. It is also the name of a cotton manufacture in Great Britain, woven especially for export to Africa.

Byram Pante. Bairâm pântâ, in rows, having line. A special striped "Byrami." The term "Byram" is obscure and the references to the cotton piece-goods so called do not help to clear up its origin. It is possible that it was so designated from an individual of that name, either in his honour or because he excelled in the weaving of this class of goods. There was, in fact (so Sir Dinsha Wacha informs me, on the authority of Mr. Dalal of Broach) a Parsi called Bairâm Ekoo who had an establishment of numerous handlooms in Broach and the neighbourhood in the 19th century.

In 1647, the factors at Ahmadâbâd complained of the "slackness of our Byram men in bringing in their cloth." Foster, Eng. Fact., 1646-1650, p. 102 (See also footnote on same page). Later in the same year, they suggest the purchase of a further number of "byrams" (ibid., p. 128), and in 1648 the Council at Surat note that they are forwarding some "byrams" from Agra to the Company. Ibid., p. 189.

Catches, Catchaes. Hind. kâck, kâchhâ, a loin-cloth, drawers, and hence, a calico used for such purpose in the East. "Catches" were manufactured principally at Tuticorin.

In 1645, a sum of £ 3,000 was invested at "Tuttacoreen" in "catches, a sort of cloth very vendible in the Maniels and all parts," and in 1647 the factors in Persia wrote that the "cocheaw cloth" was much sought after. In consequence, the Falcon was sent to Tuticorin to get a supply of "catches..." vendable in Persia to a very good advance. But the cloth was not favourably received in England, for in 1650 the factors at Surat remarked that as the Company was dissatisfied with the "cochea" cloth bought on the Malabar Coast, no more should be provided. Foster, Eng. Fact., 1642-1645, p. 246; 1646-1650, pp. 100, 106, 257.

Derguzzes. Hind. gazi, a coarse cotton cloth, dhar. the body. Coarse cotton cloths, suitable for body garments. There are frequent allusions to "guzzees" in the Factory Records, but except in the sales lists, I have found no other mention of "derguzzes."

Gazi (literally, sold by the yard, gazi, like bâfsa, seems to have been applied to any kind of cotton cloth. We find "brown [unbleached] guzze baftes," "gussees" that are to be dyed, and "longe guzzes" among the goods sent home in 1649 and 1650. See Foster Eng. Fact., 1646-1650, pp. 234, 277, 299.

Dimity. This term, indicating a stout cotton fabric with raised stripes and fancy figures, was familiar in England long before the foundation of the East India Company. The first instance of its use given in the Oxford English Dictionary is in 1440. In the 15th and 16th centuries it was used for either coarse cotton or woollen material. The Oxford English Dictionary derives the word from Medieval Latin, dimittum, through Greek, di-dias, twice, and midos, thread of the warp. The same authority suggests that the final i may represent the i in the Italian plural dimiti.

The English merchants, however, found in India a similar Oriental term, Pers. dimâfed, for a coarse cotton cloth, and the "dymittees" sent home to the Company appear to indicate this material, as there is no mention of any pattern like that on the English goods. In 1650, the factors at Surat remarked that the "dymittees" sent to England were dearer than those of 1649, but that the "difference" was made up by their larger size. Foster, Eng. Fact., 1646-1650, p. 296.
The Persian term *dimyāt*, seems to be clearly an adjectival form of *Dimyāt*, Damietta, on the Mediterranean shore of Egypt. If this is the case, the port of import has given a name to an European cloth in the East, perhaps through the likeness of the name Dimyāt to the already existing term for the cloth, which was a form like "dimity".

**Eckbarrees.** Possibly a material named after the Emperor Akbar, or less probably, from Hind. *ikbārī*, one weaving: a faced cloth. "Eckbarrees" seem to have been cotton goods suitable for "painting," i.e., printing.

In 1647 the factors at Ahmadābād reported that they had selected sufficient "eckbarrees" for next year's provision of quilts and "chints," and in 1650 the Company was informed that the failure to send "Eckbarrees" was caused by the delay in despatching them from Agra to Ahmadābād, "where they are pintadoed [printed]." Foster, *Eng. Fact.*, 1646–1650, pp. 146, 277.

**Guinea-Stuffs.** Cotton goods bought in India, suitable for the West African trade. These "Guiney stuffs" were provided at Surat and were manufactured there and at Bharoch. See Foster, *Eng. Fact.*, 1646–1650, p. 13; 1651–1654, p. 42.; Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Guinea-cloths.


**Longcloth.** Defined in the *Oxford English Dictionary* as "a kind of cotton cloth or calico manufactured in long pieces, especially cloth of this kind made in India." The earliest instances of the use of the term given in the *O.E.D.* are in 1545 and 1622, as follows, showing the difference between long-cloth, short-cloth and broad-cloth:

1545. One Long cloth makyth one shorte cloth and vii yards.

1622. Allowance of five l. in a Long-cloth and 4 l. in a Broad-cloth.

Here, as in the case of Dimity, there is a possible confusion of terms, because the earliest of the English merchants to arrive in India found there words of a similar sound indicating a material akin to longcloth, viz., Hind., *lung*, a loin cloth, and *lungi*, any long strip of cloth for a wrap about the head, body or loins: turban, petticoat, loin-cloth. See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Long-cloth and Loonghee.

Indian Longcloth was obtained principally from the Coromandel Coast and was sold white and brown (bleached and unbleached). The celebrated Madapolam, a longcloth made at that place in the Madras Presidency, is popular at the present day, but is known in the trade either as "Maddāppalam" or "Maddapolam" (with the accent on the second or last syllable instead of on the penultimate).

**Mercoolaes.** The origin of this term has not been ascertained. It is probably a perverted form of the name of the village or district whence this class of goods was first obtained. "Merceoos" or "Mercoolaes" appear to have been calicos specially adapted for "painting or chinting" and the term also indicated a very stout fabric. In 1647 the factors at Ahmadābād and Bharoch reported to Surat that "Our store of Sunganier [Sanganeer, near Jaipur, famous for stamped chintzes] mercooles will be sufficient to supply a large quantity of . . . . . . . chints broad" and that the bleaching of "mercooles" was in progress. In 1648 a consignment of "mercuels, a cheap and excellent sort of cloth," was sent home unbleached. In 1651 the Company's agent at Delhi wrote to Surat that in future "paules" (tent, pdl, sheets) should be made of broader cloth, for which purpose "mercolls" would be most suitable. In 1652 the "mercoolees of Nyegom [† Nangoon, Hardoi district], the usual source of supply," proved so bad that orders for these goods were placed elsewhere. See Foster, *English Factories*, 1646–1650, pp. 139, 188; 1651–1654, pp. 26, 122.

*(To be continued.)*
MOOREES: Moors-cloths. Cloths primarily for Muhammadan or "Moor" wear.
Blue and white cotton cloth, principally manufactured in the Nellore district of Madras for sale to the Muhammadans (Moors) of the Malay Peninsula. They were identical with Salempores, for which see below.

The earliest quotation for "moory" in the Oxford Eng. Dict. is 1696 and the derivation given is "possibly from Port. morim, shirting." But it is more likely that morim is a corruption of müri than that müri is a corruption of morim, as it was a common custom of the Portuguese in adopting Oriental terms ending in i to add a final m or n. Like "Baftas", "Moories" are now manufactured in England for sale to Africa.

"Moorees" are mentioned in the Company's records from 1605 onwards. In 1618 the factors at Masulipatam wrote to the Company that white "moryes" were procurable in their neighbourhood. Foster, Eng. Fact. 1618–1621, p. 42. In 1675 the Company sent a list of goods to be provided "at the Fort and Metchelepattam [Masulipatam] for Anno 1677." The list included "6000 ordinary Morees, 5000 fine Morees, 1000 Superfine Morees." As stated above, "Moorees" appear to have been identical with "Salempores" as regards texture, but in colour they were confined to blue and white.

NICCANNES. The origin of this term is obscure. The goods indicated appear to have been fine striped calicoes manufactured in Gujarāt, especially at Surat and Bharoch. See Foster Eng. Fact., 1618–1621, pp. 51 n.; 1631–1654, pp. 42, 235. PERCOLLAES (Percallas, Perculleas, Porcellae) were white and red cotton cloths (probably also of other colours) of the same nature as "Salempores" (see below), made in the neighbourhood of Masulipatam. In th. Diaries of Streynsham Master, ed. Temple, I. 272 and elsewhere in the vols.), it is assumed (on the authority of Mr. Crooke in his ed. of Yule's Hobson-Jobson, s.v. Piece-Goods) that they were spangled cloths (Pers. par秸秆 a sparkling object, a spangle), but I doubt this derivation now, and feel tempted to refer the term to some place of manufacture near Masulipatam and Pettipoole (Pedapalle or Nizāmpatam), such as the well-known village (in the 17th century) of Peddakallē or Peddagolla near Madapollam, in the same neighbourhood.

In 1618 the manufacture of "white percolaeas" at Masulipatam is mentioned, and in 1621 "Red percolaeas" formed part of the cargo of the Globe. Foster, Eng. Fact., 1618–1621, pp. 42, 266. That "Percollas" was a manufacture of South India is evident from the Company's letter of 14th December 1655, where they urge their factors to "take into your consideration what Callicoes you are able to acquire either at Fort St. George, Masulapatam, Verasheroone or elsewhere in........Parcollas." Letter Book, Vol. I. And in 1669 the factors at Fort St. George wrote to Masulipatam, "We shall be able to invest all our Stocke........in........Percalls......" Factory Records, Fort St. George (India Office Records), XVI. 130.

In 1676 Streynsham Master agreed with the native merchants at Masulipatam to deliver 4000 "peices fine percollaes of 15 covads [cubit, 18 inches] long, 2½ broad, at ¾ pagodas per peice," and in 1679 he made a similar agreement with the merchants at Madapollam. Diaries of Streynsham Master, ed. Temple, I. 273; II. 167.

PINTADO QUILTS. Chintz bedspreads, counterpanes. Port. pintado, painted. Cotton material, printed or hand-painted in colours. Pintado quilts appear to have been varieties of the celebrated Palempores of Masulipatam and its neighbourhood.
The term “pintado” was used generally in the 17th century for chintzes from Agra, Ahmadābād, Surat, etc., but the name “palempore” was confined to bedspreads from Madras, and especially Masulipatam.

The derivation of “palempore” accepted by Yule (Hobson-Jobson, s.v. Palempore) is that the word is a corruption of a hybrid (Hind. and Pers.) palang-posh, a bed-cover, possibly perverted to “palempore” by the existence of “salem pore” (see below), a cotton stuff. Pringle’s suggestion (Madras Selections, IV. 71) that the word is derived from Palānpur in Gujarāt, “an emporium for the manufacture of Northern India,” seems unlikely, since the making of “palempores” was essentially a South Indian industry, and the term, though occasionally used incorrectly for chintz of various qualities, meant strictly a superior material made at Masulipatam.

In 1619 the factors at Surat stated that “Pintathoe quilts” were unprocurable at Ahmadābād, and in 1621 “pintado quilts” were provided from Agra. In 1653 the Company mentioned “Palempore quilts” among the goods to be furnished from Surat. There appears to be no instance of an order for “palempores” from the northern factories. At the same time, the fame of the Masulipatam manufacture is mentioned by Fryer in 1673. See Foster, Eng. Fact., 1618–1621, pp. 46, 51; 1651–1654, p. 196; Fryer, quoted in Hobson-Jobson, s.v. Palempore.

**SALLAMPORES.** The Oxford Eng. Dict. gives this word as “of unascertained origin. Cf. palampore.” But there seems no reason to contest the derivation of the Madras Manual of Administration (vol. III, s.v. Sauley), Telugu sālū, a weaver, and Skt. pura, a town: cloth made in the “Weavers’ Town,” i.e., Shalambargiutta, Tel. = Salampur in Hindustani, a district or suburb of Nellore, in Madras. “Sallampores” were half the length of ordinary “Palempores” or cloths of 18 yards long. Like “moory,” this material seems to have been either a white or a blue cloth, and in the 17th century the “Sallampores” of Masulipatam bore the highest reputation.

That “Sallampores” were made in different qualities is shown by the Company’s orders in 1676. Their list of manufactured goods required includes 60,000 “Ordinary Sallamoopres” to be provided by their factors at Fort St. George, 20,000 “Ditto, to be provided at Mitchlepam [Masulipatam]” and 12,000 “fine Sallamoopres, whereof 8000 at Mitchlepam.” A further list for the following year included 60,000 “ordinary Sallamoopres from No. 3 to No. 12.” Diaries of Streynsham Master, ed. Temple, I. 257, 258.

**SALLOWES.** Now an universal term in India for a Turkey-red cotton cloth, generally known as “red salcoo,” with a doubtful popular derivation from Hind. sālū. But it is more likely that the word is derived from Telugu sālū, cloth, because in the 17th century sālū, then generally white (but 1619, “Selaus, Seolas red,” Foster, Eng. Fact., 1618–1621, pp. 93, 94), came from the South and from the Deccan (Golconda), near the Telugu country.

In 1647 the factors at Surat and Gombroon wrote to the Company, “Sallooes ... are brought from Golconda ... the finer qualities yield considerable profit, but the poor sorts are unvendible.” In the same year we find a requisition for “salloes for ensigns and flags” at Swally. Foster, Eng. Fact., 1647–1651, pp. 79, 100, 123. In 1676 the Company ordered 1500 “fine Salloes made at Golconda,” and these, Streynsham Master remarked, were “the same sort of cloth as Oringall Beetelaces,” i.e., beatilha, veiling, made at Warangal. Diaries of Streynsham Master, ed. Temple, I. 237, 292.

The term “sallas” is used in the present day for grey cotton goods manufactured in the Bombay Presidency.
SAPLICADOES, FLOWERD. A speckled or spotted cloth, from Port. salpicaldo (past part. of salpicar), speckled, spotted. Except in the Sales Lists I have found only one other mention of this class of goods in the Company’s records. It occurs in a letter from Fort St. George to Masulipatam, dated 4th February 1698/9: “Wee would have you provide some salpicaldoes flower’d and plaine, and send us hither as soon as possible.”

TAFFATIES. Taffeta, taffety, an European term introduced in that form into India by traders who found the Persian term tāftha already existing for a similar material, viz., fine glossy Chinese silk.

The English form “taffeta” is derived in the Oxford Eng. Dict. through O.F. taffetas, taphetas, or Med. Lat. taffeta, whence It. taffeta. Subsequently the term became mixed up with Pers. tāftha, a glossy twist, in allusion to the wavy lines which appeared in the Chinese silks, to which the name was mainly confined in India in the early part of the 17th century.

In England the term has been used at different times for different varieties of silk. At the present time it designates a light thin glossy silk or union (silk and cotton, silk and woollen) material and the variety most in vogue is known as “chiffon taffeta,” a fine glacé silk.

Up to 1615 all mentions of “taffeties” in the records of the East India Company refer to Far Eastern silks, such as “Taffeties Read [red]” from Macassar, and “Taffates” and “Taffatas” from China. See Foster, Letters Received, passim.

In 1617 Sir Thomas Roe wrote to the Company: “Clothes and stuffs are here [Ajmer] twice as dear as in Cheapside if they be not pintadeos or striped bald [napless] stuffies.” Ibid. IV. 20.

By the latter part of the 17th century, the term “taffeta,” referring to Oriental piece-goods, had acquired a wider signification and included silks made in Bengal, especially at Kasimbazar. In 1675 the Company complained that all the samples sent them from that place were “taffety Wale” or striped taffeties. They ordered “6000 Taffetyys raw [unfulled, unshrunk], made thicker and closer struck [woven] then the Last Sent, though they Cost a Little more,” also “4000 white . . . 1000 full yellowes and 1000 full reds . . . 2000 Mixt [of different colours] Taffeties for LYNings of hatts . . . 3000 Light Coullers . . . 8000 Cloth [drab] coullers without Mixture . . . 7000 Mixt Cloth Coullers” also “Blacks, perfect grass greenes and Carnation,” if the dyers could “attaine to dyeing” such colours. Diaries of Streynsham Master, ed. Temple, I. 311, 316.

TAPSEILES. Plain and striped cloths. In the early part of the 17th century this term indicated either a silk or a cotton material, but later mentions refer only to cotton fabrics of various widths. The term appear to have arisen out of Pers. tafstila, a rich silken stuff, alluded to in the Atin-i-Akbari (tr. Blochmann, I. 93) as “a stuff from Mecca.”

Tapseiles were North Indian goods manufactured in Gujarât and Sind, and were not indentical with “tappiceels (tappiseels)” and “tappie serasses” which were South Indian goods (Malay-Jav., tapah, a skirt : piece-goods of variegated colour, used for any kind of cotton cloth by Europeans; Pers. sarasar, brocade, in Malay form, serasah, a cotton fabric).

The Oxford Eng. Dict. has not derived the term, and gives only “Tapsail, tapseil, obs. rare: some kind of East Indian cotton cloth,” with a quotation of 1725;
In 1619 "tapseles thread" and "tapsele silke" were ordered to be provided at Cambay for Bantam. Foster, Letters Received, 1619, p. 93. In 1621 a difficulty was experienced in procuring "red tappies," the "culler" not being usual. Foster, Eng. Fact., 1618-1621, p. 329. "Tappies of white and black," some with broad and some with narrow stripes were ordered by the Company in the same year. Ibid., p. 344. In 1635, in a list of piece-goods made at Tatta, we find "taffeseles," but no indication of their nature. Ibid., 1634-1636, p. 133. In 1642 the "tapscels" sent to England were "part woven in Surat and part bought in Sind," and in 1651 all those sent were made in Surat. Ibid., 1642-1645, p. 7; 1650-1654, p. 42.

Other articles purchased by Roger Scattergood at the Company's sales were, "Lahore Indico" in lump and dust, for dyeing purposes, and bags of cotton wool. One consignment of the latter article, bought in April 1663, "poyz," i.e., weighed 666 lbs. "Suttle," the "Tare" being 30 lbs. and the "Trett" 25 lbs.35

In 1661 Roger Scattergood became a freeman of the East India Company. At a Court of Committees held on the 26th June, is the entry:36

"Mr. Roger Scattergood was this day admitted into the freedome of this Company by redemption for 5 li."

In the following October he exercised one of his privileges as a freeman by investing £1000 in the Company's stock.37 Two years later he appeared to be in want of ready money. At a Court of Committees held on the 17th February 1663-4,38

"Mr. Roger Scattergood appearing about his Debt he stands charged with and being required to clear his Goodes and take them away, he pleaded for remission of the interest due on them, whereupon the Court told him that he paying in the Principall should have his goods delivered him and the interest be charged to his Accoumt, and if they find reason for it, they will hereafter take it again into their consideration, upon which he declared he would submit to them, hoping they intend him a kindnesse."

The amount due for goods purchased by him from the Company must have been over £1000, for on the 4th March of the same year,39

"Mr. Roger Scattergood having promised the Committee to pay in 1000 li, in part of what he owes the Company, the Court now directed that he passe his two warrants for devidents of 300 li. to that Accoumt and bring in 700 li. more to make up the Summe and that he shall be allowed as well as charged with what interest is due to or from him."

Presumably the Court's directions were complied with, but Scattergood's credit had suffered and he could not get delivery of any goods thereafter unless the money was forthcoming. On the 6th June 1664.40

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35 "Suttle," an old variant of "sulte," is an obsolete commercial term formerly used to denote net weight of goods, after "tare," allowance for receptacles, and "trett," allowance for waste, had been deducted.
36 Court Minutes, XXIV. 377 (India Office Records).
37 Ibid., 415.
38 Ibid., p. 730.
39 Ibid., p. 745.
40 Ibid., p. 787.
"It was Ordered that 300 pieces of broad Tapseiles bought by Mr. Chevall for himself and Mr. Scattergood, on which there is 30 li. and upwards due for interest shall be delivered when the Principal mony is paid and the interest to be charged on Mr. Scattergood's Adventure [shares in the Company's stock]."

It was probably in order to secure possession of these goods that, a month later, Scattergood sold a part of his stock. Among the "Transports" [transfers] "read and approved" on the 8th July 1664,\(^41\) is one of £600, "wherof 300 li." was "paid in by Giles Thornburgh to Roger Scattergood." Taking the "broad Tapseiles" at 19s. each, the current value of those goods at that period, the amount due on the 300 pieces would be £285, plus more than £30 interest, so that his debt was well over the £300 that Thornburgh paid for the stock.

By the end of the year the unhappy Roger's credit had sunk still lower. In a list of "Debts oweing to the East India Company on Goodes sold yet remanying in the Suratt Warehouses,"\(^42\) his name appears as a debtor for "Callicoes out of time," or beyond the six months allowed for payment, £3345. 3. 0, and for "Callicoes in time," £2374. 6. 8, a total amount of £5719. 9. 8. Taking into account the value of money in those days, the sum was a heavy one, and as other similar large amounts were due from various purchasers, it is not surprising that the Court passed a resolution on the 10th February 1664-5,\(^43\) to sue certain of their debtors. It was no doubt in order to avoid such action against himself that the unfortunate merchant took measures to stave off the evil day. On the 24th February,\(^44\)

"Mr. Roger Scattergood moveing the Court this day that they would be pleased to permitt him to take away goodes to the value of his Devidents which are 500 li., and he would pay them in 2500 li. on his account by the fine of March. Upon consideration whereof and how his account stands with the Company, they did consent that he clearing all his old bought goods amounting to about 3300 li. by the fine of March next with what interest shall be due thereon, they would allow him his Devidents on the last payment thereof, which being made knowne unto him by Alderman Bathurst, he brought them in word that Mr. Scattergood declared himself content and satisfied therewith."

A subsequent enquiry into his account seems to have reassured the Company regarding his solvency. On the 16th March 1665,\(^45\)

"Mr. Kendall acquainting the Court of the State of Mr. Roger Scattergood's account and of his desire thereupon, the Court Ordered accordingly that he might receive to the value of his dividends of 40 per cent. resting in the Companyes hands of his old bought goods, Clearing so much of the interest for [what] is due on that part of the goods and to be allowed intrest for his dividends for the time they have remained in the Companyes hands since they were payable and that he may also be allowed the next Divident of 40 Per Cent. on what goods he shall buy at the next Sale as any other Adventurer."

At a sale held five days later, Roger Scattergood's name appears as a purchaser of about £700 worth of piece-goods.\(^46\)

Shortly after, however, on the 25th May 1666, the following resolution was passed\(^47\):
"The Committee having taken into Consideration the many Debts which are remaining Due to the Company and most upon Old Accoumts, And the several Persons having notice to meet the Committee this Day in relation thereunto, which finding them not to comply with, It was therefore Directed that the Solicitor doth forth with take out Writts against the following Persons and to have them arrested, videlicet, . . . Roger Scattergood."

In consequence, "At a Committee for Debts" on the 13th June 1666, several of the debtors appeared and made statements regarding their liabilities:

"Mr. Roger Scattergood Declareth that there is 520 li. Stopt Due to him for Dividends and that hee will pay in 500 li. more next weeke, Whereupon hee Desireth to have 1000 li. Value in Goods Deliverd him, and that hee will Cleare his whole Accoumt Depending with the Company by the 20th June next, which being taken into Consideration by the Committee, it was Ordered that hee paying in 500 li. or what more hee pleaseth, may have Liberrity to take away Goodes for the same Value."

But fresh troubles were in store. Early in September 1666 the Great Fire swept away a large portion of the business premises in the City of London, and some of Roger Scattergood’s property, with that of other debtors, was reduced to ashes. At a Court held on the 2nd October, practical sympathy was expressed with the sufferers:

"The Committee having taken into Consideration the said Calamities which amongst many other men have befallen some of their Debtors, whereupon they resolved not to prosecute any this Term, but only the . . . Persons whose [they] conceive have not been any great sufferers by the late yere, their houses not being burnt downe."

This concession seems to have encouraged Scattergood to make a further effort to free himself of his embarrassments. At a Court held on the 19th November 1666,

"Mr. Roger Scattergood saith hee will pay a considerable Summe by the latter end of December and will make it up 1200 li. with the Dividends. And that hee will runn all losses and damages by yere or otherwise, But desires to bee excused as to adjusting his accont as yet."

And on the 6th December,

"Mr. Roger Scattergood saith he will pay in Soc much mony with his dividends as shall make it up 1500 li. and will cleare all very Suddainly, But desires to take away goodes for Soc much mony as he payes in."

By January 1666-7 the Court’s patience was exhausted. On the 5th, it was

"Resolved now to resell at next sale the goods bought by the several Persons following, excepting such as shall bee cleared or mony paid in upon their accounts betwene this and munday night . . . Roger Scattergood."

On the same day,

"Mr. Roger Scattergood apeareing and being not willing to adjust his accont or pay Interest for goods he bought at sales, which hee did not obledge himselfe to by bonds and scale, but promisses he will pay in a considerable summe of mony this weeke on his accont, which the Committee having taken into consideration they toulth him they were resolved to resell what lawfully they could and would sue him for the rest."
"to forbear prosecuteing Mr. Scattergood for the 20 quilts sold him until order from the Court, it beeing a thing of noe value and of an old Contract."

Scattergood's affairs were now in a critical position and he made a personal appeal to those in authority. On the 23rd January 1666-7. 64

"The Governor acquainted the Court that Mr. Roger Scattergood had been with him, acknowledging his accounts with the Company had been too long depending unclaimed, but the occasion was the losse hee sustained by 1200 pieces of Sallowes, and by severall houses of his that were lately burnt. 65 That nevertheless he would shortly attend the Court to adjust the same. It was thereupon Ordered that the same bee referred to the Committee for debts."

This body apparently recommended clemency in dealing with their old client, for, on the 11th February, 66

"Mr. Moses desiring directions if to prosecute Mr. Scattergood. And H. Edwin rendring an account that Mr. Scattergood as to his oude account hath agreed with the Committee whereupon the Committee directed to Suspend declaring against Scattergood [and others], they paying Mr. Moses his Lawe charges, who are immediately to be sent unto to have notice of the same."

In March Scattergood again sold out E. I. Co. stock 67 this time to the amount of £1000. After that, his name disappears from the Records until the autumn of 1668. In the interim, he seems to have met a portion of his liabilities, for on the 24th October, when it was ordered that he should be summoned "to cleere his account," 58 the amount in question could not have been excessive, because, "in faileur" thereof, only 104 pieces of taffaties (average price then, £1 a piece) were to be confiscated.

Then, for nearly two years there is again no mention in the Company's Records of Scattergood and his "account." That his financial difficulties were not confined to his dealings with the E. I. Co. is shown by his relations with William Lord Sandys, against whom he filed a bill in Chancery in June 1669 in respect of £100 demanded by the latter, but which, Roger claimed, was cancelled by an "account contra." 59

At this time too, he seems to have had some connection with the shipbuilding trader that is, if as is most probable, he is identical with Mr. Scattergood of Newgate Market mentioned in the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, in 1670 as having bought timber suitable for "the new ship at Chatham" from Sir Cecil Bishop. 60

Roger Scattergood must still have been regarded as solvent at this date, for in August 1670 61 his name reappears in the Company's sales lists as a purchaser of goods to the value of £220, and on these he was allowed six months credit. In November 1671, however, 62

"On reading a Report from the Committees for lawsuits, It is ordered as followeth, viz. . . . That the Committee for lawsuits be desired to give order to Mr. Moses to commence suit against . . . Mr. [Roger] Scattergood for the moneys due from him to the Company."

64 Court Minutes, XXV, 124b.
65 Some of these buildings were on Ludgate Hill and in Pounyer Alley (Close Roll, 20 Car. II. Pt. 14, no. 38). Information from Mr. Scattergood.
66 Court Minutes, XXVA, 26.
67 Ibid, XXV, 137b.
68 Ibid., XXVI, 164b.
69 Ibid.
70 Ibid.
71 Home Series, Miscellaneous, vol. VIII. (India Office Records).
72 Court Minutes, XXVII, p. 186.
It is sad to find that after all his struggles, Scattergood was at last compelled to compound with his creditors. For it is on record that on the 3rd April 1672, "Upon report made by Mr. Bathurst and Mr. Boone, that Mr. Roger Scattergood was willing to pay the Company 40 l., in full of his debt of 164 l. 6s. 5d., at 3 months, and to give sufficient security for payment thereof; the Court (in consideration of his great poverty) and the composition by him made with other his Creditors) were pleased to declare their acceptance of the same."

And on the 26th April, "Mr. George Day was this day approved of to be security for Mr. Roger Scattergood for 25 l. 6s. 8d. the one half to be paid 3d October and the other 3d January next; and that upon their giving bond, Mr. Moses is to stay proceedings at law."

The above extract shows the low state of Roger Scattergood's affairs in 1672, but he seems nevertheless to have still enjoyed a certain amount of credit with the Company. In September the Court granted the petition of his son John for a writership in India, and in October Roger Scattergood and Robert Master were approved as securities in £500. In November 1674 Roger received permission "to ship out several wines and other necessaries" to India, "the paying freight," these goods being no doubt consigned to his son John, then in Madras.

Four years later Roger Scattergood had a small account of £20 13s. 6d. with the Company "uncleared." As regards this, on the 14th June 1678, the Court, "On reading a report from the Committees for Law Suits and debts . . . did order and direct therein as follows, Viz. . . . That the debts of Edward Harrington . . . and Roger Scattergood remaine as they are now charged in the books."

And in the following year, June 1679, this insignificant item was "written off and placed to the account of Desperate Debts."

But the remarkable thing is that, in spite of all this, the last reference to Roger Scattergood in the Records of the East India Company, six months later, shows him again accepted as security, with Robert Master, in £500 for his son John on the latter's attaining the rank of factor in India. The probable explanation is that the co-surety's bond was considered sufficient guarantee.

Scattergood died intestate in 1681. He was buried on the 26th May at Christ Church, Newgate Street, near his home, and on the 5th July his widow, Catherine, took out letters of administration. She survived her husband three years and was buried beside him on the 27th November 1684. Of the six children of the marriage (four sons and two daughters), the eldest son is the subject of the next memoir.

(To be continued.)