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THE KHOKHARS AND THE GAKKHAHS IN PANJAB HISTORY.
BY H. A. BOSE, I.C.S.

Introduction.

In an article entitled A History of the Gakkkhahs, contributed to the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1871, by Mr. J. G. Dalmerick, the Khokhars of the Muhammadan historians were taken to be the Gakkkhahs, a tribe which is settled in the Rawalpindi District of the Panjab. The late Major Raverty, however, expressed a strong opinion that the writer of the article had confused the Gakkkhahs with the Khokhars, a totally distinct tribe, and a full examination of all the evidence at present readily accessible has convinced the present writer of the correctness of Major Raverty's position. The Khokhars were settled in the Panjab centuries before the Gakkkhahs, and were early spread all over the central districts of the Province before the Gakkkhahs acquired their seats in the Salt Range, to which they are and always have been confined. If this thesis be correct, it follows that Farishta's description of the customs of polyandry and female infanticide, as practised by the tribe, apply not to the Gakkkhahs at all, but to the essentially Panjab tribe, the Khokhars.

I. — THE HISTORY OF THE KHOKHARS.

A. — An Account of the Traditional History of the Khokhars, by a Khokhar of Khokharain, in the Hoshiarpur District, Panjab.

Beorásáhsá, who succeeded Jámshíd, King of Persia, was called Dahák or the 'Ten Calamities.' On his shoulders were two snake-like tumours, whence he was nick-named Márán or Aydhá by the Persians, and called Dahák (or Zuhák) Márán, while his descendants were designated Takí-bansí, Nág-bansí or Takshá. About 1500 B.C. Káma, the ironsmith, aided Farídún, a descendant of Jámshíd, to subdue Dahák, who was cast into the well of Koh Damavínd, and Farídún became King of Persia. One of Dahák's descendants, named Bustám Rijá, surnamed Kokrà, was governor of the Panjab and had his capital at Kokráná, on a hill in the Chinhásh Dháb, but it is now called Koh Kiráná.* At the same time Míhráid, also a descendant of Zuhák, held Kábál as a feudatory of Farídún.

After acquiring the Persian throne, Farídún marched against Dahák's descendants. Bustám fled and sought refuge in the Hill of Ghór, west of Qandahár, where his people ruled for generations, being called Ghori or Ghorish and all being pagans.

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* A singularly unsuccessful attempt to identify the isolated Kiráná Hill, that in the Jhang District, with Kokráná by assuming that the syllable ko- was mistaken for the Persian koh, mountain, and dropped in the course of time — an utterly impossible suggestion.
Some years later Bastām was murdered and some powerful Rājā took possession of the Sindh-Sāgar Doab, where Alexander found Takshail (Taxila), founder of Takshala (Taxila), now Dheri Shāhān in the Attock District. But before the Macedonian invasion Kaid Rāj, King of Mārwār, overran the Pañjāb in the reign of Darius Hystaspes, soon after Bastām’s murder. His capital was Bherā on the Jhelam District and he also founded a fort at Jamān, which he entrusted to Virk Khokhar, one of his kinamen. Virk, with his own tribesmen, conquered the northern hills, and then, in league with the hill-men of Kohat and the Sulaimān Hills, drove Kaid Rāj out of the Pañjāb. The Khokhars, under such chiefs as Jot, Sallāhān, Tāl, Bāl, Sirkap, Sirsuk, Vikram, Hodi Sānda, Askap, Khokhar (sic), Bādal and Kob, thenceforward held the Pañjāb.

A long period after this, Bahram, Rājā of Ghor, left Shcrāb, which lay 100 miles from Qandahār, and, regaining the Kokrana territory, his hereditary province, he founded Sharāb to the east of the Kokrana Hill. Another Rājā of Ghor, named Zamīn Dāwar, founded yet another city 3 kos to the east of Sharāb and called it Dāwar, and this was laid waste by the Tartars, but the mound still exists. To the west of it lies the new town of Dāwar, which is still in possession of the tribe. Sharāb was destroyed by Sultān Mahmūd, and its ruins stand at the foot of the present Shorabwāli Pahārī Hill.

Goriā, the Kokrana Rājā of Sharāb, was succeeded by his two sons Bādal and Bharth, and 11 others who were sons of handmaids. Bādal succeeded to the upland tracts of Chiniot and Kokrana, while Bharth took those east of the Chenāb. The latter, who dwelt in Bharth, a city named after himself, which lay 6 kos west of Nankinā village, came, stone in hand, to aid his brother Bādal Khān in battle; but learning that he had already fallen, he placed the stone on the ground and marched to avenge his loss. He was, however, worsted in the conflict, and Bharth, his city, destroyed. But the stone still lies on the hill. South of Chiniot Bādal founded Māri Tappā, on a hill still so called. In the middle of the Chenāb he commenced a stone fort and a masonry bridge which he never completed, but a wall of the fort, called the Bādalgarh, still remains. With Dārā, his beloved kinsman, Rājā Bādal Khān (sic) was assassinated on his way to Māri Tappā, some 3 kos from Chiniot, and here his tomb, called Bādal Dārā, still stands to the west of the village of Amīpur.

Bāshar’s territory had extended as far as Gajrāt, and he left 8 sons of whom 4 left issue. These were Sānda, Hassan, Hussain, and Mahmūd. Sānda built a city, Sāndar, between the Rāvī and the Dek streams, the ruins of which are still called Sāndar-kā-tibba in the (Pindi) Bhattian tract. He ruled so justly that his dominion is still called the Sāndar or Sāndar Dar. He left 4 sons, Mandār, Ratn Pāl, Bālā, and Jāl. From Ratn Pāl sprang the Bihān, a sept of the Khokhars.

This is to account for the existence of the Virk, a powerful Jāt tribe, still numerous in Gujrānwāli. It also seems to connect them with the Khokhars.

This or ten miles west of Qandahār lies the village of Khokhrā. The habitation of the bards record a Rājā named Kokrā, of Garh Kokrānā, now called Kadyāna.

Bādal would appear to be a Hindu name; cf. Bai Bādal of Chittor: but lower down we find him called Bādal Khān, the latter a Muhammadan title. It is curious to find Hindu and Muhammadan names mixed up in this history without apparent sense of incongruity. Thus below we have Ratn Pāl, undoubtedly a Hindu, descended from Sānda, whose three brothers all bore Muhammadan names, even if Sānda was himself a Hindu. Among the Moos of Garagān the position at the present time is precisely the same, and the present head of the Muhammadan Khārars in the Lyallpur District is called Jagdeo.

The name Bharth occurs elsewhere.

It is unsafe to identify places like Kokrana with the Khokhars. Near Rohriak are the mound called Khokra Kōn, under which lie ancient cities, but the word Khokra has no connection with the Khokhar tribe. (See Rohriak District Gazetteer, 1883-4, p. 18.)

But a local legend, restored by Mr. E. MacIagan, says this Bār is so named after one Sāndar, a Chūhrā, who used to commit great depredations. Another Chūhrā used to live in the Gān rock; i.e., the rock with the cavern, and eat men. The people sometimes called the Bār, Tattār, i.e., the Desert.

Probably the Bihān, a tribe still found in Jang District; see the Jhang Gazetteer, 1883-4, p. 61, where they are described as rulers in old days of the Kālowī tract, which once formed a part of the Siāl kingdom; (but they are not said to be a branch of the Khokhars).
which has two branches, the Nissowanás and the Bhikhas, found in Shâhpur and Jhang-Kalâwâl was the headquarters of this sept. Sultân Mandar’s descendants are now found in Bannu, where they trace their origin to Kais Abdur-Rashid, and are thus called Mandar Afghânâ. Mandar himself prospered, kept in with the ruler of Kâbul and conquered the Kohistân-i-Namak and the Koh-i-Nandânâ. Of his twelve sons, three were legitimate, and of these three, Rai Singin remained in the Kohistân-i-Namak and married his daughter to Sultân Jalâl’ud-Din Khwârizmî, who made his son general of his own forces, with the title of Qutlbâ-Khânî. The second son Ichhar founded Ichhâ near Lahore, and the third was Mâchhi Khân, who became Râjâ of Chinitot, which was named from Chandan, his sister, who built a palace on the hill as a hunting lodge for her father. Mârî Tappâ was not then populated, but Andheri was flourishing, and north of it lay the dhowar, or abode of Râni Chandan, which was called Chandniot, now Chinitot. When Andheri was deserted, Mâchhi Khân shifted his residence to the eastern bank of the river. Rai Singin had four sons: Sarpal, Hasî, Vir and Dâdan. Some of Sarpal’s sons went to Afghânistan and now trace their descent to Shâh Husain Ghori. Chuchak or Achn was sixth and Malik Shakîk seventh in descent, from Sarpal, and the latter founded Shaikha, a fort, and Dhankar, a village in the hill of Bhâwân, north of Manglân, he and his father holding the hill-country and the tracts west of Gujrat. Malik Shaikhâ was appointed governor of Lahore by the king of Delhi, and Nusrat, his younger brother, opposed Timur’s invasion, with only 2,000 men, on the Biâs.

Malik Jassât, son of Shaikha, is a historical personage. In 1442 A. D. he was murdered by his queen, a daughter of Bhîm Deo, Râjâ of Jammû, because her husband had been put to death by the Malik. His descendants are found in Mârî and Shakarpur in Gujrat, at Malikwâl in Shâhpur, at Jassât near Chinitot, and in Dhankar near Khângîg Dogrân.

The Tartars spared the territories of Sarpal’s descendants. After 1200 A. D. they had burnt all the Khõkhâr settlements on the Biâs and Sutljî. Râjâ Vir Khân fled towards Multân, but returned and founded Kangra, 9 kos from Chinitot, east of the Chenâb, but soon moved towards the Biâs with Kâlu, his kinsman, who founded Kâluwânân, now Kâhuwuwan, in Gurdiâspur, on the right bank of the river. For himself Vir chose a tract 32 kos south of Kâhuwuwan, and there he founded Vairowâl in Tarn Taran, naming it after his son Vairo-Bhâro, another tribesman, founded Bhârowâl in the same tahsil. Kulchandar, another Khõkhâr, founded Mirowâl, Mardâna, Aulâspur, &c., in Siâlkot. Râjâ Vir Khân also founded a new Kangra midway between Kâhuwuwan and Vairowâl. His territory was 40 kos in length, and the town extended 5 miles along the bank of the Biâs. At its north and south gates stood two forts or mûrîs, now occupied by Bhati Râjput and Punnât Jats. On the ruins of this town now stands the small village of Kangra, just opposite to Tahir or Khokharin on the west.

12 The Nissowanâs are also still to be found in Jhang — in the northern corner of Chinitot Tahâil: Jhang Gazetteer, p. 66.
13 The Bhikhas I cannot trace.
14 Dhowar, in Pâshâbî is palace (lit., ‘white house’, f)
15 This Machehhe Khân appears to be alluded to in the following ballad, which records the deeds of the Chadrâ tribe of the Sandal Bâr. — Modô de Chinitot lced ne.
16 Hasî: a Malik Hasî is mentioned in Bihâr’s Memoirs (Elliott’s History of India, Vol. IV. pp. 296-237; but no particulars regarding him appear to be given. Raverty mentions him and Sangar Khân as chiefs of the Janjûs and Jûd. — Notes on Afghânistan, p. 385.
17 c. 600 A. H.
18 Which place the Khõkhârs are said to have held in Akbar’s time.
19 Mârî in Pâshâbî means a lofty house of masonry, or a small room erected on the roof of a house.
20 Of the Bûchî pî, whence the present village is called Mûrî Buchiân.
21 Kangra is close to Sri Hargobindpur.
bank of the Biás, in Hoshiarpur. In the village is the tomb of Ladahā Khān, Khākhār, called the pir ghāzī, at which offerings are still made. This gāzī’s head is said to be buried at Mandī Rohr, a village in Kapūrthala, 5 miles south of Tāhil, to which place it was carried by the stream when he was killed. Ladahā Khān left seven sons, (i) Jago, whose descendants founded Dīnāū, Akálghatā and Kotī Sārā Khān in Amritsar, close to Bāhrōwāl and Vārōwāl; (ii) Rāp Rāi, whose sons founded Dānd in Rāyā tahāli, Sīlkoṭ; (iii) Bego, who founded Begōwāl and 15 villages, now in Kapūrthala; (iv) Dasīhan, the author’s ancestor, who founded Khokharān, as his residence and 12 other villages: Jhān, who founded Bālo Chāk, naming it after his son Bālo, with 9 more villages. As these three brothers owned in all 40 villages the tract was called the Chālīā Khokharān. Bhegrā migrated to Murdābād.

B.—The Khokharas of the Muhammadan Historians of India.23

In 639 A. H. (1009 A. D.) the Gakhars, by whom in all probability are meant the Khokharas, then infidels, joined the Hindus who had collected under the leadership of Anandpāl to resist the sixth invasion of India by Mahāmūd. Their number is said to have amounted to 30,000 men, who, with heads and feet bare, and armed with spears and other weapons, penetrated the Muhammadan lines on two sides, and in a few minutes cut down three or four hundred Muhammadans.24

The earliest distinct mention of the Kōkārs occurs in the Tājūl-Ma’dīr, a history written in A. H. 602 (1205 A. D.), which describes the revolt of the tribe or confederacy under the chiefs Bākān and Sārī, which occurred upon a false report of the death of the Sultan Muhammad of Ghor having been put about by Aibāk Bāk, who seized Multān.25 The Kōkārs raised the country between the Sūdra (Chenāb) and the Jīlām and defeated the Muhammadan governor of Sangwān, who held a field within the borders of Multān, but they were defeated by Qutbū’d-Dīn Ibaḵ, and one of the sons of Kokar Rāi escaped to a fort in the hill of Jūd, which was captured on the following day by the Sultan.26

The next mention of the Khokharas occurs in the Tabāqdt-i-Nāṣiri, written about 658 A. H. (1259 A. D.).27 It relates that Muizuddīn in 681 A. H. (1285 A. D.) ravaged the territory of Lahore, and on his return homeward restored Sīlkoṭ, in which fortress he left a garrison, but as soon as his back was turned, Malik Khurṣan, the last of the Ghaznavides, assembled the forces of Hindustan and a levy of the Khokhar tribes and laid siege to Sīlkoṭ. This account is confirmed and amplified by A History of the Rājās of Jammū, which says: "The tribe of Khokhar, who dwelt round about Manglian at the foot of the hills and were subject to the Jammū dynasty, having received encouragement from the Lahore ruler (Malik Khurṣan), and sure of his support, refused any longer to pay tax and tribute to Jammū and threw off its yoke." In return the Khokharas then assisted Malik Khurṣan in his attempt on Sīlkoṭ, whose garrison was befreinded by the Jammū forces.28

The next notice of the Khokharas in the Tabāqdt-i-Nāṣiri is an important one, and confirms the account of the Tājūl-Ma’dīr. It describes the confusion which arose in the Sultan’s dominions on account of the rumour of his death, and states that the Khokharas (and other tribes of the hills of Lahore and Jūd) broke out in rebellion in 602 H. and were defeated with great slaughter.29 In this rebellion the Khokharas appear to have been in alliance with the Rae Sāl, the ruler of the Salt Range, or Koh-i-Jūd, but it is not certain that Rae Sāl himself was a Khokhar.

23 Also called Tāhil, because one of its quarters was so called from a tāhil or shikhram tree.
24 The following account is extracted from Elliot’s History of India, cited as E. H. I.; from the Tabāqdt-i-Nāṣiri, Bawer’s Translation, cited as T. N.; and from the latter writer’s Notes on Aḏẖāmīstān.
20 Tabāqdt-i-Nāṣiri, p. 453; cf. p. 433, note 4 (Bawer’s suggests that Manglian is Makhiāla).
21 T. N. p. 481; cf. 604.
In 620 H. (1223 A.D.) the Sultan Jalâlu'd-Din, driven from Ghazâl by the Chinghis Khân, who pursued him to the Indus, sought a refuge in the Pañjâb. He occupied Balala and Nikala near Lahore, and, being too weak to advance on Delhi, sent a part of his army against the hills of Jûd. This force defeated the Khôkhar chief, and the Sultan obtained his daughter in marriage, whereupon the Khôkhar Raj joined him with a considerable body of his tribe.

The Khôkhars had a longstanding feud with Kubchâ, governor of Sind (which then included the whole valley of the Indus below the Salt Range), and the Sultan's troops, under the guidance of the son of the Khôkhar chief, by a forced march, fell suddenly upon Kubchâ's camp near Uch and totally defeated him.

The Khôkhar, however, do not appear to have been confined to the country between the Jhilam and the Chenâb, but to have also held a considerable tract East of the Biâs (and the good horses to be obtained in their Taluqandîs or settlements are often mentioned). For in 638 A. H. (1240 A. D.) we find them enrolling in the forces of the Sultan (Queen) Bâniyyûn and her consort Malik Ikhtiyârû'd-Din, Altânia, but they abandoned her after her defeat at Kai thâl.

After the sack of Lahore by the Mughals in 1241-42 A. D., the Khôkhar and other Hindu Gabra seized it. And in 1246-47 A. D. the future Sultan Ghîyaû'd-Din Balbâ was sent against the Khôkhar into the Jûd Hills and Jhilam. The Khôkhar were apparently subjects of Jaspâl, Sihrâ.

About this time Sher Khân reduced the Jât, Khôkhar, Bhatâla, Main (Mînas), and Mandâhars under his sway, apparently in or near his sîf of Sunâm.

In 647 A. H. (1250 A.D.) the upper part of the Pañjâb appears to have been in the hands of the Mughals and Khôkhar, but nothing more appears to be heard of them until the reign of Muhammad Tughlaq Shâh, when they again began to be troublesome, and in 1249-48 A. D. they revoluted under their chief, Chander. The governor of the Pañjâb, Malik Tâtâr Khân, had to march against them, and though he was able to subdue them for a time, they caused great disorders under the last Tughlaq kings of Dehli.

We now come to the Târikh-i-Mulmur-Šah, an imperfect manuscript, the history in which has had to be completed from the Tabaqât-i-Abâr, which copied from it. According to this history, the Khôkhar chief Shaïkhaëv seized Lahore in 796 A. H. (1394 A.D.), and Prince Humâyûn, afterwards Sikandar Shâh I., was to have been sent against him, but his father, Muhammad Shâh III., dying suddenly, he was too occupied in securing the throne to set out on the expedition. Sikandar Shâh, however, only reigned some six weeks, and on his death Sultan Mahmûd Shâh II. succeeded him, but it was not for some months that Sârang Khân could be nominated by him to the sif of Dibulpur and entrusted with the war against Shaïkhaëv. Sârang Khân took possession of Dibulpur in June, and in September he advanced on Lahore with the forces of Multân, and, accompanied by the Bhâtî and Main (Mîna) chief, crossed the Satlaj at Tihâra and the Biâs at Dubûl. On hearing of Sârang Khân's advance, Shaïkha Khôkhar invaded the territory of Dibulpur and laid siege to Ajûdhàn, but hearing that Sârang Khân had passed Hindupat and was investing Lahore, he returned hastily to that city and encountered Sârang Khân at Samuthalsâ, 12 kos from it. There he was defeated by Sârang

31 Banka or Manika — E. H. II., p. 553; cf. 563.
32 Called Kokâr-Banka, who had embraced Islam in the time of Muhammad Ghori — ib. p. 553; T. N. p. 294.
33 T. N., pp. 347-6, notes. 34 Ib. p. 636 n.
35 B. p. 678; E. H. II., 347.
42 Shaïkhaëv was the general name by which the chiefs of the tribes styled themselves, because "being Hindus by descent, they had become converts to Islam." Hence Jâsrât is often styled Jâsrât Shaïkhaëv. — Raverty's Notes, p. 867.
43 E. H. I., IV. p. 372.
44 Ib. p. 29. Dibulpur is the ancient Deobâlpur and the modern Dipâlpur. Ajûdhàn is the modern Pârpattan.
Khán and fled to the hills of Jód, while the victor took possession of Lahore. Four years later occurred the grim interlude of Timúr’s invasion. Shaikhá, says the historian, out of enmity to Sárang Khán, early joined Timúr and acted as his guide, in return for which he received mercy and honour, but before Timúr left India he made Shaikhá prisoner, and with him all his wives and children.

According to the histories of Timúr, however, the Khókhar played a much more important part in the resistance offered to the invading armies of Timúr than the Táríkh-i-Mubárah-Sháhí is inclined to admit. In October 1398 A. D., Timúr halted at Jál on the Biáś, opposite Sháhpur. Here he learnt that Nusrat of the tribe of Khókhar was established in a fortress on the bank of a lake. He attacked Nusrat, and completely routed him, taking immense booty in cattle and burning Nusrat’s residence. Nusrat himself was slain. Some of his followers escaped across the Biáś, which Timúr crossed marching from Sháh Nawáz to Jaunpúr, a few days later. We next read of Malik Shaikhá or Shaikh Kúká, ‘commander of the infidels,’ who was defeated and slain by Timúr in the valley of Kúpila or Hardwár. The Zafaránáma, however, differs from this account. It mentions Aláu’d-Dín as a deputy of Shaikh Kúká, who was sent as an envoy to Kúpila, and describes the advance of a Malik Shaikhá as being misreported as the advance of Shaikh Kúká, one of Timúr’s faithful adherents, a mistake which enabled Malik Shaikhá to attack Timúr unawares, though he was promptly repulsed and killed. Then we hear of Timúr’s arrival at Jammú on his homeward march. In its neighbourhood he captured seven strongholds, belonging to the infidels, whose people had formerly paid the jísya or poll-tax to the Sultán of Hindústán, but had for a long time past cast off their allegiance. One of these forts belonged to Malik Shaikhá Kúká, but, according to the Zafaránáma, the owner of this stronghold was Shaikhá, a relation of Malik Shaikhá Kúká (or Shaikhá Kúká), which possibly makes the matter clear: — Nusrat, the Khókhar, had been killed on the Biáś, after which his brother, Shaikhá, submitted to Timúr, and was employed by him during his advance on Delhi. The Malik Shaikhá killed at Kúpila was not a Khókhar at all, but in Timúr’s Autobiography he has become confused with Malik Shaikhá the Khókhar. Lastly, Malik Shaikhá had a relative, probably a Khókhar, who held a little fort near Jammú.

After his arrest by Timúr, Shaikhá disappears from history; but in 833 A. H. (1420 A. D.), or some twenty-two years later, Jashrát (the son of) Shaikhá makes his entrance on the scene. In that year the king of Kashmir marched into Sindh, and was attacked by Jashrát, who defeated him, took him prisoner, and captured all his matériel. Elated by this success, Jashrát, an independent rustics, began to have visions about Delhi. Hearing that Kháiz Khán (whom Timúr had left in charge of Multán as his feudatory, and who had become Sultán of Delhi in all but name) was dead, he crossed the Biáś and Sutlej, defeated the Míná leaders, and ravaged the country from Ludhiana to Arúkár (Rupár). Thence he proceeded to Jalandhár, and encamped on the Biáś, while Zárak Khán, the amir of Sámána, retired into the fort. After

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47 According to the Malíjáší-t-Timúr, Malik Shaikhá Kúká was the brother of Nusrat Khókhár, formerly governor of Lahore on the part of Sultán Mahsúd of Delhi. After Nusrat’s defeat Shaikhá Kúká had submitted to Timúr, and had accompanied him on his march to the Jamads, his influence being sufficient for him to obtain protection for his subjects from pillage by Timúr’s army. Shaikhá, however, obtained Timúr’s leave to return to Lahore, where he soon incurred the suspicion of being lukewarm in Timúr’s cause, and Timúr sent orders to arrest Shaikhá and levy a ransom from Lahore. E. H. L. III. p. 473. This account is confirmed by the Zafaránáma, which calls Nusrat Kúká, brother of Shaikhá Kúká, — ib. p. 485. Bavery states that some authorities say that Shaikhá died a natural death, while others allege that he was put to death, Jashrát being imprisoned in Samarqand. Some years later Jashrát was released and returned home. There he put to death Sháhí, his brother, and, seizing Jalandhár and Kaláman, began to aspire to the sovereignty of Hind. — Notes, p. 308.
49 E. H. L. IV. p. 54. Bavery adds that he attacked Sirhind, but it was defended by Sultán Sháh Lodi and he failed to take it in 1421. — Notes, p. 368.
some negotiations it was agreed that the fort was to be evacuated and given up to Tughán, the Turk-bacha (Jarath's ally, who had taken refuge in his territories), while Jarath was to pay tribute and return home. But as soon as Jarath got Zirak Khan into his camp, he detained him as a prisoner and carried him, securely guarded, to Ludhiana, whence he marched to Sirhind. That fortress, however, defied all his attempts, and the Sultan Mubarak Sháh, advancing, compelled him to raise the siege and retreat on Ludhiana, whence, having released Zirak Khan, he crossed the Sutlej. The Sultan's forces then advanced as far as Ludhiana, but were unable to cross the Sutlej, as Jarath had secured all the boats. When the rains ceased, the Sultan withdrew to Kabulpur, and Jarath made a similar movement, whereupon the Sultan sent a force to effect a crossing at Rápar. Jarath marched on a line parallel to this force, but it effected a crossing, and the Sultan then passed the river without opposition. Jarath's followers then abandoned the opposition he had chosen without striking a blow, and their leader fled hastily to Ludhiana, whence he crossed the Bías, the Rávr, and finally, after the Sultan had crossed the latter river near Bhowa, the Jánháva (Chínáb). Jarath now took refuge in his strongest place, Tekhar in the hills, but Rai Bhum of Jammú guided the Sultan's forces to the stronghold, and it was captured and destroyed. Jarath's power was, however, undiminished; for, as soon as the Sultan had returned to Delhi after restoring Lahore, he recrossed Chínáb and Rávr with a large force of horse and foot, and attacked Lahore and was only driven off after nearly five weeks' fighting round the fort. He then retreated on Káinánr to attack that stronghold, into which Rai Bhum had thrown himself in order to relieve Lahore. After protracted fighting round Káinánr, Jarath patched up a truce with Rai Bhum and then went towards the Rávr, where he collected all the people of the territory of the Khokhars, who were in alliance with him, but on the advance of an imperial army from Lahore, supported by one which advanced on the ford of Búh, he again fled to Tekhar. The united forces of the Sultan now marched along the river Rávr and crossed it between Káinánr and Bho, afterwards effecting a junction with Rai Bhum on the confines of Jammú. These forces defeated some Khokhars who had separated from Jarath on the Chínáb.

In the following year (826 A.H. or 1423 A.D.) Jarath defeated Rai Bhum and captured most of his horses and matériel. The Rai himself was killed, and Jarath now united himself to a small army of Mughals and invaded the territories of Dábálpur and Lahore, but on the advance of the imperial leader he retired across the Chínáb.

After this the Khokhars appear to have remained inactive for four or five years, but in 831 A.H. (1428 A.D.) Jarath laid siege to Káinánr, and on advancing from Lahore to relieve the place, his old opponent, Sikandar Táhá, was defeated and had to retreat on Lahore. Jarath then besieged Jánndhaur, but he was unable to reduce it, and so he retreated to Káinánr, carrying off the people of the neighbourhood as captives. Reinforcements were sent to Sikandar, but before they arrived, he had again advanced to Káinánr and united his forces with those of Rai Ghálib of that town. These leaders then marched after Jarath and completely defeated him at Kángrá on the Bías, recovering the spoils which he had gained at Jánndhaur. Jarath again took refuge in Tekhar.

In 835 A.H. (1431-2 A.D.), however, Jarath descended from Tekhar (Tekhar) and marched on Jánndhaur. Sikandar drew out of Lahore to intercept him, but incautiously allowed his small force to be attacked by Jarath's superior numbers and was defeated and taken prisoner, some of his followers escaping to Jánndhaur. Jarath in triumph marched on Lahore and laid siege to it, but it was vigorously defended by Sikandar's lieutenants, and on the Sultan's advancing to Sámána to its relief, he abandoned the siege, but kept Sikandar in captivity.55

51 Káinánr (Baverty). 52 Not identified; possibly Bhowa and Bho are the same. 53 Thankar or Talhar in other historians. Farzida has Biais, but that is on the Rávr. Baverty calls it Thankir. — E. H. L. IV, pp. 53-4. 54 Baverty calls this Hindu Ráj of Jammú Rai Bhálta, but adds that he was son-in-law of Ali Sháh of Káshmir, against whom Zainu'l-Abidin, his brother, enlisted Jarath's aid. The Khokhars and their ally marched from Siálikot against the Sultan. Ali Sháh, and defeated him prior to 1428 A.D. About this time the Gakkhrs, under Malik Kád, wrested their conquests from Zainu'l-Abidin. 55 E. H. L. IV, p. 74.
In 855 A. H. (1432 A. D.) Malik Allâh-dâd was appointed feudatory of Lahore, but he was promptly attacked on his arrival at Jâlandhar by Jasra, defeated and compelled to seek refuge in the hills of Kothî. 56

In 840 A. H. (1436 A. D.) the Sultan Muhammad Shâh sent an expedition against Shaikhâ (sic) Khôkhar, which ravaged his territories. 57

In 845 A. H. (1441 A. D.) the Sultan conferred Dîbâlpur and Lahore on Bahol Khan and sent him against Jasra, but Jasra made peace with him and flattered him with hopes of the throne of Delhi. 58 After this the Khôkhar power declined, owing to causes of which we know nothing.

In the time of Akbar the Khôkharis held 5 out of 12 mahâilt in the Lahore sârkâr in the Bât-Doáb, and 7 out of 25 parganas in the Chinhâth Doáb, with one mahâilt each in the Bât-Jâlandhar and Râchna Doábs. In the Dîbâlpur sârkâr of Mûltân they held 3 out of 10 mahâilt in the Bât-Jâlandhar Doáb, and one in the Berûn-i-Panjnad, west of the Indus. Raverty puts their population then at more than 200,000 souls. 59

It must be confessed that the above notes leave the question of the origin of the Khôkharis precisely where it stood. In an account of the Kâtil Râjputs from Gurdaspur it is said that some of the (earliest) converts to Islam became known as Khôkharis, but further on it says: "One of our ancestors settled in the fort of Mangla Devi in the Jammu State and then took possession of Kharipur. Hence his descendants became known as Khôkharis," after being converted to Islam in the time of Mahmûd of Ghazni. And further on it says that Kâtils do not intermarry with Khôkharis, because the latter are of their blood, and are descendants of Kâtils by Muhammadan wives.

II. — A HISTORY OF THE GAKKHARS.

The Gakkaris do not appear, ex nomine, in history until the time of the emperor Bâbar. Their country, says the Tabâqut-i-Akhbâr, lies on the Indus, well known as the Nâlâb, and the territory from the Siwâlik hills to the borders of Kashmir has been from all times in their possession, though other tribes, such as the Khar, 60 Janûba, Jâthiyâ, Bhûkyâl (Bhûgîâ) and Jâ, dwell in those parts in subordination to the Gakkaris. In the Tâzak-i-Bâbâr, Bâbar describes the hill-country between the Nilâb and the Bahrâ ( Bhûrâ), as inhabited by the Jats, Gujars, and many other similar tribes under a Gakkar ruler, or ruler, their government much resembling that of the Jûd and Janjûha and the lands adjoining the hill-country of Kashmir. The government in this time was held by Tâtâr and Hâtâ, Gakkaris, who were cousins. 61 Tâtâr’s stronghold was Parhâlah, Hât’s country was close adjoining the hills. Hât was in alliance with Bâbû Khan, who held Kânînjâr. 62 Tâtâr was in a certain way subject to Danlâ Khan (the governor of the Pañjâb), while Hât remained independent. Tâtâr, at the instance of the amir of Hindustân (the Delhi kingdom) and in conjunction with them, was keeping Hât in a state of blockade in some sort, when Hât, by a stratagem, made a sudden advance, surprised Tâtâr, slew him and took his country. He then sent on Parhâlah, his relation, to Bâbar with a contribution by way of tribute, but the envoy went to Bâbar’s main camp and thus missed the expedition which had already set out for Parhâlah.

59 Notes, pp. 365-67. The Khôkharis of the Jâlandhar District do not mention Jasra, but only date their settlement there from the time of the Sayid kings. Mr. Purser (Julandur Settlement Report, p. 16) says this is negative evidence that Jasra was a Gakkar, but he refers to Major Waterfield’s Gajrat Settlement Report, in which the Khôkharis are quite correctly put down as descended from Jasra, “who, with Bharat, took Jammt, when in Timur’s service,” and afterwards settled in the Gajrat District. — See Panjâb Notes and Queries, I, p. 141.
60 Possibly the Khattars.
61 Abû-l-Fâlq says that in the time of Zainu’l-Abîdîn of Kashmir, Malik Kad, one of the nobles of Ghaznî, dispossessed the Kashmiris of the tract between the Jûlûm and the Indus. He was succeeded by: (1) Malik Kâlinâ, his son; (2) his grandson; (3) Tâtâr, the opponent of Sher Khan and Salâm Khan, who had two sons, Sûdân Shârang and Sàdî. — Raverty’s Notes, p. 256. Sûdân’s sons were Kâmûl and Sàdî.
62 Kânînjâr lies west of the Indus near Swâbl. — Raverty’s Notes, p. 274.
Bābab, at this stage, arrived from Bahra on his way to Kābul, and, instigated by the Janjūhas, old enemies of the Gakhars, attacked Parhāla, which he took, Hātī seeking safety in flight. Bābab’s guide to Bahra was Sūrpa, Sarpā or Saropa, Gujar, a servant of the Malik Hast, whose father had been slain by Hātī. Hātī now submitted to Bābab. After the Afgāns, headed by Sher Shāh, had recovered their power in India and expelled Humayūn after Bābab’s death, the Sultan Sher Shāh made over the Ninduna pargana to Ḳamī’il Khān Balbāq in return for the Sarwān territory, which had been usurped by the Baloches and which he restored to Shāh Baysudd Kalkagār Sarwān, its rightful owner. Sher Shāh also marched through all the hills of Padmān and Garjāk (or Girjāk Ninduna), and selected a site for the great fortress of Rohtās, which was designed both to hold in check the Gakhars and restrain the Mughal invasions. The Gakhars, however, prevented Tōdar Khatrī, who was in charge of the work, from obtaining labour, and it was only by offering exorbitant pay that the Gakhars were tempted to flock to the work. Sher Shāh, moreover, sent a force against Rāi Sārang, the Gakhār, and subdued his country, plundering also the hill of Balnā. Rāi Sārang’s daughter was captured and given to Khwās Kān, one of Sher Kān’s nobles, while the Rāi himself, having surrendered or being taken prisoner, was slain alive. His son Kamāl Kān was sent as a prisoner to Gwalior, in the Sīvalīces. Rohtās was then committed to the care of Hādīth Kān Nīrāt and other leaders. 30,000 horse being kept in its neighbourhood to hold in check Kashmir and the Gakhār country. Rohtās appear to have been thus partially built in 1540 A.D., but it was not completed till eight or ten years later.

In 1556 A.H. (1548 A.D.) the Niāzīs, defeated by the troops of Sultan Islām or Salīm Shāh Sur, fled for refuge to the Gakhār’s territory. Upon this, Islām Shāh advanced on Rohtās, the completion of which he urged forward with much earnestness, and which work was carried out in not less than two years, amidst incessant and desperate fighting with the tribe. Sultan Ādām eventually sued for peace and agreed to compel the Niāzīs to quit his territories. Salīm Shāh also released Kamāl Kān, son of Rāi Sārang, and appointed him to act, in concert with the governor of the Paṭjāb, in the subjugation of the Gakhār territory.

In 1552 A.D. Kāmān, driven from Kābul by Humayūn, sought a refuge in the territories of Sultan Ādām, who had succeeded his brother Sārang, but that chief sent word to the emperor Humayūn that he was willing to acknowledge his authority and deliver Kāmān into his hands, Kāmān, however, took refuge with the Sultan Salīm Shāh, on Humayūn’s advancing to Dinkot on the Indus, but, failing to obtain any assistance in the Paṭjāb, he returned in disguise to the Gakhār territory on his way to Kābul, and rashly disclosed his identity to Sultan Ādām, who surrendered him to Humayūn, and he was blinded (September 1553 A.D.). Humayūn now marched against Pirānā, a chief of the Janjūha tribe, who held a strong fort in the Bhrā (Bhera) country and secured his surrender, handing his territory over to Sultan Ādām.

After the restoration of Humayūn, Kamāl Kān, son of Rāi Sārang, was given half the territories held by his uncle (Sultan) Ādām Kān. Ādām Kān resisted this mandate and a royal army had to be sent to enforce it. Ādām Kān was defeated and captured and his son fled into Kashmir, but was subsequently taken also. Kamāl Kān then became sole chief of the Gakhars and he detained Ādām Kān in captivity till his death.

In Akbar’s reign the Gakhars held 7 out of 42 mahāllās in the Sindh-Sagar Doab of the Lahore sarkar.
AHMAD SHAH, ABDALI, AND THE INDIAN WAZIR, 'IMAD-UL-MULK (1756-7).

(Contributed by William Irvine, late of the Bengal Civil Service.)

The following narrative is taken from a Persian manuscript, being the third of four works bound together in a small quarto volume which I bought at Quaritch's some ten or twelve years ago. The other tracts are:— (1) Ḳaḳīḳe-Ḳirim, copied Safar 1198 H. (Dec. 1733); (2) Ṭaḥṣel-Abdallah, copied at Lakhnau, Râfî 'I., 1198 H. (Feb. 1734); (3) the present narrative; (4) a fragment of Ṣâmâni's Fârūkh-ḵânah. This fragment carries on this rare work to some date in 1138 H. (1716), that is, much farther than either B. Museum MS, Oriental, No. 25 (Rieu, 273), or the twenty-five folios of it in the Münch MS., No. 265 (Joseph Auewer, 'Catalogue,' 1866, p. 97).

The volume has on the flyleaf a list of contents in English, in an 18th century handwriting in which I have seen elsewhere; I think it is that of Jonathan Scott, Polier, or W. Francklin. Some one has noted that the initials "W. O." on the same flyleaf are those of Sir William Ouseley, presumably a former owner. The book was No. 387 in the bookseller, W. Straker's Catalogue of 1836, and in 1899 it belonged to Dr. John Lee of 5 Doctors' Commons, by whom it was lent to B. Dorn, when his History of the Afghans was in preparation for the Oriental Translation Fund.

The account of Ahmad Shah Abdali's incursion into India in 1737, as here presented, is one of the three notable contributions to Indian history of the 18th century, for which we are indebted to the initiative of Captain Jonathan Scott; and so far as I recollect, not one of them is referred to in the article devoted to him in the "Dictionary of National Biography." The other two works are:— (1) Ṣadīqat-ul-aqīma, by Sheikh Mustawṣ̄ Ḥusain, Bilgrāmī, surnamed Allāhāyr Ṣānī, H. M. Elliot's "accurate Moortuza Hosain"; (2) Shahādat-i-Farrukhāywar wa Jâli i-Muḥammad Shâh, by Mīrza Muḥammad Baḵsh, Ashob.

Ṣamīn is the author of Sharaf-i-ugmānī, a history of Bilgrām Sheik families written as a counterblast to Ghulām 'Ali, Azīd's Maḥā-i-bilgrām i tūrkh-i Bilgrām, a panegyric of the Saiyid families there. He pours a scorn on Azīd, who was a Samdhanī, though he calls himself a Bilgrāmī; that is, his mother was of Bilgrām, but his father Muḥammad Šāh was of Samdhan, an obscure village on the other side of the Ganges, between Farrukhābād and Qannauj. In the Sharāf (my copy, page 255) we find that Ghulām Ḥusain, poetically Ṣamīn, Šadīq, Parshārī, Bilgrāmī, was the son of Sheikh Ghulām Ḥusain, son of Qāṣṣī Fāṣūlah of Bilgrām (now in the Hardoi district). He was born about 1129 H. (1716-17) and had a brother called Muḥammad Šādīq (poetically Sekhanwar). He traces his descent in the 37th degree from Abī Bakr, Šadīq; and for 25 generations his ancestors had been qaṣī of Bilgrām. Up to 1179 H. (1766-6) Samīn had three sons and two daughters. The present narrative shows that he was alive in 1197 H. (1782-3), I have found no record of his death.

I think the story here given is of great historical value, as it furnishes us with a first-hand account of actual events. The doings of Ahmad Shāh in India, except those leading up to the crowning victory of Pānīpāt in January 1761, are elsewhere recorded for the most part in a vague, confused manner. Many points are cleared up by Ṣamīn's story, and it helps to do for Ahmad Shāh's Indian record, what Dr. Oakar Mann has done so brilliantly for his non-Indian conquests, in a series of articles in the Z. D. M. G. for 1898. The intercalated narrative of 'Imād-ul-mulk's marriage troubles is new and curious; and it throws further light on the character of Mu'ānī-ullmulk's widow, the disagreeable traits in which are largely depicted in Ghulām 'Ali Khaṇ's Muqaddamāt and the autobiography of her husband's house-slave, Mīrza Tahmīsp, Minkīn.
After praises and prayer, this humble slave (May God impress truth on him) Ghulâm Hasan, Šamin, (God pardon him and his connections) states that in the year 1197 after the Holy Flight of the Prophet (the Protection of God be upon him, and Peace), at the instigation of a friend, Shekā Allahyr, Bahādur (May God on High save him), son of Shekā Allahyr, the martyr; I arrived in the town of Allahābād, and was introduced to the extremely improving audience of the Lord of Benefits, Captain Jonathan Scott, Bahādur, (May his Good Fortune endure). The beauty of his condescension is more than can be brought forth by the strength of this wounded pen. (Verse.)

Kih dērād ham chā u lutf wa sāhēb wa shafkat
wa ahsān, Dil-i-khārām, rukh-i-sīb, lab-i-shrin, jahe-i
anvar; Zt shukr-i-madh wa akklāq-i-karrim-i-ā farū
mān, Zabān ājī, khirār kairūn, šubhan gāsīr, qalam
musturr; Sāzād par nam wārā dā, in ba tāba kūsh zi jān-o-dāt,
Kuṇam khidmat, buram farman, nihān gārda, šhavam kohtar.

Who like him has grace, liberality, affection,
kindness, A joyous heart, a handsome face, sweet speech,
an ample brow; I fail in recounting his praise and his gracious
manners, My tongue stammers, my wits wander, my
words suffice not, my pen stumbles; If for ever I could do what my heart and soul
desire. I should serve him, obey him, bow before him,
be his humble servant.

In the said year 1197 H. (1782-3) by order of the said Captain ṣāḥib, I wrote something of
the doings of Ahmad Shāh, the Abdāli king, when long ago, in the year 1169 H. (1755-6), he
(ʻAhmad Shāh) entered the capital, Shāhjahānābād. It was then the reign of ʻAṣīr-ud-dīn, emperor
of Hind, entitled ʻAšāmir Sānī. All these events the writer beheld with his own eyes; and I now
reduce them to writing. Owing to the haste in which I write, I have paid no heed to elegance or
style or the employment of metaphor. In spite of scantiness of acquisition and absence of ability,
I have not been afraid to become the subservient carrier-out of that ṣāḥib's orders.

Be it known then, wherever the tongue of the pen mentions "Shāhān Shāh," it means
Ahmad Shāh, king of the Abdāli, and the words "Emperor of Hind" indicate ʻAṣīr-ud-dīn,
ʻAšāmir II.; and where the phrase "Great Wazir" occurs, Shāh Wali Khān, the minister of the
Abdāli, is intended. By "Imād-ul-mulk" is meant Nawāb Ghiyās-ud-dīn, minister of the
emperor of Hind and grandson of Nawāb Niẓām-ul-mulk. By "Nawāb Ḥaṣanfar Jang" is meant
Ahmad Khān, Bangash, ruler of Farrukhābād; and "Nawāb Shujā-ud-daulah" means the son of
Nawāb Abu-l-Mansūr Khān, Bahādur, Ṣafdar Jang, nāzim of the ṣūbāh of Ḥaṭānagar Audh.

ACCOUNT OF SAJID SHER ANDĀZ KHĀN.

Be it remembered that the writer, in order to gain his livelihood, was for several years with
that Protector of Sajid, one Muḥammad Šālim (poetically, Sayyāh), bearing the title of Sher
Andāz Khān Bahādur, an employe of the late Nawāb Ṣafdar Jang already mentioned. He was on
duty in attendance upon Nawāb Zālar Jang, Khān Zāmīn Khān Bahādur, ʻAli Quli Khān,
Dīghistānī (poetically, Wālīh), and nicknamed the "Six-fingered."

"The martyr," he was killed in battle on Oct. 30, 1730, outside Ḡoṛbād in Gujarāt. He was chief
commander under Surbuland Khān, the governor, who fought his successor in the government, Bāja Šāh of Jodhpur.

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1 "The martyr," he was killed in battle on Oct. 30, 1730, outside Ahmadābād in Gujarāt. He was chief
commander under Surbuland Khān, the governor, who fought his successor in the government, Bāja Šāh of Jodhpur.
The deceased Saiyid (Sher Andaz Khan) was a native of the town Shabah, which lies between the towns of Bareli and Pilibhit. He was exceptionally well-instructed in all sciences, unequalled in valour, generosity and enterprise. At the age of twelve the Saiyid left his country of origin to obtain instruction, and was for nearly two and a half years in the house of this poor one’s respected grandfather, with whom he read Arabic as far as the Sharif of the Mulla. After that time he went to the town of Safipur, the honoured burial-place of the venerable Shah Safi, and there the then occupier of the seat of authority, Miyan ‘Abdullah Safi, adopted him as his son.

After the lapse of some time the Saiyid became anxious to make the journey to the Hajaz and other places of pilgrimage. Accordingly with this intent he quitted Safipur, and binding the skirt of enterprise round the middle of his heart, he made for the regions of ‘Arabistan, and by the special grace of the Lord was honoured by a visit to the Holy Ka’bah, Luminous Madinah, Holy Najaf, Exalted Karbalah, Mashhad the Pure, and other places.

When he came back to Hindustan Nawab Saadat Jang urged him to take service and dealt with him honorably. In this space of time the Saiyid was a noted man of the age, honoured and valued by mighty sovereigns, famed wazirs, and high nobles. After Saadat Jang came Nawab Shuja-ud-daula, and he, too, emitted no detail of honour and respect.

Then in the year 1173 H. (1759-60) for the second [third] time the Abdali king came from Willayat to Hindustan, and rooted out the Infidel, that is to say, Rajah Bhoo and others of the Mahrattas armies. At this period the deceased Saiyid was in the service of Nawab Ghaznavad Jang, Ahmad Khan Bangash, ruler of Farrukhabad. At the invitation of the Abdali king, Ahmad Khan, Bangash, sent the deceased (Sher Andaz Khan) to see Rajah Bhoo, leader of the Mahrattas to conduct certain negotiations.

The Saiyid, having some extent settled the business with the Mahrattas leaders, was returning to the Abdali king’s camp. On his way he was passing through the pargana of the Jat. There the control on behalf of Najib Khan was in the hands of Sa’adat Khan, Afridi Afghani. On hearing [of the Saiyid’s arrival] this man sent a message: “In God’s name come and stay, even for an hour or so, with me. I have something of importance to tell you.”

The Saiyid turned off his road and with a limited retinue went to visit the said Khan (Sa’adat Khan, Afridi). The Khan then asked the Saiyid to tell the Abdali Shah that the army of the accursed Jat was very numerous, while he (Sa’adat Khan) had a very small force. He hoped that troops would be sent by His Majesty to reinforce him. The conversation was still going on, when a spy came to say that a force of Jats, nearly 7,000 horsemen, was within a distance of two kos, and would be soon close to them. The Khan (Sa’adat Khan) ordered his troops, one thousand horse and foot all told, to prepare for a fight. To the Mir Sahib he said: “Let the gentleman withdraw to his own camp.” The Mir Sahib replied: “I am a Saiyid, I do not turn my face from a battle.” Above all, when it is for a Moslem, as you are. For God’s cause you had called me here; and, by God, it will yield up my breath for you will be accounted martyrdom.”

So saying he urged his horses on to the field, and began a stout contest with the infidels and defeated them. The infidels, who were advancing boldly, were beaten back. At this point another body came out of the same force and discharged their arrows and fired their matchlocks; the Saiyid was wounded in the right thigh. To this he paid no heed, but pressed like another Rustam on the accursed foe, broke their ranks, and cut off four men’s heads. He also sustained three or four sword wounds himself on his right arm and shoulder. He continued the contest and cut down several other men. Accordingly, the accursed ones could not resist and took to flight, and he was the winner of a great victory. The Saiyid, followed by two of his horsemen, started in pursuit of the infidels. Then about one hundred horsemen of the infidel’s force appeared on his right flank, surrounding him and his two men. The Saiyid was wounded several times with lance and arrow.

* The Safipur of the “Oudh Gazetteer,” III. 261; it is in the Unao district.
and sabre. At length a sword-cut took him on the right side and cut through him to the opposite side; he fell from his horse to the ground. Immediately after this the enemy's force disappeared, God also willed that the two troopers, too, should become martyrs. At that time heavy rain came on and both sides retreated to their own quarters.

When the news reached the other followers of that Saiyid received into Mercy, who were encamped at a distance of three kos, they returned the next morning and carried the Saiyid back from the place where he fell to the previous camping ground. They say his body had on it fourteen sword and lance wounds between his waist and head, besides two matchlock wounds, one on the right thigh, and the other on the left foot. *Anā, illāh wa anā 'llaht rāj'ūn.*

In that year [1173 H. 1759-60] the writer was in the service of Nawāb Sa'dullah Khān, son of 'Ali Muḥammad Khān, Robelah. At that period Nawāb Sa'dullah Khān, on the advice of Hāfiz Bahā' Khān and others, had, at the request of the Abdāl Shāh, left the town of Sambhal in his dominions, and was encamped five kos off at the town of Hasanpur. On hearing of the martyrdom of the Saiyid, the writer composed a chronogram, of which the line containing the date is as follows (Mīrā'):

*Bā rāh-i-hagā shahīd-i-uldār shudāh, āh!* (Year 1173 H.).

THE NARRATIVE RETURNS TO THE EVENTS IN 1169 H. (1755-56).

I return to my narrative. When the said deceased Saiyid in the year 1169 (1755-56) left Shu'ā'īnd-daulah, and had to search for a livelihood, he was summoned to Farrukhābād by Nawāb Ghaṣānfar Jang. The Saiyid took the writer with him.

In that same year the Abdāl Shāh came from Wilāyat vid Kābul and entered Shāhjahānābād, causing throughout Hindūstān a great convulsion, and ordered that all the samindārs raised their heads in rebellion and blocked the traffic on all the roads. At that time the rescripts of the Abdāl Shāh, which in their official language are called *raqmān,* arrived one after another, calling for the attendance of Nawāb Ghazanfar Jang with the greatest insistence. Quick-riding horsemen of the Shah's, they are called chāpurā, brought these despatches to Farrukhābād. Their tenor was as follows. As soon as the Shah's order (*raqmām*) had been perused, he (Ghazanfar Jang) must start for the Shah's Presence, where he would be the recipient of kingly favours. In case of any delay, he might rely on the arrival of an avenging army, "which will seize thee in whatever condition thou mayest be found, and drag thee to the Exalted Camp, and deliver thee there: and I shall issue an order for thy territory to be ravaged and plundered. It is necessary that in person thou come hastily and at once with thy army and thy treasure to Our Presence."

As is usual in Hindūstān, Ghaṣānfar Jang erected a *farmān-hāl* tent of scarlet cloth outside Farrukhābād at the distance of one kos, while he himself advanced two kos beyond the tent to receive the *farmān.* He conducted the despatch-riders with all due ceremony to the reception tent. There he first placed the Shah's letter (*raqmān*) upon his head, and then read it and ascertained the contents. In this manner for four days in succession, and without any interval, did letters from the Shah arrive at Farrukhābād. Every day Ghazanfar Jang mounted and went out to receive them and bring them to the Tent of Honour, where he inspected them and read them.

From this cause the Nawāb fell into somewhat of a perturbation and perplexity, forcing him to reflect on many things. He had "neither legs to run away nor strength to go forward" (*Nah ūs garechān wa nah yūrdē raftam*). He therefore called together all the heads of his army and demanded their advice. He asked what their opinion was, what plan should be resorted to, and what should be devised. For he had no treasure, nor was his army such that he could lift his head in opposition to any one, nor had he any strong fortress in the vicinity of Farrukhābād where he could place his family in security. In addition, the Mahrattah armies
were present in great numbers, moving to and fro in his territories. Over and above all this, Shuja'-ud-daulah's heart was turned against him, because he had procured the betrothal of Ali Quli Khan's daughter to 'Imad-ul-mulk. "While I myself [t., schläge ar Jang] am lame and thus useless. If perchance the Shiah's army arrives here and carries me off to his head-quarters, my country will be devastated and destroyed. After that calamity, what possibility is there of again restoring it to prosperity. For on every side are powerful enemies, lords of treasure and of armies, who dwell on the confines of my territories. In this state of things, what remedy is there?"

Previously, during the invasion of Nadir Shah, the inhabitants of Hindustan had seen and heard of the general slaughter and the plundering and destruction of Shahr-i-Nawab. Moreover, these Afghans round about Farrukhabad had, subsequent to Nadir Shah's time, been badly handled by Nawab Saifar Jang, being ruined and reduced to poverty, and forced to flee to the hill regions. Thus they were at a loss what answer to give, each one of them lost hand and foot [became helpless] and brought to their lips silly words. But some of them who were famed for judgment and wise planning, represented as follows.

The advisable thing is that Your Excellency march two or three stages in the direction of Shahr-i-Nawab, and fix on some place for several halts. When these days of halting have passed, you should again march two or three kos and once more halt. In this manner the Shah [Abdali] will become aware that you are coming to join him and will send no army. Should a force arrive, it will come to join itself to yours. You should leave troops in Farrukhabad to protect your women and family; then, if anything happens, these men can carry off your family to the hills.

To sum up: nothing was decided on, which could allay Ghasanfar Jang's anxieties; fear and dread fell upon every one's heart, both gentle and simple. Great and little men, they all engaged in making plans for flight. Ghasanfar Jang neither ate nor slept.

In the end Mir Sher Anduz Khan, who has already been spoken of, represented that to his imperfect understanding the following scheme had presented itself. Let a trusty person from the Nawab's entourage be sent to interview the Shah; let him be provided with letters and petitions to the Shah and the chief Wazir, setting forth in detail his (Ahmad Khan's) position, the power of the Maharattas, his enemies, and their occupation of his lands. If this faithful one [Sher Anduz Khan] were thought worthy of this task, please God Most High! he would return having arranged all these points favourably, or obtain even a little more.

After much discussion and considerable reflection, the above proposal was accepted as wise and prudent. The Mir Sahib was to be despatched with some presents and rarities. Accordingly, they collected 101 gold coins, one thousand rupees stuck at Farrukhabad, twenty lengths of gold brocade (kamkhwab), seven pairs of shawls, twenty lengths of figured cloth (masahr), and forty silk, scarves with drawn-thread work (kaishdah) designs on them. These last are in length and breadth the size of a shawl; they are the product of Mau town. All these things were sent as an offering to the Shah. There were also five lengths of kamkhwab brocade, two pairs of shawls, ten lengths of figured cloth (masahr), forty yards (dira) of green and scarlet broad-cloth and ten Mau scarves; all for the chief minister, namely, Shah Wali Khan. Four lengths of kamkhwab, two pairs of shawls, seven scarves from Mau; these were to be given to Janghaz Khan, Bangash, one of the famed nobles and a commander over 5,000 horsemen. This man was of Ghasanfar Jang's own tribe; and, owing to his excessive valour, the Shah had been pleased to proclaim him as his own son.

When all these things had been collected, the Mir Sahib was sent off with bags containing the petitions and papers, stating the objects sought. One Ahmad Khan, a petty officer, was sent with him, because he knew the Afghan and Turki languages. The said Khan joined singly.

* Mau is 15 miles W. of Farrukhabad.
and marched with the Mir, leaving his regiment at Farrukhabad. The first day's halt was made in the Sarai at Atapur. Through fear of the villagers and of thieves, everyone had run away and our whole night was passed in watching.

Next day we were at Qadirganj, which is situated on the edge of the Ganges and was founded by Shuja'at Khan. We rested there. Next morning we crossed the river (Ganges) and reached the town of Bisauli, founded by Donde Khan, Robelah. The Mir Sahib went to interview Donde Khan. As it happened, on that day Mullâ Sardar Khan, Bakshsi, was present. He said that Ahmad Khan (Bangash) was their sovereign, but when he had taken opinion he invented silly ideas. "Your prey is not caught every time. He does not render thanks to God sufficiently; the Most High having protected him from the hands of the Irânis" and brought "him back from the hills and set him up again at Farrukhabad."

The Mir Sahib said: "It is for that reason that I have appeared here, so that what you advise can be put into execution." Sardar Khan replied: "There is no harm in your going, for Najib Khan has written to me that the Shah has mentioned repeatedly that he had come "to uphold Islam above all, to support the Afghan clans, whose territories have been occupied by the unbelieving Maharratbas. Since Ahmad Khan, too, is an Afghan, he (the Shah) will undoubtedly bestow attention on his circumstances. But who has Ahmad Khan the troops "and the treasure, that he can cope successfully with the difficult undertakings that are ahead "of him. Without a large and powerful force it will be impossible to expel the Maharratbas."

The Shah has come to Hindustan on this occasion, but he will not remain here."

Donde Khan entertained the Mir Sahib as his guest for one day, and gave him an attendant (jilwadar) by way of escort, to accompany him to his boundary and then return.

Thus after three days we reached parganah Baran, which is known as Uncab-gaw. There, one Karam Khan was jajdar on behalf of Donde Khan. He, too, kept us as his guests for one day. He gave us ten Robelahs to go with us as escort to Sikandrab, and then return. From Baran in three days we reached Sikandrab, which was full everywhere of fugitives from round about Shahjabhannahab.

The Mir Sahib left his retinue behind at Sikandrab, and taking only the limited number of thirty servants, six cavalrymen, and three baggage camels, decided to push on farther. On the fourth day we were at the town of Annpshahr, which lies on the river (Ganges) bank. On these marches, in every village we passed, not a sign of an inhabitant was to be seen, and along the route unnumbered dead bodies were lying. Annpshahr, too, was crowded with fugitives from Shahjabhanahab, to such an extent that it was difficult to force a way through its lanes. The Rajah of Annpshahr came to visit the Mir Sahib, and made known to us that from old time parganah Annpshahr had continued in the jagir of the Balghshat-ul-mamluk, and at that time was in the jagir of Amir-ul-umara, Nawab Najib-ud-daulah, that is, Najib Khan. Under the oppressive hand of his Robelahs its lands had fallen out of cultivation, and every year the amount of waste land was increasing. If the gentleman (i.e., the Mir Sahib, Sher Anduz Khan, would exert himself to get it (parg. Annpshahr) transferred to the jagir of Gharanfar Jang, and if the said Sahib were sent there in charge of it on behalf of that noble, they would reach the summit of their desires and their prosperity would return. The Mir Sahib agreed to try.

As it chanced, the author had gone to water his horse at the river (Ganges). I saw two horsemen, residents of Bilgrâm, giving water to their horses. I recognized them and enquired

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* Now spelt 'Atapur; it is close to Man-Gainganj.
* He died 6th Muharram, 1158 H., 19th April 1771; he was the father-in-law of Najib Khan, Najib-ud-daulah (Târîkh-i-Muhammad), Sardar Khan, Bakshsi, died on the 22nd Shawwal, 1155 H., 20th January 1772 (Chahâr Guluhan-i-Shujâ'î of Har Charan Dâs, B. M. Or., 1729, fol. lxxvii).
* An allusion to Safdar Jang's attacks in 1754, 1755.
* "High Village," now known as Buland-Shahr, "High Town"; it is in the Dhâbah.
* In other words, Najib Khan held at the time the office of Balghshat-ul-Mamluk.
from them what they were doing. They told me that for three years past they had been living in the service of Rāe Bahādur Singh, master of Dānah. At the moment, the Shāh having come to Shāhjahānābād and ordered a general slaughter in parganah Dānah, Rājāh Mushtāq Rāe, brother's son of Rāe Bahādur Singh, had fled from that place with his family, and had come to Anūpqahār, bringing a few of his armed men with him. The writer had a former friendship with Mushtāq Rāe, when the said Rāe in the time of Mahārājāh Naval Rāe10 had come from Dānah in search of employment, and for about a month stayed in my humble home; from that time I had a great intimacy with him.

In the afternoon I went to pay the Rāe a visit. Owing to the general slaughter at Dānah and the plundering of his goods, he was in low spirits. I said: "As your House (i.e., harem) "has escaped, lots more property can be acquired. Praise be to God! Your family and "connections have been protected from slaughter and dishonour." Owing to these words he assumed to a certain extent a more cheerful exterior, and occupied his mind with other talk. After three quarters of an hour, I asked for leave and returned to my tent. From among those armed men of Bilgrām, I selected four men who were of tested valour, the Mir Ṣāhib took them into his service, and they accompanied us.

The Mir Ṣāhib made one day's halt in Anūpqahār. Thence in three days' marching we reached the camp of Nawāb Najib Khān, whose tents were near a town called Dankaun11 on the bank of the Jamnāh river. We paid a visit to the Nawāb and he gave us the information that he was sending back some nasaqehte (armed messengers) of the Shāh, and that on the following day he would send off the Mir Ṣāhib in charge of some of these nasaqehte, who would not only be a protection, but could act as guides until our arrival at the Shāh's camp. This plan was put into execution, and the Mir Ṣāhib made a present to the two horsemen of twenty rupees. Then, crossing the Jamnāh we made our way to the Shāh's camp.

As it turned out, the Shāh had on this very day begun his march from Shāhjahānābād12 and pitched his tents at Faridābād, a distance of ten kos from the camp of Najib Khān. When we had travelled two kos of the distance, we saw eight kos away the dust raised by the Shāh's army, the cloud appearing as if it were a mountain stretching its head to heaven. When five kos only intervened, we struck on a body of five thousand horsemen, forming the garānāl or skirmishers, who had pitched their tents. They were galloping about in all directions, and whosoever they caught was slain and plundered. Accordingly, a body of one hundred horsemen turned their faces in our direction, with the intention of laying hands upon us. The nasaqehte advanced to our front and spoke in the Turkish language some words to them, by which they forbore their attack.

You must understand that twenty thousand horsemen are attached to the Shāh's train as skirmishers, five thousand men being sent from the army in four different directions to a distance of five kos, where they encamp. There they remain on duty as skirmishers.

To return to my narrative. At one watch before sunset the Mir Ṣāhib said to the nasaqehte: "Will you take us to the place where are the tents of Jangāz Khān, Bangash?" The nasaqehte pointed out that the force of Jangāz Khān was camped in the rear of the Shāh's army, he being on duty as rear-guard. The distance from where we were might be seven kos. Therefore, we must put our horses to the gallop in order to be able to reach that spot before nightfall. Thus, following the nasaqehte, we reached the place by dark. There

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10 The Deputy Governor of Audh on behalf of Šādār Jang; he was killed at Khūdāgauj (Darrughābād District) on the 1st August 1756.
11 In the Daulāshahr district on the left bank of the Jamnāh, 26 m. S.E. of Delhi.
12 This passage shows that the author's date for his narrative, 1169 H., is not quite exact. Ahmad Shāh, Abdali, left the Dilli fort-palace for Khurābād on the 22nd Jamādā I. 1170 H., 22nd Feb. 1797; see B. Museum, Oriental MS., No. 1749, fol. 102."
we learnt that two days before Jangbāz Khān had been sent off by the Shāh to slay and plunder in pargānā Miřāth.

The nassāqbiāhs said to the Mir Šāhib: “Your best plan now is to go to the division of the chief minister, and put up there. Outside his camp you will find a place where you will be safe. We have now to present ourselves for duty at the Darūkhānah,11 and the Khargāh12 of the Shāh, and this duty is imperative.” The Mir Šāhib gave them a second present of twenty rupees. For the time the nassāqbiāhs were satisfied and agreed to continue as our guides. When one and a half hours of the night had passed, we came to the standard of the chief minister. This standard stood all by itself in the open plain, while the tents were scattered round it at a distance of two musket-shots. We made the camels sit down close to the flag-staff, and were about to unload them, when, all of a sudden, two nassāqbiāh-troopers came out of a tent, rushed their horses at us, and began to beat the camel-men, saying in the Turki tongue: “Get away from here, this is no place for camping upon.”

Ahmad Khān, Afghān, who had come with the Mir Šāhib from Farrukhābād, and knew Turki, began to argue with them. Then one of the two drew his sword and came at him, saying: “Thou dost not listen to my orders, I will decapitate thee.” While this talk was going on, a horseman rode up from the left hand, and said to the Mir Šāhib: “My commander, one Usmān Khān of Qasrūr14 pargānāh, is serving with the Shāh; he saw you from his tent and noticed that you were Hindustānis and he has kindly sent for you to come and pitch your tents close to his. You should not argue with nassāqbiāhs, for a lot more will swarm round, and, without any hesitation, will have recourse to their swords.”

Thus the Mir Šāhib went to Usmān Khān. The said Khān was most hospitable, and forthwith had another tent put up for himself, and gave his own up to the Mir Šāhib. He also treated us as his guests and had a quantity of food sent to the Mir Šāhib, such as Peshkāwar rice, the mutton of a fat-tailed sheep (jumbāh), and thin bread (nāk-i-tanah), prepared in the Hindustāni mode by the slave-girls who accompanied that Khān Šāhib. We passed the night there in great comfort.

Usman Khān was in command of 7,000 horsemen, and was a noble of position, with the rank of a Haft Hazārī, and the Shāh had given him a jewelled sigrette with a plume of feathers. The Shāh’s practice is that, except famed commanders, no one is allowed to place on his cap (tāb) any jewelled sigrette or a plume. This is the sign by which the nobles can be distinguished.

To resume. There was one Maulvi Mahmūd, a Kashmiri, who formerly acted as udī (agent) for Ali Quli Khān, the Six-Fingered, in the camp of Nawāb Şafdar Jang. At this time, Ali Quli Khān being dead,15 this man was in attendance on the Mir Šāhib. When three-quarters of an hour remained of the night, he was sent to visit ‘Imād-ul-mulk and lay our case before him.

‘Imād-ul-mulk said: “Let the Mir Šāhib come to me, I am quite anxious to see him. Arise and in haste bring him, saying, that after I have seen him I will attend to the carrying out of whatever it is wisest to do.” That very moment the Maulvi came back and said: “I have been to ‘Imād-ul-mulk, and he sits waiting for a visit from the Mir Šāhib, and has said thus and this.” The Mir Šāhib replied: “On no account shall I go first to visit the Indian Wazīr, seeing that Ghaṣanfar Jang will imagine that his affairs have been arranged through his intervention. First of all I shall visit the chief minister [of the Abdālī], and do

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11 These are kinds of tents, but, as we are told further on, the first name was applied to the office-tents and the second to the Shāh’s own quarters.
12 Qasrūr is to the S.-E. of Lahor, and the head-quarters of a colony of Khwāshgī Afghānā.
13 He had died on the 1st Bajāb 1169, 31st March 1755, Tāriḫ-i-Muḥammadd, year 1169.
"whatever he directs." Upon this the Maulvi returned to 'Imād-ul-mulk and communicated to him the Mir Şâhib's intentions.

'Imād-ul-mulk said: "I, too, am coming to the chief minister, let the Mir Şâhib make haste, for this is the very hour for seeing that noble." Near sunset the Mir Şâhib mounted, and, taking the sealed bag with the petition and the statements and letters about the present and the requests to be made, arrived at the tent of the chief minister. It was a small tent and the Wazir sat in it with a small and light wrapper (pirâhan) thrown over his body, brocade drawers, and a white fillet (tâqiyâh) round his head. At the door was no door-keeper (hâfiz) or other hindrance. Before him lay a large white bolster (gào-takîyâh) in the fashion of Hindustân. 'Imād-ul-mulk was sitting there too, on one side of the Wazir, and had on a full-skirted coat (jâmak) of blue-coloured brocade, and a parti-coloured turban (šârâh) of figured cloth of the same colour; he sat crouched on his two knees, on the left side of, but even with, the Wazir.

Before the Mir Şâhib had arrived, 'Imād-ul-mulk had made a representation to the chief minister. When the Mir Şâhib entered the tent, he said at once, "Peace be upon thee" and then brought out an offering of four gold coins and five rupees of Farrukhabâd mintage. This gift was accepted. Following this, the Mir, in imitation of the Abdâli nobles, placed his head on the knees of the chief minister, and the minister placed his hand upon the Mir Şâhib's back, raised up his head, and said: "Let your heart be at rest. In the matters for which you have come you will obtain all you desire and be given leave to depart." Then the Mir was told to sit down alongside of 'Imād-ul-mulk. The author was then presented, and I sat down at the side of the Mir Şâhib.

The chief minister asked about the state of Ghaçanfar Jang, the Mahrattah armies, and the fort of Farrukhabâd. The talk finished, he sent for one Mírâ Muṣṭáfâ the Shâh's Secretary, (munshi) and read aloud the letter which was addressed to himself. When he had mastered the contents, he said: "I am now going to an audience with the Shâh; you sit where you are and I will state your case. If you should be for, you must come; or, if the petition of Ghaçanfar Jang only is asked for, you must send it."

At this moment a runner (shâhib) arrived in haste from the Shâh's tent, which had been set up a quarter of a koz away, with an open plain between. The messenger shouted out "Sardârâ! Sardârâ!" that is, "O Chief." On the sound reaching the ear of the chief minister he at once put on his attire as a Kizilbâsh, on his head a hat (kâlah), and on it a jewelled aigrette, with a plume of feathers. He mounted his 'Iraqi horse and hastened to the audience, followed by one man only, who is called a yattâ (servant) The Mir Şâhib and 'Imād-ul-mulk were left sitting at the chief minister's tent.

'Imād-ul-mulk said to the Mir Şâhib: "There is a question that I have long been desirous "of putting to you, give me an answer to it. It is a matter of astonishment to me that a man "like you, a man of purpose and valour, should be on the spot; and yet allow Nawâb ' Ahmed "Khân, in opposition to your advice, to betroth the daughter of 'Ali Quli Khân, the Six- "Fingered, to me and make her over to me."

The Mir Şâhib replied: "I had gone away to Lakhnau and I had told the Nawâb "Shujâ'-ud-daulah to place five hundred horsemen under my orders, and I would bring away the "whole family of 'Ali Quli Khân from Farrukhabâd to Lakhnau. But the Nawâb was inspired "by his mother with fright at Ghâçanfar Jang, and he was also in dread of Your Excellency "(i. e., 'Imād-ul-mulk). Thus, he put off a decision from one day to another. Since I "had no special interest in the subject I, too, withdrew from the project."

(To be continued.)
THE CHUHRAS.

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V. — SUPERSTITIONS.

Omens and Names.

If a Chuhra goes on a journey and meets a mirādi, he goes back. If some one calls after him he goes back. The braying of a donkey meeting him is a good omen. If a washerman meets a man beginning a journey, it is sufficient to send him back, certain of failure if he goes on. Some men are known to carry good fortune, and are sent out to meet travellers.

A Chuhra never steps over a broom. The broom that is used to sweep corn is hung up on a nail in the house. That for ordinary use is placed on a grave, but never upright.

Children are frequently given names arising out of superstitious: thus Kākā is used as a first name. Ghastṭā means dragged, that is, dragged over a dust heap, viṛ. Ṭulā has the same meaning. As the name is one of dishonour, the evil-eye will not fall on the children that bear it. Likār means having half of the head shaved, and the other not; this is to keep the child alive. Nathā means having a ring in the nose, to hold him and keep him from going away, i.e., dying.

Oaths, magic and witchcraft.

The oath by Bālā Shāh is used.

The practice of magic arts is confined to ṭāḍīra and pār. It is the saukra, that bring evil spirits. A person possessed is cured in the following manner: — The ṭāḍīra takes a drum, a ṭāḍīra; or platter and a gharā or earthen jar. The platter is placed over the jar, and the whole is called gharā. The ṭāḍīra beats the drum, another person beats the gharā, and others sing. The sick person shakes his head, and when the music (?) ceases they ask him questions: "Who are you?" "I am so and so," he replies. "How did you come into this state?" "Such and such a one put me into this state." "Who bewitched you?" "So and so." "What did he get for doing it?" "So many rupees." "For how long are you sick?" "I have to be sick so many days, and then die." They play and sing again. After a time the sick man perspires and recovers. The evil spirit goes with the perspiration.

A curious and repulsive cure is used among Hindus and probably others. It is called jāpi or mādā. An unmarried person dies, and his or her body is burnt at the burning ghat. A jāpi takes some of the ashes from the burning pile, goes to the hills for a certain plant, and makes bread of these two ingredients on a grave. The bread is made into pills, one of which is given to a naked childless woman. She gives the pill in a drink to her enemies, and herself has a child. Her barren condition was caused by an evil spirit. Mādā means demon, and burning-place among Hindus.

Jhunda is an iron whip which a ṭāḍīra beats himself with for the sake of another, so that the evil spirit in him may be troubled and flee. They also burn oil in a tapā, iron dish. The ṭāḍīra puts his hand in the hot oil and pours it on his person. The evil spirit feels it, but the ṭāḍīra does not. The ṭāḍīra also beats his body with a millstone. After the sick man recovers, the ṭāḍīra takes a fowl, kills it, dips a string in its blood, knits the string, blows on it, and finally binds it round the sick man’s neck, assuring him that the evil spirit will not come again. If the man goes where there is impurity, sūltān, the virtue in the string disappears.

27 Saukra, — (1) parents-in-law; (2) simpleton, wretch.

28 Gharā, lit. a gong.
Dreams are from evil spirits, and the Chuhras fear them. To dream that a person who is dead is cutting flesh, is an intimation that there will be a death in the house. Muhammadan sayids give the tu'ufa, a charm, to keep away dreams.

The evil eye is universally believed in. Some men are very injurious in this way. If a man with the evil eye looks at any one taking food, sickness follows. To cure this, the sick person asks a bit from the evil-eyed man when he is at a meal. The morsel given acts as a cure. When a cow is sick, and gives no milk, they give her a bit of the evil-eyed man's food.

Sorcerers and witches act on their victim by making a figure of him and torturing the figure by inserting a needle into it. The torture reaches the person who is personated. Nails and hairs are carried away to be subjected to pain that the original owners may be tormented. They are carefully thrown away when cut off, lest any enemy should get possession of them. Women are especially careful in this particular.

Sickness is caused by evil spirits.

Ceremonial prohibition or taboo.

The Chuhras never touch a Gagra, or a Sausul, gipsy. Women and children do not go near graves. The daughter-in-law never mentions the father-in-law's name. Chuhras do not eat monkeys, or snakes, or jackals, or rats.

Agricultural superstitions.

Crops are cut on a Sunday, Monday, or Friday, and sown on a Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday.

If the Chuhras burn a sūp, winnowing sieve or fan, in a village, the farmer is injured. It is a curse — the curse of the poor.

Social customs.

The whole household eat together, but the women eat after the men. If men eat after women they are injured, because women are weak of intellect.

Yā jāth yē jāthā, dhāhī suṣūda pahuchādā. 'Food touched by others and falsehood are both injurious.' They use shādā (strong drink), opium (ṣām, post, bhang) and charas. Drunkards are despised.

Customs of social intercourse.

In salutation, they say paṭīṭ pāh to the great, the answer being tērd bhalā bare Khudd. Also maṭhā tēnd, salām.

Customs bearing on social status.

They eat paṛāḥ among themselves, and bāchā with Gagīra and Sausul. They smoke only among themselves. No caste above them eats with them.

VI. — OCCUPATION.

The original work of the Chuhras.

They were the tanners of the village communities, and used to live in huts at a distance from the village, the walls of which were made of bones, and the roof of skins. When an animal died, the Hindus beat a drum to let them know that they must come and carry off the dead body. Five rupees was the fee given and also a shroud. The Chuhras took off the animal's hide and ate its flesh. Sweeping was also their work.

Formerly, when a Hindu died, the Chuhras received a sheet or bāf (shroud), and they still receive clothes. In the old days they got five rupees at the Hindu burning-place, and
VII.—RELATIONS TO LAND.

Nowadays their work is farm service. They are landless day-labourers on the farm. They are divided into —

(1) The ādhūrī, who gets a mauld of wheat for every māṣi at the harvest; also odd ends. He has ghundāsā, pūr ādās, the barley that is sown in a strip round the wheat field; wheat sown by the water course; bread twice a day; clothes and shoes twice a year; tobacco; vegetables and wood.

(2) The sūp kūlti, who receives three-quarters of a maudi for every māṣi, and bread daily if he goes to a distance to work.

(2) The wife, who takes away dung from the farmyard, receives half a maudi of corn.

It was cow-burying that led to their isolation. They say the Māchhī, the Jīlwar, the Chūhra, the Changār, and the Mirāsī are all of the same caste, but have different occupations.

There is a story told of the Chūhras by Muhammadans and others that does not reflect to their credit. They are believed to be inclined to be uppish and to forget past favours, being ungrateful, and are supposed to work best when they are well beaten, otherwise they take advantage of the kindness of their masters. I give this only as the opinion of their neighbours.

The story is that once on a time the king of the Chūhras met Moses, who was on his way to talk with God. The king of the Chūhras asked Moses to carry a petition to God from him, that he might be enabled to take the usual tax from people passing through his territory. Moses accordingly presented the king's petition, but God said, "Moses you do not know what you are doing, you do not know this people. They will turn on you, and dishonour you in the end." But Moses persevered, and obtained for the Chūhra king what he desired, viz., that he should levy taxes on travellers. The next time Moses passed that way he was accorded in a most humilitating manner. "Oh Muṣri, are you the man that carried a petition for me? You must pay the dues." "Did I not tell you, Moses," said God, "that you would bring dishonour on your head. They have no gratitude."

VIII.—LEGENDARY LOSE.

1. Legend of Rāmsar.

Rām built Rāmsar.
The five Pāṇḍavas came there and rested.
Jasmine, marva and kārād.
Pilled that tank with their essence.
A cow grazing
Came to that pond.
The Pāṇḍavas killed with arrows
The spoiled cow.
They gathered sticks,
And began to roast it.
Bhim got the intestines,
And made a sacred thread of them for himself.
Juḍāhrī got the heart,
He made a trumpet with it.

20 They and others call Moses Mītrā Mūṣā; mītrā being a title of distinction, although used mostly for the Chūhras.
Nukal got the tail,
He made a fan with it.
Sukhdev got the hoofs,
He made sandals of them.
Arjan took the head
And made a crown for his head.
Mother Kunti got the hide,
And made herself a shawl.
And hashing the beef,
Daropty began to cook it on the fire.
In hand a stick, and on shoulder a blanket,
Krishn came up suddenly.
'O faithful brethren, sitting there,
Have you seen my spotted cow?'
'We do not at all know
What your cow was like,'
'It is head was like a deer's,
The hinder part like a red cow.'
All the things Krishn seized
And took away,
And he cursed the Pândjas.
'Go, become Chukrás.
In the Kaljug I will associate with you
When you speak the truth.'

Another Version.

Rām baij Rāmsar.
The five Pândjas came there and rested.
The Pândjas were enjoying their rest,
When a spotted cow came thither,
High-handed were the Pândjas,
And they seized the spotted cow.
When they had sacrificed the cow,
They divided her.
Bhim got the intestines,
And wore them like the Hindus' sacred thread,
Shāhdev got the hoofs,
And wore them as sandals.
Arjan got the head,
And put it on his head for a crown.
Mother Kunti got the hide,
And had it dyed for a shawl.
While the Pândjas were sitting there,
Sri Krishn came up.
'O brothers sitting there, O holy men,
Have you seen my spotted cow?'
'We do not know at all
What your cow was like.'
He spake with his mouth:
'Let him who saw her speak plainly.
Her foreparts were those of a deer,
And her hinder parts were those of a red cow.  
She was like this,  
My spotted red cow.  
The Pândavs were frightened,  
Because they had lied.  
They covered the bones with the hide,  
Placing the bones in their order.  
They spread the hide on them,  
And began to pray:  
'Oh God, have mercy,  
Raise this cow,'  
The cow became alive.  
They showed her to him at once.  
In this place the Brāhmaṇ became a Chuhṛa  
By way of punishment.

2. Legend of the Marriage of Bālmik's Daughter.

Chai, saṁhī, ham naḥāṅ naṁhāṅ.  
Ghar abhīgat adāk de.  
Jhab mīl, Ṛṁ jī.  
Brahma di dēṅ ṃn uṇ kushā ḍāhyā.  
Jhīrā Kumāṁ naḥaun jāṅ.  
Jhab mīl, Ṛṁ jī.  
Agā Jastāṅ bēndā chāndil.  
Jitōṅ Kumāṁ rāṅ puchhāṅ.  
Jhab mīl, Ṛṁ jī.  
'Kībar dyā Brahmanā?  
Tērā kīkār anūṅ ḍōṅ?  
Jhab mīl, Ṛṁ jī.  
Dīr mēṛī uṇ kushā hai ḍāhyā,  
Ham Kumāṁ naḥaṅ de.  
Jhab mīl, Ṛṁ jī.  
'Tērā gharī naḥāṅ tērā.  
Tēṅhōṅ kīkār pahunčhā jāṅ?  
Jhab mīl, Ṛṁ jī.  
'Tērī gharī naḥāṅ mēṛā.  
Maṅ nē ḍōṅ māṛī pahunčhā 'ī'  
Jhab mīl, Ṛṁ jī.  
'Ek jē laṅā maṅ chāpparī ḍassāṅ,  
Tēṅ jī kāre iṅ naḥāṅ jāṅ.'  
Jhab mīl, Ṛṁ jī.  
Kendā di ḍhanna ḍī chāpparī  
Ummā Jastāṅ chā viṅkāṅ.  
Jhab mīl, Ṛṁ jī.  
Pahīṅ tūbbī gāyā Brahmaṅ,  
Rēṅ di muṛī ḍōṅ de.  
Jhab mīl, Ṛṁ jī.  
Duṅ tūbbī gāyā Brahmaṅ,  
Bhar ghuggāṅ di muṛī ḍōṅ de.  
Jhab mīl, Ṛṁ jī.
Titer tubbi gaya Brahmade,  
Lalän ñi mun thë ñë.  
Jhab mil, Ram jë.  
Lalän ñi mun thë jëk let Brahmade,  
Har ji kë darshan pë.  
Jhab mil, Ram jë.  
Har ji kë darshan padë.  
Oh di bëgg dw dëp jëkë dë.  
Jhab mil, Ram jë.  
'Bannë ñid, Brahmade,  
Tërë naheñ ñë haridë?'  
Jhab mil, Ram jë.  
'Iñ choppa Phëngò nahe goë,  
Jhërë na kañk prithëi ñëdë.  
Jhab mil, Ram jë.  
Iñ choppa Gùrë Nânak nihiñtë,  
Jhërë Sëkhë dë gùrë soñdë.  
Jhab mil, Ram jë.  
'Iñ choppa Gërañg nihiñtë,  
Jhërë Tëllë ñë ñëan pëllë.  
Jhab mil, Ram jë.  
Këhë bhagat dë të bëk ñë?  
Tëlë kë ñë nâm ñëhëdë?'  
Jhab mil, Ram jë.  
'Balë Bëlëmik dë mañ bëkk lëhë,  
Mërë Jastri nâm ñëkëtë.'  
Jhab mil, Ram jë.  
'Balë Bëlëmik ñiyë bëkkë,  
Mañ nà ñhëd kël pahunchdë.  
Jhab mil, Ram jë.  
Aggë Jastri të pichë Brahmade.  
Dëkë Bëlëmik kël dë.  
Jhab mil, Ram jë.  
Aggë Bëlëmik ñi kakkëdë ñi bëkë,  
Bëthë ñëan ñëdë.  
Jhab mil, Ram jë.  
Bëthë ñëan ñëvò jëkë,  
Har kë nâm jëpëdë.  
Jhab mil, Ram jë.  

Har ji kë hañdr nâm,  
Lëkë nâm Kishan këd.  
Këshë kë hañdr nâm.  
Padam nâm Binshan këd.  
Aggë Bëlëmik bhagat bëthë  
Jëkë Brahmade vir naxëdë.  
Jhab mil, Ram jë.  
'Tëk këkër ñiyë, Brahemade?  
Tërë këkër amë hëdë?'  
Jhab mil, Ram jë.  
The Brähman dived thrice.  
He brought a handful of precious stones.  
Meet me quickly, O my Lord.  
When the Brähman found the stones,  
He saw God face to face.  
Meet me quickly, O my Lord.  
He saw God face to face,  
And his sins forgiven, he was clean.  
Meet me quickly, O my Lord.  
'Come out, Brähman,  
Your bath is finished.'  
Meet me quickly, O my Lord.  
In this pond the Pândavas will bathe,  
Who will subdue nine parts of the earth.  
Meet me quickly, O my Lord.  
In this pond Guru Nanak will bathe,  
Who will become leader of the Sikhs.  
Meet me quickly, O my Lord.  
In this pond Goraksh will bathe,  
Who will make his temple on Tillsah.  
Meet me quickly, O my Lord.  
'What holy person is your father?  
What name has he given you?'  
Meet me quickly, O my Lord.  
'I am daughter of Balë Bälmik.  
He calls me Jastrì.'  
Meet me quickly, O my Lord.  
'O daughter of Balë Bälmik,  
Take me to him.'  
Meet me quickly, O my Lord.  
Jastrì went on, and the Brähman followed;  
They both came to Bälmik.  
Meet me quickly, O my Lord.  
They came to Bälmik's hut,  
He was seated in contemplation.  
Meet me quickly, O my Lord.  
When he sat down  
He took the name of God.  
Meet me quickly, O my Lord.  

Chorus.  
Har has a thousand names.  
Kishan has a lëkë.  
Këshë has a core.  
Bishan has a padam.  
Where the Saint Bälmik sat  
There the Brähman went and bowed to him.  
Meet me quickly, O my Lord.  
'Why have you come, O Brähman?  
What is your business?'  
Meet me quickly, O my Lord.
In the name of God give me your daughter. She will be a great gift.'
Meet me quickly, O my Lord.

'Why do you take a wrong step, Brahman? Why do you lose your caste?'
Meet me quickly, O my Lord.

'You will eat your food in sacred places. You will set my daughter aside.'
Meet me quickly, O my Lord.

'Your daughter will cook our food, We will not object to eat it.'
Meet me quickly, O my Lord.

They brought kanyā and chāmpā and śākhā. Bāmlāk made a feast.
Meet me quickly, O my Lord.
The gods of the four quarters came. Fairies sang songs of joy there.
Meet me quickly, O my Lord.

Hūris and fairies sang, The stars made a canopy there.
Meet me quickly, O my Lord.

When the stars made a canopy, Then they brought the four Vedas.
Meet me quickly, O my Lord.
The Brāhmaṇ went round the bride once. And a second time.
Meet me quickly, O my Lord.

The Brāhmaṇ went round a third time. And a fourth time.
Meet me quickly, O my Lord.

The Brāhmaṇ went round a fifth time. And a sixth time.
Meet me quickly, O my Lord.
The Brāhmaṇ went round the bride the seventh time.

Praise the name of God.
Meet me quickly, O my Lord.

He finished the seven rounds.
Bāmlāk gave his daughter.
Meet me quickly, O my Lord.

'I take alms from all.
In future I give this right to you.'
Meet me quickly, O my Lord.

When the Brāhmaṇ put her in a palanquin, He took her to home among the Paurāṇas.
Meet me quickly, O my Lord.

From her the Vedvā, the Pūrāṇa, the Bhārata, The Siddrā, and the Dharasta took their name;
Meet me quickly, O my Lord.
IX. — THE TRADITIONS OF THE CHUHRAS.

The Chuhraš have oral traditions which they recite at their gatherings. If a Chuhraš wishes to learn them, he becomes the disciple of some one who is in possession of them, i. e. who can repeat them from memory. I heard, however, that there was a book of the Chuhraš in Gujrānwālā District, but I was unable to obtain it, as the owners had the idea that I would use it to their disadvantage. In the village of Khurdītānrī, in Simīkot, I found a man with a book, which runs as follows:

1. Bala, the Priest of God.

Bālā pīr dyē, dunīyā sē pahīlā autā-
Pātr sēn Brahmā dē pūre chāhī-
Māhē looking āhārā me wā janēhā nā|
Chugīt chugīt gokharī kō pēi murādī.
Kīl ādā dē ān kēlīrā nē ārīdā
Aśīh Brahmā janam dē gāl janēhū tāmīdā
Utē chā rhākhēlā dōre tē lārīdā
Rabbā, sādē bhātīdā dē ḍhākhē bənkē
dē Rabb chhītī līkhē ghalīdū sē kāl bayān
Iṣṭīhān gāyā sēn kāhī huk karmā hambē
dē Tūdadē thīnā suṇād tainā pawādā.
Main khād chaltī apnih te mūh hārdīm arku jādā.
Jhauṃprā jaggī Rabb dē kī jī orjī
dē Sānīhī ghalād ēnjū dē hē ḍhākhē muḥ durū dī
dē Rabbā ghar Brahmānā mōd jām dīnū
dē Maiṁ pāṣāndī sē līkhē thēlī rāsū
Kīl ādā dē ājī Allah Ṭūʾāla māsland lāgā
Chhītī līkhī Bālā pīr dē pūre hath phardī
dē Tūdadē thīnā suṇād tainā dī āt
Imnū kūn hārdīm ākhē! main takkōr chaltī.

The first to come incarnate to the world²⁶
Was priestly Bālā. Brahmā’s sons were four.
With painted mark upon their brows and
twined
About their breasts the sacrificial thread.
The cow while grazing in the meadow green
Fell dead: thereafter round about the cow
They stood and wrangled. ‘Brāhmans born
are we,
We wear the sacred thread, the Hindu garb.
With cords and fringes. Lord, unhappy we.
Bewail this mishap.’ The Lord despatched
A writing bearing full and accurate
Directions. ‘You a compact made when hence
You went, but now grown proud you seek
To shun your duty. You it is that must
Prepare to cast the cow away. ’Twas I
That killed the cow by lawful rite, it is
Not therefore now unclean.” Then Jhauṃprā
prayed.
Oh thou that sendest thy word reveal thyself,
That I may see thee face to face. ’Twas thou
That causedst me to be by birth
A Brāhmaṇ. From the self-same dish with
them
I ate and drank.” Then God Almighty called
Beside the cows a great assembly. Then
Within the hand of Bālā, Priest of God,
Was placed a writing. ‘Then must cast away
The cow — the work is thine. Who dares to
call
That thing unclean which I have duly
cleansed?
The prophets feed on sheep, that feed on
filth,
But on the day of resurrection thou
Shalt sure have praise.’ “Said Bālā, ‘Hindus
then
Will shun me, Mussalmans refuse to read
The burial service over me. How then

²⁶ The translation is not literal, but in verse.
Then Jhaumpra quickly said,

'All is the audience of Almighty God,
A covenant sure make now with me, that in
The day of resurrection, when my people cross
The narrow bridge that spans the mouth of hell,

Thou wilt have mercy on them: only thus
Will I consent to cast away the cow,
Disciples write his prayers and his fame,
Sing forth his glory, loud proclaim his name.

The Lord called Khwaja Khizir to appear,
He summoned him Himself, and then the Lord
Took paper, ink and pen to write, and these
Are of that time distinct memorials.

Great Jhaumpra had his people saved, a work
For him both quick and easy. Khwaja cried,
'Oh Jhaumpra mine, give ear to me. With me
Beside them seated all your Shâhîs must

Give alms. And as they drink the sparkling
water
On every face from out the cup there gleams
The light from immersed silver, this a sign
Shall constant be that Shâhîs enter heaven.
For them there is no fasting; not for them
Are eight day moons, or pilgrimages long
To Mecca. Let disciples clearly tell
The great prerogatives and freedom they
Enjoy. The priest approached the cow; before
The universal world he stood confessed
A Chührâ; yes, a priest beside the cow,
Adorned with sacred cord, and on his brow
The consecrating mark, he stood and doffed
His waist cloth, and his caste marks all.
Hence rose the Chuhra sect and worship, one
And separate. For Jhaunpra thus addressed
His brethren, 'When will you, now tell me true,
Restore me to my place and dignity?
Now promise me.' They promised him that they
Would in four days, and only four, restore
Him to his place among them. So he threw
The cow beyond the sacred precincts far.
The cow was cast away, four days had flown,
When Jhaunpra's brethren dined within the bound
That marked the sacred hearth. 'Your promise now.'
Cried Jhaunpra, 'true fulfil. Admit me.'
'No'
Said they, 'Four ages must elapse before
We can admit thee. Then, our sacred word
We pledge, thou mayest return.' In sudden wrath
With stroke of bow he knocked their turbans off.
Then Jhaunpra, all because he threw the cow
Away, sat excommunicate, the house
Debarred. Night passed in wrangling. Kālak Dās,
His nephew, said, 'He did not eat the cow,
Not even a morsel: why thus have ye cast
Your brother out? He did not touch the cow,
'Twas with his bow he threw the cow away.'
They said, 'Go thou and eat the cow thyself,
We trust not thee nor him—we scorn you both.'
Then Kālak Dās grew angry; in his rage
He stalked towards the cow, and stood to pierce
The carcass of the brute, and so since then
The Chuhras keep the appointed way, to make
A certain cut upon the dead, and use
The formula by God appointed. Then
Went Kālak Dās and found his gentle wife,
His Silavanti wondering. Her time
Was near with child. She wondered why the days
Went by and still no nearer came to her
Deliverance. In wondering thought she said,
'The world is strange as spring time.' So she went.
To seek the midwives. Thus she used to say,
'My time is fully come, the twelfth month now.'

Is past. These things you understand: the womb
With all its states you know: come tell me then
The truth.' The midwives just to please her told
Her stories. 'Tell us now,' they said, 'what month
You bathed. You have forgotten quite. Well then
Have you no pains: no pang have you? No?
Then
Be comforted, you will be happy when
You hear a son.' She sat in thought all night
Upon her cot. She said, 'O Lord, within my womb
What wonder is? All ignorant am I,
A woman knowing nothing. Only Thou
Almighty God knowest all. I trust in Thee
All in her heart she said, 'The world is strange.'

Then Alif Chela spake within the womb.
'Oh mother mine, be follower of my guide.
Disciple of my teacher be, lose not
This happy time, for if 'tis lost to you,
In vain is consequent repentance. See,
On your belief depends our meeting.' 'Son,
She said, 'who is your teacher? I'll prepare
And haste me at the dawn to seek him.'

His village name. Where dwells he? At the dawn
I'll go, and find him though the way be long.'
'My guide and teacher Jhaumprā is,' said he,
'Believe this, mother. Ten times told he will
Become incarnate, bringing glory to the world
In all the teu. His name I will proclaim.
The faith of Kālak Dās, the Chūhra, is
A perfect faith. If any Shāhī read
Muhammad's creed, an unbeliever he
Is branded; and if Bābā Nānak's, he
Shall be rejected; all that do profess
The creed of Bālā straight to heaven shall go.
Disciples have compiled his praises.' Still
The mother reasons with the Chela. 'Child,
What guide will be our helper, how will he
Become incarnate? In what form appear?
If this be true, I will believe, and make
A firm profession.' So disciples wrote
His divers praises. Chela now recounts
The Indian Antiquary.

Kam vēkhā Rabb dē, mātē, Allah dē bā shumār
Pahīlā awādr dēgāl phir nāl rī nāl
Rabb Bālā Adam saujīnd Amma Hava bē nāl
Na zamān dēmā nē, hāi nē jāl jāhā
Na bā vēlā jīrīku sēn na dārgāh radāhā
Na tadā Bālā Adam nē, na Hava radāhā
Tē vīfāt hāi Avvāla, dī chāhē suhādā
In trāc dētē Rabb è dē bādāhā.

2. The One

True God.

Repeat. The Lord Himself these three saints made.
He taught them songs, He gave thus each a creed.
So Fagṭā said, ‘Allah Ilā,’ and Ishwar said,
‘Wah Gurd sah sah!’ only Bālā priest believed
In one true God, and worshipped him. These songs
Disciples have compiled. They sing his name.
For six and thirty ages long the creeds
These three divinities repeated. Then
There were no great assemblages with God.
There was no light, no lamp, no wick; God sat
And made with His own hands His throne.
He said
To Fagṭā, Ishwa, holy ones, ‘I’ve made
A third divinity, associate
With you. The earth a god I make; that done
My work is done. Let there be light in it.’
He said, ‘The wonder I would see.’ But up
Spake Fagṭā, Ishwar, ‘Who is this whom thou
A third divinity associate
With us hast made? Has he, repeating hymns
For ages six and thirty worshipped thee?
All things are known to thee, Almighty One.’
God brought the gods, the three, to Bālā priest,
Who rose, and six times worshipped. ‘Peace
to thee,
O man of God.’ This said the Lord. ‘Peace be
Said Bālā priest, ‘to all the world.’ So brought
The Lord these three together. So a god
The earth He made, a habitation fit
For all His creatures. Lo, the sky He hung
Without ropes and chains; the stars were placed
Like jewels in the sky, that God’s bright light
Might dwell within them. Then a pinch of dust
The Lord put in Muhammad’s hand, and then
In Bālā Nānak’s, but they threw it down,
And muddied the water: thus no sign
Appeared. There was no Granth nor yet Qurēn.
Maddad méi duiñ Khawja hajúr.
Tád pánté jam gúnd phir oshárdá tár
Báli pír kílch chinchíksh大气 bhárpír
Tád Báli pír gúnd dargádh gábar.
Chádá sijádá jórídd námit kí khúsár.
Kálch Dás gúnd kháké, hó baładá dílgir
Ikár màd dá chungíjí dí ssá gódí nír,
Dundgá tê kód ne bárd bárd ne amár tê jágir.

Kési naktí rál vanchádá karmá dá thár
Allah Kálch Dás náñ phír dí díla tát.
Dundgá árd gáuí hái, róval dí phëér.
Aggá painádá báthí húi chalád réd háneríi,
Ummat téri báksháhángí gai man lêch tê méér.
Kálch Dás akhá Rabb náñ, méé kí earband.
Válár ádá ghdádá vicháh níkáldí phër khár tê āhránd.
Méé kán dán léggá, móá hó baładá arkánd.
Kálch Dás galádá lattádá Rabb náld lásbí máśland,
Tú kárá Allah dá nám, téré sáh màth laggé.
Atéh vich na bhalád kí rénd bággé
Tédá buk miñá dí manigy, dorgáh dá aggé.
Jhár mánná auld náld, háv cháké phal laggé.
Kálch Dás ré Ji áló, laggá jay ríchá,
Sará màámd kál dá dán.
Hírdá, lói, jaudlír há kí na ant báyuán.
Chábá laggá chándád na húnári tê señ
Kálch Dás kíld dán tá laggá ahdá tháá
Alyf Chelá náñ phir sañm bándá
Alyf díld láhí jö Rabb dá fajmáan.

But, see, comes Bálá's turn. 'Twas Bálá's soul
Addressed the water. 'Ages thirty-six
I worshipped God. You are my witness. Speak,
Was there a time when I lacked faithfulness?
Come help me now, O Khwája.' Sudden then
The pinch of dust all in the water clear
Took shape — the water surface clothed itself
in green.

Yes, Bálá, priest, cast forth the pinch of dust.
And lo! the earth appeared. So Bálá, priest,
Was high exalted in the court of heaven.
Disciples wrote these stories true. Now turn
To Kálch Dás, who ate the cow. He sat
Apart in sadness. 'I have sucked the breast
Of her who was their mother dear and mine.
Her bosom was my rest as theirs. Many rich
And many poor have been, but never one
Has borne the consequences of the deeds
That others wrought.' But God thus comforts him,
'The world is fleeting: like a fortune told
It comes and goes. The way to heaven
Rough.

And in the darkling night you travel. Still
Thy followers I will save — my word is sure.'
Then Kálch Dás addressed the Lord, 'Aláa!
Provision now for me there's none. A man
Cast out am I. From me none alms will take,
For only they give alms who houses own.'
Such speech had Kálch Dás with God. 'Confess,
The Lord, e'en to the sacrifice of life.
Be not deceived — the white-washed tomb is
Vain.

While thy hands full of dust adored will be
Within the court of heaven. The righteous man
Is like a tree whose every branch bears fruit.'
So Kálch Dás in gladness offered gifts,
Of gold he gave a manand and one-fourth more
To top the flag, and diamonds rare so bright
With rubies red, and jewels rich in tale
Innumerable. Tassels hung in state
Adown the flag, embroidered rich with gold.
So rich a gift gave Kálch Dás, therewith
He beautified the place of prayer. The priest
Was Alif Chela. Alif prayed the prayer
Appointed thus by God. Disciples sang
These songs, compiling them in full. The prayer,
The story, Alif heartily recites.

(Te be continued.)
LACHCHHAN RAJÀṆ KE; OR, THE SIGNS OF ROYALTY IN RAJAS.

I.

Hukm agiyon ko khat mèn likhe;
Jamàbandi sújh farq sè rakhe.
Nigah-dost daurah karè, bár bár,
Siffat sè bolè, nà ho gul ba khár.

A Rájù should issue his instructions in writing,
and must exercise full control over his finances.
He should carefully inspect his kingdom
throughout, never treat his subordinates
harshly, and try to live on amicable terms
with them.

II.

Hans, sardîp, bugh, mîn, mòr attî gîda bhanjî.
Jugal kîg. Guñ dharâ ten guñ bâne lijî.

A king should learn from the swan, heron,
paddy-bird, fish, peacock and vulture. He
should also learn love and unity from pairs of
crows.

Girê parê ho pejwâkê, tek dijê boh bistâr
sincharî.

Those who have fallen into misfortune must
be comforted, while the oppressors should be
punished.

Itû lachchhan râj kê, tab pag gaddi pah dharê.

Only when these qualities are attained by the
king, should he ascend the throne.

H. A. ROSE.

IS THE CULT OF MIAN BIBI PHALLIC?

The article (ante, Vol. XXXIV. p. 125) on the
cult of MIán Bibî, which flourishes in the
Hoshiâpur District of the Punähb, is not easily
explained. In his Settlement Report on the
District Mr. Coldstream says that the image of the
MIán is nude,¹ but in the only two charms which
I have been able to secure from Hoshiâpur the
MIán and his two wives are all represented as
fully clothed. In charm No. 1 the MIán certainly
wears a turban and appears to be fully clothed.
He is squatting on a couch and smoking his
huqqa. The wife on the right seems to be holding
a fan. This charm is rudely stamped on a thin
piece of silver and is considerably worn, so that
it is difficult to conjecture what the objects above
and near the heads of the figures are intended to
be. Below and on the left is conventional
ornamentation.

Charm No. 2 is of a more recent type—or is
at least newer and stamped from a better die.
The MIán is standing up, smoking a huqqa, and
wearing apparently a cap. Both his wives are
fanning him.

That the cult is in its origin a phallic one
I have myself no doubt, but a perusal of the songs
published in the article above referred to may not
leave that impression on every reader's mind, and
it is impossible to be certain as the songs cannot
be said to really prove anything. I have failed to
trace any precise parallel to the cult in d'Alviella's
Migration of Symbols, in Mr. Rendell Harris' 
Cult of the Heavenly Twins, or in Dulaure's Des
Divinités Génératrices.

15th August, 1906.

H. A. ROSE.

¹ "Among the lower class of Musalmans, such as Gújars, and perhaps among the women of the villages generally,
the worship or propitiation of MIán Bibî is common. The MIán Bibî, the old man and his [two] wives, is
represented on silver charms worn on the person, as a nude male figure attended by two females, one waving
a fan (chaser) over him, the other filling his tobacco pipe (huqqa)." See extract in North Indian Notes and Queries,
§ 3 of Vol. IV.
CULT OF MIAN BIBI.

Charms showing Mian Bibi with attendants, worn by devotees.
III. — The Twenty-two Tikás of Jungá (Keônthal), near Simla.

The State of Keônthal is one of the Simla Hill States in the Pañjáb, and its capital, Jungá, so called after the god of that name, lies only a few miles from Simla itself. Besides the main territory of the State, Keônthal is over-lord of five feudatory States, viz., Köti, Théo, Madhán, Gúnd and Ratéh. Excluding these States, it comprises six detached tracts, which are divided into eighteen pargáns, thus:


III. — Pargánd Ráwín, and IV. — Pargánd Pánáar, forming Ráwín taháli.

V. — Pargánd Rámár, and VI. — Pargánd Wákñá, in Jungá taháli.

The three taháli are modern Revenue divisions, but the 22 pargáns are ancient and correspond in number to the 22 tikás, which are described below. It does not appear, however, that each then has its píc and the number may be a mere coincidence. The fondness for the Nos. 12, 22, 32, 42, 52, &c., in the Pañjáb, and, indeed, throughout India, is well-known, and goes back at least to Buddhist times.

The Simla Hill States form a network of feudal states with dependent feudatories subordinate to them and the jurisdictions of the local godlings afford a striking reflection of the political conditions, forming a complex network of cults, some superior, some subordinate. To complete the political analogy, the godlings often have their wáslír or chief ministers and other officials. Perhaps the best illustration of this quasi-political organisation of the hill cults is afforded by the following account of the 22 tikás of Jungá. At the head stands Jungá's new cult. Jungá, it should be observed, is not the family god of the Rájá of Keônthal. That function is fulfilled by the Dévi Tárá. 24

The Cult of Jungá. 25

Legend. — The Rájá of Köti, ahród, had two sons, who dwelt in Nádaun. On the accession of the elder to the throne, they quarrelled, and the younger was expelled the State. With a few companions he set out for the hills and soon reached Jakho, near Simla. Thence they sought a suitable site for a residence, and found a level place at Thagwá in the Köti State. Next morning the Míth, or 'prince,' set out in a palanquin, but when they reached Sanjaní, his companions found he had disappeared, and conjecturing that he had become a dédolí, returned to Thagwá, where they sought him in vain. They then took service with the people of that part. One night a man went out to watch his crop and, resting beneath a kámbí tree, heard a terrible voice from it say, 'lest I fall down!' Panic-stricken he fled home, but another man volunteered to investigate the business and next night placed a piece of silk on the platform under the tree and took up his position in a corner. When he heard the voice, he rejoined 'come down,' whereupon the tree split in half and out of it a beautiful image fell on to the silk cloth. This the man took to his home and placed it in the upper

24 An account of this will be found in Appendix I., attached to this paper.
25 [The family likeness of the legends connected with these hill deities of the extreme North of India to those connected with the "devils" of the Taluwas on the West Coast, very far to the South, is worthy of comparison by the student. See Devil Worship of the Taluwas, ante, Vols. XXIII.—XXVI., 1891—1897. — Ed.]
storey, but it always came down to the lower one, so he sent for the astrologers, who told him the image was that of a dōtī who required a temple to live in. Then the people began to worship the image and appointed a čālī, through whom the god said he would select a place for his temple. So he was taken round the country, and when the news reached the companions of the Nādān prince they joined the party. The god ordered temples to be built at Nain, Bojārī, Thodā, and Kot in succession, and indeed in every village he visited, until he reached Nādān, where the Rājā, his brother, refused to allow any temple to be built, as he already had a family god of his own named Jipūr. Jungā, the new god, said he would settle matters with Jipūr, and while the discussion was going on, he destroyed Jipūr's temple and all its images by lightning, whereupon the Rājā made Jungā his own deity and placed him in a house in his darbār.

Jipūr is not now worshipped in Kočnāthal, all his old temples being used as temples of Jungā who is worshipped in them. Nothing is known of Jipūr, except that he came in with the ruling family of Kočnāthal. 26 He appears to have been only a ājāthārd or ancestor. Jungā has another temple at Pojārī, near Jungā, to which he is taken when ājā is to be celebrated; or when an heir-apparent, ātikā, is born to the Rājā, on which occasion ājā is performed. On other occasions the images made subsequently are alone worshipped in this temple. The ritual is that observed in a Shīwālā and no sacrifice is offered. There are 22 tikhā or "sons" of Jungā. None of these can celebrate ājā or observe a festival without permission from the Jungā temple, and such permission is not given unless all the dues of Jungā's temple are paid. Thus Jungā is regarded as the real god and the others are his children.

The following are the 22 tikhā of Jungā:

1. Kalaur.
2. Manūlī.
4. Dēo Chand.
5. Shanālī.
7. Tīrū.
8. Khatēshwar.
10. Shanē and Jāū.
11. Dhūrū.
15. Rāṭhā.
17. Gaun.
20. Bāl Deo.
21. Rawāl Deo.
22. Kawālī Deo.

1. The Cult of Kalaur.

Legend.—A Brāhmaṇ once fled from Kulthī and settled in Dawān, a village in pargand Rātiśī. There he incurred the enmity of a Kanēt woman, who put poison in his food. The Brāhmaṇ detected the poison, but went to a spot called Bangā Pānī, where there is water, in Dēgaṇ jangal, and there ate the food, arguing that if the woman meant to kill him she would do it sooner or later, and so died, invoking curses on the murdereress. His body disappeared. In the Garhāl-ki-Dhār plain was a ṣāhā plant. One day a Brāhmaṇ of Garāwag observed that all the cows used to go to the plant and water it with their milk, so he got a spade and dug up the bush. He found under it a beautiful image (which still bears the mark of his spade) and took it home. When he told the people what had happened, they built a temple for the idol, and made the Brāhmaṇ its pujārī. But the image, which bore a strong resemblance to the Brāhmaṇ, who had died of the poisoned food, began to inflict disease upon the Kanēt of the place, so that several families perished. Thereupon, the people determined to bring in a stronger god or goddess to protect them from the image. Two Kanēt of the pargand, Dēhīl and Chandī, were famed for their courage and strength, and so they were sent to Lāwī and Pāwī, two villages in Sirmūr State, disguised as faqīrī, and thence they

26 Nevertheless Jungā is not the family god of the Rājā of Kočnāthal. A somewhat similar legend will be found in Appendix II. of this paper.
stole an Mci-koñadà, 'eight-handed,' image of Dëvi, which they brought to Dñawar in Ratésh. The people met them with music and made offerings to the stolen image, which they took to Wàlan, and there built a temple for it, ceasing to worship Kalaur. The plague also ceased. The people of one village, Gharéj, however, still affect Kalaur.

2. The Cult of Manûni.

Manûni is Mahâdéo, and is so called because his first temple was on the hill of Manûn.

Legend. — A Brâhman of Parâlì, in the Jamrót pargând of the Pátîla hill territory, a pujârî of Dëvî Dharma, and others, went to buy salt in Mândî, and on their way back, halted for the night in Mâhûm Nág's temple at Mâhûm in the Suñkât State. The Brâhman and the pujârî, with some of the company who were of good caste, slept in the temple, the rest sleeping outside. The pujârî was a chûla of the god Dharma, at that time a famous dëta, revered throughout the northern part of the Kôngâthal State. On starting in the morning, a swarm of bees settled on the baggage of the Brâhman and the pujârî, and could not be driven off. When the party reached Mundà, where the temple of Hanumân now stands, the swarm left the baggage and settled on a dûn tree. Here, too, the pujârî fainted and was with difficulty taken home. The astrologers of the pargând decided that a god had come from Suñkât and wished to settle in that part, and that unless he were accommodated with a residence the pujârî would not recover. Meanwhile the pujârî became possessed by the god and began to nod his head and declare that those present must revere him (the god), or he would cause trouble. They replied that if he could overcome the god Dharma, they would not hesitate to abandon that god, though they had revered him for generations. Upon this 'a bolt from the blue' fell upon Dharma's temple and destroyed it, breaking all the idols, except one which was cast into a tank in a cave. The pujârî then led the people to Mundâ, where the bees had settled and directed them to build a temple at the place where they found ants. Ants were duly found in a square place on Manûn hill, and a temple built in due course; but when only the roof remained to be built, a plank fell off and settled in Parâlì. Upon this the pujârî said the temple must be built there, as the god had come with a Brâhman of that place, and so a second temple was built and the image placed in it. That at Manûn was also subsequently completed, and a third was erected at Kôt Dharma. The cult also spread to Nala, in Pátîla territory, and to Bâjî State, and temples were erected there. The Brâhmans of Parâlì were appointed Bhôjks and the pujârîs of Kôt Dharma pujârîs of the god. Meanwhile the image of Dharma remained in the tank into which it had fallen. It is said that a man used to cook a ròt (a large loaf) and throw it into the water as an offering, requesting the god to lend him utensils, which he needed to entertain his guests. This Dharma used to do, on the condition that the utensils were restored to the pool when done with. But one day the man borrowed 40 and only returned 29 plates, and since then the god has ceased to lend his crockery. Beside the god's image is another, that of a bîr or spirit, called Tondâ. Tondâ used to live at Parâlì in a cave which was a water-mill, and if anyone visited the mill alone at night he used to become possessed by the bîr, and, unless promptly attended to, lose his life. But once the pujârî of Manûni went to the mill, and by the help of his god resisted the attempts of the bîr to possess him. In fact, he captured the bîr, and having laid him flat on the grind-stone sat on him. Upon this, the bîr promised to obey him in all matters if he spared his life, and so the pujârî asked him to come to the temple, promising to worship him there if he ceased to molest people. The bîr agreed and has now a separate place in the temple of Manûni, whose wâyâ he has become.

3. The Cult of Kanêti.

Legend. — After the war of the Mâdhâbhârata, when the Pâñjâvas had retired to the Bûdhri Nâth hills to worship, they erected several temples and placed images in them. Amongst others they established Kanêti in a temple at Kwâra, on the borders of Garâhvâl and Bâshahr, and there are around this temple five villages, which are still known as the Pâñjâvas. Doûra and Kwâra are two of these. The people of the former wanted to have a temple of their own, but those of Kwâra objected
and so enmity arose between them. The Dödra people then stole an image from the Kwara temple, but it disappeared and was found again in a pool in a cave. It then spoke by the mouth of its chêla and declared that it would not live at Dödra and that the people must quit that place and accompany it elsewhere. So a body of men, Kanêts, Köls, and Türls, left Dödra and reached Dağôn, in Keôňthal State, where was the temple of Jîpur, the god of the Râjâ's family. This temple the new god destroyed by lightning, and took possession of his residence. The men who had accompanied the god settled in this region and the cult of Kanêti prospered. Atchâ, a Brâhma, was then wari of Keôňthal, and he made a vow that if his progeny increased, he would cease to worship Jîpur and affect Kanêti. His descendants soon numbered 1,500 houses. Similarly, the Bhalâ tribe made a vow to Kanêti, that if their repute for courage increased, they would desert Jîpur.

4. The Cult of Dôo Chand.

Legend. — Dôo Chand, the ancestor of the Khanogó sept of the Kanêts, was wari of Keôňthal and once wished to celebrate a jag, so he fixed on an auspicious day and asked for the loan of Jungâ's image. This the pujârîs refused him, although they accepted his first invitation, and asked him to fix another day. Dôo Chand could not do this or induce the pujârîs to lead him the image, so he got a blacksmith to make a new one, and celebrated the jag, placing the image, which he named Dôo Chand after himself, in a new temple. He proclaimed Dôo Chand subordinate to Jungâ, but in all other respects the temple is under separate management.

5. The Cult of Shanêtî.

There are two groups of Kanêts, the Painôl or Painûl and the Shaintî. Owing to some dispute with the pujârîs, the Shaintîs made a separate god for themselves and called him Shanêtî.

6. The Cult of Mahûnphâ.

The Chibhar Kanêts of Jâtil pargand borrowed an image of Jungâ and established a separate temple.

7. The Cult of Tirû.

Legend. — Tirû is the god of the Jatik people, who are a sept of the Brâhmans. A Tirû Brâhma went to petition the Râjâ and was harshly treated, so he cut off his own head, whereupon his headless body danced for a time. The Brâhmans then made an image of Tirû and he is now worshipped as the jathâra of the Jatiks.

8. The Cult of Khântehwar.

The Brâhmans of Bhakar borrowed an image of Jungâ and built a separate temple for it at a place called Kôti, whence the god's name.


The Nawâwan sept of the Kanêts brought this god from pargand Ratêsh and built his temple at Charût, whence the god's name.

10. The Cult of Shanêtî and Jâû.

Jungâ on his birth made a tour through the Keôňthal territory, and, having visited Shaint and Jâû villages, ordered temples to be built in each of them. Shanêtî is subordinate to Jungâ, and Jâû to Shanêtî. Both these temples are in the village of Kôti.

11. The Cult of Dhûrû.

A very ancient god of the Jai pargand of Keôňthal. All the samûndârs, who affected Dhûrû, died childless. The temple is financed by the Râjâs and the god is subordinate to Jungâ.

12. The Cult of Kélthi.

The Chibhar sept of the Kanêts affect this god. His temple is at a place called Kawâثل.

Legend. — The image of this god came, borne on the wind, from Nādaun after Jungā’s arrival in the country. It first alighted on Jhako and thence flew to Nēōg, where it hid under a rice-plant in a paddy-field. When the people cut the crop they spared this plant, and then turned their cattle into the fields. But all the cattle collected round the plant, from under which a serpent emerged and sucked all their milk. When the people found their cows had run dry, they suspected the cowherd of having milked them, and set a man to watch her. He saw what occurred, and the woman then, enraged with the plant, endeavoured to dig it up, but found two beautiful images, (they both still bear the marks of her sickle). The larger of these two is considered the Rājā and is called Dhanūn (? from Dhan, rice), and the smaller is deemed the wāstr and is called Wano (meaning “tyrant” in the Pahārī dialect). This was the image which assumed a serpent’s shape and drained the cows. Two temples were erected to these images, but they began to oppress the people and compelled them to sacrifice a man every day, so the people of the pargānd arranged for each family to supply its victim in turn. At last, weary of this tyranny, they called in a learned Brāhmaṇ of the Bharobho sept, who induced the god to content himself with a human sacrifice once a month, then twice and then once a year, then with a he-goat sacrificed monthly, and finally, once every six months, on the tithīs of Ḍār and Khaṭāk suṃ. The Brāhmaṇ’s descendants are still pujāris of the temple and parādīs of the village, and they held Bhiyār free of revenue until Rājā Chandr Sain resumed the grant. They now hold Sīgar in lieu of service to the god.


Dūm has a temple in Katian, a village of Phāgu tahsil, and goes on tour every five or ten years through Keōnthal, Kuthār, Mahāgāt, Bashāhīr, Köj Khāl, Jubbal, Khanār, Bāghal, Kēt and other States. In Sambat 1150 he visited Delhi, then under the rule of the Tuṅwars, many of whom, after their defeat by the Chaubhās, fled to these hills, where they still affect the cult of Dūm. He is believed to possess miraculous powers and owns much gold and silver. He became subordinate to Jungā, as the god of the State.

15. Rāthā.

This god has a temple in pargānd Parālī.


He is the deity of the Doli Brāhmaṇs.

17. Gāun.

The image is that of Jungā, who was established by the Rawal people.

18. Bījū.

Bījū was originally subordinate to the god Bījat, but as he was in the Keōnthal State, he became subordinate to Jungā. His real name is Bīlēshwar Mahādeō, or Mahādeō the Lightning God, and his temple stands bīhī Chandī in the Jubbal State.

Nos. 19, 20, 21 and 22.

Regarding No. 19, Kūsheti Dēo; 20, Bāl Dēo; 21, Rawāl Dēo; and 22, Kawāl Dēo, no particulars have been discovered.

The Fairs.

It must be understood that the above are not the only cults which prevail in the Keōnthal State. For instance, fairs called ḫāl or ḫālī are observed at Garēn and Bhalāwag in this State, and, as will appear from the following accounts, other godlings are popular within its borders.
I. — The Zâl Fair at Garhun in Pargana Ratâsh.

This fair is held on the 29th of Jêth. The images of the Dêvi Ratâsh and Kâlîwa dâoti are brought in procession from the temple, where they are kept, to Garhun, 400 or 500 persons accompanying them; and of these some 50 remain at Garhun for the night, the rest returning home. By mid-day next day a great crowd of people collects, the men coming in bodies from opposite directions, each man armed with a bow and arrow and flourishing a dângârā (axe), with a band of musicians preceding them. A man in one of these bodies shouts:—Thâdâiri rd bhâshâ, avam jî jhâmakâs lâgî thi.27 hâ hâ, I hunger for a shooting-match: come, the fair has started; hâ, hâ. The others call out hâ hâ in reply. The tune called a thâdâiri is then sung, and matches are arranged between pairs of players. One champion advances with his arrow on the string of his bow, while the other places himself in front of him, keeping his legs moving, so as to avoid being hit. The archer’s object is to hit his opponent below the knee, and if he succeeds in doing so he takes a dângârā in his hand and dances, declaring that a lion’s whelp was born in the house of his father at his home. The man who has been hit is allowed to sit down for a time to recover from the pain of the wound, and then he in turn takes a bow, and placing his hand on his opponent’s shoulder says ‘bravo, now it is my turn, beware of my arrow.’ If he hit his opponent he, too, dances in the same way, but if he fails his victor dances again crying, ‘how could the arrow of such a jackal hit a tiger’s cub?’ This goes on until one or the other is beaten. The matches are usually arranged between men who are at enmity with one another. The play lasts for two days. Sometimes disturbances break out. These used to be serious, even resulting in men being killed on either side, but nowadays a stop is put to the play, if a disturbance is feared, by pulling down the dâoti’s flag, when the players desist of their own accord.

On the third day a great and two buffaloes, all males, are sacrificed to Dêvi. The latter are killed in the same way as those at the Târâb Fair,28 but the shambles are at a distance from the temple, and two picked men take their stand, one on the road to Fâgni, the other on that to Ratâsh, to prevent the wounded animals going towards their respective villages, as it is believed that it is unlucky for one of them to reach either village, and drowned often results from the attempts of the different parties to keep the animals away from their village. Efforts have been made to induce the people to allow the buffaloes to be killed by a single blow, but the pujiâris will not allow this, as being the offsprings of Dêvi’s enemies, they must be slaughtered with as much cruelty as possible. After this rite the people make offerings to Dêvi, the money going to the temple fund, while the other things, such as grain, goats, &c., are divided among the pujiâris. The châlô of the Dêvi then begins to nod his head (khânând, lit. to play), and taking some grains of rice in his hand, distributes them among the people, saying, ‘you have celebrated my fair without disturbances, and I will protect you against all misfortunes throughout the year.’ If, however, any disturbance has occurred during the fair, the offenders are made to pay a fine on the spot to obtain the Dêvi’s pardon, otherwise it is believed that some dire catastrophe will befall them, necessitating the payment of a still heavier fine. The Dêvi passes the night at the fair, returning to her temple on the morning of the fourth day.

II. — The Zâl Fair, Bhalâwag.

This fair is held at Bhalâwag on the first Sunday in Har. There is a legend that a sâdhâ once lived on the Châhâl hill. He was famous for his miraculous feats, and was said to be a sâdhâ. He built a small temple to Mahâdêo on the hill, and established a fair, which was held continuously for some years. The offerings made at the temple were utilized to meet the expenses of the institution. After the Gurkha conquest this tract was ceded to the Mahârsâja of Patiâla in the time of Bâjâ Raghunâth Sain. Once Râna Sansâr Sain visited the fair, but a dispute arose, and the Patiâla officials having used unbecoming words against the Râna, he removed the ling of Mahâdêo to his

27 Lit., ‘you hunger after archery, come on, since you itch for it.’ Thâdâiri, fr. ñhâda, an arrow, means archery, and one of the tunes or modes of the hill music is so called, because it is played at archery meetings.

28 [See Appendix I, below.]
own territory and established it at Bhalavag, and since then the fair has been held there. It only lasts one day. The Rajá, with his Rûfs, &c., sets out with great pomp to the scene of the fair, the procession being headed by a band, and reaches the place about mid-day. People pour in from all parts, and by two in the afternoon the fair is in full swing. The Rajá takes his seat on the side of a tank, into which people dive and swim. A wild loo is also thrown into it as a scapegoat (bhêh) and some people throw money into it as an offering. In the temple of Mahádå, gîla, grain, and money are offered by the people according to their means. The pujârs of the temple, who are Brâhmanas, divide the offerings among themselves. Worship is performed there daily, and on the ñaukânt days Brâhmanas of other villages come there to worship. On the fair day worship is performed all day long. People also give the offerings they have vowed.

There is a legend about this tank, which is as follows:—Once a Brâhman committed suicide in a Rajá's darbâr. In consequence of this hattiâd (a profane act, especially the killing of a Brâhman), the Rajá became accursed. He tried by all the means in his power to remove the curse, but in vain, for if he had a child born to him, it soon died, and though he performed worship and tried many charms and amulets, it was all of no avail. An astrologer then told him that as a Brâhman-hattiâd had been committed in his darbâr, he would never be blessed with a son, unless he sank eighty-four tanks at different places in his realm for watering of kine. The Rajá accordingly constructed eighty-four tanks at different places in the hills from Tajaur to Mattiana. Of these tanks some were very fine, and one of them is the tank in question. After making all the tanks, the Rajá sent for the builder, and, being much pleased with his work, gave him as a reward, that he asked for. But people then became envious of the kindness shown to him by the Rajá, fearing that he would be elevated to the rank of musâhib (courtier), and so they told the Rajá that if the builder did the same kind of work anywhere else, the Rajá's memory would not be perpetuated and that steps should be taken to prevent this. The Rajá said that this was good advice, and that, of course, he had already thought of it, so the builder was sent for, and although he tried to satisfy the Rajá that he would never make the same kind of tank at any other place, the Rajá paid no heed to his entreaties and had his right hand amputated. Thus disabled, the man remained helpless for some time, but having recovered, it struck him that with his skill he could do some work with his left hand, and he, accordingly, built two temples, one at Jâhpâ Dêvî and the other at Saddh, both now places in Patiala territory. When the Rajá heard of this, he at once went to see the temples, and was so delighted with their work that he gave a reward to the builder, but at the same time had his other hand cut off, and the man died a few days after. It is said that after the making of the tanks, the Rajá celebrated a jag on a very large scale, and four years after was blessed with a sthîd (son).

APPENDIX I.

Dêvi Tàma of Tàrab.

This Dêvî is the family deity of the Rajá of Koonjhal, and her arrival dates from the advent of the Rajá's family in this part of the hills. Her legend is as follows:—Târâ Nath, a jagî, who had denounced the world and was possessed of miraculous power, came to Târab to practise austerities. He kindled his fire, dhûndh, in the jungle. When rain come, not a drop fell on his sitting place (dasan), and it remained dry. Hearing of the supernatural deeds of the jagîr, the Rajá went to visit him. The jagî told the Rajá to erect a temple to his goddess, Târâ Mâl, on the hill, and to place her idol in it, predicting that this act would bring him much good, and that it was only with this object that he had taken up his abode on the hill. In compliance with these directions, the Rajá ordered a temple to be built, in which the jagî Târâ Nath placed the Dêvî's idol according to the rules set forth in the Hindu Shâstras for asthâpan, 'establishing an idol.' The Pato Brâhmanas, who attended the jagî, were appointed pujârs of the temple. This Dêvî has eighteen hands, in each of which she holds a weapon, such as a sword, spear, &c., and she is mounted on a tiger. The hill on which the jagî resided had, before his arrival, another name, but it was re-named Târab after him.
As the Dēvi is the family deity of the Rājā, she is revered by all his subjects, and it is well known that whoever worships the Dēvi will prosper in this world in all respects. It is also believed that she protects people against epidemics, such as cholera and small-pox. It is likewise believed that if the Dēvi be angry with anybody, she causes his cattle to be devoured by hyenas. These sanmādri of pargāṇḍa Kalānj and Khushālā have the sincerest belief in the Dēvi. Whenever sickness breaks out, the people celebrate jagī in her honour, and it is believed that pestilence is thus stayed. Some nine or ten years ago, when cholera appeared in the Simla District, some members of the Jungā Darārdā fell victims to the disease, but the Rājā made a vow to the Dēvi, and all the people also prayed for health, whereupon the cholera disappeared. The people ascribe the death of those who died of it to the Dēvi’s displeasure. Some four years ago, and again last year, small-pox visited pargāṇḍa Kalānj, but there was no loss of life. Some two or three years ago hyenas killed numbers of goats and sheep grazing in the jungles round Tārab, and the Dēvi revealed the cause of her displeasure to the people, who promised to celebrate a jagī in her honour. Since then no loss has occurred.

Close to the temple of Dēvi is another, dedicated to Śiva, which was erected at the instance of the jātī Tārā Nath. The first temple of the Dēvi was at Ganpāri village in pargāṇḍ Khushālā. This still exists, and the usual worship is performed in it. The Dēvi’s original seat is considered to be Tārab. Her oldest image is a small one.

There is a legend that Rājā Bālār Sain placed in the temple at Tārab an idol made by a blacksmith named Gosān, under the following circumstances: One Bhāwānī Daṭ, a pāṇḍit, told Rājā Bālār Sain that as Tārab was a sacred place he ought to present an idol to it, which he (the pāṇḍit) would place in the temple according to the Hindu ritual, and he added that the idol would display miracles. Accordingly the Rājā ordered Gosān to make the idol required. The blacksmith made an earthen image of the shape suggested to him by the pāṇḍit, who told the Rājā that while the idol was being moulded, he must offer five sacrifices. This the Rājā did not do, and moreover he had a brazen image prepared. Immediately after the blacksmith had completed his idol, he was attacked by a band of dacoits, who killed him with two of his companions, as well as a dog and a cat. Thus the five necessary sacrifices were fulfilled. The Rājā was then convinced of the veracity of the pāṇḍit’s statement and acted thenceforward according to his directions. He performed all the requisite charities and sacrifices, and, having seated the idol, took it to Tārab. He performed several hawamis in the temple and placed (asthāpīna) the idol in it. This Dēvi is the one who is mentioned in the Chandīti pūṭṭha by Mārkaṇḍā Rāshi, who killed Mahā Kāhāshōr.

The Fair of Dēvi Tāra is held at Tārab in October on the Durgā ashtāmi, and lasts for a day. On the first navrāṭ, the Brāhmans worship Durgā in the temple, and a he-goat is sacrificed daily, the Rājā bearing all expenses. On the morning of the ashtāmi, the Rājā, with his Rāni and all his family, sets out from his court so as to reach the plain below the temple at ten in the morning, and there takes a meal; after which the whole Court goes in procession, preceded by a band of musicians, to the temple, which the Rājā, with the Rāni, enters at about one in the afternoon. The Rājā first offers a gold mohar and sacrifices a he-goat, and each member of his family does the same. Everyone presents from one to eight annas to the bōhīkī and the pujārī. After the ruling family has made its offerings, other people may make theirs, and money, fruit, flowers, grh and grain are given by everyone according to his means. The bōhīkī and the pujārī divide the heads of the slaughtered goats, returning the rest of the flesh to the persons who offered them. This worship lasts till four, and then the sacrifice of bull-buffaloes begins. These are presented by the Rājā as sankalp or alms, and taken to a place not far from the temple, where a crowd of people surround them with sticks and hatchets in their hands. The pujārī first worships the animals, making a tilak with rice and saffron on their foreheads. Boiling water is then poured on them to make them shiver, and if that fails, cinders are placed on their backs. This is done to each animal in turn, and unless each one trembles from head to foot it is not sacrificed. The people

23 [This reference is clearly meant to be classical, and for Mahā Kāhāshōr read Mahāśākara. — Ed.]
stand round entreating the Đëvî with clasped hands to accept the offerings, and when a buffalo shivers it is believed that the Đëvî has accepted his sacrifice. The people then shout Đëvî-jî ki jai, jai, 'victory to the Đëvî.' When all the buffaloes have been accepted by the Đëvî, the first is taken to the shambles and a man there wounds him with a sword. Then all the low-caste people, such as the Chamârâs, Këlîs, Bharos, and Akhàs, pursue the animal, striking him with their clubs and hatchets and making a great outcry. Each buffalo is brutally and cruelly killed in this way, and it is considered a meritorious act to kill them as mercilessly as possible, and if the head of any buffalo is severed at the first stroke of the sword, it is regarded as an omen that some evil is impending, and that both the person who inflicts the blow and the one who makes the sacrifice will come to harm in the course of the ensuing year, the belief being, that as the buffaloes are the children of the Đëvî's enemies, it is fitting to kill them in this way.

After this sacrifice, food is offered to the Đëvî, and driti is performed at six in the evening.

The fair is the occasion of much merriment and even debauchery. Women of all classes attend, unless they are secluded (parâd nishân), and those of loose character openly exact sweetmeats and money for the expenses of the fair, from their paramours, and put them publicly to shame if they do not pay. The plain is a sanctuary, and no one can be arrested on it for any offence, even by the Râjâ, but offenders may be arrested as soon as they quit its boundaries and shed, the fines being credited to the temple funds. Offences are, however, mostly connived at. There is much drinking and a good deal of immorality, with a great many petty thefts. The Râjâ, with his family, spends the night on the site of the fair. The bhâjâ and the pujaî, who, with the bhandârî, receive the offerings received at the fair, are Sarût Brâhmans of the Rai-Bhât group, while the bhandârî is a Kanât. Brâhman girls are also brought to this temple, where they worship and are fed, and also receive money and dachhâd (dakkha).

On the third day of the Dasahî, the goddess is worshipped at 2 p.m., in the darbâr, all the weapons being first taken out of the arsenal and worshipped, and then all the musical instruments. The essential worship is that of the sword and flag. After this the Râjâ holds a darbâr with full ceremonial and then visits the temple of Thâkurît Lachhît Nârîyân, whence the image is brought in a palanquin, while the Râjâ walks just behind it, attended by all his officials, in order of precedence, to the plain set apart for this festival. On this plain a heap of fuel is piled at a short distance from a green tree, which is adorned with small flags and round which is tied a wreath containing a rupee. The Râjâ with unsheathed sword goes round the heap, followed by the rest of the people, and the heap is then worshipped and set fire to. It is essential that the wasîr of the State should be present at this ceremony, and if he is unavoidably absent, a representative, who wears an iron sunjûd, is appointed, and the heap is then fired. The man who cuts the wreath on the tree in the midst of the burning fire and takes the rupee is considered a hero, and his prosperity during the ensuing year is assured. Before the heap is fired, a pitcher of water with a mark on it on it is placed close by, and whoever receives the mark is deemed lucky, besides receiving a prize from the Râjâ. If no one is able to hit it, the man who represents Hanûmân, and who accompanied the idol, smashes the pitcher with his mace. The image is then carried back to its temple with the same pomp as before, and a turban is given to the Râjâ on behalf of the Thâkurdwârî, while his attendants are given bhoj and charmârî. Wreaths of flowers are then distributed. The festival is believed to commemorate the conquest of Ceylon by Râm Chandar, the ancestor of the Râjputs, which was accomplished after worshipping Đëvî.

A somewhat similar festival is the Sôr Fair held at Kiad Ashtî: — On the morning of the first of Assan, a barber, having lighted a lamp in a thât (plate) and made an idol of Ganâch in cow-dung, comes to the Râjâ and his officials and makes them worship the idol. The Râjâ and

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29 Mâlî Khaîshwa, Mahâsâmûrî, who tormented the Đëvî, was a bull-buffalo, and, when he was killed, his descendants were metamorphosed into bull-buffaloes.
31 A fee for spiritual service.
32 The stack is called laikd.
officials then give him presents according to their means. In the afternoon, the Râjâ gives alms, and, accompanied by a procession with a band and his Rûnâ, sets out for Khâd Ashul. The inhabitants of the neighbouring villages assemble there in thousands to enjoy the sight. Some fighting bull-buffaloes, which have been reared for the purpose, are brought to the fair the day before and fed up with ghâ, &c. The Râjâ himself rears six or eight buffaloes for this fair, and they are similarly prepared for the fight. The fair begins at one in the afternoon, when the he-buffaloes are set to fight in pairs, and the person whose buffalo wins is given a rupee as a reward by the Râjâ. So long as the fight lasts, music is played.

The people at the fair distribute sweetmeats, &c., among their friends and relatives. Swings too are set up and the people revel in drink. They can commit disturbances with impunity, as no offenders are arrested on this occasion. Many people from Simla bring haberdashery for sale, and the articles are largely purchased by women. At five the people begin to disperse, and the Râjâ returns to his darâbâr. About 6,000 or 7,000 persons assemble at this fair, and the Râjâ distributes rewards among his servants on its termination. Its introduction is due to the Râjâ, and it is not held in honour of any particular god. The place where the fight takes place is dedicated to the god Budmûn. Formerly rams were also made to fight, but now only bull-buffaloes are used. Before the commencement of the fight, a rât is given to the god. This rât is made of b of ean of flour, b of gur, and b of ghâ. The flour is first kneaded in shorbat of gur and then made into a thick loaf, which is then fried in ghâ. When it is cooked, it is taken with dhâp, tilak, flowers and rice to the place of the god, and after worship has been performed, it is divided in two, one piece being left at the temple and the other distributed among the people.

According to one legend, this fair was instituted by the forefathers of the Râjâ, who originally came from Gaur in Bengal and were an offshoot of the Sain dynasty. This festival is also observed in that country. It is said that the Râjâs of the Sain dynasty were the devotees (upâsak) of the Dêvî, who rejoices in fighting and the sacrifice of bull-buffaloes. Although this fiction is not generally accepted, the story is told by men of advanced age, and the lake Râjâ Malâr Sain also ascribed the fair to this origin. It is said that that Biru dôta is the wasir of the Dêvî, and therefore the fair is held at the place where there is a temple of the Dêvî or Biru. It is also said that the day of the fair is the anniversary of that on which Râjâ Râm Chandar constructed the bridge to Ceylon, and that the fair is held in commemoration of that event. In the everyday speech of the hill people Biru dôta is called Budmûn dôta.

APPENDIX II.

The Goddess Ath-Bhôjâ of Dharâch.

Legend.—A Râjâ of Kôtêlëhî in the Kângâra District, named Jaspâl, had two sons. The elder succeeded to the throne, and the younger, in consequence of some dispute, quitted the dominions of his brother, went to the hills, and took the name of Gajindar Pûl. On leaving Kôtêlëhî, he brought with him an eight-handed image from the fort of Kângâra, and came to Bhajîl, where he begot four sons, Chirî, Chánd, Lôgû, and Bhôgû. On his death, these four partitioned his dominions thus: Chirî took the ílôga of Bhajîl, and Chánd that of Kôtî, while Lôgû and Bhôgû received pargand Phûgû in jôgîr. The descendants of Chirî and Chánd are to this day the Rânâs of Bhajîl and Kôtî respectively. Bhôgû married, and three families of his descendants, Marchtak, Phâlîk, and Halîtak, still exist in pargand Phûgû. Lôgû did not marry, but became a dacoit. In those days the country round Phûgû was under the Rânâ of Ratês. Harassed by Lôgû's raids, the people complained to the Rânâ, but Lôgû was strong and brave and the Rânâ could not capture him. At last he commissioned a Chandâl to kill Lôgû, promising him a reward if he succeeded, but though the Chandâl pursued Lôgû for some time, he failed to seize him. Lôgû had a lâison with a Brahman girl, and one day she was sitting with him under a tree, when the Chandâl chanced to pass by, and, taking Lôgû off his

28 Chandâl is a low caste in the hills.
guard, smote off his head and carried it to the Rānā, leaving his body at Hohān village, but the corpse of its own accord went to Dhar, a village surrounded by a rampart and with only one entrance, which was closed at the time. The headless body pushed open the gate, and entered the village. When the people saw it all smeared with blood, they were terrified and gathered together, but the body disappeared, and though they searched for it, they could not find it. At last they discovered a stone pindīt (an idol having no special shape). On consulting the astrologers, they were told, that Lōgū had been transformed into a dīvī and that they should place (asthāpya) the pindīt in a temple and worship it as a god. Then Bhāgī and other samindārs established the eight-handed Dēvi, which Lōgū's father had brought from Kōlēhr, at Kīliyā in Dihāraj village and placed Lōgū's pindīt in the jungle of Dāwān. The Brāhmans who had come with the Rājā of Kōlēhr's sons were appointed pujāris of both deities, and it was then decided that Dēvi was the superior and that Lōgū was her subordinate. Shortly afterwards several brazen images of Lōgū were made and a handsome temple built to him in Bakhāq village, where he is daily worshipped. In Dāwān hamlet he is worshipped once every three years.

A fair is held at Dēvi's temple on the Durgā asātwā day and at that of Lōgū on the Salānī, i.e., the pāramādhi of Sāwan suti, and at the Diwālī in the month of Kātak.

(To be continued.)

AHMAD SHĀH, ABDĀLĪ, AND THE INDIAN WAZĪR, 'IMĀD-UL-MULK (1766-7).

(Contributed by William Irvine, late of the Bengal Civil Service.)

(Continued from p. 18.)

Next 'Imād-ul-mulk began to talk about the invasion of the Shāh and his own calamities at the coming of the Shāh to Shāhjahānābād, telling the story with all its details. His account was as follows:

IMĀD-UL-MULK'S STORY.

The daughter of Mir Manūn, son of Nawāb Qamar-ud-dīn Khān, Muhammad Shāh's Wuzzr, was betrothed to me. Then Mir Manūn met his death at Lābor.19 His widow, by the medium of a woman in the Shāh's (the Abdālī's) family, with whom she had some sort of relationship or connection, wrote a letter to the Shāh, setting forth her unprotected condition. The Shāh was touched and said he would adopt Mir Manūn's widow as his daughter. He ordered certain jāgres to be left in her possession and added some tracts of land as a gift from himself.

As Mir Manūn's daughter had already been betrothed to me ('Imād-ul-mulk), her mother wrote to me: "The feast for the marriage of my daughter remains to be performed. You "can either come here [Lābor], or send for us [to Dihī], so that this business may be carried "through." But the Begam added that she could not come to Dihī without the permission of the Shāh. In reply I wrote to her: "Get permission from the Shāh and come yourself to Shāhjahānābād." The Begam submitted this proposal to the Shāh, and permission to leave Lābor having been granted, she reached Shāhjahānābād two years ago.

In the interval mention began to be made [to me, 'Imād-ul-mulk] of the daughter of "Ali Quli Khān; and the other matter [of the marriage to Mu'in-ul-mulk's daughter] was

19 Mu'in-ul-mulk (Manu) met his death at Lābor by a fall or by poison on the 9th or 14th Muḥarram, 1167 H., 3rd or 6th Nov. 1753. 'Imād-ul-mulk is telling the story in 1169 H., according to our author. The real date of this interview must have been, however, Jamādī I, 1170, end of February, or first week in March 1757; see B. M. Oriental Ms. No 1749, ff., 102a-103b.
postponed for one year, and I was married to the daughter of 'Ali Quli Khan. After a year the Begam Sahibah was sent for by the Shâh; and repeatedly his letters arrived summoning her. The answer she wrote was: "I came to Shâhjâhânâbâd to see about the marriage of my "daughter. Two years have elapsed while I have been sitting and waiting here and Ghiyáz-ud-
'âin Khan [i.e., the person speaking, viz., Imâd-ud-mulk] has never carried out the ceremony. "Nay, he is on the point of making his first marriage with the daughter of 'Ali Quli Khan, "the six-fingered, the Dâghistânî; and her mother was a singing woman."

In reply to this letter the Shâh sent me an angry letter, and over and over again forwarded prerogatory orders for the Begam to return to his Court. While this was going on, I had married 'Ali Quli Khan's daughter, and on this account the Begam Sahibah was to some extent ill-disposed towards me. More than once she wrote to the Shâh that she had been involved in all these complications, yet up to that date her daughter had never been married, "but was still "seated solitary at home."

The Shâh, upon the representations of the Begam Sahibah, was greatly incensed against me in his heart. When the Shâh drew near to Diblí and was encamped at Shâhâdârah, I sent for Nawâb Najib Khan, and said: "We must deliver one battle against the Shâh." His answer was: "Pay me this day two kors of rupees, cash down, and I will fight." I replied: "Nothing is due to you by the State for your arrears and pay, seeing that in liquidation of your "claims I have handed over to you more than one half of the territories. At a day's notice "whence can I produce such a sum of money? This claim that you have announced is "inconsistent with your loyalty as a subject."

Najib Khan and his followers raised a tumult and for a whole day barred exit from and ingress to my house, and pressed for payment of the above sum. Then, keeping the fact a secret from me, Najib Khan appointed one Rasûl Khan, Afghân, as his agent, and sent him to the Shâh's camp, where he was to act under the auspices of Jahân Khan, the Shâh's general-in-chief. That very same day a letter in the most cordial terms came from the Shâh, inviting Najib Khan to his camp.

At midnight Najib Khan came out of Diblí and marched off with his troops to the Shâh's camp, where he was presented through Jahân Khan and obtained a regal kîhâl (set of robes). I saw that in the realm of Hind there was no defender, I was left alone, "driven off from "that side; and on this side, left forlorn, exposed to dishonour and to death. Thus it seemed best to let come what come might, and go off in person to the Shâh. When it was one watch (three hours) before dawn, without informing any of my people, but taking my life in my hand, I got on to my horse, and, followed by four attendants, an hour and a half after sunrise I reached the tent of the chief minister, where I dismounted. The chief minister was most kind and took me to his arms. Then he called for breakfast for me. In every way he tried to comfort and reassure me. One of the family of the chief minister was related to my mother, and this lady, who was then travelling with him, heard of my arrival, and, following custom, sent out some one to ask how I was.

This conversation ended, the chief minister went away to see the Shâh and reported that 'Imâd-ud-mulk Ghiyáz-ud-dîn Khân, the Wâsir of Hinâustânî, had left the capital and had reached his (the chief minister's) tent all alone, and was stopping there. He was waiting for permission to kiss the threshold of the Heaven-exalted Court.

[17 Her name was Gannâ Begam and her mother was a dancing-girl. A translation of one of her poems is to be found in Vol. I. of Sir William Jones' works. Her tomb is at Nûshâh, sixty-three miles south of Agrab, and it bears the short inscription: 'Sâh, ghamâ-Gannâ Begam' (1169 H., 1775-6). "Alas! weep for Gannâ Begam."

[18 On the left bank of the Jannâh, just opposite to Diblí.

[19 As în sî rûndah, wa sî mûndah,
An order issued: "Let him be brought." I went, and I saw that Najib Khan, and Jahân Khan, and five other commanders were standing there with folded hands. As my offering I produced five gold coins, and a jewelled amulet, having mounted on it a diamond of great price.

The Shâh said: "Art thou Ghijâr-ud-din Khan?" I replied: "I am he; a sinner and a transgressor." He said: "Thou wast Wâsr of Hindûstân, wherefore foughtest thou not with me?" I replied: "The Amir-ul-umârâ of Hindûstân was Najib Khan. Behold, here he is present before the Shâh's throne. I said to him: 'We ought to fight one battle.' He paid no heed and, without reporting to me, left Dihli and was honoured by admission to this Exalted Court. Except this noble there was within the realm no other renowned commander having an army. Thus, where was the army I could lead into battle?"

The Shâh said: "It is two years since I sent to you the daughter of Mir Manûn, under her mother's charge, so that she might be married to you. Up to this day you have not been married to her. Repeatedly have I sent for the Begam of Mir Manûn, she being my adopted daughter, and yet you never sent her to me. Over and above this neglect, you made your first marriage with the daughter of 'Ali Quli Khan, whose mother was a dancing-woman, and yet you failed to carry out my orders."

I replied: "The Begam of Mir Manûn caused me to record a written oath, sworn to upon the book of the Qurân, and took it away with her. It was to the effect that after I had married her daughter I would never marry another wife. Now, the daughter of 'Ali Quli Khan had equally become betrothed to me, but when 'Ali Quli Khan died, Shujâ'-ud-daulah had endeavoured to get the girl for himself. Thus I was forced to consider my reputation and dignity and name, which were at stake; so I entered into my first marriage with her and thus avoided the breaking of the oath that the Begam Shâhibah had forced me to write out."

Upon this the Shâh said: "Intîjâm-ud-daulah (son of Qamar-ud-din Khan) has filed before me, through my 'urdshâ, Barkhûrdar Khan, an agreement under his own seal, offering two kroes of rupees on condition that charge of the office of Wâsr in Hindûstân is made over to him. The rescript conferring the office of Wâsr in India has been written out, and only awaits the seal of my Wâsr. If thou agreeest to one kro of rupees, thou shalt be maintained as before in that office."

I said: "This slave could not lay his hands even upon one lakh of rupees. Whence can I produce a kro?" He (the Shâh) answered: "Thou canst bring it from Shâhjahânâbâd." I represented: "I could not collect a kro of broken pebble-stones there. What chance, then, of getting rupees?" He replied: "How much treasure hast thou stored in thy house?" I said: "Fourteen thousand rupees in cash, two thousand seven hundred gold coins, and four lakhs worth of jewels, silver vessels, and so-forth. If it be so directed, I will send for them this day, and deliver them over to His Majesty's officials."

On this occasion a slight smile passed over the Shâh's face, and he said to Shâh Wali Khan, his chief minister: "This is the Wâsr of Hindûstân and you, too, are a Wâsr. Take him to your quarters and persuade him. If he agrees to a kro of rupees, then make out the rescript for the Wâsr's office in his name, and maintain him in his old position." He presented me with robes of honour of the Qizâl-bâshah style, six pieces in number, a jewelled agièttoleholder, with a plume of feathers; then dismissing me, sent me away with his Wâsr.

Upon this we came back to the chief minister's tent. He pressed me to the utmost, and said the rescript appointing Intîjâm-ud-daulah to be Wâsr of Hind was already made out; only his (the chief minister's) signature and seal remained to be attached. Any sum that
I chose to promise he would get agreed to, and then would have the order made out in my name. "As the Shāh and I too" (he added), "on account of Mir Manūn, are inclined in "heart towards you, we have made some delay in impressing the seal on the rescript for "Intīgām-ud-daulah."

I replied that absolutely I could not think of taking or attempting the Wazir-ship in a State where there was no army and no treasure. Nor had I any power of laying hands upon a lakh of rupees. True kindness and condescension would, in my case, consist at this juncture in excusing me from such an undertaking. Under no conditions could I accept the office.

The chief minister three more went to the Shāh and made a representation of the case. Then and there the rescript for the office of Wazir was completed in the name of Intīgām-ud- daulah; and it was sent off to him at Shāhjahānābād by the hands of a maulvi. Intīgām-ud daulah reeled with excitement, and ordered the kettle-drums to be beaten in honour of his appointment as Wazir.

Two days afterwards the Shāh entered Shāhjahānābād. Five hundred horsemen were set apart to look after me and bring me with them. That same day, on which the Shāh entered Dīlī, he gave an order that the daughter of 'Ali Quli Khan should be marched away from Shāhjahānābād and taken to Balkh. Accordingly, that very day their march began and their camp was pitched at the town of Bādli.

At the time of afternoon prayer the Shāh said to me: "This night the marriage cere- "monies of Mir Manūn's daughter will be celebrated in my presence. Go away now, and when "one watch of the night has passed, be ready for this business in accordance with your own "customs, and appear then in my audience-hall." At the same moment he sent notice to the widow of Mir Manūn.

When one watch of the night had gone by, I appeared at the appointed place. Then, with his own auspicious hand, the Shāh applied henna to my palms, and caused the rite of marriage to be carried out in his own presence. He said: "From this time I have taken you as "my son; in every way let your heart be at rest." He conferred on me a gift of 5,000 rupees and two shawls he had worn himself. For this I made him my acknowledgments. Then I sent to the Begam 5,000 rupees on account of the Unveiling of the Bride. The Shāh said: "To-night remain where you are, you are a bridegroom." Then he was pleased to honour his own sleeping apartment.

The same day there came to the Shāh a petition from Bājāh Sūraj Mall Jāf, to this effect: "This faithful one is a slave and a servant of your government. I entertain no ideas but those "of submission and obedience. My hope from your mercy and grace is, that should an order "of the Shāh secure the honour of issuing, I will place grass in my mouth and an axe upon my "neck, and attend to kiss the Threshold, whereby my head will be raised from among my peers "as high as the Seventh Heaven."

The order of the Shāh was: "Let it be written — 'Why delay for the issue of an order, if "he is a true subject of the Empire, let him appear and attend our audience.'" Considering the offer of Sūraj Mall to be bond fide, the Shāh went off to his sleeping quarters and retired to rest.

When one watch of the night was left before daybreak, the Shāh arose and entered his oratory, and until the time came to say the morning prayers busied himself in reading portions of the Scripture (warṣf) and recitation (awzāf), and perusal of the Qurān. After
completion of the morning prayers, he entered the Hall of Public Audience and took his seat upon the throne. At one and a half hours after sunrise the emperor of India appeared, and they gave formal audience together, seated upon one throne.

The Shāh ordered Intīgām-ud-daulah to be sent for, so that they might that day collect from him the first instalment of one kror of rupees. A general order was given to the nasaqchīs (a sort of military police) to visit the houses of the other nobles,—above all, that of Mir Jumlah, Šād-r-ša-šūr, who had a treasure-house containing trays upon trays full of gold,—and bring in them and their gold.

In fine, from that moment a strange uproar arose within the city, and cries reached the ear everywhere of “Bring gold! Bring gold!” An exceeding fear fell upon the dwellers in Shāhjahānābād.

The widow of Mir Manūn sent a message to me: “At this time the nasaqchīs have not “given one moment’s grace to Intīgām-ud-daulah but have carried him off to the audience. “A wooden triangle (chobhāe gaïāchā) has been erected with a view to punishment; and the “Shāh has said that this day kror of rupees, according to agreement, being one instalment, “must be collected. If this is not done, he will issue an order for a beating with sticks.”

On hearing these words I hastened off to the Hall of Public Audience, and, making my obeisance to the Shāh and to my own Sovereign, I remained standing in my due place. I saw that what the Begam Shāhibah had said was quite true. Intīgām-ud-daulah, his face white as a sheet, was standing close to the triangle. In a short time the Shāh would have lost his temper and flown into a rage.

‘Going close up to Intīgām-ud-daulah, I said softly: “What is the source whence you “thought of getting the money?” He said: “By asking for time and forming plans; at “this moment, beyond this one ring that I have on my finger, I have not control over even one “rupee.” Hearing this appalling reply, my heart sank within me; and I concluded that “of a truth, this man has not the power of paying in even a few thousands of rupees. This “day sees the end of the honour of the house of us Turānīs! Whatever force and torture may “be used to this man, will, all of it, in the judgment of the common people, be attributed to “me Ghīyās-ud-dīn Khān, because he has claimed the Wasīf-ship and displaced me. They “will say I had planned that he should be either disgraced or slain.”

Therefore, in the most abject manner, I laid my head at the foot of the Shāh’s throne, and said: “May I be thy sacrifice! May I be the averter of thy misfortunes! This dignity and “honour of the Turānīs, of so many years’ standing,—also that in the days of a Shāh equal in “dignity to Sulaimān, they should be reduced to entire nothingness! and should become “a laughing-stock to the Irānīs! I rely upon the graciousness of the Shāh’s Shāh, that as an “alms-offering upon his blessed head, they may be preserved from dishonour and granted “pardon.”

The Shāh said: “This day will I have the money; I have heard that in the house of “Qamar-ud-dīn Khān there lie stored twenty krores of rupees; and out of this accumulation this “son of his has covenanted to pay two krores. I relinquished part, but this day I mean to “realize one kror, be it by gentle means or by torture. Let the position of the treasure-store “be pointed out; or, if not, I will order a bastonaging.”
Intigām-ud-daulah spoke: "Whatever treasure there was, my father caused to be buried within his mansion. The widow, Shu'lahpūrī Begam knows about it." Forthwith the Shāh ordered the Begam to be produced. Unable to resist, the poor Begam came to the Hall of Public Audience in a woman's litter with a dirty cloth thrown over it. There the Shāh screened off an enclosed space, and called the Begam to his own presence. He said to her: "Thou art as a sister to me; nor do I wish to shew any disrespect to the family of the sovereigns of Taimūr's line, or to that of their chief minister; you should give up their treasure."

The Begam was shaking and trembling all over, and quite unable to return any answer. An order was given that if the woman did not tell where the money was, iron nails were to be driven in underneath the nails of her hand. On hearing these words the poor creature lost her senses and fell down in a fit. Then Intigām-ud-daulah and I were called to the presence. The Shāh said: "Carry this woman away and place her on one side. Find out exactly where the store of money is."

To make a long story short. After a short time the Begam recovered her senses and said: "I am not able to specify the place where the treasure is. Only this much I know, that whatever there is of it is buried within a certain mansion." This statement I reported to the Shāh. He directed that the Begam be carried to that spot. One hundred axe-men and twenty nasaqchis were placed on the duty of seeing the ground explored and recovering the treasures from it.

Thus, for six hours the earth was excavated, and at the end of that time the treasure was hit upon. When it had been counted, it was found to amount to sixteen lakhs in coin. A report was made to the Shāh that this amount of buried treasure had been disinterred. Since, according to Persian reckoning, one lakh is 30,000 rupees, while by Indian rules 100,000 rupees are called one lakh, the Shāh, following mentally the Persian mode of account, understood that something about one kror of rupees, more or less, had been seized.29

After the recovery of this money, the Shāh pardoned all the transgressions of Intigām-ud-daulah and conferred on him robes of honour as Wazīr, and uttered many apologies in connection with Shu'lahpūrī (Begam). Out of the money found he presented ten thousand rupees to the Begam. A general order was given that not a soul should slay, plunder, or oppress within the city of Shāhjahānābād. The Shāh rose and retired to his sleeping apartments.

On that day the slaves and camp-followers of the Shāh had gone out, by way of foraging, towards Faridābād to bring in water and grass. It so chanced that Kunwar Juwāhir Singh, son of Sūraj Mall, Jāt, and Shamsaher Bahādūr,21 Marhaṭṭa, and Antā Mānkhār, Marhaṭṭa, were about that time at fort Ballamgaḍh with five to six thousand men. They issued from the Ballamgaḍh fort and, coming upon the foragers, took them unawares, attacked them, and drove away one hundred and fifty horses, while some fifty to sixty of the men were killed. This event was reported to the Shāh the same evening.

That very moment the Shāh sent for 'Abd-us-ṣamād Khān, who was the commander of thirty thousand horsemen, and whispered to him: "Without delay take out your men and go against the infidels. During the coming night select a hiding-place and go into ambush.

29 The sum was really 53½ (Persian) lakhs, and thus not much more than half a kror.
21 Shamsaher Bahādūr, son of Bāji Rū, Peshwā, by a Mūḥammadān dancing-girl.
"Send on one hundred of your men in advance into the open country and induce the infidels to fall upon them. Your horsemen must engage them and, by alternately fighting and retreating, bring them gradually close to you. At that point come out of your ambush and offer them up as food to the relentless sword."

'Abl-ul-samad Khān did as he was told. Juwāhir Singh and the two Marhaṭṭah chiefs already mentioned, escaped alive with nine other men, and sought shelter within the fort of Ballamgadh, among the nine being one Hidāyat 'Alī Khān, faujdār of chakīâb Shukohābâd Manipuri, Bhogām et cetera 32 When half a watch had passed after sunrise 'Abl-ul-samad Khān presented himself before the Shāh to make his obeisance, accompanied by about five hundred infidel heads carried on spears, and captured horses, with other goods and chattels. A jewelled aigrette and robes of honour were conferred on him.

The Shāh ordered his advance tents to be sent out and put up in the direction of Farīdābād, stating that on the following day he would enter that place. To the emperor of India he said: "You should march along with me, so that wherever there are any rebellious or turbulent men, or any of your enemies, you may issue your credentials, and they shall receive thorough repression and be forced to give proper tribute. My purpose is this — that in order to reduce your kingdom to order, so far as by my hands it can be done, ample exertion of the most effective sort be brought into play."

The emperor brought forward unworthy objections, and declared then to the Shāh: "We desire that between us the ties of brotherhood should be set up, by the marriage of one of the royal ladies to His Majesty the Shāh." The Shāh replied: "I desire no disrespect to the House of Amir Taimūr." The emperor of Hindūstān became still more pressing in his request — nay, he said to the Shāh: "The longing of the whole body of Begams in the royal family is in secret that this should be done. What harm is there if the daughters of sovereigns are delivered to sovereigns. My pleasure will be consulted by this being carried out."

Therefore, that very night one of the daughters of Zināt Mahāl was married to him. The Shāh treated this spouse with such honour and respect that he made her the head over all his other wives. After this ceremony the Shāh said to me: "Thou hast only lately been married. Stay where thou art." I answered: "This faithful one will remain in attendance on the felicitous Stūrup. If you allow, I will bring me with me. Then, the connections of 'Alī Quli Khān, who form part of the good fame of this slave, have, by the Royal orders, marched off to the town of Bādbī, which lies five kos from Shāhjahānābād, on their journey to Bālkāh. On this subject I await, for the present, whatever you may be pleased to order."

The Shāh said: "Let them be brought back to Dīlī. Let them be under the control of 'Undah Begam. When I return to Wīlāyat, whatever the widow of Mir Manūn desires shall be done with them." I made my obeisance of thanks, and, in spite of the Shāh declining to take me with him, I managed somehow or other to march along with him, wanting to see what would happen.

['Imâd-ul-mulk's narrative to Sher Andâz Khān ends.]

After this narrative was done, Ghīyāz-ud-dīn Khān asked the Mir Sāhib, saying: "I should like to inspect the memoranda and requests of the Nawāb, my brother (that is to say, Ahmad

32 This Hidāyat 'Alī Khān may possibly have been the father of Ghulām Husain Khān, author of the Sīyâsâ-ul-watâ akhâtirin.
"Khān), to find out what matters he has prayed the Shāh to grant him." The writer at a sign from the Mir Sāhib fetched the memoranda, which were with a servant in a bag, and handed them to him ('Imād-ul-mulk). After he had gone through them, he made alterations in several places. Thus, for "Sābah Bangālah six krons is offered" he wrote "four krons"; and for the Marāṭha country he altered "fifty lakhs" of rupees into "twenty lakhs," and in regard to the Amdh Sābah he replaced "two krons" by "seventy lakhs." Other memoranda were prepared and made over to the Mir Sāhib.

Let us return to our narrative. 'Imād-ul-mulk and the Mir Sāhib were engaged in this conversation, when a messenger from the Shāh's audience ran up and said; "The chief minister has stated the business of Ahmad Bangash to the Shāh and his petition has been sent for, you must give it to me." Thus he carried off the petition in its bag. The Shāh himself read it, and reassured the chief minister; and two mounted nasagnāths were sent off at once to fetch Jangbāz Khān, who had gone to the town of Mīrāth. Their orders were to bring him back at once with all haste.

When the chief minister returned to his tent, he said to the Mir Sāhib: "The Shāh has interested himself in the highest degree in the affairs of Ahmed Khān, and has announced that 'whaterver Ahmad Bangash has asked for should be granted.' He would send Jangbāz Khān back with his (Ahmad Khān's) envoy. Accordingly, nasagnāths had been despatched at once to Jangbāz Khān. In four days' time Jangbāz Khān will arrive. With regard to you (the Mir Sāhib) he said that the next day being a halt, you are to be presented to him. The chief minister having thus reassured the Mir Sāhib in the most perfect manner, sent him away. At noon he forwarded to the Mir Sāhib one tray of fruit and four trays of food, when the Mir Sāhib presented a gift of ten rupees to the minister's servants.

The next morning we attended at the quarters of the chief minister. The chief minister conducted the Mir Sāhib to the Shāh's presence. The Shāh enquired: "You are a Sayyid?" He replied: "They call me so." The Shāh went on: "Sayyid, let your mind be easy; I have sent for Jangbāz Khān. In four days he will be here, and I will depute him to Farrukhābād in "your company. Write to Ahmad Khān to begin making his plans, and he should be in every way without anxiety. I have entered these realms as an upholder of the Faith and a succourer of the "Afgān tribes. My purpose is that the accursed group, the Marāṭha, who have occupied the "territories of that tribe (the Afgāns), shall, through the fear and power of the Lord, be uprooted "and expelled by me."

The Mir Sāhib made an obeisance of thanks and produced the list of presents and rarities. The things were all in the author's charge, he having attended in the Mir Sāhib's train and being seated in the Shāh's audience-hall. An order was given to lay the things out for inspection. Mirāza Muṣṭafā, the Shāh's Secretary, came up to the author and placed the gold coins, et cetera, and the rest of the things in large and small trays, then laid them before the Shāh. The whole gift was accepted. He remarked: "The rupee of Farrukhābād is better looking and better made than "that from any other place in India. I have heard that Ahmad, Bangash, is a man of valour, "though, nowadays, the Marāṭha have got hold of his territories. He ought to eject them, and, "please the Lord! it shall so come to pass, and I will make over the country as far as the borders "of Bangal to Ahmad Khān.""

After this speech, he conferred on the Mir Sāhib a robe of honour of seven pieces, together with a jewelled sigarette, a turban of a flowered pattern, a tight-fitting coat of shawl stuff, in addition to
a pleated over-gown and a yadbū (?), with a flowered edging, a waistband of shawl-stuff, and a pair of shawls from Tūs.

At this point four nasaqqīs appeared and made some statement in the Turki language. The Shāh's face flushed red, and he said in Persian: "Send for Jahān Khān," To Jahān Khān he said: "Take Najīb Khān with you and march this very instant. Move into the boundaries of the accursed Jāt, and in every town and district held by him slay and plunder. The city of Mathurā is a holy place of the Hindūs, and I have heard that Sirāj Māl is there; let it be put entirely to the edge of the sword. To the best of your power leave nothing in that kingdom and country. Up to Akbarābād leave not a single place standing."

Jahān Khān made his obeisance and marched off the same day. Then he (the Shāh) directed the nasaqqīs to convey a general order to the army to plunder and slay at every place they reached. Any booty they acquired was made a free grant to them. Any person cutting off and bringing in heads of infidels should throw them down before the tent of the chief minister, wherewith to build a high tower. An account would be drawn up and five rupees per head would be paid them from the government funds. The next day the march for the territories of the Jāt began.

To the Mir Sāhib the Shāh said: "Sayyid, I have come as an upholder of Islām. The accursed generation of Marhaṭṭāhs, how can they withstand me? I will sweep their very name out of this country. In my heart is a firm resolve to pursue them into the Dakhin regions. "So long as you are with the army, come daily to make your bow without fail." Out of those gold coins he picked up ten and presented them to the Mir Sāhib, saying: "I present you with these by way of ulâk (table money ?)," and then in the kindliest way gave him leave to go.

(To be continued.)

FURTHER TRACES OF TOTEMISM IN THE PANJĀB.

The following instances of clans or sections, both among Hindus and Muhammadans, which bear totemistic names supplement those already published ante, Vol. XXXII. p. 201, 312 ff. Personally I am by no means convinced that totemism can be said to exist in the Panjāb or North-West Frontier Province, since there is clearly no organised tribal system based on totemism, and most of the instances collected are explicable as taboo based on verbal resemblances, or as nicknames.

Khaggā. — From khagā, a kind of fish, so called because their ancestor Jalālū'd-Dīn Khaggā saved a boat-load of people from drowning. Like the Boddās, the Khaggās can cure hydrophobia by blowing.

Kahal. — From kahī or kahīl, a weed. This tribe is found in Bahawalpur, and is an offshoot of the religious tribe of the Chishtā, with whom they still intermarry. They are fervent in religious observances. Their origin is said to be that a child was born near the Indus, close to a kahī weed. They are quite distinct from the polygamous Kahals, who live on crocodiles, &c.

Labānā or Lobānā. — It is tempting to derive this name from lās (salt), and I think it means 'trader in grain,' but Labānā is also 'an earth cricket, with formidable jaws,' and, in the South-West of the Panjāb, people whose children have pimples, pānī-wadrā, tied a labānā (or pānī-wadrā, as the insect also seems to be called) round their necks, believing that a cure will result. It is said of the Labānā that a son was born to a Rānhor Rājpūt with moustaches, and so he was nicknamed Labānā, after the insect.

Sunāra. — Among the Mair Sunārs, four sections merit notice:

Bāgū. — The Bāgū section claims descent from Rāo Chhabīt of Delhi, whose complexion was bāgū, which means 'white' in Panjābī, and hence their name.
The Plaud section claims descent from the saint Pallava, whose name is derived from *yellana*, or leaf, because he used to worship under the leaves of a banyan tree.

The Masañ section claims descent from a child born when his mother became *suś*, at the *chāṭā* or *māsañ*, "burning-place."

The Jaurā section derives its origin from the simultaneous birth of a boy and a serpent called a *jaurā*. The serpent died, but the boy survived, and his descendants, who are of this *gōt*, still revere the serpent.

Brāhmans. — Among the Nagarāyā belt Brāhmāns of the Kāngra District certain snake sections have already been noted. In addition to these, the Batehra (Pakkā and Kachchhā) have the following sections:—

(i) Chappal, an insect; no explanation is forthcoming.

(ii) Sugga, a parrot; no explanation is forthcoming.

(iii) Bhangwarzia, fr. *bhangdār*, a kind of tree.

(iv) Khajur Dogra: Date-palm Dogar, a section founded by a man who planted a garden of date-palms, and which originated in the Dogra country on the borders of Jammū.

(v) Ghābra, a rascal; one who earns his living by fair means or foul.

Mahājans. — Among the Mahājans of Kāngra the following sections have been noted:—

(i) Bheru, said to be derived from *beṛi*, 'ewe'.

(ii) Makkeru, said to be from *makki*, a bee.

(iii) Kohāru, an axe or chopper.

Ghirtha. — Among the Ghirthas of Kāngra the following may also be noted:—

(i) Patthāla, founded by a leaf-seller (*patṭā*, leaf).

(ii) Khāra, founded by a woman whose child was born under a *khār* tree.

(iii) Banyāni, founded by a woman whose child was born under a bañ or oak.

(iv) Daddā, founded by a woman whose child was born near a bamboo, and laid on the tree.

(v) Khunia, an animal of some kind. The name was given to a child as a token of affection. Hence his descendants are still called by the name.

(vi) Ladhāriā, from *ladhār*, a kind of tree.

(vii) Ghuri, a wild goat; so-called because its progenitor cried like one.

(viii) Khajūrā, date-palm (cf. the Brāhman section of this name); so-called because its founder was born under a date-palm.

(ix) Khattā; from *khattā*, a kind of tree; for a similar reason.

Brāhmans. — In Ambālā the Brāhmans have two almost certainly totemistic sections:—

(i) Pile Bheddi, or yellow wolves; so-called because one of the ancestors was saved by a she-wolf, and so they now worship a wolf at weddings.

(ii) Sarinhe. — They are said to have once taken refuge under a *sarīn* tree, and they now show reverence to it.

Rājpats. — The Rājpats in this District have a *gōt* whose names (*sic*) end in *palās* (now corrupted into *Prakāsh*), because their ancestors once in time of trouble took refuge under a *dāk* tree. Their women still veil their faces before a *dāk*, and it is also worshipped at marriages, &c., by them.

Jaṭa. — In Miānvāl, a district on the Indus, the Jaṭa have a sept, which is thus described:—

The Thīnde, who are owners in several villages near Lechā, say they were originally Chūghhattas, but a boy of that family was found by the Pir, greased or buttered all over, with insects clinging to him. The Pir said: "They have buttered you well," and he was called Thīnd thereafter.

Chittmās. — The Chittmās of Māler Kotla have the four following *gōtas*; regarding which no traditions are forthcoming:—

Daddā, frog or toad. | Khurpa, trowel.
Thuā, scorpion. | Laurā, penis.
Waisīs. — In Kōlāt the custom among the Waisīs is that after the birth of the first-born child, the mother walks out of the house, and names the child after the object, such as a tree, animal, insect, &c., that first catches her sight. For instance, one tribe, the Gīdar Kīb, is so called after the jackal.

H. A. Rose.

May 31st, 1906.

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1 *Lītu*; 'twin.'

2 *Thindā* = greasy or buttered; cf. p. 66 of O'Brien's *Nāvīndīsan Glossary.*
PREHISTORIC BRONZE IMPLEMENTS FROM INDIA.
Plate VI.

Bronze, (2) copper implements from Bithūr or Brahmāvarta in Cawnpore District.

SCALE: UNCLEAN, PROBABLY ABOUT ONE-THIRTEENTH.


W. GRIGGS
Bronze, (? copper harpoon-head, from India, presented in 1880 by Sir A. Cunningham to the National Museum, Dublin.
THE COPPER AGE AND PREHISTORIC BRONZE IMPLEMENTS OF INDIA —
SUPPLEMENT.

BY VINCENT A. SMITH, M.A., I.C.S. (RETD.)

(Continued from Vol. XXXIV., p. 244.)

I propose in this short article to complete my review of the present state of knowledge concerning the copper age and prehistoric bronze implements of India by utilizing some materials which were not at my command last year.

In December 1904 Dr. Vogel, acting under instructions from the Director-General of Archaeology, deputed his Assistant, Pañḍita Hirananda, to examine the site at Rājpur in the Bijnor District, U.P., and to obtain photographs of copper or bronze implements reputed to exist at Bithūr or Bhrmāvartta in the Cawnpoor District, and at Pariār on the opposite bank of the Ganges in the Unào District of Oude. The Rājpur implements are fully illustrated in Plate I. of my former article. The photographs of the site, which Dr. Vogel has kindly sent me, show that it is a piece of waste ground adjoining a grove, and marked by a mound or tumulus, apparently of earth, a few feet in height. There is nothing sufficiently characteristic in the appearance of the spot to justify the expense of reproducing the photographs.

The town of Bithūr is situated on the Ganges, twelve miles to the north-west of Cawnpoor. Local legend affirms that the god Brahmā celebrated his completion of the work of creation by a horse-sacrifice at the Bhrmāvartta Ghāṭ. Dr. Führer states that ‘numbers of ancient metal arrow-points are found in the soil around Bithūr, said to be relics of the time of Rāmāchandra’ (Monum. Antiq., N.W. P. and Oude, p. 108). By ‘arrow-points’ Dr. Führer meant the large objects which are more properly described as ‘harpoon-heads.’ Two specimens of this class and two ‘flat celts’ of primitive lithic type in the Lucknow Museum have been illustrated in Plate IV. of my former paper. The photographs supplied by Dr. Vogel (Plate VI.) now illustrate fourteen more objects from the same site. One of these is a harpoon or spear-head, with three points on each side below the blade, and the rest may be called varying forms of ‘celts.’ Four of these with broad rounded edges are slightly shouldered, and nearly related to the Midnāpur specimens previously figured in my Plate II., fig. 6. The narrow celts are obviously copies of common forms of stone implements. The bent implement, figured at the end of the top row of Plate VI., is a new form, but a duplicate of it occurs at Pariār (Plate VII.). Presumably all these Bithūr specimens are made of copper, not bronze, but without analysis it is impossible to be certain what their composition is. Dr. Vogel’s Assistant has failed to report where the fourteen objects now photographed are preserved, but probably they are kept in a temple or temples.

Pariār is a village in the Unào District of Oude, on the Ganges, opposite Bithūr, fourteen miles to the north-west of Unào, as indicated in the Map to my former article. Like Bithūr, it is sanctified by Brahmanical legends of the usual kind, and is frequented as a bathing-place. The great jhil or swamp, which almost surrounds the village, is called Mahān, and probably represents an old river-bed. In the temple of Sūmāśvara Mahādevā on the banks of the jhil are collected a large number of metal arrow-heads said to have been used by the contending armies of [Lava and Kuśa, sons of Rāmāchandra]; they are also occasionally picked up in the bed of the jhil and of the Ganges’ (Führer, op. cit. p. 272, erroneously printed as 172 in my former paper, p. 237). The photographs now published evidently are those of implements preserved in the Pariār temple (Plate VII.). One implement, as already observed, is a shouldered celt like four specimens from Bithūr and one from Midnāpur, and another is a peculiar bent tool resembling a Bithūr specimen, and, I think, new to science. The Pañḍita unluckily omitted.
to note the scale of his photographs, but in the Progress Report of Panjâb and U. P. Circle for 1903-4, p. 21, the dimensions of a Parîâr implement in photograph No. 114, now reproduced, are stated to be 6½ by 3½ inches. This object must be the round-headed shouldered celt shown in the Plate, and the scale of the photograph, consequently, is approximately one-fourth of the originals.

In my previous paper (p. 243; 15 of reprint) I described a fine harpoon-head, presented by Sir Alexander Cunningham to the collections now in the National Museum, Dublin, and said to have been found somewhere in India. This weapon has four teeth, not recurved barbs, on each side below the blade, and the loop on one side of the tang, through which the thong attaching the head to the shaft was passed, is formed by the legs and body of a rudely-executed standing animal. The general appearance of this object, which is apparently made of bronze, not copper, is more modern than that of the copper implements from Northern India. By the kindness of Mr. George Coffey, Curator of Antiquities in the Dublin Museum, I am now able to present a drawing of this unique implement, prepared by a member of his staff (Plate VII.). The implement may be, as I supposed in my previous paper, less ancient than the copper articles from Northern India and Gungeria, but, even if that be the case, it certainly dates from a period of very remote antiquity, and is characteristically Indian in form.

I conclude by quoting miscellaneous observations with which I have been favoured by correspondents interested in my previous paper. Canon Greenwell, the veteran archæologist, writes:—‘I did not know that so many [copper implements] had been found in India. It is evident that there never was a bronze cultivation there. Indeed it cannot be said that there was ever any real development of a bronze cultivation, except in Western Europe, Assyria and Egypt certainly did not possess one; nor can Greece, the Islands, or Asia Minor be said to have brought it to any high pitch, though there are splendid specimens, such as the Mykenæ blades. Still there is nothing like the fine swords, spear-heads, etc., so abundant in the United Kingdom, Denmark, France, Switzerland, and Italy. Hungary developed it certainly; but further east and south it never reached to any height, nor have many bronze weapons, etc., been found in those countries. Spain, too, is very poorly represented, which, as it had much traffic with the Eastern Mediterranean, seems to point to the bronze culture not having come through that channel. The Eastern origin of bronze and its development must be given up; and, so far as we have evidence at present, somewhere about the head waters of the Danube seems to be the most probable place of birth. But we want many more facts before any safe conclusion can be come to.’ These weighty observations raise a big question which I am not prepared to discuss at present, but I may be permitted to feel some satisfaction at having had the opportunity of communicating to the scientific world a considerable body of facts to help in the final solution of the problems of the origin and extent of the so-called Bronze Age. Canon Greenwell is of opinion that the Dowie dagger or sword1 is certainly prehistoric, and observes that ‘the handle has something in common with the ordinary bronze sword.’ He also thinks, and rightly, that the Norham harpoon was brought to England in modern times, probably by some sailor. He knows of ‘several similar finds; Carib stone-axes and North American arrow-points have occurred in England,’ and the way in which they came has been traced.

Professor Ridgeway of Cambridge alludes to Major Sikes’ ‘copper (for they can hardly be called bronze) axes, vessels, and curious rods with a curved end’ from Southern Persia, which have been described by Canon Greenwell in the Archæologia, and were discussed at the York meeting of the British Association. Professor Ridgeway is inclined to think that these objects are of comparatively late date, the first century B.C., or even the first century A.D.

1 Ante, Vol. XXXIV., p. 243, and reprint of the paper, p. 15, with figure.
This opinion is based on 'the very advanced character of the grooved work on the bottom of one of the vessels, and a similarly late description of the bottom, as well as shape, of the other'; supported by the fact that the owners of Major Sikes' objects buried their dead. I have not followed up these references. The Professor is anxious to get 'more data from Fernea itself.' Perhaps some reader of the Indian Antiquary may be able to supply them. Professor Ridgeway possesses a copper arrow-head found in a grave near Koban in the Caucasus, associated with a bracelet and beads of glass, which seems to date from the second century A.D.

Mr. Gatty tells me that a copper celt, quite plain, and roughly made, was found some years ago by a keeper, under a heap of stones on the moors above Sheffield, in the parish of Bradfield. Mr. Gatty lived in that parish for twenty years, and collected flint implements, but never heard of any other copper or bronze article being found. The shape, so far as he remembers, was like this: [blank space]

These supplementary notes exhaust for the present all the information which I possess concerning the ancient copper and bronze antiquities of India. Perhaps the publication of them, like that of my previous paper, may attract the attention of observers and scholars interested in prehistoric archaeology, and help in the elucidation of problems now very obscure.

AHMAD SHĀH, ABDĀLĪ, AND THE INDIAN WAZĪR, 'IMĀD-UL-MULK (1766-7).
(Contributed by William Irvine, late of the Bengal Civil Service.)
(Continued from p. 51.)

Rubric. — The Shāh marches from Faridābād towards the territory of Sūraj Mall, Jāt; he pitches his camp close to Sherkoṭ; on the same day at the request of 'Imād-ul-mulk he seizes by force the fort of Ballamgajh, which lay three kos from the camp, towards the left; flight of Juwāhir Singh, son of Sūraj Mall, Jāt, Shansher Bahādur, Marhaṭṭah, and Antā Mānker, Marhaṭṭah, who were within that fort; slaughter of the rest of the garrison.

Be it known that the following was the order of the Shāh's march and encamping. One march was never more than five kos. When there remained one watch of the night he started; and performed his morning prayers upon his arrival at his advanced tents. He had not a single kettle-drum sounded, nor music at fixed hours, nor trumpets (barraḥ-nār) and such like.

Before the Shāh mounted, twelve thousand special slaves assembled, three thousand on each side of the Shāh's tent. The title of these men was Darraṅ (the pearl wearers), and from their ears hung gold rings, mounted with very large pearls. They remained drawn up in ranks at a distance of one hundred paces, seated on their horses. When the Shāh placed his foot in his stirrup, the twelve thousand slaves, at one and at the same moment, with a single voice, shouted aloud: "Blessed be the Names, in the Name of God, peace be unto His Majesty the Shāh!" This sound rose to heaven and reached the ears of the army, thus enabling them to know that the Shāh had started. Then the rest of the army from that time got ready, and at the moment of dawn began its march, and reached its new quarters at one watch after daybreak. The general rule was to march one day and halt the next; but on some occasions there was a halt of even two days.

The mode of the Shāh's progress was as follows: The Shāh advanced alone amidst the ranks of his slaves, riding a horse, his sword slung from his shoulder, and his quiver on. There were four bodies of slaves, each of three thousand men, one division in front, one behind, and one on each side. Each division of them wore a hat of a different style. It was prohibited for a slave belonging to one division to ride with another division; he must keep with his own set. If by chance any one disobeyed the rule and the Shāh noticed him, the man received a beating so severe that he was left half-dead, or with perhaps only a gasp of life left in him.
All these slaves were well-made and good-looking, of white and red complexion, with gold-lace waistbelts and hats of flowered gold lace. On each side of the hat hung flowered-pattern tufts (torrah-hāte), towards the ears, near the cheeks. Their long sidelocks were in curls. Many of the slaves, those who were officers, had jewelled sigarette-holders with feathered plumes fixed on the top of the hat. They rode fast horses of Kābulī breed, and guided them, each in his own station, with a grave demeanour. They moved at the distance of a musket-shot from the Shāh's person, all their faces turned towards him. The Shāh rode alone in the middle, with an open space around him.

In whatever direction he chanced to glance, one slave holding a pipe and another bearing a porous bottle of water rushed up to him. Then the Shah would take the pipe-stem into his hand, rein in his horse, and proceed slowly. When done with his pipe, he would rinse his mouth three times with water from the bottle.

The treasure and the food supplies, the stores of clothes, and so forth were carried in the following manner. On the left flank, outside the ranks of the slaves, there were one hundred camels loaded with bread, baked and then dried, two hundred camels loaded with grain, this was called sūrīz. This grain was given out daily in allotted portions to the nobles and the servants of the Begams. On the right flank were two hundred camels loaded with clothes and vessels, silver pots, and so forth. Such treasure as there was came in the rear of the guard of slaves, which followed the Shāh; it was carried on mules and two-humped dromedaries.

Shāh Pasand Khān and Jangbāz Khān, with the quwačht-bāshī, were told off to the rear-guard and held command over its movements. The three thousand slaves, who rode in front as advance guard, fully armed and ready, bore each a lance whose head was either gilt or silver-plated, having a decorated (muqayyash) and fringed (mussāleed) pennant. To the onlooker, owing to the multitude of lances, it seemed like the glittering of rain. In the rays of the sun the spearheads and pennants so shone, that you might imagine the stars were sparkling in the sky. It was wondrous as a garden in springtime, and a sight worth beholding.

On the day that the Shāh after the afternoon (zuhr) prayer set out to conquer the fort of Ballamāgh, the author in company of the Mir Shāhīb [Sher Andāz Khān] was in attendance on His Majesty. By a lucky chance the ranks of those slaves formed up close to me. In whatever direction I looked, my eyes rested on countenances lovely as youthful Joseph, as if the slaves from Paradise, throng upon throng, had descended upon earth, and with their fairy-like dispositions were seated firmly in the saddle, thirsting for the blood of the children of Adam. By the Lord! I was so overcome that my head dropped to the pommel of my saddle.

A horseman named Mir Muḥammad ‘Atā, by race a Barakki Sayyid, belonging to the troops of the ‘Ugmān Khān already mentioned, who, to a certain extent, was proficient in Arabic and Persian, and used to pay a daily visit to the Mir Shāhīb, had set up a friendship with the author. At the time I have been speaking of, he was at my side. He exclaimed: "O So-and-so! What is the matter with thee? Thy complexion has turned saffron-colour and thy eyes red as the planet Mars. The hot rays of the sun have affected thee!" He offered me water from the chūgal or leather-bottle that he carried, and I re-opened my eyes. I answered: "I have no need of water;"

and I repeated the following quatrains:

Quatrains.

\[\begin{align*}
\text{An roz kih ātash-i-muxāḥabat afoqāh,} \\
\text{Ānhīq roshan-i-īshāy zi muṭbāq anqāh;} \\
\text{Az jānih-i-dost sar-zad in sor wa gudāz,} \\
\text{I ṭā dar na gīřst-i-shamār pārānāh na sōkā.}
\end{align*}\]

\[\begin{align*}
\text{The day when the fire of affection was kindled,} \\
\text{The lover learnt from the loved-one the brightness of love;} \\
\text{Through a friend arose this burning and melting;} \\
\text{So that the butterfly should not fall into the lamp and burn.}
\end{align*}\]

\[\text{23 Turkish, "requisitions in kind levied from the enemy."}\]
He said: "Say it over again! What is it?" I replied: "O brother! seest thou not that this crowd of lovely faces with white cheeks and rosy lips has brought affliction on my life and faith, and robbed me of my heart; and these dusky eyes with sword-wielding eyebrows and arrow-like eyelashes, how they stab me as with daggers by their amorous and languishing glances, and spill the blood from many hearts."

He gave a loud guffaw, and glancing towards them he brought forth a heavy sigh, and exclaimed: "Thou speakest truth, come on so that we may be closer to them. I am acquainted "and friendly with a number of them." I recited the couplet: —

Harzah-gard-i-tâb chîn bulbul sayam; farwâ

Mah, mawânam kard parwâzi, kîh ba hushad

marâ. "A butterfly am I, no vagrant songster of the grove,

Two days afterwards the said Mir, on some pretext or other, brought four of these slaves on a visit to the Mir Sahib; and to some extent an intimacy arose, and they came frequently. The Mir Sahib (God give him rest) treated them with great kindness, and feasted them and received them with civility. He even gave them money, as much perhaps as fifty rupees.

One of them sang Persian odes (ghazal) excellently, to the accompaniment of music, and possessed a heart-alluring singing voice. Every time he came there was a wonderful crowd. He got me to write him several ghazals and took them away with him.

One of them is the following: —

Ghazal.

Turâst qadd chû sava, wa turâst rûc chû mûh,
Yake misân-i-qâbâ, wa yake ba ser-i-kalâh,
Râbût az man jân, wa bûlt az man dil,
Yake ba qadd chû sava, wa yake ba rûc chû mûh;
Kharb dakhad lab-i-tâ, wa nishûn dakhad ruck-

i-man,
Yake zi shukht-i-lâl, wa yake zi zarid-i-gâh.

Bad chû bahût wa qadam, chashm wa zulf-i-tâ
dâ, im,
Yake zi khwâb-i-nashand, wa yake zi tab-i
dû-tâh,
Zi dard wa haerat-i-tâ didah wa dîl-am har
daur
Yake mî-bârad khâm, wa yake bar-ârad âh:

Shudût mûc man az ranj ʻarag, wa zulf-ât,
Yake chû hâr-i-syâf, wa yake chû qir-i-stûâh.

"Thou hast the cypress' waist, thou hast a moon-like face,
"The one girt in thy coat, the other showing below thy cap.
"Thou hast robbed me of life, hast carried off my heart,
"One by this cypress-like waist, the other by this moon-like face:
"Thy lips tell a tale, and my face reveals it,
"Those by their ruby redness, this by its hay-like pallor.
"Be thy eyes and locks lasting like Fate and the Ages,
"These by venerated sleep, those by their two-fold brightness.
"From pain and grief of thee my eyes and heart for ever
"The first rain blood, the other heaves a heavy sigh:
"By grief my hair is changed, while my locks
"Are grown white as milk, thine still black as pitch,"

Praise be to God! Whither are my words wandering!

Hemistich.

Husn-i-in qisâh, ʻishq ast, dar deftar na mi-
gunjad. "The beauty of this tale is love, no volumes can contain it."
To return to the narrative. The retinue of the servants of the Begams, which was called the retinue of the Haram of the Shâh, marched in the following order. After the morning prayers they started. Closed litters (‘imār) were placed on camels; these had curtains of red brocaded cloth, some decorated, but most of them plain. On several of the camels were large closed litters, but on most of them two panners (kajāwāh), the furniture of which was of scarlet brocaded cloth. There were about two hundred camels. In the midst of them, which was styled the kalb, or "heart," went fifteen to twenty persons, carried on takhsis, or platforms, in the Hindustani manner, borne on the shoulders of kahârs (a caste of litter-carriers).

This procession, from the number of covered red litters, formed a sight worth seeing. In advance, at the distance of an arrow’s flight, went five hundred mounted archers, and as an armed retinue (qur) there followed one thousand horsemen. At five to six gharts (1/2 to 2 hours) after sunrise they reached their encampment. The horsemen who came first gave a shout, using the words Yurhâ! Yurhâ!, that is, "Withdraw on one side." In every lane and passage in the camp through which the retinue of the Haram took its way, every one, great and small, remained with his face covered by his skirt, until the last of the procession had gone by. If by chance any one ever glanced towards the retinue, one, two, or three horsemen would ride at him and without a pause most relentlessly thrash him. The retinue would take four or five ghart (90 to 112 minutes) to pass any given spot. All the people on their road, through the camp, were in a most extraordinary condition of apprehension, and you might say each of them was a man afflicted by God.

The camp of the Shâh was pitched in two portions. The first was the male and the other the female quarters. Between the two was left an open space of about the width of two or three arrows’ flight. The female camp was called the Haram; the men’s camp had two names; where the Shâh sat was styled Kharagh, and where the scribes of the office were placed was called the Darthaknâh. In the screens of the Kharagh, facing the Darthaknâh, there was one large entrance, constructed of wood, painted an azure colour, and partly gilt, on which were beautiful flowers of many sorts depicted by the brush. On the top of the gateway was placed a large dome made of copper, two sides of which were gilt. This was called the Qubbâh-i-Shâh (the Shâh’s cupola). It was so high that it could be seen at a distance of three to four leagues (9 to 12 miles?). If the light of the sun were over against it, it shone from afar, and the men in charge of the baggage train were guided by it to their destination. It was there that the Shâh’s own tents would be found.

At each of the two wings of this entrance stood a large standard in a gold-embroidered scarlet brocaded cloth cover. From the top of each standard hung a bow upside down, and a flower-pattern cloth, viz., a waist-cloth, hung down from each end of it. To each bow notch a naked sword was attached to the bow-string (chillah). If a halt were ordered, the two swords were placed upright. If there was to be a march, then at nightfall, one sword was let down and placed upon the ground. These were the signals of a halt, or a march.

To go on with the story. When the Shâh marched from Faridâbâd and reached his camp, the fort of Ballamghâz was three kos to the north. ‘Imâd-ul-mulk represented to him that the fort of Ballamghâz was close by, and the insidels Juwâhir Singh, son of Sûraj Mall, Ját, with Shamsher Bahâdâr and Antâ Mânker, two Marhaâsh chief, were within the fort. His Majesty’s wisest course was to detach a strong force to drive the famines of overweeningness out of their heads.

The Shâh said: "My scheme is to uproot the forts of Dig and Kumber. What is there for me to attack in little forts like this?" He (‘Imâd-ul-mulk) represented: "If these rebellious fellows did not happen to be in this fort alive, it would be of no importance. At this moment, when the insidels have taken refuge so near to us, to leave them unmolested and continue our march, will raise many suspicions."

The Shâh replied: "Take with you Afsâl Khan, the Ghilzâb, who is at the head of forty thousand men, and invest the fort." ‘Imâd-ul-mulk and the said Khan arranged for the
investment of the fort. The garrison went on fighting with swirl-pieces and muskets until the hour of afternoon. The Shāh from moment to moment sent off express riders to ascertain progress. After the afternoon prayer the Shāh started himself and soon reached the spot. The Mir Śāhīb followed, and the author with him, as related above.

Then the Shāh in his own pure person inspected the fort from all four sides. He fixed on one direction and caused the ground to be measured with a rod up to the foot of the wall, and caused the cannon called Kullah-i-khünbārah to be brought, and ordered it to be fired into the air. Kullah-i-khünbārah sent its charge up to heaven and it returned to earth within the fort. By concussion its two pieces, which were of iron in the shape of a large casket (dużf), split saunders, and, wherever they went, reduced everything to splinters. What chance had a human being of standing against them! The firing continued for four or five ḡart (1½ to 2 hours), the aim being constantly altered. Changing from one position to another, the balls were sent in one after another. In short, after the same fashion, four other mortars (kullah) were brought into action. A number of the infidels within the fort were killed, and great confusion arose there.

At this time the Shāh was engaged in the evening prayers, and continued to sit on his prayer-carpet till the time of sunset prayers (namāz-i-mayrūd), then night came on. All three chiefs of the infidels came out of the fort and slunk into the ravines adjoining the river Jaman (Jammāh). It was not known in what direction they had gone.

After the lapse of twenty to forty-five minutes, sounds not issuing any longer from the fort, the Shāh ordered it to be stormed. Strong bodies from all directions moved conjointly upon the gates in close formation and effected an entrance. The gates were broken open with axes, and all persons found within the fort were put to the sword. But of Juwāhir Singh and the others not a trace could be found. Imād-ul-mulk himself came into the fort and inspected the corpses one by one; but as he reported to the Shāh, the occurred one was not among them.

The skirmishers were ordered to keep a watch over the neighbourhood in all directions and take care that he (Juwāhir Singh) should not get away in safety. In spite of all their activity, no trace could be discovered. Some days afterwards, Hīdāyat 'Ali Khān, fawjdar of Shukohābād, was introduced to Imād-ul-mulk by the Mir Śāhīb. This fawjdar told us he was in the fort with Juwāhir Singh. The Jāz chief, Shamsher Bahādur, Antā Mānkher, and he (Hīdāyat 'Ali Khān) dressed themselves in Qizābāsh clothes, and, going through an underground chamber into the ditch of the fort, they threaded their way through the Shāh’s troops, and hid in some ravines near the Jammāh river.

For two days and two nights they remained concealed in that spot, and got not a mouthful to eat. Such terror had overcome them that they would not emerge even to drink water from the river. When the Shāh had marched away, they came at night time by a route they knew before to a village, and there mounting a bullock-carriage reached a small fort in another village. There he (Hīdāyat 'Ali Khān) went to sleep; where the other three vanished to he knew not. All he could find out from the guide was that ten matchoek-men and one horseman had come with three horses, and carried them in some direction or other.

To make a long story short, after the taking of Ballangābād, the Shāh told Imād-ul-mulk to make out a list of all the cash and goods found in the fort, and produce it before him. Accordingly, there were found in the fort, twelve thousand rupees in coin, with pots and vessels of silver and copper, and gilt idols, 14 horses, 11 camels, clothing, grain, and much other goods. All this was confiscated. The grain was delivered to the sāresīt (the food-supply department, see ante). Of the cash total five thousand rupees were given to Āfzāl Khān and two thousand to Imād-ul-mulk. Two camels were presented to the Mir Śāhīb. The Shāh made a two days’ halt at this place and issued an order for slaughter and plundering.

* * * "The blood-shedding Heel," probably a mortar, and so named from its shortness or shape.
It was midnight when the camp followers went out to the attack. It was thus managed: one horseman mounted a horse and took ten to twenty others, each attached to the tail of the horse preceding it, and drove them just like a string of camels. When it was one watch after sunrise I saw them come back. Every horseman had loaded up all his horses with the plundered property, and atop of it rode the girl-captives and the slaves. The severed heads were tied up in rugs like bundles of grain and placed on the heads of the captives, who by the Abdâlis are called Kannah, and thus did they return to camp.

After afternoon prayer (zuhr) an order was given to carry the severed heads to the entrance gate of the chief minister’s quarters, where they were to be entered in registers, and then built up into heaps and pillars. Each man, in accordance with the number of heads he had brought in, received, after they had been counted, five rupees a head from the State.

Then the heads were stuck upon lances and were taken to the gate of the chief minister. It was an extraordinary display! Wherever your glance fell nothing else was to be perceived but severed heads stuck upon lances, and the number could not be less than the stars in the heavens.

Daily did this manner of slaughter and plundering proceed: Wa shah râ zu farqûk-i-zamân khâ bah atri awarda, ba ânkâ suhbat mi-kardand, goshhâs mardum kar mi-shudand, It was a marvellous state of things, this slaying and capturing, and no whit inferior to the day of Last Judgment.

All those heads that had been cut off were built into pillars, and the men upon whose heads those bloody bundles had been brought in, were made to grind corn, and then, when the reckoning was made up, their heads, too, were cut off. These things went on all the way to the city of Akbarabâd, nor was any part of the country spared.

In addition to all this, five thousand Rohelah foot soldiers had joined the army. Each man procured some thirty to forty buffaloes. The plundered goods, such as jewels and clothes, they loaded upon these buffaloes, and established a market of their own within the camp, where they sold all these things at low prices. Cloth goods worth ten rupees they sold at one rupee, and those worth one rupee for eighty tankah.* Copper and other vessels that had been broken up were strewn along the route of the army and no one stooped to pick them up. Excepting gold and silver nothing was carried away.

In this manner Jahân Khân and Najib Khân went on ahead of us, as far as Mathurâ. The towns of Mathurâ and Bindiâbân were subjected to a general slaughter, and completely plundered. The latter is a principal holy place of the Hindûs, situated upon the bank of the Jamnâ; it is in the territory of the Jâf.

On the day that the Shâh marched from Shergâdh, after the reduction of Ballamgâdh, he pitched his camp near Hasanpur and Nadînah. The same day Jangbâs Khân arrived from Mîrâb, bringing with him much booty. Among other things were four elephants, loaded up with silver only, seventy-six horses, and a quantity of other property. The whole was produced for the Shâh’s inspection.

As to the plundered elephants and palanquins it was remarked that these two modes of travelling were specially used by the emperors and nobles of Hindûstân. The Shâh said, elephants were admirable means of baggage transport. But a mount, the control of which is not in the hands of the rider, and it can carry him whither it wills, should not be resorted to; while a litter is only suitable for a sick man.

Afterwards Jangbâs Khân was given robes of honour and a jewelled plume-holder. He was told that an envoys sent by Châzanfâr Jang, Ahmad Bangâsh, had arrived at Court; and he agrees to such and such an amount of tribute, and prays that some commander, with some properly qualified claimant (turâd), be sent by the Shâh to reinforce him, so that out of dread of the Abdâlis might, his
enemies may withdraw from his territories. Patents for the provinces of Andh and Bangalāh were in preparation in his (Ahmad Khān’s) name. “Thou, who art of his tribe, hast been asked for, and as I look on you as my son, I wish to send you for the execution of this project in the place of any princely heir. I follow after you stage by stage.”

Jangbāz Khān assented, made his obeisance, and straightway sought the chief minister at his tent. Mir Sher Andāz Khān was sent for. The papers stating the demands of Ahmad Khān were read. Then he (Jangbāz Khān) said to the chief minister: “I command no more than five thousand horsemen, while Ahmad Khān has not much of an army, nor any funds. How can I eject the Marhaṭsahāns or occupy ṣābāh Andh? Shahjād-ud-daulah possesses a treasury and an army, and is the governor of that province. The same thing applies to the territory of Bengal. Thus, the undertaking of these enterprises is opposed to reason and wisdom. I decline to go.”

The chief minister said: “When you were in front of the Shāh you accepted and then left his audience without a protest. Now you are raising difficulties. What does this mean?” Jangbāz Khān answered: “I was unable to say these words to the Shāh himself.” Then ‘Imād-ul-mulk intervened, saying: “The army is part of the provincial government. Whenever the province has been made over to Ahmad Khān, he can collect as many troops as ever he likes. The whole race of the Afghāns form his army, there must be two hundred thousand fighting men of his tribe. You are only nominally required to impress people with dread of the Shāh. Knowing you as a brother of the same race as himself, Ahmad Khān applied for you.”

Jangbāz Khān would not agree but continued to give a flat refusal. The chief Wazir carried his words to the Shāh. His order upon this report was to send ‘Abd-ul-ṣāma‘ Khān instead. The chief minister told the Mir Ṣāhid what order the Shāh had given, and asked him to write about it to Ahmad Khān, and call upon him to state his views. The Mir Ṣāhid pointed out that what Ghażanfar Jang (Ahmad Khān) wanted was the nomination of some prince of the imperial family as for the rest, he would see to it himself. ‘Abd-ul-ṣāma‘ Khān commanded thirty thousand horse, and for the time being the daily expenses of such a force could not be provided. For this reason he indicated Jangbāz Khān, whose force is only five thousand men.

Then the Mir Ṣāhid proceeded to the tent of Jangbāz Khān and presented the shawls, et cetera, the gifts intended for him, as previously detailed. Out of the whole present he accepted only a pair of shawls and returned the rest, saying: “Nawāb Ghażanfar Jang is the chief man of my tribe, out of politeness I accept a pair of shawls. I am no king or minister that I should extend my foot beyond my due station.” The Mir Ṣāhid insisted much, but not another article did he accept. As to marching himself, he absolutely declined to do so.

Two days passed in this fruitless discussion. On the third day, when the Shāh happened to make a halt at one of the camps, ‘Imād-ul-mulk and the Mir Ṣāhid laid before him the proposal that he (the Shāh) in person should march as far as the town of Mathurā, and there make some stay. Then whatever Ahmad Khān proposed, if it seemed advisable, could be carried out. The Shāh said: “It is well.”

Rubric. — March of the Shāh towards Mathurā on the representation of Mir Sher Andāz Khān, and after reaching it and making a seven days’ halt, he starts on his return to his own country.

On the day that the Shāh entered the neighbourhood of Mathurā, he crossed the Jumna and encamped near Mahmūn (Mahāban ?), where there is a sarā‘a built by one Sayyid ‘Abd-ul-nabi, and it goes also by the name of Sarā‘e Nabi; it lies two kos to the east of Mathurā.

25 He was made jangār of Mathurā on the Kāb Babi II., 1679 H. (26th September 1668), and was killed in an attack on a Jāf fort upon the 21st Zul Hijjah of the same year (24th May, 1669), Madīr-i-Shārayr, 74, 93.
En route the Mir Sahib paid a visit to Najib Khan, who was at Bindraban with Jahân Khân. These two nobles had marched fourteen days earlier, and had carried out a general slaughter in the country round Mathurā and Bindraban, and had halted there. The author went with him (Sher Andar Khan). Wherever you gazed you beheld heaps of slain; you could only pick your way with difficulty, owing to the quantity of bodies lying about and the amount of blood spilt. At one place we reached, we saw about two hundred dead children lying in a heap. Not one of the dead bodies had a head. In short, we reached the quarters of Najib Khan and sat there some three quarters of an hour. The stench and fetor and effluvium in the air were such that it was painful to open your mouth or even draw a breath. Every one held his nose and stopped his mouth with his handkerchief while he spoke, The Mir Sahib said to Najib Khan: "How can you relish your 'food or a drink of water?'" He replied: "What can I do, I am under the Shah's orders; in default of his order I can move nowhere."

When I got to the town of Mathurā I saw exactly the same state of things. Everywhere in lane and bazar lay the headless trunks of the slain; and the whole city was burning. Many buildings had been knocked down. A naked man emerged from the ruins and asked me for a little food. I gave him some money and asked: "Who art thou?" He said: "I am a Muslimman. I was a dealer in jewellery, my shop was a large one. In addition to precious stones and engraved and mounted goods, I had 4,000 rupees in cash in the shop. On the day of the slaughter the Shah's army suddenly appeared, when nobody had the least expectation of them; it was at dawn. A horseman, drawn sword in hand, came at me and tried to kill me. I said I was a Muslimman. He said: 'Disclose your privities.' I undid my cloth. He continued: 'Whatever cash you have, give to me that I may spare your life.' I gave him my 4,000 rupees. Another came and cut me on the stomach with his sabre. I fell and hid in a corner. My shop was emptied. For several days past I have had nothing to eat, but a few uncooked grains of corn. Camp followers come in day after day and knock down the houses. In many places buried treasure is discovered and carried off. But still there are hoards left in other places not yet found by any one. If you can take me to the camp with you and place me at your disposal, I will point out the hoards.'

In brief, I made over to him a sheet to cover him, and brought him with me. When I reached the bank of the Jamniah, I found it was fordable. The water flowing past was of a yellowish colour, as if polluted by blood. The man said: "For seven days following the general slaughter, the water flowed of a blood-red colour. Now fourteen days have elapsed, and the colour of the water has turned yellow." At the edge of the stream I saw a number of Bairagi and Sunjyasati huts, huddled close together. These men are ascetics of the Hindû faith. In each hut lay a severed head with the head of a dead cow applied to its mouth and tied to it with a rope round its neck.

To continue my story. I brought the man above referred to with me and produced him before the Mir Sahib. The next morning, with the permission of the chief minister and Imam-ul-mulk, ten horsemen of 'Usmân Khan's regiment were sent with him and several axe-men. He took them to a house. After they had applied their axes once or twice, a box was uncovered. It held two hundred gold coins, several pieces of diamond, half a seer's weight of jewelled ornaments, and the same quantity of plain gold ornaments. After that, several other places were broken open, but nothing was discovered.

We came back and displayed the property before the chief minister. The Wazir made a sign to the Mir Sahib saying: "Half I give to you and Imam-ul-mulk, half is mine." The Mir Sahib represented that he had never accepted plundered property. "All belongs to Your Lordship, for you have come from your own country with the intent of upholding the Faith and expelling the infidel. You are engaged in a Holy War, and this is a special holy place of the infidel." The minister rejoined: "Well, I give it you from myself." But the Mir Sahib still refused.

On the next day the Mir Sahib attended the Shah's audience. The Shah was inspecting the lists of booty from Mathurā that had been drawn up by Jahân Khân. After he had done this, he
conferred robes on Jahân Khân and Najib Khân, and told them to move on to Akbarâbâd, where there were many wealthy men, who are subjects of the Jâhân. These must be either slain or made captives, and all their property seized and delivered over to the officials of his government. That same day they made their first march towards Akbarâbâd.

At the same audience the Shâh said: “Is there any one who can compose a rhyme on this victory; the meaning must be that I have given Islam peace from the oppression of the infidel, the words durr-i-durrâni to be included in the date-giving line.” You must understand that the Shâh styled himself Durr-i-Durrâni. At the head of his missives instead of his own name, he wrote these words in gold ink with his own hand.

In the Shâh’s army was an Afghan poet, a native of Khâbul, whom he knew by sight. His name was Khawâjâ Khân, and his pen-name was Bezhan. The teaching of Prince Taimûr Shâh was confided to him. The Shâh sent for this man and instructed him as to what he wanted, telling him to reflect on it and bring him the result. The Mir Šâhib told this story to me.

Next day the Mir Šâhib was at the quarters of Imâd-ul-mulk. There Khawâjâ Khân said that two days had gone by and he was still puzzling over that chronogram and the expressions required in it by the Shâh. He could not get it into shape. The Mir Šâhib began to speak of me and then sent for me. I went to the place. Imâd-ul-mulk said to me: “You, too, must try to think this out.” I gave no reply. He went on: “Certainly—you must have a try.” I answered: “I have no choice left; but I must have till to-morrow to prepare it, and I will then pronounce it.”

That same day I set to work and got the hemistich for the date, and then composed a strophe of two couplets, which I made over to the Mir Šâhib. The hemistich for the date is:

_Ba Hind u Peanut namad Islam Shâh-i-durr-i-durrâni_

1169 H.

“The King of Islam, the pearl of pearls, brought peace to India.”

The morning afterwards, the Mir Šâhib stated to Imâd-ul-mulk that So-and-so (i.e., the author), after reflecting two or three hours, had written this chronogram in a rhymed strophe. Imâd-ul-mulk inspected it and approved it highly; then he said it was very excellently written and quite perfect. He sent for the writer and said to me: “Your Mir Šâhib wishes to place this chronogram before the Shâh, while I say it is not wise to do so; for this reason the Shâh will summon you to his presence, and will doubtless present you with a robe (hullâh), but he is sure to say also, ‘Remain in attendance on me.’ He will appoint a monthly salary and rations, and carry you off with him. What are your ideas about this?” I repeated this hemistich—

_Ai roshnât-i-jâba’! tu bar man bâlâ shudâ!

“O sharpness of wit! thou art my damnation,”_

and held my tongue. After a moment or two Imâd-ul-mulk made a sign again to me, and said: “What is your wish, speak.” I replied: “This loyal servant obeying your exalted order brought forth moist and dry (ratb yâbûs!) So long as the Mir Šâhib does not turn me away, men may offer me lakhs of rupees, and I would not leave him.” He answered: “The men of towns, in particular of those round Lukábân, who are famed throughout the realm for their noble descent and valour; are extraordinary creatures, full of airs and graces (bâ ân o bûn).”

36 “Pearl of Pearls.” No doubt he, like the rest, had worn in his ear a gold ring, mounted with a pearl, when one of the household slaves of Nâdir Shâh. Before he rose to power a firâz had prophesied his success, and styled him Durr-i-durrân, “Pearl of Pearls,” hence his epithet of the Durrâni, “the man of the Pearls.”
After the writer had returned to his quarters, 'Imād-ul-mulk, in my absence, said to the Mir Šāhīb: 'Let me have Muhammad Hasan, and he will live with me as your representative. I will appoint you to the office of Branding and Verification of troopers' horses and the inspection of the personal rolls of my soldiers; it will be your office and he will be your deputy.' The Mir Šāhīb answered: 'Muhammad Hasan is my right hand; if your Lordship designs to amputate my hand, what objection have I?' These speeches were reported to me by the Mir Šāhīb that night, and he added: 'Now let us wait and see what happens. Whatever country or whatever office it be, you will not go away from me.'

To return to our story. As Jangbāz Khán persisted in his refusal, the chief minister and 'Imād-ul-mulk and the Mir Šāhīb sat from early morning to midday in consultation upon what should be done with regard to Ahmad Khán's business. After much argument, 'Imād-ul-mulk advised that one of the princes of Hindūstān should be appointed to the šāhīhs of Audh and Bengal, and despatched in charge of him ('Imād-ul-mulk). Jangbāz Khán should also be sent. If he agrees, well and good; if not — it is the emperor's country, and in the non-presence of the emperor, the prince affords a perfect claim and title. Wherever he directs his steps, crowds of helpers will join him. The kingdom is his kingdom. Not one of the nobles and rājāhs of Hindūstān, except they be disloyal, will act in opposition.

Thus they reported to the Shāh that if His Majesty had planted in his heart the desire to assist the emperor of Hindūstān, then one of the princes, sons of the emperor of Hind, ought to be sent for; a patent for the eastern provinces should be granted to him, and he should then be sent off in company with Jangbāz Khán. In this manner the said Khán's (Jangbāz's) scruples would be removed, and all others concerned would be reassured.

In accordance with the chief minister's proposals, the Shāh considered the plan and held it to be a good one. At once he wrote and sent off a letter to the emperor of Hindūstān, 'Aziz-ud-din, 'Alamgir Šāhī, calling upon him to send a prince at once, without any delay. The emperor of Hindūstān selected two princes; the first was named Hidayat Bakhsh, holding the title of Wālā Jāh, Bahādur. He was a son of this same emperor of India. The second was Mirzā Bābā by name and A'la Jāh by title, the emperor's son-in-law. They were despatched under the care of Nawāb Saif-ud-daulah, the Chief Almoner (gādār-gādār). A patent for the Audh province was made out in the name of Mirzā Bābā, and for Bangālāh in that of Wālā Jāh, aforesaid. The emperor affixed his own seal to these, and handed them to the princes. At the time of leave-taking he said to Nawāb Saif-ud-daulah: 'I make over these two princes to you in trust. If something in the shape of my heart desires can be accomplished, my purpose is fulfilled; otherwise, these pledges, entrusted to you, I shall demand again. See to it that they fall into no one else's hands.'

The said Nawāb, taking the two princes with two elephants, one riding horse for each, and a mere soldier's tent, reached our camp by forced marches. The Shāh also issued to them patents for the provinces in accordance with those given by the emperor of Hind. The chief minister persuaded Jangbāz Khán, and the Shāh added: 'My son, I will not leave you to be destroyed, my hand is at your back.'

'Imād-ul-mulk received an aigrette and a plume. A handsome set of robes, along with a jewelled aigrette and a feathered plume for Nawāb Ḥasanfar Jang, Ahmad Khán, were made over to the Mir Šāhīb. At the time of leave-taking the Shāh said to the Mir Šāhīb: 'Sayyid, wherever I may be, if a letter from thee reaches me, whatever request you make, it shall be attended to. Set your mind at rest.'

As the weather was hot and it was the season of the spring harvest, a great deal of sickness appeared in the Shāh's army and it took one hundred rupees to purchase one tār of tamarind,
a drink made of tamarinds being prescribed with benefit. Daily one hundred and fifty men died. Finding that the climate was adverse, the Shāh arrived at a fixed decision in his mind to return to Wilāyat. He despatched the princes and Imād-ul-mulk and Jangbāz Khān to Farrukhabād; while he wrote to Jahān Khān and Najīb Khān that as soon as they had read his letter, and wherever they might be they must start for his camp. Giving over this letter to Imād-ul-mulk, he instructed him, and two days before his own departure started him and his party off for Farrukhabād. The Shāh himself two days afterwards marched from Mathurā, and, taking the route to Kābul, made his way to Qandahār.

Let us go on with the story. The Mir Şāhib went stage by stage with that expedition as far as Akbarābād. Jahān Khān had carried out a general slaughter in that city as far as Nilah-gumbaz; then he invested the fort. Rājah Nāgār Mall and others were shut up in it. They finally agreed to pay Jahān Khān four lakhs of rupees, promising to produce the money on the following morning. Three hours after sunrise had passed, when Imād-ul-mulk and the others made their entry into Akbarābād. Owing to the general slaughter and the investment, the city was in confusion as if Judgment Day had come. The inhabitants of the city had disappeared.

Imād-ul-mulk went straight to Jahān Khān and made over to him the Shāh’s letter. After reading it he said: “I have a promise to be paid four lakhs of rupees to-morrow morning. I stop here to-day and up to midday to-morrow. On receiving the sum named from Nāgār Mall, I will begin my march.” Imād-ul-mulk retorted: “That is impossible. This is imperial territory. What damage has been done cannot be helped. But now the Shāh is on the march and you have got this order. Relinquish the hope of collecting the rupees, for after the receipt of them there will be delay.”

Jahān Khān said: “One lakh has been promised for this evening, get that paid over to me. Then what harm is there if I march.” Thus Imād-ul-mulk sent word to Rājah Nāgār Mall. The latter thought it a lucky escape and sent the lakh of rupees to Jahān Khān the same day, and that Khān began his march at the time of evening (Maghrīb) prayer, and went away.

The day after this we made a halt in Akbarābād. The princes and Jangbāz Khān crossed the Jamnā and pitched their camp in a line with Katrah Waṣīr Khān. Then quitting Akbarābād they moved stage by stage as far as parganah Mainpuri. During these marches two or three things happened, the record of which is worthy of being dwelt upon.

From Akbarābād, Najīb Khān sent his full brother, Sultan Khān, with four hundred horsemen in attendance on Imād-ul-mulk. When the princes. Imād-ul-mulk, Jangbāz Khān, and Sultan Khān reached Mainpuri, they consulted and decided to halt there. The Mir Şāhib was to go on to Farrukhabād, and bring back Ahmad Khān with him. On his arrival, whatever was decided on, could be carried out. The Mir Şāhib left the author with the tent and baggage at Mainpuri and departed for Farrukhabād. Nawāb Ahmad Khān sent two tents with screens for the princes, and one tent with screens for Imād-ul-mulk. They wrote to the author that he was to deliver these tents at their respective destinations and obtain and forward with all speed answers to the letters. The Nawāb himself would join the camp in four days. The author carried out the instructions sent him by the Mir Şāhib.

On the fourth day, in the morning, a messenger arrived with a letter from the Mir Şāhib, saying, that on that day at one watch after sunrise the heir-apparent, Mahmūd Khān, would reach the camp in advance, and the Nawāb himself would reach it in the afternoon. I carried off this letter to

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37 On the left bank, opposite Bāj Ghāt, between Nawābganj and the river; see Constable’s “Hand Atlas,” plate 46.
Imād-ul-mulk. When he had looked at it, he said: "Go to Nawāb Yāḥyā Khān" (who had also come with us) and on my behalf say to him that I am mounting to go out and escort into "camp Aḥmad Khān. He, too, should mount." I went, gave my message, and returned.

At this point another messenger came in to say that Nawāb Aḥmad Khān must have reached a place five kos distant, and his son, Māhmūd Khān, was in his company. 'Imād-ul-mulk sent the author to Jangbāz Khān requesting him to mount and come out to act as escort. I went and said the Nawāb Wazir had sent this message. He jumped up and said: "Fulān-i-man has mounted and is coming to me, what care I, and why should I go out to greet and escort him in." I came back and repeated his words to Imād-ul-mulk. He was putting on his clothes, ready to mount. He sent the author back again, telling me to say that the Mīr Gāhīb had handed me over to him when he left, and what could he write to the Mīr. I then left him. At length the said Khān also mounted. He and 'Imād-ul-mulk and Yāḥyā Khān went out four kos to meet the new arrival, and together with him they returned to the camp.

Early next morning 'Imād-ul-mulk went to the tent of Ghāṣanfār Jang Aḥmad Khān. The two of them then mounted in one litter, and in another litter was Māhmūd Khān. In this mode they went to see the princes. When they reached the entrance there was a long stoppage and both pālākīs were struck by men with their maces of office, so that a great uproar ensued at the entrance and it lasted for some hour and a quarter. Everybody exclaimed that this was a part of the ceremonial of sovereigns, and nobles look on it as a part of their grandeur. In fine, after an audience, robes of honour were conferred on both, that is, father and son, with a sword and horse for Māhmūd Khān.

In the afternoon Nawāb Sulṭān Khān came to visit Ghāṣanfār Jang. Upon his reaching the entrance he attempted to enter. One Mushir Khān, the chamberlain ('urz-begh) of Ghāṣanfār Jang, said: "Be pleased, sir, to wait a moment until I have announced you." He went in and reported. The Nawāb remarked: "Say to Sulṭān Khān that he must wait twenty minutes while I put on my clothes." On hearing these words Sulṭān Khān was offended, and made off to his own tent.

Ghāṣanfār Jang remarked: "What idea had he got into his head? Is he not aware that he was once in my service, and to this day the descriptive roll of Najīb Khān is preserved in my record-room?" The words were carried to Sulṭān Khān, and he ordered his advance tents to be sent out in the direction of Dīlī, as next morning he meant to start for Shāhjahanābād. 'Imād-ul-mulk interviewed Aḥmad Khān that evening, and said whatever the occasion called for, and gave him advice. An outward reconciliation then took place between the two nobles and they had an interview. After that Ghāṣanfār Jang went to Sulṭān Khān's quarters, and one day entertained him at a banquet.

After one week we marched from Mainpurī, and all the chiefs on reaching Farrukhābād pitched their tents on the Ganges bank close to Fathgadh. Two days afterwards news was received that Nawāb Sa'dullah Khān, Ruhelā, ruler of Awhalā, had come to an agreement with the Nawāb Shuja'-ud-daulah, and they had exchanged turbans. Then 'Imād-ul-mulk proceeded to Awhalā and prevailed on Sa'dullah Khān, Hāfiz Bahmat Khān, Mulla Sardār Khān, Dunda Khān, Phāth Khān, sāmān, and the other leaders to march for the prince's camp.

At this time news came that 'Imād-ul-mulk had been made a prisoner by the Ruhelahs of Katehr. It so chance that on the same day 'Imād-ul-mulk reached Farrukhābād in safety. The same day at noon another report reached us that the Marā хаṭ army had arrived within two marches of us, and on that night or next morning would be at Farrukhābād. Ghāṣanfār Jang brought away from Farrukhābād all the inhabitants, and conveyed them to our camp on the bank of the river. So complete was the evacuation that there was not a soul left in the city.

28 The eldest son of Khān Bahādur, Zakariyyā Khān, a former governor of Lahor; his mother and 'Imād-ul-mulk's mother were sisters, daughters of I'timād-ud-daulah, Qamar-ud-din Khān, the Wazir who was killed in 1746.
At the end of five days Sa'dullah Khan, with the chiefs named above, arrived on the farther bank of the river and encamped there. They were written to and asked to cross over the Ganges and join our force. This they did, and the whole army was united near pargana Mihrabād and Jalālābād. The tent of Sa'dullah Khan himself was pitched three miles (one farāq) from us.

Nawab Shujā'ud-daulah began a march out of his own territory and arrived at pargana Sāndī and there halted. Between the two armies there was a distance of nine kot. When a week had passed, he (Shujā'ud-daulah) sent his wife's brother, Nawāb Sālār Jang, to Nawāb Sa'dullah Khan, with a message that if at this time he would espose his cause in this great and difficult business, it would be the height of favour.

Then Nawāb Shujā'ud-daulah one day left his camp and drew up outside of it, and gave an order that commanders should report the mustering of their troops. On that day the regiment Mum Bāshi of Šādiq Beg, Mughal, was ordered to parade for inspection. Sardār Khān, the leader of five thousand Mughals, attended, but of his whole command only twenty-five horsemen put in an appearance at the muster. All the rest out of fear of the Afghāns — they having of aforesaid received a terrible handling from Ahmad Khān — had fled with their families from Lakhnau, and Banglād, [i.e., Faizābād], some going to Benares, some to 'Āginābād, some to Allahābād and other towns. No man of the Mughal race was left. From that day the said Nawāb discharged all of the Mughals. He was in a high degree anxious and perplexed.

The only course open to him seemed that Nawāb Sa'dullah Khān should, in whatever way was possible, put an end to the war and invasion. Nawāb Sālār Jang remained several days at Nawāb Sa'dullah Khān’s tent, while some settlement of the dispute was being arrived at. One day there was a general report in Shujā'ud-daulah's army that Sālār Jang had been made a prisoner. At that time great consternation arose, especially among the men from Shāhjahānābād, and the whole group of Begams was in a great state of mind. Next day they learnt that it was all a mistake.

To continue the story. With Ahmad Khān were about fifty thousand horse, old troops and recruits, as entered in the lists. The Rohelāh force was even larger. Every day the princes' audience was attended by all the leaders, including Jangtār Khān, Ḥāfiz Bahmat Khān, Mullā Sardār Khān, Bakhshāi, and Nawāb Ahmad Khān. They remained until noon and held consultations; but Sa'dullah Khān would not agree to appear.

In the end 'Imād-ul-mulk said that Sa'dullah Khān must come to the princes' audience. That Nawāb paid no attention to this. Still, one day he came and was honoured by presentation to the two princes. A title was conferred upon him, viz., Shams-ud-daulah, Mubāriz-ul-mulk, with the grant of robes of honour and a sword. The other chiefs admitted that they were willing to obey the orders of the emperor and of the Shāh; in whatever direction the princes might advance, they were ready to follow in their train and take part in the contest and battle-fray. Accordingly these assertions they supported by an oath. Sardār Khān, Bakhshāi, Ḥāfiz Bahmat Khān, and Donī Khān, went off to see Nawāb Sa'dullah Khān and informed him. He said: "You may fight, I do not forbid you; but not in the very slightest will I become ally or supporter of any man on either side."

They said he ought to remain with the army until the province of Bengal was recovered; no such opportunity would ever fall to their lot again. The said Nawāb, however, refused absolutely, and repeated his former answer. Then one day a report came to Jangbāz Khān that horsemen from the army of Shujā'ud-daulah had driven off his camels while grazing. It was noon-time. As soon as he heard this, the said Khān left from his place like a coal from a flaming fire and instantly went to see the princes, flung his turban on the ground and said: "At once I ride out to fight;
with you I have no concern." The prince took his own turban and placed it on Jangbāz Khān's head and said a few words. Jangbāz Khān came out and rode off, followed by his troops. The rest of the divisions, one after the other, mounted and took the field.

When they had come out two kos from the camp, a fierce storm arose, a cloud of yellow dust rose so high into the air that neither sky nor earth was visible. An hour and a half afterwards heavy rain came on, which lasted one and a half to one and three-quarter hours. All this wind and rain blew in their faces. So violent was the torrent of rain that the small streams could only be crossed by swimming. Jangbāz Khān halted where he was, in the expectation that when the wind lalled and the rain abated they would be able to move again, and begin the fight.

The wind and rain were so severe that all the tents in the army were blown over, the horses, pulling up their tethering pegs, dispersed in all directions, and the men were involved in difficulties and discomfort. The disturbance continued for full three hours, and the wind remained as high as ever and the rain as heavy.

Seeing no help for it, Jangbāz Khān ordered a return march from that place at three-quarters of an hour or one hour before sunset, and re-entered his camp. He remarked: "O friends! it seems as if we were acting against God's good pleasure. I am convinced now that for a further space of time the stay in this region of the Marhaṣṭhahs and others, our enemies, has been decreed."

After two days he sent a message to the princes through Nawāb Saydullah Khān that Nawāb Shujā'-ud-daulah had agreed to pay five lakhs of rupees to the Shāh's army as a tribute. As Jangbāz Khān had heard that the Shāh had started for his own kingdom, he had accepted this proposal. Next morning a lakh of rupees arrived in cash; and a cessation of hostilities was arranged. Nawāb Aḥmad Khān lost heart, and was dispersed; taking with him the princes and Ḥimād-ul-mulk he returned to Farrukkhabād.

Two days previously the author had started with a note from princes Hidāyat Bakshah and Wālī Jāh Bahadur, in consultation with Nawāb Saif-ud-daulah, who to some extent had become estranged from Ḥimād-ul-mulk; and Nawāb Aḥmad Khān had made several speeches to the Mīr Sāhib, through which his displeasure betrayed itself. Thus he, too, (the Mīr Sāhib) was a sharer in this consultation. He sent the author with the said note to see Nawāb Shujā'-ud-daulah.

This was the substance of the note. If a force were sent to a distance of two or three kos from us, we will leave this camp on the pretext of a hunting expedition, and come to join that force and then come on to you. You must also send twelve thousand rupees in cash.

When I (the author) got to Shujā'-ud-daulah's camp, I obtained an interview through Āghā Mirzā Muḥammad Ṣādiq and Mīr Ghulām Rasīl (alias Mīr Manjule), grandson of Nawāb Sipāḥdār Khān, deceased, whose grove is at Allāhābād.20 Shujā'-ud-daulah said: "To-morrow I shall be employed in getting together the lakh of rupees that I have agreed to pay. The day after that I will give you an answer and send you back with Mīr Ghulām Rasīl Khān." After this I went to visit Sheik Sāhib Sheik Allahyār21 and Sayrīd Nūr-ul-ḥasan Khān,22 both being in the service of Nawāb Shujā'-ud-daulah and commanders of cavalry regiments. With them I spent the day.

On that same date Nawāb Ghāṣanfar Jāng Aḥmad Khān and Ḥimād-ul-mulk, taking the two princes, recrossed the Ganges and returned to Farrukhabād. The Mīr Sāhib (Sher Andrān Khān)

20 This man was the son of Khān Jāhan, Kokaltāl, 'Alamgir's foster brother. He was governor of Allāhābād towards the end of 'Alamgir's reign, and died in 1139 H. (1725). The name of the grove has been now corrupted into "Bāgh Subahānār."

21 Both natives of Bīlārīm. The former, H. M. Elliot's "accurate Murtaṣā Hāsim," is the author of the valuable Ḥaḍīṣ-ul-ḥaqqīn, also written at the instigation of Captain Jonathan Scott. Nūr-ul-ḥasan Khān finally moved his home to Pānah 'Āşimābād and died there.
also went back to Farrukhabad. The next morning, when I reached the site of the camp, I found nobody but Nawab Sadullah Khan there; thus I stopped in his camp along with Mir Ghalam Rasul Khan. As the zamindars were out on the roads plundering, it was impossible to proceed to Farrukhabad. It was with the greatest difficulty that I got a note sent there for the Mir Sajib.

His answer was that I must stop where I was and begin a negotiation to get him (Sher Andaz Khan) into Nawab Sadullah Khan's employment. I (the author) obtained an interview with the Nawab through Mir Ghalam Rasul Khan. The Nawab said: "From this day I take you into my service, and as soon as I reach Aqwalah, I will send a parwanah summoning Mir Sher Andaz Khan."

That same day Nawab Sadullah Khan ordered his army to march in the direction of Aqwalah, while he himself, unattended, went into paraganah Fuli to meet Shuja'ud-daulah. After they had passed a night in the same place, Sadullah Khan returned to Aqwalah. When he had arrived he sent a parwanah, inviting the Mir Sajib to come with one hundred horsemen. The letter was made over to one Shabnam Khan, whose home was at Mau, with orders to forward it by the hand of his own servant to Mir Sher Andaz Khan.

Ten days afterwards the said Khan's brother sent back the letter unopened and wrote that Mir Andaz Khan had been appointed faujdar of the paraganah near Anupshahr, which had been granted by the Abdali Shah to Nawab Aqmad Khan. He had received robes of honour and had departed for his charge. The two princes and 'Imad-ul-mulk had started for Shajahanabad. Jangbuz Khan had remained on at Farrukhabad, awaiting the money payment promised by Shuja'ud-daulah.32

The author took the returned letter to Nawab Sa'dullah Khan, or, rather, after I had opened and read it, I made it over to him. The Nawab signed an order fixing the author's pay at forty rupees a month, and appointed me one of the gentlemen troopers (yakkah). Jangbuz Khan wrote from Farrukhabad for the money agreed on, as to which the Nawab (Sa'dullah Khan) had made himself responsible. Nawab Shuja'ud-daulah paid one lakh of rupees, and in regard to the remaining four lakhs he made a promise to pay in fifteen days, and went back to Lakhnau.

When one month had passed and the money had not arrived, Jangbuz Khan came to Aqwalah in person and demanded payment. Nawab Sa'dullah Khan said that Kajib Mian Kass, his durwa, was at Bareli; when he came back a correspondence would be opened with Nawab Shuja'ud-daulah, and in a week the money should be handed over to him (Jangbuz Khan). A week went by, but the durwa, from several causes, was still detained in Bareli and had not returned to Aqwalah.

Jangbuz Khan crossed the Ramgang river which flows between Aqwalah and Bareli, and went as far as Bareli, where he surrounded the house of the said durwa, and there was a great disturbance. That very day he obtained the four lakhs in cash from the durwa, and then made a start for his own country. Thus the sum fell to be paid by Nawab Sa'dullah Khan, and not a copper of it was recovered from Nawab Shuja'ud-daulah.

The author for twelve years remained in the service of Nawab Sadullah Khan. Upon his death (May God give him rest and admit him to Paradise), I was two years in the employ of Nawab Abdallah Khan, the former Nawab's brother and holder of paraganah Sahawani and Ujihani, et cetera. Having taken a few months' leave and gone home, I heard there that Nawab Abdallah Khan, while engaged in playing with a large snake, was bitten by it and expired. I therefore decided not to return.36

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32 Mau Rashidabad to the west of Farrukhabad.
33 See Muqaddimah, III. 148, says 'Imad-ul-mulk had reached Farrukhabad on the 7th Shawwal, 1170 H. (24th June 1767).
34 Sa'dullah Khan died on the 9th Shawwal 1170 H. (18th February 1768), aged 27 years—Tahir-i-Mu'asimad.
35 Thus the period of service under him could not have exceeded six years.
36 Both now in the Badhawas district, United Provinces.
37 Abdallah Khan died on the 7th Safar 1190 H. (14th July 1780).
Nawāb 'Abdullah Khān was an able poet; his pen-name was 'Aṣīl. He was also a capable musician and painter; and he knew a lot of secrets about snakes, and spent much time in playing with them. At length his fate came from a snake's poison and by God's decree he passed from this transitory world. May God give him rest.

Couplet.

Dunyāst dār-i-be-baqā, wughāst maskhāst-i-fanā  
"The world is a passing show, eternity conditioned by decay:
Bas khāb shud kia yūd-i-mū in ham gusasht, ān  
"Enough that in memory of me this and that happened."

[The End.]

Additional Notes.

The chronology of this invasion may be here farther elucidated from the Tārīkh-i-Ahmad Shāh, B. M. Oriental MS., No. 196, ff. 62b to 98b, and Tārīkh-i-Ālawīr Šāhī, B. M. Oriental MS., No. 1749, ff. 84b-128b.

Ahmad Shāh sent out his tents from Qandahār on the 22nd Sha'bān 1169 H. (21st May 1756) and marched on the 27th (26th May). About three weeks later Īraj Khān arrived as an envoy from India. Kabul was reached on the 9th Shawwal (6th July 1756). About the end of August, Qalandar Khān was sent to India with Īraj Khān. On the 22nd Zu'l Hijjah (16th September) the march from Kabul began; the camp was at Jalālābād on the 8th Muharram 1170 H. (3rd October 1756), and his advance troops entered Lābor on the 4th October. The Shāh reached Pesāhwar early in Safar 1170 H. (end of October). Qalandar Khān received his first audience at Dihlī on the 8th Safar (30th October 1756). The march from Pesāhwar was resumed on the 22nd Safar (15th November). On the 27th Rabī' I (19th December 1756) Āghū Rizā Khān was sent by the Indian Emperor to Ahmad Shāh. Some time in Rabī' II. (23rd December 1756 to 20th January 1757) Ahmad Shāh moved from Sonpāt to Narelah. On the 4th (26th December), after a consultation, the emperor's tents were sent out to Kaţrah Maḩsālār Khān (close to Bādli), and Ya'qub 'Ali Khān, Afgān, undertook to obtain a favorable settlement from the Durrānsī. On the 28th (19th January 1757) 'Imād-ul-mulk appeared in the Shah's camp at Narelah, Ahmad Shāh entered the Fort at Dihlī, sat on the throne, and coined money, 8th Jamādā I. (26th January 1757). Khān Khānān (Intiṣām-ud-daulah) had been made Wazīr on the 26th January; and the marriage of 'Imād-ul-mulk to Mu'in-ul-mulk's (Mannū's) daughter took place on the 29th of February.

Ahmad Shāh marched eastwards on the 21st February and Jahān Khān carried out the slaughter at Mathurā on the 28th February 1757. The two princes, who had been sent for, left Dihlī on the 14th and reached the Shah's camp on the 18th March. The Shah's return march on the 27th March; he reached Farīdābād on the 29th, and on the 2nd April moved to a place between Bādli and Narelah. From that point his movements do not concern us.

The dates of the ineffective campaign against Shuja'-ud-daulah may also be given. On the 3rd April 1757 the princes were at Mainpūrī, and Ahmad Khān, Bangash, joined them. They moved on to the Ganges on the 4th and Hirāyāt Bakhsh proceeded to Hāwah, while Mirzā Bībī remained at Qādinganj till the 19th. When Shuja'-ud-daulah came out, the prince retreated to Farrukhābād. The princes recrossed the Ganges on the 30th May and Sīlār Jang arrived from Shuja'-ud-daulah on the 10th June. Terms were arranged, and on the 24th June the princes crossed back and returned to Farrukhabad. They moved on to Dihlī and 'Imād-ul-mulk followed with Ahmad Khān, Bangash. They were at Kol ('Aligarh) on the 14th July, and four kos from Dihlī on the 23rd. 'Imād-ul-mulk on the 13th September 1757 introduced Ahmad Khān at Court, he having been newly appointed Amīr-ul-umārā (viqār Najīb Khān).
THE CHUHRAS.

BY THE REV. J. W. YOUNGSON, D.D., CHURCH OF SCOTLAND MISSION; SHALKOT.

(Continued from p. 31.)

3. The Creation.

First God created water everywhere.
From this beginning all the story then
He gave of the creation. God the Lord
Made tablets, pens, the earth, the heaven.

He made
The sun, the moon, and filled the sky with stars.
Full many wise men lived and died, but none
Could count the stars. The world is vain.

All this
Disciples have in full recorded. Lo,
Upon the Resurrection Day the sun
Will ope his sixteen eyes; the canvas
With golden poles will shade the Sháhs then.

Great priestly Bálá then will help the Sháhs.
The shadow of the flag will refuse be
Like shadow of a cloud. Believers, hear,
The true-age prayer, when Kálak Dás will stand

With Khwája. Both will be our helpers. Then
Tempestuous storm of wind will sweep the earth.

The Sháh will come, in form a second moon,
And God will sit and eat with him. What time
The offering was made by Kálak Dás
It was accepted. Hymns disciples sing,
So carefully preparing. Bálá spoke
To God, and said, 'My supplication hear.
My kindred black thy name adore; do thou
For ever in the sacrifice preside.

Appear to us, and prove our sacrifice
Acceptable to thee within thy court.'
A promise true God made to Jhaumpré. 'See,
Thy Sháhs all must sacrifice — the day,
The eighth, a sacred day must be.' And so
God gave him knowledge of the mystery,
Command to keep the altar swept, and see
That garlands of sweet flowers encircle it.

'The sacrificial portion due to me
The inmost be — it is the first and best.
If they their hearts unlock I will appear
And will accept their sacrifice.' Now read
And ponder well the record of His praise.
So Jhaumpré made petition to his Lord.
'To sacrifice on every eighth is hard;
For me impossible; like moon and stars
Preserve my Shâhâ, even if thou must
For ransom me cast into hell! God said,
'O Bâlâ, thou deservest well: take pen,
And ink and paper, for I grant thy prayer.
Throughout the world thy followers shall be saved.'

So priestly Bâlâ took a reed and wrote,
'We make a yearly sacrifice,' and thus
Great Bâlâ had his followers' sins forgiven.
'Twas easy. His disciples sang his praise,
Bhôtâni siding; goddess eloquent.
The Lord of wind and sky alone is true.
The first of God's commands disciples sing.
To father and to mother honour give,
Who showed the world to us: the goddess too
Who taught us truth. The priests and
prophets all
Were made by God. If perfect seeds are sown
Straight barley grows from out the earth, and so,
When fruits are good the priest is proved a true
And perfect priest. The former ages all
Were times of truth, but truth has left the world:
Untruth prevails: Desire attacked the truth
With onslought fierce. God made this thief desire.
False teachers are received, and proudly walk
Amid an evil age, where wicked men
Do wickedly. All this I must reveal.
The true will hear, the false reject, but those
That hear with faith at last will enter heaven.
A sinful man am I, disciple born
Within the time of Langâr Shâh, 'Twas he
Broke into many a house, and many a hut.
He burned. At last he came, repentant he,
To seek the gates of Bâlâ's shrine, where he
Had all his sins forgiven. The name of God
He made foundation sure, and, as with plumb
And compass, straight he built a hiding place,
The base firm resting on the name of God,
The top far reaching to the stars of heaven.
The blessing Bâlâ gave accomplished this.
There is no room for boast. To write a song
Assayed the priest's disciple. Thus he caught
The hem of Bâlâ's garment as he pepped,
And said, 'O thou true priest, the world is vain,
No sacrifice have I, no merit, none:
Be thou my helper in the end.' How shall
I praise thee in a song? My heart would sing
My theme shall be the virtues of the priest.
Ten times did Bālā come a priest indeed
Into this world—ten millions had he wise
Disciples—men that thought upon the Name,
But never yet could measure it. They left
The world and went in wonderment. I too
Will leave it, and my heart exclaims:'The priest,
Great Bālā thus commands, ‘Adorers of
The Name escape God’s wrath; the righteous
hears,
The rest are ignorant. But those that hear,
And trust, shall be set free from fear of pain.

4. Story

In Narwarkhāt there lived a great high priest.

Dhagānā. When his father died he was
A child, but, six months passed, the time
drew near

When his followers must be visited. He came
To Dehlī clad in red. The lambardār
A Chuhrā was, his name Sadhīnā, he
A bed prepared all for his priest, and placed
A pillow on it. Then in haste he cooked
His food for him. The priest regards the bed.
How wondrous are God’s works. A messenger

In haste came running to the Chuhras’ homes,
And to the headman orders gave to send
The Chuhras all—the king commanded. ‘Bat’
He said, ‘we cannot go to-day—our priest
Has come—beware, he is as dangerous
As any serpent. All this knows the king:
He tried him once, for this child’s father sent
King Akbar’s cot straight to the sky, for

Which,

He gifted him the fertile village lands
Of Isā Nand, a golden temple too,
And freed him forty villages from tax.

That priest all in the morning caused the bed
Suspended in the sky to seek the earth.
This young priest too a cobra is, the son,
Of him we spake of. This we longed for, Sir,
He visits us.’ This song all in his praise
His true disciple made. The messenger
Brought word, ‘The Chuhras will not come.’
The king
THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY.

Demanded, 'O Khair Din, why brought you not
Them forcibly? Where are the idle folk?'
Police and Chubras are old enemies,
A watchman standing by adds fuel to fire.
'The Chubras will not come because their
Whose father sent great Akbar's bed sky high,
Is come.' So Jahangir was angry. Drops
Of sweat stood on his brow. 'Go,' cried he,
'Catch
This priest, and see he flee not. Bring him here,
And hang him!' So the king's command.
The king
His army marched against him, but he found
No force opposing, for to a priest there sat
Transformed into an infant who was brought
to Jagdi Khât, while every province round
Was taught to seek and him identify.
The king commands that he in chains be
brought,
If haply from his father's name God wipe
The old disgrace away. A Chappari-band,
A Chubra, Mang by name, concealed the
priest.
He hid him in his house and showed, instead,
His children. Then in marriage to the priest
He gave his daughter, girl of summers twelve.
'Twas Vidh, the mother, that united them,
And none may separate the pair. Now far
The praises publish that the true disciple
sang.
The priest upon the river bank engaged
In contemplation. Twelve long years he passed,
Twelve years of fasting, solid food he'd none.
He worshipped God, and lived an anchorite.
Then God alone he knew, and so he came
To be a worthy priest. Alone he lived,
Until his own disciples came to say
His wife, his Nur Divânt, missed him much,
And grieved for him. She ran towards the wild,
Even where her priest was sleeping. There she stood
And bowed beside his feet. His flesh was dried
Upon his bones. She called him, standing near
She clasped his feet to wake him modestly.
She said, "My priest, had you been still a child,
I would have fondled you as once I did.
Ah me! had my dear home resounded sweet
With children's voices, then I had not thus
Been here. You wed me but my youth, alas,
Is passing swift away. Oh let me stay,
And serve you like a slave." Dhagānā rose.
And mused, 'A many valiant men have been
Undone by women. Rawan lost Ceylon
For Stā. Gajrī fascinated Khan
What time he stole the ring, and Ranja Bhoj
A horse became; his wife applied the whip.
And thus the sons of prophets fought and
died.

They said they died for men — for women
'twas
They died. Great Jahangīr Chagatta, once
The king of Dilli, gay bridegroom became,
And lost his honour to a dancing girl,
What will become of me?" Dhagānā cried.
He rose, he shouted, till the heavens shook.
The earth did quake; the white ox Dhaul for
fear
Did tremble, and the light of day grew red
Like blood. The voice straight penetrates
Heaven's court.

Forthwith God sends His angel Gabriel.
A message brings he from the Lord; he comes
So speedily all to the priest and asks,
'What sekest thou?' The priest replied,
'A lamp
Have I prepared, and placed within it oil,
And ews a wick: light thou the wick. True
God
Who art. Light from thine own light give
to me,
Quench thou my thirst, for Bālā priest am I,
A wanderer free. My one request vouchsafe.'
So Gabriel, back bearing his request
Presented it, with explanation, 'Lo,
Tis Bālā, wandering priest, that makes request,
And will not be content till it be given
A cup of sparkling light.' God gave it free,
And placed it in the angel's hands. He said,
'Give them, the husband and the wife, give
both
An equal share, and say that Bālā comes
Into the world again. Let none refuse
To hear him, for he is a mighty man
Of God. He may be angry, in his rage

Jh bi āvēr daṅkē Shāh Bālā āhmād
Mat khē chēlē is di hāt gaḥ bhāvānāhād
Jh bārd sōrāvar pir hai ḍam zamat lāhād.
Srāvī ḍaṅkē ṭhā ṭhānādā
Jhēd adāb kārūn kē ḍānd ḍhēyān
Jh ḍhēd ārd kē hēd, nāhīṁ ant bāyān.
Jh chhūtā jāj jāl bānd ṭich kīt ahānān.
Pār ṭēpān aṁtār rahāyā ṭhā kē ḍhēyānā.
Agni gaya dunia te nau vori jawan
Hain daswan varta tuh ghar dyal parwan
Par sakhe he de nam the hokh qubdan.
Vihin nur dita tunkhe dasa pire de anyada.
Jhane he de murud na, bithali jin.
Nahi gadh sirhseadin, thun en bolda.
Jau agyi Dhara Bida de hir ja yuchna.
Shalu Bida de murud nuna na paseotherdinn.
Jinhe asta yuchna na sab balkhe jada.
Jos Shala Bida de murud haan, nan neh nigah.
Khulde darowji varos, ho soperd.
Massali jhanya bha gaye unhaa de koi nauha ja.

He may dishonour some. Go, Gabriel, go,
Declare to them the signs, and see that they
Give him due honour. He is great, so great,
His greatness none will measure. On the deep
He floated six and thirty ages; then
He gave oblations; in the shell I kept
And shielded him from harm. Nine times before
He has incarnate been, now in thy house
A tenth time he will come. Let all regard,
And sacrifice themselves to him." An equal share

The angel gave them, and the signs he showed
'Who follow him will go to heaven at last,
The angels dare not summon them, nor dare
To bring them to the presence of the king
That rules in Hell. No force unlawful will
Compel the followers of Bala Shah.
Their sins will be forgiven who look with faith
To Bala Shah. All fearlessly they come
And enter free the doors of Heaven, but those
That are Massalis straight will enter Hell,
Where flames await them. Munkir and Nakir
Will strict examine them, a record true
Of deeds, both bad and good, they will demand,
And then they'll break their bones, but Bala's men
Will be nor asked, nor born again. All grace
Will them be shown, and fans be waved on high
To cool them.' Bala drank the cup of light
And homeward sped — a lamp with heavenly light
Was given him. Nine months passed, a child was born,
One happy night the mother omens sought,
And lo! from heaven high came angels down
To see the child. Bright lamps were lit, and placed
On stands; bright fays and fairies came to sing:
'Behold the priest, and God be with you all.'
On Saturday, by night, the priest was born,
The lamps that burned grew dim, the midwife ran
In fear. The child's first draught was one of light
All in a golden cup. His mother looked
And saw him first. She gave him milk and so
The priest was now the tenth time incarnate.
Hear ye with eyes and ears, the ninth is passed,
The tenth great age began. The Pandits said,
The child must hide twelve years in darkness drear;
No light must see—his star is powerful. He,
If you the truth would know, among the gods
Is strongest. This keep secret.'

Shāh Muqīm

Had his last resting place where Saiyids brave,
His grandsons, lived. An enemy brought them word
The Chuhras dared them cut their shisham tree.
The shisham tree the priest of Chuhrs loved
Is great. The Saiyid priest, this hearing, yoked
The oxen to the wagons. Saiyids took
Their axes, shouldered saws, and stood beneath
The shisham tree. Regarding it they said,
'Yes, three good doors the tree will make, the wright
The boards shall plane; we'll carve them fine
with flowers.
So beautiful they'll be—and lovely chairs
We'll make—our wives will run to own them.' So
The Saiyids talked with purpose fixed and firm,
To fell the tree, but Pir Dhagānā came.
He begged them to have patience, not to cut
The tree. A priest he was and spoke them fair
As fearing God. A man may make request
And humbly say 'Friend, help me with my load.'
The friend thus meekly asked no aid affords.
Just so the Saiyids harsh comply not. What
Will God do now? Dhagānā, priest, was calm.
He to the Saiyids said, 'The Master is
Within; touch not the tree; you'll rue it else.'
The Saiyids angrily cried, 'Who's the man
That will prevent us?' Priest Dhagānā came,
Unlocked the door that led to chambers dark Beneath the ground, and looking on his son
The rightful priest, the story told him thus:—
The grandsons of the Muslim priest have dared To come with purpose ill to fell the tree,
The shisham tree. But learn they must to feel,
And recognise, our power. The tree itself
Is little worth; the insult offered us
Is great. The world will scoff.' But Bala said
In answer to his father, 'Who will dare
To cut the tīll tree, which is the Lord's.
Forbid me not and I will lay in dust
Their heads; if on me rests God's power, behold,
Like chaff they go.' But priest Dhānakā said,
'You're still a child—within this cell you've lived
For twelve long years: defeat means dire disgrace,
And if you're killed, a hawk escaped, alas,
Is not more swiftly lost to sight than you.'
'The Lord is all resourceful,' Bālā said,
'Why weep you? Tell me all your grief, and seat
Me on a basket, bathe me, glorify
The Lord who gave me grace to worship Him
For six and thirty years. If He appears,
My adoration paid, then victory
Undoubtedly will be yours.' The father then,
Like hermit true, made this request. 'Essay
Your power: a grain of corn sow, which sown
Shall in an instant grow if victory
Is ours. If not, then insult and a grave
Beside your fathers will your portion be.'
The boy, his sire assenting, now prepared
To go. Like burning coal he went in wrath,
With speed as of a spear. His heart was fixed
In prayer all close within God's presence.
'Thou,
O Lord, didst send me to the world; behold,
Thy servant now is troubled. Succour me.'
The Lord addressed the priest, 'Why art thou sad?
Pride grasps a sword in vain; no wound it makes:
Grasp thou thy sword's hilt, sharpen it and cut
Clean off the lion's paws, Muhammad's race.'
These songs are sung, compiled by followers true.
Oh read and sing God's name. The priest emerged
From out his dark seclusion. Giving alms
His mother kissed her son—his forehead high
Was like the moon. It shone as do the stars
That shine in heaven, or like the moon aloft
That beams and glows. The beauty of his face

Nār matthē ād chāmakādā lēndā tēkhāre
Pīr pōshkādān pahānādā nāhādē āpar kårē.
Pir th akhích, Saiyyidā, kói dē nishānī,
Tālī rakhānām ā goñā thānā hē gīrānī.
Aṭthō hi mar javāhāgā hō ḍōngha ā thānt.
Gusa āgyā Saiyyidā māḥ, agyā āgyā
Pir nāḥ jhaurkā ḍō kāhārā ḍhāyā
Pir panjā ugarā marār Saiyyidā dē lāyā
Jānā thān ṭārī ṭā ṭā bāhār ḍyā
Zamin tē ḍā pēyā na bālī bālī
Majjē uttē pēkē vēr nāwī dōyā
Khuśāwālā nā mārā Rabb ē āp jāmāyā
Jādā thālī ravanān hār rēkā jādāh vādāhān
nāh sī āgyā

Shāh Dāhggā ākhādā pir lāk ḍhājārī
Ik miyān nāhī thānīlīdūn ṭūn dō talvedrīnā.
Pēc put nāhī ḍāmā ḍō ālā thāli
Jān Nishāwūr mār bāhā āyā na bād Khiyālī.
Lēkē sārā lā ṭā ḍīr ērī kaḥriyā
Majjālā thānīlāyā d Nishāwūr vāriyā
Agge choudhrī Rām Chāndā sī, jīs vādghūn thā
phārīyā
Bāh jā bādd lākā, kihā kariyā hārīyā.
5. Story of Dānā.

Nausher town is near by Imminābād,
And Dānā heard of Muslim law profaned,
Chugattās reigned in Dillī. Jahāngīr,
The king, did justice. Dānā was his friend,
He said, and teacher. So the king decreed
Him honour great, and said, ‘I come not here
Again—man lives but once—make thy request,
And I will give thee province good.’ He thought,
And said, this Dānā Qāzī, ‘Give me all
Imminābād, without appeal to thee
In Dillī: I will cleanse the land of all
Unlawful things.’ Great Jahāngīr bestowed
Imminābād on him. The Lord’s great works
Are wonderful. Said Dānā, ‘Panjāb law
Is curst to make or change: who disobeys
Shall exiled be.’ In gladness entered he
Imminābād. All men brought gifts. Throughout
The Panjāb it was noise that Dānā made
This entrance to the town. The Brahmans feared.
They knew not what the Lord would do.
When’er
There was a wedding. Dānā first of all
In Imminābād was called, the best of food
He chose, and, though no gift he gave, yet he
Kept count of others’ gifts. None dared complain,
As fearing the Chugattās. Dānā was
A king among them. Beggars feared to beg,
And strangers ceased to smoke; faqirs indeed
Shrank from him as a man shrinks from a grave.
This song of praise the true disciple made
To glorify the name.

Shah Doulāh was
A famous saint who loved the streams. He made
His way to Gujrat by stages long
And entering Imnabat he begged an alms,
But all unhappy met with Dānā, who
'To try him asked the Kalmas five.
'I only know,' said the faqir the name
Of God. Nought else I know.' Dānā was
wrought.
He laid a load upon the poor man's head,
Despite the people's prayers to let him go,
He set the city boys upon the saint,
Who stoned him from the town.

Then came a saint
Whom all men owned to be a teacher true,
The Gūr Nānak. Hindūs bowed to him,
As here and there he wandered trying the
world.
In Imnabat he stayed: the people brought
Their gifts to him and said, 'Sat Gūr has
come.'
But Dānā came to see him, questioning,
'Men honour you without a cause: what sign
Show you that I should honour you who teach
The Hindūs?' Nānak said, 'I know but
this,
The name of my Sat Gūr. Oh Muslim judge,
All priests and prophets, makers of the law,
Called men of God, are nought 'fore God. A
play
It all is — God alone is the true saint,
Oh foolish Qāḍī.' Dānā angry grow.
He locked the saint up — made him turn the
mill
To grind their corn. So Nānak spread his
sheet
And ground the corn of all the town without
An effort. Fleeing then the town he showed
His power so. This song of praise was made
By true disciple, Read and glorify
The Name.

Mīráliwālā Mulla read
So many books, he met all men in strife
Of argument. He sent the poor saints' alms
To Dānā. Let us see, the Chelā sang
What the Lord does. The mulla's wont was to
Insult the ladies, who left off to use
Their lace and henna, ceased to dye their eyes
And wear their jewels; even wreaths of flowers
They dared not wear, and, if a man should hold
Converse with any maid, a blasphemer
He straight was judged. The mulla grew
full rich
With bribes, and fat — the story I will tell.
The Bâbas and the Sodhis talked about
The mulla. 'Rogue and rascal he,' said they,
'Mustaches brown and beard but scanty his.
He has no principles, his ways are bad.
The fasts and prayers are nought to him; he
would
Be called a teacher — takes his Thursday bread
From all the houses.'

Mulla Gahpá, marched
To Garh Naushera: there he saw the rites
That Chûhrâs practised in the sacrifice.
Their priest killed rams and goats himself,
not once
Called in a Muslim priest. And seeing this
Gahpá grew angry like a glowing coal.
'Oh Gahpá,' the disciple said, 'observe
The way the Shâhís sacrifice.' But Gahpá said,
'You kill both rams and goats, how dare you
have
Such rites? We that do know the Law of God
Will kill you. Know you not that Shams
Tabrâz,
Priest of Multân, was by the masters of
The law hung up by the feet and flayed, because
He broke the law. They cast him out. They
would
Not let him eat. The sun approached, and he
Did roast his fish and ate his scanty meal.
They spared not him, then how will you
escape?'
The priest replied, 'The rams and goats are
ours,
The law is yours. We do not want your law,
Nor have we called you. Yours it is to seek
A quarrel. Go. We know not you, nor where
You dwell and execute your law.' But he
Went not to Gujrânwâl, but took his way
to Imminâbad, to see the Qâzi. So
He went in tears. Gahpá the priest appeared
Before Dânâ the Qâzi. There he wept
Such bitter tears, and threw his turban down
So vehemently, and beat his breast so sad
That Dânâ Qâzi cried: 'Take hold of him.
Here set him — and see he has been beaten, or
A serpent poisonous has stung him, so
Use charms. Or mayhap he has some disease.
Chulí Íló áí pí dí aúṣí Dána dí òssó.
Chíhíráá dí pí bá híh Níhíahíóó dí wássó,
Chíhíráá bóló kóó ní láí, mulláá ná ní òossó.
Dána káhí sihíráá múa Újhí kóró tálóyó,
Aówó hó jó jíh ñíhódóh jíhóó bó táídóó
Pír náá gòl dán ná díí níhíh níhíh híhóó Òvóó.
Añhí pásó júahí láá,
Chíhíráá bóló wéh híjó,
Chíhíráá bóló wéh híjó,
Jóhó jíhóó bó táídóó
Sëu aówó júahí jíhóó,
Jóhó jíhóó bó táídóó
Chúhíráá bóló wéh híjó,
Jóhó jíhóó bó táídóó
Añhí pásó júahí láá,
Chíhíráá bóló wéh híjó,
Chíhíráá bóló wéh híjó,
Jóhó jíhóó bó táídóó.

**Control him—and shut him up indoors.**

They tried
To hold him, but he cast them off and nailed
Against priest Bílí, saying to Dána, 'I, the
Chuhíráá's priest, lives in Naashera. He
Kills rams and goats himself, and disregards
The Muslim priests.' Thus spake he. Dána
Gave
His soldiers orders to prepare to mount
Their horses, ride away, and draw their swords,
Nor let the priest resist by even a word.
He must not have their leave to utter word,
'Gé bring him here in chains, his priesthood I
Will prove. I'll see if he kills rams himself,
The headstrong man.' His own disciple wrote
This song of praise. May God vouchsafe us
Peace.

*(To be continued.)*

**BOOK-NOTICE.**


Every visitor of Ootacamund has met the sturdy, shock-headed aborigines of the soil, who first greet him with a merry 'saláw' and then naively and confidently ask him for his tribute in the shape of an 'illóm' (as the Arabic word 'ám is pronounced by them). Their little colonies of barrel-shaped huts are scattered all over the Nilgiri plateau. Two of them are on the very outskirts of the summer capital: one near Sylk's Hotel and another close to the Government Gardens. Others occupy some of the most picturesque spots in the environs: near the Marlimund Reservoir, near the Umbrella Tree, at the top of the Sigur Ghat, in Governor's Shola, &c. From the time when the hills were first visited by Europeans (which is less than a century ago), the Todas have excited much interest, and a pretty extensive literature has grown up regarding them. No observer, however, has made so deep a study of them as Dr. Rivers, whose special accomplishments as an anthropologist, and whose previous experience of similar work in the Torres Str. ensuite enabled him to gather very accurate and detailed information about their customs and beliefs. The result of his stay among them is the delightful volume to which I seek to draw the attention of all friends of India.

Dr. Rivers gradually examined nearly every individual of the whole tribe, which numbers about 800 people. With the help of two interpreters—a catechist and a forest ranger—he extracted from them a vast mass of valuable items of information, which he checked and verified by cross-examination and independent statements. He found these uncultured savages extremely intelligent, veracious, and far from reticent except on certain tabooed matters.

The Todas are a purely pastoral race and do not possess any wealth or means of subsistence except their fine, fierce-looking buffalo-cows, to the care of which their daily life is devoted. No wonder that in their belief milk has become a sacred substance and the dairy a place of worship. 'The milking and churning operations of the dairy form the basis of the greater part of the religious ritual of the Todas' (p. 38). Besides the 'ordinary buffaloes' attached to every village, there are herds of sacred buffaloes which are tended by dairymen-priests. The holiest kind of dairy is the tár, and its priest the pálú (i.e., milkman). Dr. Rivers gives a full description of the complicated dairy ritual, plans of the dairies, and photographs of the dairy-vessels, the priests, and their attendants. The most sacred object of the dairies are certain buffalo-bells (mauí), which are kept in the innermost room of the dairy-temples, and to which a miraculous origin is imputed. The picture on p. 51 will interest Sanskrit scholars, as it shows the native method of churning, which is frequently alluded to in Hindu literature. Most of the dairies resemble in form
the ordinary dwelling-huts; but a few, such as the so-called ‘Toda Cathedral’ (pp. 44, 46), are circular, with a conical roof. To keep off cattle and wild beasts, both huts and dairies are surrounded by walls and have a very small opening, which can be passed only by creeping, and is closed by a sliding door on its inner side. The interior has two raised portions on which the people sleep.

One of the most striking customs of the Todas is polyandry combined with polygyny. ‘Wives are constantly transferred from one husband, or group of husbands, to another, the new husband or husbands paying a certain number of buffaloes to the old’ (p. 523), and ‘a woman may have one or more recognised lovers as well as several husbands’ (p. 524). The catechist who translated the Commandments was met by the serious difficulty that there is no word for adultery in the Toda language. Dr. Rivers has taken the trouble to work out, and has published, as an Appendix, the genealogies, as far as they were remembered, of nearly the whole of the Toda community. These pedigrees are valuable in various respects. They illustrate the complicated system of Toda kinship and provide statistical material for the study of the marriage regulations. The older census records show a considerable excess of men over women. Dr. Rivers attributes this fact to the practice of female infanticide which, as his new tables prove, has now almost entirely ceased.

As may be expected, Dr. Rivers’ volume contains a full account of the funeral ceremonies of the Todas. I have witnessed cases of both varieties; the so-called ‘green funeral’ at which the corpse is burned, and the ‘dry funeral’ at which certain relics — a lock of hair and a piece of the skull — are finally cremated. On these occasions the fire is produced by friction, as I am able to confirm from personal knowledge. Before the cremation various articles, which the deceased person is expected to require in the other world, are placed near the body. As a conditio sine qua non some buffaloes have to be killed, which will supply him or her with milk and flesh in the future life. ‘Formerly it was the custom to slaughter many buffaloes at every funeral. This impoverished the people and was prohibited by the Government about forty years ago, and since that time the number of buffaloes killed at each ceremony has been limited to two for each person’ (p. 338). The two victims are caught and drugged to the appointed spot, where they are dispatched by striking the head with the blunt side of an axe. The racing of the infuriated and frightened animals by muscular youths, the dignified bearing of the more aged spectators (who remind us of Roman senators), the lamenting of the mourning women, the musical (? strains of the band of Kotas (who receive as their fee the flesh of the slaughtered buffaloes), — all this combines with the grand contour of those lovely hills in producing a weird scene which no visitor will ever forget. The Todas call the abode of the dead ‘the world of Am,’ i.e., of the Hindu god Yama. It is believed to be situated to the west of the Nilgiris, and to reach it a river near Sispara has to be crossed by a thread bridge. Wicked Todas cannot cross it, but fall into the river, where they are bitten by leeches. When they get out on the further bank of the river, they have to stay in a sort of purgatory before reaching their final destination.

I conclude these hasty notes on Dr. Rivers’ important work by reprinting from p. 385 the translation of a funeral dirge, which alludes to Ootacamund and its lake and the boats on it, and betrays the influence of the Zemana Mission, under whose protection the author of the poem had lived for some time:

"O woman of wonderful birth, renowned were you born, O flower of the lime tree! Having found a proper husband, you married; having found a proper wife, I married. I gave my best buffalo to Pierdr for you. I took you as a beauty to Kunur. A house we built, bracelets and buffalo-horns we made in sport. I thought we should have had many children and many buffaloes should we have enjoyed. Liberal you were and refreshing like the shade of the umbrella tree. We thought that we should live long. We went together as we willed. We bought strong buffaloes and we prevailed over injustice. Peacefully we paid our fine. We went to those that had not. We went to see the bungalows and the reservoir. Many coms we visited and ships also. We laid complaints before the native magistrate; we made bets and we won. We said that we would not be shaken and would fear the eye of no one. We thought to live together, but you have left me alone, you have forsaken me. My right eye sheds tears, my right nostril smarts with sorrow. I bewailed but could not find you. I called out for you and could not find you. There is one God for me."

E. HULTZENCH.

Halle, 9th March 1907.
THE villages of Basgo and Nyemo are situated on the right bank of the Indus, at the two ends of a long plain which is the site of the important Battle of Basgo, when the invading armies of the Mongols and Tibetans were defeated with the assistance of the army of the Mughal Emperor of India. The strong fortress of Basgo, the ruins of which come into sight, when the end of the large plain between Saspola and Basgo is reached, was not destroyed during the Mongol war, but by Dogra troops between 1834 and 1841 A.D.

(a) The Fortress of Basgo.

This fortress is mentioned twice in the Ladakhi Chronicles before the great siege of o. 1646-47. We first hear of it as one of the possessions of Dragspa'abum, the rival king to 'aBumdo, c. 1400-1440. Dragspa'abum may have found some fortifications in the place, but he seems to be the man who made a really valuable stronghold of it, and it is probable that all the thick ancient walls and round towers were built in his time. The supply of water in the fortress must have been continuous, as is shown by the length of the Mongol siege, and the existing brook was probably included in the fortifications. Also, there could have been during the war no lack of food, as the grain-stores of all the Ladakhi castles were almost inexhaustible, owing to the custom of adding some grain at every harvest. The castle store-houses sometimes look like very deep round wells, and at Wanla I was told that the grain stored there of old was not even yet emptied out.

The most conspicuous building in the fort, and the one which alone is still entire, is the Chamba (’aByamsa) Monastery, built by King Senggo-rnam-rgyal, c. 1590-1620. It contains an image of Maitreya, made of copper (clay and wood?), gilt, in size “such as he will be in his eightieth year” (as the Chronicles say), i.e., about three stories high! The face cannot be seen in the lower story, as it is often the case with these statues, because the head reaches through the ceiling and must be inspected from a higher place.

Of the once famous Royal Palace here, called Rabstan-tha-rtse, there is not much left. A small building, which is locally known as the Seljang (probably ySer-ling) Monastery, is to be found inside the ruins. There is a court on the roof with covered galleries all round it, in fair preservation. There are here some very rude Lamaist paintings, with explanatory inscriptions in modern dBu-med Characters. One portion of the wall is covered with a very long inscription in black ink in dBu-can Characters, which probably tells of the construction of the galleries and the decoration of the palace. It is certainly of some historical value, but in such bad preservation that I could not make much of it. The middle and lower portions are quite gone. I tried to find a king’s name in it, and the Lama who assisted me in the task, occasionally pointed to certain words in the inscription. When he took his finger off the wall, away went the word which he had pointed out, and I believe that it is in this way that the most important parts of the inscription have been destroyed. There is, however, some hope left that it will be possible to fix its date approximately. The inscription contains a great number of names of state-officials and similar well-known persons, whose dates will, no doubt, eventually become known by a collation of the various inscriptions in these parts. I copied one of the many names, that of a Lama, Stag-thangba-ngag-dbang-rgya-mthso. The term Stag-thangba plainly indicates that he must have been a disciple or

* I find that the date of the siege of Basgo has been preserved by Bernier, the friend of the Moguls (see Pinkerton’s Travels). He speaks of this battle as having taken place 17 or 18 years before 1664, i.e. 1646-47. I am convinced that a date preserved by a European is more deserving of our acceptance than one preserved by the Tibetans, on whose authority 1593-96 has been accepted up to the present as the date of the siege.
successor of the great Lama Stag-thang-ras-chen, who flourished during the reign of Sengge-rnam-rgyal, mentioned above, and thus the date of the inscription has to be fixed at any rate about 1600 A.D. or a little later. The Lama Ngag-dbang-rgya-mtho is mentioned as a contemporary of Sengge-rnam-rgyal on an inscription from Saapa.

(b) Hymn in Honor of Sengge-rnam-rgyal.

(On Stone.)

This hymn (in dBu-can Characters) is found on one of the numerous marci-walls which are built along the trade-road, below the Fortress of Baigo. Close by is a tablet on stone, containing a hymn in honor of Nyima-rnam-rgyal, but the stone has become so much weathered that hardly any part of the inscription, besides the name of the king, can be made out. I also noticed in the neighbourhood a tablet containing a hymn in honor of bDe-skyong-rnam-rgyal, but it has not yet been read.

**Tibetan Text.**

skye dgu phan bdei sbrang char stilii
sang bde dgabai lotog sseor smin
snyanpai rnga chen nam mkhai lhongsas rdungs.
gragspa dpal ldan riboi rtsenay yyo.
dpeng thsegs dragpo dar skad 'ururu
dge bcu 'adzompai bya thiriri
dar rgyas skyidpai glu len gyurarur
yulla 'yang chags sala 'adurdu mtho
chos rgyal pho brang rab brtan la rtsa dang
de sogs 'adzam gling yongala dbang bgyurpar
'sigameg sengges btsegpai khri stengdu
Nya khri btsanpo zhes byai sa bdag byung
mkhyerpa rab rdzogs 'ajampai dbyangs dang mthonuga
mkha nnyam sa skyong thugs rje chenpo 'adra
thub btsan skyongba 'yangsbyai bdagpo bzhin
chos rgyal chenpo sengge rnam rgyalgyi

**Translation.**

The rain which is of great advantage to all beings, makes stilii
And the different kinds of fruit (harvest) ripen, pleasing in their own beauty,
The great and melodious drum of heaven is beaten in the zenith,
And shakes [the air] from the zenith of the famous and glorious mountain.
The strong voice of the noble company [of gods] makes 'ururu,
The prayers in which the ten virtues are gathered, sound thiriri.
The song of the spreading happiness sounds gyurarur.
In the land pleasure grows, and high joy on the earth.
The palaces of the kings of faith, Bab-brtan phar tse, and the others, were raised by the fearless lion who
Really is the wielder of might in Jambudvipa.
On the throne Originated a lord of the earth, called Nya-khris-byungpo.
He is like the perfectly wise 'aTam-dbyangs. (Mañjughoṣha).
He is like the protector of heaven and earth, the great Merciful (aPhyan-ras-rga; Avalokiteśvara).
He is like the protector of the doctrine of Buddha, the Lord of mysticism (Phyag-rdor, Vajrapāni);
May the life-time of the great king of faith, Sengge-rnam-rgyal,
Remain firm, and his helmet remain high!
And may also his political power spread!
There resides also queen bSkal-bzang, the incarnation of the (white) Tārā.
May her children and abundance increase!
Praise to the princes of beautiful shape and
good faces.

De-ladan-nam-rgyal, and Indra Boti-

rnam-rgyal!
There resides also the daughter of the gods, the
beloved princess Nor-'adzin.
May [she] rejoice in the religion before father
and mother!
The great ministers of faith are enjoying
ninefold happiness.

Notes.

sman bya; the word bya is probably related to byedpa, and the meaning of the construction would be 'doing prayer,' pray.

'adzrdu, the exact meaning of this word I find it impossible to ascertain. In my translation I have considered it parallel to yangs-shogs.

Rab-brtan-lha-rtse is the vernacular name of the castle at Basgo.

Indra-Boti-rnam-rgyal; according to the rGyal-rabs, the name of the second son is Indra-

Bodhi-rnam-rgyal. The name testifies to Sengge-rnam-rgyal's inclinations to Hinduism, which are also mentioned in the rGyal-rabs. The last lines are somewhat injured and cannot be read with absolute certainty.

(c) The Ancient Ruined Monastery of Basgo.

Outside the present village of Basgo, a little to the east of it, on the plain between Basgo and Nyemo, there are the ruins of an ancient monastery which is generally known as Sogpoi mGonpas, the Mongol Monastery. It is locally believed to have been erected by the Mongols during the siege, c. 1646-47, but at Basgo and Nyemo almost everything ancient, of which there is no certain record, is nowadays thought to be connected with the Mongols, who are also believed to be the erectors of many a ruined mchod-rtsem. In most cases, however, it is quite improbable that the Mongols had anything to do with them.

As regards the Monastery, it is quite probable that it existed as such at the date of the Mongol War and was destroyed during that war. This supposition is strongly supported by the fact that there are mani-walls along the two paths which branch off from the main road and lead to the ruin, because mani-walls were hardly built before 1600 in Ladakh, as a study of the votive tablets on them proves; and it is not likely that mani-walls would be constructed on a road to a ruined building which had lost its significance. These considerations go to show that these two particular mani-walls were constructed between 1600 and 1646.

The Monastery consists of a large hall, twelve paces square. On the right and left of the East side are two smaller rooms which project out from the east wall, and probably formed the ends of a gallery that once connected them. The walls are still in existence, but as the roof has long fallen, rain has destroyed the paintings with which they were once decorated. The only traces of paintings now existing are the raised medallions, the forms of which are still quite distinct. In the plate attached the arrangement of those on the West (fig. 1) and of the North and South walls (fig. 2) are shown. The East wall had none, but contains the door. Their existence creates the presumption that the Monastery was built by Kashmiri monks.
Monasteries with raised medallions on the walls are very rare, and, as far as I know, only in a single instance, that of the Chigtan Monastery, are the original paintings on the medallions, or at least traces of them, still preserved, a fact which makes the Chigtan Monastery to be of the greatest importance with regard to the ancient Kashmiri form of Buddhism in Ladakh. A Muhammadan mullah is said to have covered the paintings there with mortar, and when I visited the place, the mortar was still on them. But possibly the mortar may prove to have been the means of their preservation, for I can quite imagine that, by working carefully over them with a brush, these ancient pictures, overlaid and hidden probably in the eighteenth century A.D., can be brought to light again.

There are some ancient ruined mchod-rten at Basgo, which probably go back to the first days of this monastery, say, between 900 and 1000 A.D. Most of these are to be found in or near the gorge, west of the village, on the road to Saspol. Several of them take the form of a staircase-pyramid, with a ground-plan of star-shape. They thus remind one of the ancient ruined mchod-rten at Alchi.

(d) The Ruined Nunnery at Nyemo.

On a rock above the eastern part of the village of Nyemo, near the gorge leading up to the plain between Nyemo and Phyang, are the ruins of ancient buildings, which are popularly known as Jomol-mgonpa, the Nunnery. There is but little beyond the foundations to be seen of it now, and, besides potsherds of the ordinary sort, there is nothing on the spot to remind one of its ancient occupants.

South of Nyemo, on the right bank of the river, there are ruins of a huge castle built in cyclopean style, of the origin of which even local tradition knows nothing; and not very far from this castle, which is called Chung-mkhar, in a little enclosure of rough walls, is a stone image of rather rude make and very ancient appearance. This is generally known as the Aphyi-Tomo-rDorje (grandmother Nun rDorge), and is apparently believed to represent one of the ancient abbesses of Nyemo. The figure wears a crown of five points on her head, and carries a crozier in her right hand (see fig. 7). Such croisiers are not used nowadays, so I am told. On her face is a black spot which is due to the hot butter which is smeared over it at times; for the cult of this old image has not yet ceased, and on certain occasions, especially on New Year's Day, the whole village assembles, and drums and clarionets are played before the image for several hours. For the rest of the year, the image is in the care of a peasant, called the Chung-mkharpa, who is the owner of the ground near the castle.

By the name of the ancient abbess, said to be thus represented, one is reminded of the famous rDorje-phagmo, Vajravarahani, who is nowadays continuously incarnated in the abbesses of the Samding Monastery on the Yamdok Lake. But it is practically impossible to decide now, whether in the name of the image at Nyemo the ancient name of the abbesses of Nyemo has been preserved for us through popular tradition, or whether the name merely represents the fame of the abbesses of Samding.

Between the ruins of the Monastery and the Castle are several ancient mchod-rten and traces of rows of mchod-rten, which seem to have contained 108 mchod-rten each. These rows are the predecessors of mani-walls. Popular tradition assigns these relics of a former age to the Mongols, and says that the Mongols constructed all of them during their siege of Basgo. This is, however, quite improbable, because after and during the reign of Songge-rnam-rgyal (c. 1590—1620), the building of mani-walls became a popular custom, and entirely superseded the former rows of 108 small mchod-rten. This obliges us to date all rows of mchod-rten before 1600, and especially those rows at Nyemo, which are in a particularly dilapidated condition and probably several centuries older than the mani-walls. Historical information about the Nunnery is hardly likely to ever become available, but the stone-image of the abbess appears to belong to 10th or 11th century A.D.
PESAME DI ALCOI Y BASSO

Fig. 1: Plan from the Palanca palace, showing the layout as ADLI. Black, white, and grey marks.

Fig. 2: Plan of the basement of the palace, showing the layout as ADLI. Black, white, and grey marks.

Fig. 3: Plan of the basement of the palace, showing the layout as ADLI. Black, white, and grey marks.

Fig. 4: Plan of the basement of the palace, showing the layout as ADLI. Black, white, and grey marks.

Fig. 5: Plan of the basement of the palace, showing the layout as ADLI. Black, white, and grey marks.

Fig. 6: Plan of the basement of the palace, showing the layout as ADLI. Black, white, and grey marks.

Fig. 7: Plan of the basement of the palace, showing the layout as ADLI. Black, white, and grey marks.

Fig. 8: Plan of the basement of the palace, showing the layout as ADLI. Black, white, and grey marks.

Fig. 9: Plan of the basement of the palace, showing the layout as ADLI. Black, white, and grey marks.

Fig. 10: Plan of the basement of the palace, showing the layout as ADLI. Black, white, and grey marks.

Fig. 11: Plan of the basement of the palace, showing the layout as ADLI. Black, white, and grey marks.

Fig. 12: Plan of the basement of the palace, showing the layout as ADLI. Black, white, and grey marks.

Fig. 13: Plan of the basement of the palace, showing the layout as ADLI. Black, white, and grey marks.

Fig. 14: Plan of the basement of the palace, showing the layout as ADLI. Black, white, and grey marks.

Fig. 15: Plan of the basement of the palace, showing the layout as ADLI. Black, white, and grey marks.

Fig. 16: Plan of the basement of the palace, showing the layout as ADLI. Black, white, and grey marks.

Fig. 17: Plan of the basement of the palace, showing the layout as ADLI. Black, white, and grey marks.

Fig. 18: Plan of the basement of the palace, showing the layout as ADLI. Black, white, and grey marks.

Fig. 19: Plan of the basement of the palace, showing the layout as ADLI. Black, white, and grey marks.

Fig. 20: Plan of the basement of the palace, showing the layout as ADLI. Black, white, and grey marks.

Fig. 21: Plan of the basement of the palace, showing the layout as ADLI. Black, white, and grey marks.

Fig. 22: Plan of the basement of the palace, showing the layout as ADLI. Black, white, and grey marks.

Fig. 23: Plan of the basement of the palace, showing the layout as ADLI. Black, white, and grey marks.

Fig. 24: Plan of the basement of the palace, showing the layout as ADLI. Black, white, and grey marks.

Fig. 25: Plan of the basement of the palace, showing the layout as ADLI. Black, white, and grey marks.

Fig. 26: Plan of the basement of the palace, showing the layout as ADLI. Black, white, and grey marks.

Fig. 27: Plan of the basement of the palace, showing the layout as ADLI. Black, white, and grey marks.

Fig. 28: Plan of the basement of the palace, showing the layout as ADLI. Black, white, and grey marks.

Fig. 29: Plan of the basement of the palace, showing the layout as ADLI. Black, white, and grey marks.

Fig. 30: Plan of the basement of the palace, showing the layout as ADLI. Black, white, and grey marks.

Fig. 31: Plan of the basement of the palace, showing the layout as ADLI. Black, white, and grey marks.

Fig. 32: Plan of the basement of the palace, showing the layout as ADLI. Black, white, and grey marks.

Fig. 33: Plan of the basement of the palace, showing the layout as ADLI. Black, white, and grey marks.

Fig. 34: Plan of the basement of the palace, showing the layout as ADLI. Black, white, and grey marks.

Fig. 35: Plan of the basement of the palace, showing the layout as ADLI. Black, white, and grey marks.

Fig. 36: Plan of the basement of the palace, showing the layout as ADLI. Black, white, and grey marks.

Fig. 37: Plan of the basement of the palace, showing the layout as ADLI. Black, white, and grey marks.

Fig. 38: Plan of the basement of the palace, showing the layout as ADLI. Black, white, and grey marks.

Fig. 39: Plan of the basement of the palace, showing the layout as ADLI. Black, white, and grey marks.

Fig. 40: Plan of the basement of the palace, showing the layout as ADLI. Black, white, and grey marks.

Fig. 41: Plan of the basement of the palace, showing the layout as ADLI. Black, white, and grey marks.

Fig. 42: Plan of the basement of the palace, showing the layout as ADLI. Black, white, and grey marks.

Fig. 43: Plan of the basement of the palace, showing the layout as ADLI. Black, white, and grey marks.

Fig. 44: Plan of the basement of the palace, showing the layout as ADLI. Black, white, and grey marks.

Fig. 45: Plan of the basement of the palace, showing the layout as ADLI. Black, white, and grey marks.

Fig. 46: Plan of the basement of the palace, showing the layout as ADLI. Black, white, and grey marks.

Fig. 47: Plan of the basement of the palace, showing the layout as ADLI. Black, white, and grey marks.

Fig. 48: Plan of the basement of the palace, showing the layout as ADLI. Black, white, and grey marks.

Fig. 49: Plan of the basement of the palace, showing the layout as ADLI. Black, white, and grey marks.

Fig. 50: Plan of the basement of the palace, showing the layout as ADLI. Black, white, and grey marks.
Remains at Alchi & Basgo

Fig. 1

Fig. 2

Fig. 3

Fig. 4

Fig. 5

Fig. 6

Fig. 7

Fig. 8

A. H. Franke, Del.
Description of the Plate.

Fig. 1. Western wall of the ruined monastery at Basgo, showing arrangement of medallions.

Fig. 2. Southern wall of the ruined monastery at Basgo, showing arrangement of medallions.

Fig. 3. Dress from the historical pictures in the ruined monastery at Alchi. Dress white, the spotted parts red.

Fig. 4. Flag from the historical pictures in the ruined monastery at Alchi; black, white, and red.

Figs. 5 and 6. Hats from the historical pictures in the ruined monastery at Alchi.

Fig. 7. Rough sketch of the sculpture of the abbess at Nyemo.

Fig. 8. Ground plan of the ruined monastery at Basgo; f, central hall; c, e, side halls; d, door; between a and b was probably a wooden gallery.

IV. — INSCRIPTIONS AT DARU.

The village of Daru is situated a little above the trade road on the large plain, which extends between the villages of Nyemo and Phyang. It is of little importance and hardly ever visited by travellers. It has, however, a ruined castle, which is said to have been built by the ministers (bkä-blon) of Daru, who were servants of the kings of Leh.

(a) Inscription of King Lhachen-kun-dgä-rnam-rgyal.

Not very far from the trade road, South-West of the village, there is a boulder, about nine or ten feet high, which has two walls abutting on its Eastern face, and having the appearance of being the remains of a hall. The face of the boulder, which formed one side of the hall, has on it five or six sculptures, among which the figure of Vajrapani is the most prominent. Besides the sculptures, there are several inscriptions on the boulder in various stages of legibility and possibly of different times; those on the right side being carelessly executed and having the most modern appearance. One of the clearest of all the words is the name of the king, which has still the traces of its original red colour.

The present writer also found a number of inscribed fragments of stone-tablets lying about the boulder, which he took to Leh and deposited at the Moravian Mission. But in spite of much time spent over them, it was found impossible to fit any two together, and they seem to belong to several different tablets. There may be more fragments under ground, which might be brought to light by the spade. On one of the fragments the syllables rgyalmo-rTan . . . . Queen rTan . . . . could be read. Had the historiographers of Western Tibet thought it worth while to mention the names of the various queens of the country, such fragments would have a great historical value.

Of the inscription on the rock, which is mostly in dBu-can Characters, I was able to make out the following portion:

\[
\text{Tibetan Text.}
\]

\textit{On the left side.}

\begin{itemize}
  \item cam, cam palun
  \item lha chen gun dgä rnam rgyal.
  \item lag ygo (or mgo) 'ajam yangs skyab khomd (?) shi (?)
\end{itemize}

\textit{Under central figure.}

\begin{itemize}
  \item blon chen phyag rdor jo, log baa (?)
\end{itemize}
To the right of central figure.

phyagna rdo\^je
blo bzang don 'agrubo
dkon mchog bkris dang \ldots 

To the right of the preceding.
\ldots e zhen
\ldots grubpa
bkris.

Notes on the Tibetan Text.

It is almost impossible to give a translation of the inscription; because those parts which can be read with some amount of certainty, consist only of names, and it is in several cases doubtful whether they belong to human beings or to mythological conceptions.

Cam is probably a defective writing of the word lam, spouse. The first name would be that of a queen: spouse (or queen), Palun (perhaps Palun). She is not mentioned in the rGyal-rabs, but, as already stated, the names of only a few queens are given in that work.

Lha chen gun (kun) dg\^a rnam rgyal is doubtless the name of a real king (see below); gun, instead of kun, corresponds to the actual dialectical pronunciation of the word.

'ajam yangs, is doubtless the word 'ajam dbyangs (Ma\^njughosha); but, as the other words in the line are not clear, we do not know, whether it is meant as a name of the mythological or a real person.

sbyab [s], help, in the same line, may be part of a personal name; but it may also be part of a prayer to 'aJam dbyangs.

About the other words in this line, there is not much certainty. Lag means 'hand,' but the connection is not clear.

blo chen phyag rdo\^r jo; blo chen means 'great minister'; phyag rdo\^r is Vajrap\^a\^ni; jo means 'lord.' If the inscription refers to the mythological being, the title 'great minister' remains strange. There may have been a real minister of such name.

phyagna rdo\^je is once more the Tibetan name of Vajrap\^a\^ni. This name in its Sanskrit and Tibetan forms is carved also on the west side of the rock several times.

blo bzang don grub is either the name of an ordinary person, or that of the third disciple of Tsong-khapa, who lived in the year 1500 A. D. One of the sculptures may thus refer to him. If that could be proved, we should have to date this part of the sculptures and inscriptions at any rate after 1500 A. D.

dKon mchog bkra^shis (bkris) may be the name of a locally famous lama or a state-official.

e zhen is too incomplete to suggest any translation.

grubpa, fulfiller, is probably the second part of the name of a lama.

bkris (bkra^shis), happiness, may also be the second part of the name of a lama or other person.

Identification of king Lhaschen-kun-dga^r-nam-rgyal.

This name, which can be read with the greatest certainty on the boulder at Daru, cannot be found in the rGyal-rabs of Ladakh. Does this mean that he was a Tibetan king of a line different to that of the kings of Leh, although bearing their dynastic name?

If the ministers (bka^ blo\^n) of Daru are the descendants of some old line of local kings or chiefs, that line cannot have remained independent long after the arrival of Central Tibetan Dynasty, about 1000 A. D. Also it is not likely that any chiefs of Daru could be in possession of the same dynastic name as the kings of Leh. So Lhaschen-kun-dga^r-nam-rgyal is not
likely to have been a local Daru chief, and he cannot have been one of the Parig chiefs, because their dynastic names were quite different. Nor can he have been a Balti chief, because the Baltis were Musalmans at the time that they overran Ladakh. And, lastly, there is no history of the arrival of any Central Tibetan kings after 1000 A. D.

These considerations preclude any identification of this king outside the line of Leh, and there is, moreover, much to show that Lha-chen-kun-dga-rnam-rgyal must belong to that line. The names of the Tibetan kings generally consist of two parts: the dynastic name, and the proper name. The dynastic name of the ancient line of the kings of Lhasa was bTsan or bTsam, and is found in many of their names, e.g., Nya-khri-btsam, Srong-btsan-sgam-po. The dynastic name of the first dynasty of the kings of Leh was Lha-chen, and is found in most of their names, e.g., Lha-chen-dpal-gyi-mgon, Lha-chen-naglug. Whenever it does not occur, as in the name bKra-shis-mgon, it may be presumed that the king was not the eldest but a younger son of his predecessor. As the second dynasty of the kings of Leh was descended directly from the first, the name Lha-chen was added to many of their names at their pleasure. The dynastic name of this second dynasty was rnam-rgyal, and it is found at the end of every one of their known names. This dynasty is particularly well known, not only from the chronicle rGyal-rabs, but also from its many inscriptions. Such a name, therefore, as Lha-chen-kun-dga-rnam-rgyal would be that of a king of the second dynasty, but it is curious that the name kun-dga-rnam-rgyal does not occur in the chronicle, although even after the second dynasty had been robbed of its power by the Dogras, the syllables kun-dga occur as part of a very long royal name in rGyig-med (-ote)-rnam-rgyal.

If, then, Kun-dga-rnam-rgyal is to be held to, have been one of the kings of Leh, and cannot be found among the list of kings of the second dynasty, it remains to be seen if he can be placed among the kings of the first dynasty. There is a passage in the rGyal-rabs, hitherto held to be doubtful, which may enable us to so place him. Karl Marx's MS. A. of the rGyal-rabs pata king Lha-chen-jo-dpal directly after king bKra-shis-mgon, but Marx notes that Schlagintweit's text of the rGyal-rabs (which is quite in accordance with his own MS. A., at any rate in those early parts) places a king, Lha-rgyal, between them.

Lha-rgyal, taken by itself, is a strange form, and suggests the omission of something between lha and rgyal. My explanation of the circumstances is as follows: — The ancient MS. from which both Karl Marx's MS. A. and Schlagintweit's original MS. were copied had some fault in the place where some such name as Lha-chen-kun-dga-rnam-rgyal originally stood. Several things may have happened to create the omission; e.g., the right bottom corner of a page may have been torn off in such a way that only Lha remained of the first part of the name, the last syllable rgyal being preserved on the left top corner of the next page. If a European scholar were to find a MS. in such a condition, he would feel it to be an obligation to inform his readers of the fact. It is different with a Tibetan. He believes he has done wonders if he copies all he can make out. Usually he simply leaves out a doubtful passage altogether, and goes on as if nothing were missing. These habits will account for the difference between Schlagintweit's and Marx's MSS.

The presence of the dynastic name of the second dynasty in the names of this king creates a difficulty; but it may be pointed out here that the name rnam-rgyal was not new when it was made a dynastical name in c. 1500 A. D., but can be found in Central Tibetan names about the year 1000 and perhaps earlier.

If, therefore, this theory of the identity of Lha-chen-kun-dga-rnam-rgyal with the Lha-rgyal of Schlagintweit's MS. of the rGyal-rabs be correct, we have to date this king c. 1260—1275 A. D., which date would very well account for the ancient character of this part of the inscription.
(b) A Passage from a Votive Tablet of King bDe-lidan and Prince (or King) bDe-legs.

On one of the mani-walls, a little below Daru, towards Phyang is to be found a votive tablet containing the name of Prince bDe-legs, beside that of his father bDe-idan, in the form which was usual, while bDe-legs was the heir-apparent. I have not yet found any votive tablets containing the name of bDe-legs as king, but on a tablet at Domkhar can be read the name of bDe-legs alone, with the title rgyal-pras, prince. This is remarkable because votive tablets of bDe-leg's father and son (Nyima-rnam-rgyal) are not at all rare. The easiest explanation of the omission of the reign of bDe-legs from votive tablets is that the Lamas forbade the people to mention this king on them, and destroyed all those bearing his name which were in existence, because after the battle of Basgo he was obliged to become a Musalmán. That mani-walls were constructed during his reign, we know from a votive tablet at Nyurla (sNyungla). On this tablet instead of the name of a king, that of a high Lama, Mi-pham-mgon, is given who is styled rGyal-thsabs or Viceroy. After the battle of Basgo, the great Lama Mi-pham-mgon, for whose name rGyal-rabs wrongly inserts that of Mi-pham-dbangpo, was sent to Ladak by the supreme government of Lhassa, to conduct the peace negotiations, and the authority of bDe-legs was so much shaken that the great Lama took the place of the king in the minds of the people.

Text.
(In Bhutan Characters.)

. . . . lha chen bde ldan rnam rgyal bdelegs rnam rgyal, dbu mro mtho zhab chab srid rgyaspar shog . . . . . .

Translation.

. . . . the great gods, bDe-lidan-rnam-rgyal [and] bDe-legs-rnam-rgyal, their helmets being high, may their reign (or progeny) spread! . . . . .

Note.

The reason why the inscription was not copied in full was want of time and the fact that some parts of it were in such bad condition that the reading proceeded very slowly. I may here mention that another tablet containing the names of both these kings was discovered at Phe, on the Indus, below Daru.

(c) Sanskrit-Tibetan Votive Inscription by the Minister Tse-dbang-dongrub, c. 1800 A.D.

(On Stone.)

Along the wall of the present government garden at Daru there is a mani-wall, which is furnished with two large votive tablets. Although both the wall and the tablets are only about 100 years old, the latter are not in particularly good preservation. The state of preservation of an inscription depends entirely on the kind of stone selected, and the softer the stone the shorter the time the inscription lasts. The Tibetan part of the inscription was originally copied in full, but the paper containing the latter portion of the inscription has unfortunately been lost, and I can now offer only the first part of the Tibetan text.

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1 Mi-pham and dbangpo are almost synonyms, which explains the fact that the name occurs in two forms.
2 Together with the copy of the Alochi Bridge Inscription and others.
(In dBusam Characters.)

Sanskrit.

Om namo(m?) Bhagavate aparmita syur dzayana subhanismitatasta tesoradzya; tathagata; arhate samyaksambuddha; tadyatha; om [punye punye] mahapunye aparmita punyed tshayana sambharopatsite om sarvasam samskari parishudha dharmate gaganah samunagnate subhva bishudhe (vishudhe?) maharnaye parivariye svahah!

Tibetan.

Mi dbang choskhyi rgyalpoi phriulas ysergyi shing rta gyendu la drenpai akhorlopa bká mdzod thes dbang dngorubkyi sku these mdzadpa stobs . . . . . .

Notes.

La drenpa, an idiom meaning about 'driving upwards.'

Bká mdzod, literally 'treasure-house of words.' I translated it by 'minister,' but it may more properly mean 'wise man.'

Sku these mdzadpa, 'making his lifetime,' used in the sense of completing his lifetime.

V.—THE ROCK INSCRIPTIONS AT SHEH.

There are three inscriptions at Sheh, one accompanied by various sculptures on the rock on which the castle is built, and the two others on the Maitreya Rock, a little below the village on the Indus, which is now popularly known as Sman-bla.

There are traces of several other inscriptions on the Maitreya Rock, in both Persian and Tibetan characters, which have been effaced, probably during some war. It is probable that when either the Balti or the Dogra armies marched up the Indus valley, they destroyed the Tibetan inscriptions, and carved others in Urdu or Persian on their place. If this happened, the Ladakhis would in turn destroy the new inscriptions, as soon as the hostile army had left the country. The two very ancient Tibetan inscriptions that have escaped destruction owe their escape to their positions on the rock. One is carved so high up that it cannot be reached unless special arrangements are made, and the other was hidden behind a masonry-wall so that it could not be read, until the wall was broken down by the missionaries in January, 1906. Indeed, I am told that some lines have not even yet come to light.

Nos. I. and III. of the legible inscriptions have been copied by bLo-bzang-thar-rnyed, meteorological observer at Leh; No. II. by bDechen-bZodpa.
INSCRIPTION NO. I.

Text.

Translation.
I greet the three highest beings (Buddhist Trinity) and ask [them to come] to my help. Making it as an offering of the great king, the Tsam-po, the son of the gods, and for [the benefit of] the subjects of mNgar-si, and for the benefit of all the beings of the ten regions, the images of the august Byams-dpal (Maitreya) with his attendants . . . . . stupa . . . . . made.

Notes on the Tibetan Text.

yas-gel; the style of the writing used for this word reminds us of the Enderre Inscriptions in Turkestan, where we find the final consonant of a syllable written not after, but below, the preceding one. In this case the is written not after, but below the s.

mngar-si, instead of later mNgar-si. This is the ancient name of Western Tibet, as is proved by the rGyul-rabs, though in more modern times it has been restricted to the most Eastern part of that country.

rigs is the classical sgrigs-pa, arrange, &c. See Ladakhi Grammar, Law of Sound, No. 3.

bsod-nas; I take this word to be another instance of placing the second consonant under the first. Otherwise the word would have to be read bsod-nas, which would give it the sense of 'resolve to go the way of Nirvana,' according to Sarat Ch. Das' Dictionary.

byams-dpal, the glorious Maitreya. This shows that the inscription refers to the figure of Maitreya with his attendants carved along with it on the rock, giving the same date both for the inscription and its attendant sculptures.

mthar-brtan. I am told that this refers to a particular kind of stupa.

INSCRIPTION NO. II.

Text.

Translation.
Asking the three highest beings (Buddhist Trinity) and all the lords of the world [to come to my] help, the image of the august Maitreya with [his] attendants [was made]. Praying that the glorious (bright shining) one may quickly teach and admonish the holy wheel of religion until the ends (of the earth), and that there may be the merit of the confirmed effect and such like of the periodical sacrifices; and through the blessing of the exalted ones, may the btsam-po, the son of the gods and (his) family, and the ordinary as well as the great beings of the ten quarters remain in perfect blessing, and be taught to attain soon to the very highest Buddhahood. [For all this] the image of the exalted one was made of stone. All the friends of the virtue of the right hand will [from time to time] renew the colour (make clear colour) [of the image] and protect it (make it safe).
Philological Notes.

*khyab-'aphagpo*, I am told that this is a locally well-known title of *Maitreya*; but what *khyaba* means I have been unable to discover.

*khra svalpa* (or *yalpa*), I am told that this expression means 'very bright, shining.'

*sbyar dpa*, perfect stem of the infinitive *sbyor[d]pa*.

*rdo 'aburda*, used in the sense of 'according to stone,' 'of stone.'

Epigraphical Notes.

Though the characters of this inscription are of the ordinary dBu-can type, there are a few peculiarities in them, which point to its antiquity.

(a) The letter *ng* has a stroke attached to the right end of its lower line, which makes it look almost like a dBu-can *p*. This peculiarity has not yet been observed at *Endere* (Stein Collection), nor anywhere else.

(b) The *i* sign has not always the position of the Dēvanāgarī short *i*, but often that of the long *i*, as is also the case in the *Endere MSS.*, and many other ancient inscriptions.

(c) The second or final consonant of the syllable is written below the first consonant. Of this we have one certain and one probable case in the previous inscription. This peculiarity is also found at *Endere* and in the ancient Dālti Inscriptions.

A Comparison of the Ladākhi and the Endere Inscriptions.

It will be useful here to review the peculiarities of the *Endere* relics, as they are the oldest datable specimens of Tibetan orthography, and to compare the most ancient West Tibetan Inscriptions with them. The question is a very important one, because on it the possibility of dating the Tibetan Inscriptions depends.

The peculiarities of the *Endere MSS.* and Sgraffiti (8th century) are the following: —

(a) The *i* sign takes the shape of the Dēvanāgarī long and short *i* interchangeable.

(b) In several cases the final consonant of the syllable is written below the first consonant.

(c) The masculine definite article is in most cases *phd* and *pho*, instead of modern *pa* and *po*.

(d) In many cases the ordinary *c* and *ts* are replaced by *ch* and *thi*; and both *ch* and *thi* have *γ, δ, or θ* prefixes attached to them, whilst in the classical orthography they are furnished only with *α* and *m* prefixes.

(e) When *m* comes before *i* or *e*, a *γ* intervenes.

(f) Words ending in *r*, *l*, or *n* are furnished with a *d* suffix, called *drag*.

A comparison of the ancient Ladākhi inscriptions with those of Endere discloses the fact, that several of them exhibit some of the peculiarities of the Endere epigraphy, but not all. This leads to the supposition that the six characteristics of Endere orthography were not dropped all at once, but one by one, and Dr. L. D. Barnett has observed that, according to the Endere relics, the *drag* was even then on the point of disappearing (8th century A. D.).

In Ladākhi, the peculiarities of the Endere epigraphy are exhibited in the following inscriptions: —

(a) Interchange of long and short *i* is found in Inscriptions at Shah; at Alchi-mkhar-gog (but only in the oldest); and at Sadpor (Baltistān).
(b) Subscription of the final consonant is found in the inscriptions at Sheh; in one at Khalatse (at the bridge); and at Salpor.

(c) The masculine article \(p\)ha, \(pho\) has so far only been discovered at an ancient gold-mine near Nyurls, where a personal name is spelt \(danarapha\) (or perhaps \(tanarapha\)).

(d) \(ch\) and \(th\); for \(c\) and \(ts\) are found in the Balu-mkhar Inscriptions.

(e) A \(y\) intervening between \(i\) or \(e\) and initial \(m\) is found in the Sheh Inscriptions (see Inscription No. III., below); in the Alehi-mkhar-gog Inscriptions (the oldest); in those at Sodpur; at Khalatse (at the bridge); and at Balu-mkhar.

(f) The suffix \(drag\) is found in the Sheh Inscriptions.

The latest peculiarity of the ancient orthography to disappear would appear to be the intervention of \(y\) between an initial \(m\) and \(i\) or \(e\), as this is exhibited in \(all\) the ancient inscriptions; and the latest of them which can be dated with some amount of probability, is the Khalatse Bridge Inscription (probable date 1150 A.D.). Peculiarities which disappeared much earlier are certainly the masculine articles \(pha\), \(pho\) and the suffix \(drag\).

The Sheh Inscriptions exhibit the interchange of long and short \(i\), the subscription of the final consonant, the intervening \(y\), and the suffix \(drag\).

This last point is of great importance, as the use of the \(drag\) was supposed to be on the decline at Endera. I propose, therefore, to put their date between 900 and 1000 A.D.

The King of the Inscriptions.

Both the Maitreya Rock Inscriptions are plainly by the same king, and both refer to the same subject, the carving of the image of Maitreya. The personal name of the king is not given, but this omission seems to have been customary at that time, as the Khalatse Inscription also speaks simply of "the great king." We find, however, two dynastic names, in the Maitreya Rock Inscription, the name \(bTsampo\) and \(Lha-ja\). The former is the dynastic name of the Central Tibetan Dynasty, from which the Western Tibetan kings descended, and the latter, which means "son of the gods," not only reminds us of \(Lha-chen\), "great god," the dynastic name of the earliest Western Tibetan kings, but is also used interchangeably with \(Lha-chen\) by the later kings. We may thus, with some confidence, attribute these inscriptions to one of the kings of the \(bTsam-po-Lha-chen\) line of Central Tibet and not to local chiefs. The first of this line of kings was Skyid-Ida-nima-mgon, the conqueror of Western Tibet, who reigned, according to Gruwedel's Chronology, c. 975—1000 A.D., or, according to Sarat Ch. Das' Chronology, 20—30 years earlier, and I believe that it was under him that both sculptures and inscription were set up. Votive offerings of this nature were mostly made by the kings, not so much for their own spiritual benefit as for that of their parents, as we learn from the \(rGyal-rabs\), and my belief is that the king caused the figures and inscription on the Maitreya Rock to be set up for the spiritual welfare of his father, who may have died when he was in Western Tibet. This supposition at once explains the use of the word \(bTsampo\), as \(Nima-mgon\)'s father was the last of the \(bTsampos\) in the family, and the word \(btsam\) was actually part of his name, \(Lde-dpal'-akhor-btsan\). It is of some interest that, in the Inscription, the wish is expressed that the sculpture may be a means of blessing to the people of Western Tibet. Apparently, the king wished to please his new subjects with it.

The result of this examination of the Inscriptions is that they must be most probably dated c. 950—1000 A.D. and must be assumed to be by Skyid-Ida-nima-mgon, the conqueror of Western Tibet, for the spiritual benefit, in the first place, of his father \(Lde-dpal'-akhor-btsan\), and secondly, for that of his new subjects. In any case, the probability is that they are earlier, and not later, than 1000 A.D., and refer to some Central Tibetan king. At the same time it is difficult to see why any king earlier than Skyid-Ida-nima-mgon should have taken an interest in the village of Sheh, as it apparently became the first capital of Western Tibet after its conquest by him.
ANCIENT FIGURES IN WESTERN TIBET

Indian Antiquary.

Ancient stone figure at Changspa, Leh.
Photo: Dr. F. E. Shawe.

Image of Maitreya in the garden of the Moravian Knitting School, Leh.
Photo: F. Bernard, Lieutenant, French Army.

Ancient stone figures on the Yarkandi Road, Leh.
Photo: Dr. F. E. Shawe.

Ancient stone figure by the brook, Changspa, Leh.
Dr. F. E. Shawe.
INSCRIPTION No. III.

This inscription is carved high up on the rock below the castle of Sheh, above an image of Maitreya, and can only be read with the greatest difficulty, even with the help of a field glass. It is impossible nowadays to get close to it. The following is bLo-bzang-Thar-rayed’s reading of it:

Tibetan Text.

dkon mchog ysumla bstaste, phyog cu gyal khange myo zanggi bter . . . . . . chos khal ga phulbais byang lha byamsbais nu ky rdo ’abar (’abar?) gi mchodpa dang ku sdob; kho cheneyi zhur myig tsang cing byorbar byas . . . . . . skyong dang tshanggias (or: skyongba tshanggias) en skarba . . . . .

Notes.

A translation of this is impossible, as it is evident that it has not only become more weathered than the others, but is also written with a more careless orthography. From the few words, which can be made out, it looks very much as if it dated from about the same time and referred to a similar object.

dkon mchog, &c. The first line means ‘looking at the three highest beings’ (Buddhist Trinity).
iphyog [s b]jou, the ten regions.
byamsbais (or pai), of Maitreya.
rdo ’abrgyi mchodpa, ‘offering of a stone statue, image.’
myig tsangu, probably ‘the eye getting clear’; myig instead of mig is a case of the ancient orthography.

skyongba tshanggias, ‘by the protector, by the Tsanpo.’ Thus, the king at Sheh would appear to call himself Tsanpo, as a descendant of the famous Tsanpos of Tibet. The term may perhaps, however, signify a name of Phyag-rdo, similar to the form Thub-bstan-skyongba.

APPENDIX.

The Age of the Buddhist Stone Images of Ladakh.

All the stone images of Ladakh are in relief. They are found on the living rock as well as on raised slabs of stone, and are in varying states of preservation. The following have come to my knowledge:

(a) Outside Leh. — The images at Dras; the famous Chamba (Byamspa) at Mulbe; the medallion at Sadpor in Baltistän; the rGyalba-rigs-Inga at Spadum in Zangskar; the images at Karla in Purig; a stone with sculptures at Tingmogang; a similar stone at Saspol; several reliefs on the living rock at Spituk; the stone abbess at Nyemo; the Vajrapāṇi at Daru; the Sman-bla and figures near the castle at Sheh; the Maitreyas at Igu, with ancient frescoes close to them.

(b) I am told by Dr. F. E. Shawe, who made a collection of photographs, that in Leh and its environs there are a great number of them. Of these the best known are: — four stones with images on the Yarkandi road; one stone with several sculptures at Changspa; three stones with single figures about the brook near Changspa, and another in the village; one figure at Gonpa, above Leh; an inscribed figure in the garden of the present Moravian Knitting School; one, painted red, near the palace of Leh, close to one of the former city gates; one on the plain, south of Leh, in a maṇi-wall among a large number of mchod-rten; one at Skara, below Leh; and one below king bDe-lgan-nam-rgyal’s maṇi-wall on the Sheh road. This last has figures on all four sides.

With regard to the date of these figures we can safely say that they are never made nowadays, and, according to local tradition, it is a long time since they were made, a fact which does not hinder the people from still worshipping some of them. As a few of them have inscriptions, it is possible to assign approximate dates to them. The figures thus made dateable are the following: —
The Maitreyas at Sheh, c. 950—1000 A. D., as shown above; the Sadpor reliefs (pictures and inscriptions, vide Miss Jane E. Duncan’s A Summer Ride through Western Tibet), c. 1000 A. D.
from the orthography employed; the Dras figures, with inscriptions in Kashmir śārada characters, most probably of the Kashmir Buddhist emigration to Ladākh, which was at its height 900–1100 A. D.; the Vajrapāni at Daru, c. 1250 A. D. (or 20–30 years earlier according to Sarat Ch, Das' Chronology); the figures at Spadum in Zangkar of the time of the Moas, before the Tibetan conquest, which took place c. 950–1000 A. D.; the figure in the garden of the Mission Knitting School at Leh, c. 1000 A. D., from the accompanying inscription. On the whole, although one of the dates is as far forward as far as the thirteenth century, I feel much inclined to believe that the year 1000 A. D. should be taken as roughly the date of these images.

I would draw attention to the striking similarity which many of these sculptures have to the ancient Buddhist images at Gilgit, one of which is reproduced in Biddulph’s *The Tribes of the Hindoo Kush*. And although the art was continued for some time under the rule of the Tibetan kings of Leh, I feel much inclined to believe that it is Pre-Tibetan, and probably Dard in origin. At any rate it is Indian.

The inscription on the Maitreya at the Knitting School, Leh, runs thus:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nga zharba</td>
<td>I, a blind one,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma shii bardu rje</td>
<td>Until death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sam chodching rkyian</td>
<td>May offer high thoughts and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bai bsodnamskyis</td>
<td>Through the adorning [religious] merit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grol bya šen . . . .</td>
<td>May (or will) be delivered, the soul . . . .</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*rgyen* is probably for *rgyan*.

Signs of age in the Inscription are: three inverted i signs; *chāng* instead of *cing*; and the form of the *sh*, which reminds us of *sh*.

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**THE TRAVELS OF RICHARD BELL (AND JOHN CAMPBELL)**

**IN THE EAST INDIES, PERSIA, AND PALESTINE.**

**1654—1670.**

**BY SIR B. C. TEMPLE.**

*(Continued from Vol. XXXV. p. 210.)*

PARTING from them, my boy & I tooke Counsell wth way to steerse; My boy advised a back way, for that y° people of that Contrey were very bad, and theires a Towne 12 Corse [kō], wth is 6 English mile of; Theire we will goe & buy p’itions, wth we did. And after Travelled 17 days without touchinge at either townes or howse till we came to y° great Citty Guzzurratt. These Contreys [Rajputana] are not as others, but have many Kings. Some have not above 600 people feighting men vnder them, some 5000. I got safe to Guzzurrat, the very weary of all my Travells. This was y° first inca money [chsong, custom, poll-tax]. I paid, otherwise cald head money, see much for a Man & doble as much for a horse.

I lived in that Citty 17 days privat in a brammonists [brāhmaṇ’s] house, by reason my savy told me I must live as his savy! if I intended to travell safe in that Contrey, wth I did, for in those parts they are great Enemies to a Xgian.

They Mervelled to see a whiteman, never seeing one before in that Contrey, Caued my Man, then My Maister, to say he bought me in the Bloches Contrey, & I was his slane. Next morning, I rideing out to water wth my horse, y° people stareing on me, A Naagg [naik], y°
is a great man, mett me, and askt me in his Lingua who I served, & followed me home to ye hose I lodged at, being I had not the Lingua. My man, then Master, discorsing with him, ye Naagg demanded Lingua I could speake. He told him I was but a new sarr & could speake noe Lingua. Then S' ye Naag, how doe ye understand him. He replied, by Signes. He was veryn earnest to buy me, but my Man put him of, telling him I was his Brothers sarr. The cause of my staying so longe amongst them was, Wee could not Travell, They being in wars one with another.

I had not scape Sellinge but ye my boy was trusty, wth is rare of a Cannary [Kanarese], for ye Contrey he was.

From Guzeratt to Bramoore [Burhānpūr] is 400 Leagues. I was 4 Months in goinge it. When we caime to Junkann [custom-house], I lighted of my horse & gote on ye Ox, wth carried ye boy & things, & the boy mounted On my horse as Master Att severall villages, for thare was noe Cittys on the way; forts there were, but we went out of the way to misse them. In every 40 Leagues there was Junkannas [custom-house officers], who tooke head money. Wth much trouble wee past, My man haseinge ye Lingua, but I not. And the people were very inquisitive what I was, being a white man, wth was rare in ye Contrey. When we caime wth in 60 Leagues of Bramoore, my Man told me, this is ye great Junkinn Towne called Hallowe [Halabas, Allahabad].

When we caime wth in sight of the town, being on the edge of a hill, S'd my sarr, Maister stay here, I will observe if we can miss the town. I told him he knew it was dangeros to goe out of ye roade way, but left it to his discretion. M'r S'd he, I believe yer money is almost gon. I s'd, by tow such Cotte [Bhātī, tu sārī kahī], Brother, then speakest trewth. S'd he, after we had Consulted together (but I had ye about me my sarr knew not of), we have a way we may passe, but if not, ye have freinds at Bramoore, & ye shall pawe me here till ye send releife. After we had refresht of selves, my boy said, Haw'dow'ca'ahin chaila [Khūlā ke nān, chaila]. Leta goe in the name of god. Am'ar'ra ser'v'ra bout'bos'hey [Hamārā sir'ū par bahut bhōy hāt], I have, s'd my man, for he was gray wth age. A great Charge vppon my head. Am'ar'ra, Jou'rrow char, be'te Amorras Zanu man hey [Hamāra jōra, chāl bōtā, hamāra imapān hāt]. My wife & Children lie at stake for me to ye freinds if ye get anie hurt. Hedah io'hey [Khūla in hāt]. S'd he. Thaire bat One god, So'de'ra decking'ga' [Sēdhā rā dikhāāghī], wth shall direct vs ye right way. When we had past ye townle Holloe [Allahabad] towards Bramoore [Burhānpūr], we mett wth a Company of horsemen, wth had taken 24 Marchants, wth bad past & not paid there Junkin money. S'd my man, these are Rogues; They have laid wait both wayes, because they knew ye Marchants would pass by ye vpper way to save there Junkin money. Ou'ta' amora' bail asway [Uṭhā, hamārā ba'il aswār]. Alignt pently at once wth get vppon ye Ox. He mounted pently on ye horse & rid towards them. And saide to me, Ton asta asta pecha hey [Tum akshīt akshīt pikhē āo], com you Softly behinde. Comeinge to them, he knew one of the horsemen, who askt him from whence he caime. He S'd, I caime from Guzarrat, And I and my man are goeinge for Bramoore to buy some swordes and knives for such a Naag [nāk] in Guzarrat whose sarr I am. When I caime neare, S'd my Man, then Maister, to me, Get ye a head, this boy is a foole, & cald me naimes, Telling his acquaintance of me was but small. S'd ye Man, Kiss was my marra [his wātē nābing mārā], Why doe you not beat ye Rogue. S'd my Mr, Ka'poy'ng'se as ham du'han'na o'marr'ga [hya pūshāgī ḍam dinānā mūrēgī], What shall I get by beating a foole. My man pul'd of his girdle & gave it ye horseman, wth pleased him well. Tam'een a'mar'śad ca'po's [tam kahā hamārā nāhī bē pās] wth is, When ye se my Maister, (S'd he to ye Marchants, who were for Guzerrat, ham is voc'cat dalgeer [ham īr waqf dīlgīr]. I am at this tymye sad & Mellowly, because he sent a sarr wth me I am forst to be a nurse to. The Marchants replied, & ye Soldiers, Tom bār'ra sa'fect' adam me' hey'tom setter ny gente Kiss waat to mor'ra pass Choke'ra leta
These 2 Ambassadors, One from ye French Kings for his píciculer to greet ye Magull, One from him for ye East India Company, in 1668, when they came near ye Court, ye Emperor had notis & Wee the English. They came not in ye state usal to ye English, but ye Emperor thought himselfe undervallowed, And sleight them, Commanding them stay 2 Leagues from Court when they expected to come to rights. Besides the Ambassador for the King of France had Express order from his King to deliver his Letters to ye Emperor, & did send them therin tents & other nessarys they wanted. The Ambassador, Concluding ye Emperor affronted them, they pride to goe back, wch the Emperor had notis of, & Commanded them to be brought back wth all their goods and attendance, Saying, did they think to goe out of his Contrey wthout Leave. The next night the Ambassador were assaile in therin tents, robbd of all, 3 or 4 Servts killed & they sadly affrighted. In this Condition they staid a day or two. But afterwards Therse Money & Goods were found & restored & they ordered to come to Court, The English according. When they came at ye Court gate, their arms were taken from them & therin pocketts sercht, But ye Engl went in wth sword & Target pistolls by their sides, wth greived ye Embassador.

This affront was plly occasioned by ye Contrivance of ye Engl, for that, in ye tyne of ye last Dutch warr, ye French caused ye English letters to be given ye Dutch, wth was delivered into their hand to be Conveyed for ye est India Company.

They would have present their letters to ye Emperor, but they were not permitted. They then desired ye fr [French] father might interpret them, but ye Emperor Aakt ye Engl if they could not doe it, they being in Lattin. Mr White aye, Soe they were delivered to him. The
Embassado[r] for ye Company had his desire granted, his deport humble, Soe they weare dismist. And from Brambore I travelid with them as followes. But to returne to ye Gouvernor who adopt me, hauing sent to ye Court to know If I had come without license. But they deny, ye Embassado[r], I showed the Gouvernor my pass from ye Empe[r], which gave me my liberty, And in 28 Days we arrived at Surratt, which is but 60 Leagures from Brambore. At Surratt I staid 14 Days, Sr George Oxenall [Oxenden] resideth there for The East India company, with whom I had severall affairs, And hauing dispatched, I left it, But he was very importan[ate] with me to know how I succeeded in my Journey into Prestor John; but I knew well what I should tell him would be in England before me. But some things I told Mr Robt Smith, the Minister.

From Surratt I went to Madderalepotan [Madras] in Bengall, in wh is the Kingdome of, Gulkendar [Golconda]. Wher are all the Dymond Mines, is A Months Jurney or about 600 English Miles; from thence to Maslepotan [Masulipatam], which is 60 Leagures; Thence to Checagull [Chicagool, Ganjam district], a great City, hath a Kings of it selfe, a very stronge place; Thence to Muscatt, belongs to the Arrabbes, the King of it called Wyley[2]; Its a place was taken from the Portuagall.

In that time I was therie, they sent an Armadoe to retake it, but in Vaine, being with loss & shame beaten away. After this, King Wyley [the weft] sent out 11, Ellevan vessels with about 800 Men to ye Portugall Contrey, to a Citty called Dew [Din], A stronge fort & Garrison. They Landed, stormd & Plundered the Towne & brought 800 orners away, Men, Woomen & Children, 8 Chests of Silver, 4 Caestas of Gold. This I, John Cambell, se brought into Muskatt in the Month of August 1668, All don in 14 Days.

This was great dishono[r] to ye Portugall affairs, they cominge to looke out for the Arrabbes & had gon on ye Pertian Coast and tooke A little money Dew to them for costume out of Conge [Kung] and returned, On wh, Sr ye kinge of ye Arrabbes in my hearinge, They haue com out to seek me; I will now goe to seeke them, And offerd me great rewards to doe with him, but my answer was, they were Christians And I was one, Soe could not gratify his desire.

Att my beinge in Goa, in Anno 1668, was a Portugall ship; the Capt. of his had not only ye Command of the ship but all ye Ladeinge. And being One day at a Gameinge house (for play at Dice is much used there), And therie being many flydalgoes [fidalgo], very rich, this Capt fell in to play with them, And lost not Only ship, but all his Ladeinge, which, in great troble he went to a Surgeon, And caused him cut of his left hand close at ye wrist; ye Surgeon haninge don his Dewtie, he, ye Capt, bought a boxe just fitt to hold ye hand Cut of, & it being put in & ye Key in his pocket, he take it vnder his Cloke & went to ye Gameinge houose, where was at play ye fidalgoe who had won his ship & goods with a great haue of money & gold

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\[1] In a letter from Surat to the Court of Directors of the East India Company, dated 28th March 1667, there is the following account of the French embassy: "The Transactions of the French have bin much wondered at by all, one of the Two that came hither and went upp to Court, he that was sent from the King of France with letters Recommendatory hath bin much slighted and att last is gone away alone, some say to Bengal, Leaving his consort, who after a tedious attendance, finding none that would prefer his cause to the Kings, in regard he came Empty handed, was Returning hither, but was robbd of all he had, one dayes Journey out of Agra, and Received three or Fourre woundes, which comming to the Kings care, tooke pitty on him, sent for him backe, gave particular order for his care, and afterwards admitted him into his presence, Received his petition, Gave order he should be paid out of his Treasury what was pretended to be taken from him." — India Office Records, Factory Records, Miscellaneous, Vol. 2.

\[2] Sir George Oxenden was President of Surat from 1652 till his death, on the 14th July, 1660.

\[3] The author mistakes the Arabic title wali, a governor, for a proper name.

\[4] In a letter to Surat, dated from Isphahan, 5th Sept. 1660, Stephen Flower refers to "wh. had past at sea between the Portugalls and Arabes in this Gulf" and to "the Arabes proceedings at Din," but there is no record of the occurrence, as given by Campbell, in 1668.

\[5] Status in the MS.
before him, & he having ye Dice, ye Capt put downe his box & s'd, para esta. At it, s'd ye fydalgoe. Theire gre play in passage, & its ye play theire, if ye Caster throw ammes, see & a tray, he pays doble ye stake he throwes at. The fydalgoe or K! threw ammes, see & a tray, & seing it, said, open ye box & till ye money, pushing his heape to him. Hold, said ye Capt, & tooke out ye Key of his box & open it & showed his hand & ye arme it was Cut of, & s'd, ye hope lost both ye hands. They came to Composition & ye Capt had his shipp & goods and doble his vallay. The Capt is now in Lisbon, And knowne to me Jn? Campbell & many others, who se his hand & Arme it was Cut of.

At the same tymne in Goa, I was Carried to see a father, counted a holly man of ye Order of ye Pollistians born in Dunkirk, who had beene deade almost 12 Monts before, but lay alone ground to be seen by all ye caime; & of several Nations round about thre caime, viz. And see him lie as at ye tymne of his death vnbowelled, or with out anie art don to him save ye shancing his face every wake & paireing or Cutting his nalles, with a Naturall fresh Culler. The faime of it came to ye Pope, as nothing done almost in Anie pt of ye world, but there are padreys to give advice. The Pope sent for the boddie of this Padre; ye Pollistians who are ye richest Socitie of fathers in ye world, denied it. But the Pope demanding his right hand, it was graeted & Cut off, Jn? Campbell then seant, and it blew as fresh as if it had been Cut from ye Boddie of a livinge man. They indeavoured after to serve him from Corruption but could not, see 3 days after he was buried.

One day, I sitting with King Wyley [the waif], 3 brave Woemen seoners were brought before him; 2 Weree Brammonists [Brahmans] wives, their husbands being kild. The 3d was a Portugall, with I freed. She told me she had to pay me what I laid out, & did 3 doble, when I delivered her in Conge [Kung]. S'y Kinge to me, will you free thether two. I s'd this is a Christian & I an Gentume.

Two of King Wyleya Sary being by, with Katërs [daggeres] by their sides, These 2 Brammonist woemen drew each a Kätär from them & before ye Kinge rip ye their Bellys & Dyed.

The next day, about 8 Clock in the morininge, there Arrived A ship of ours from Bumbay, 220 Leagues by Sea from this place. Wyley ye Kinge of ye Arrabbes sent for me & s'd, with ye make this ship to be. I s'd, English. Welcome, s'd he, ye or Brother. Comeinge into ye rode, his Ladeinge was rice & Butter & Coquer Nuts, with was great Reliefe to ye Coutrey, for, Except ye great Ones, they eate only Tammer [ta'ma] viz., Dates & fishe. The contrey is very barren, & have great respect to ye English furnish them with Pritions, for they are often vexed with fammin.

Capt William Hill was commander of the vessell & was very glad to meete w't an Englishman there, ye king Wyley esteemed, & could speak ye Lingua, for ye Capt could not. I delt with the Kinge for him, for his Rice Butter & ye rest of his Ladeinge, & truckt with ye Kinge for 350 seoners, Both well pleased, And for my Curtesey Kinge Wyley seanted me with a Black boy & Capt Hill a Dymond Ring, with I accepted.

From Muskatt I went to Conge, in ye Portion Dominyon, with my Lady seoner, for she she was, & her husband slaine at Dae [Diu]. I was much made & gratified.

Thence I went for Commeroone [Gombroon], with the English have A factory at, & Receive halfe Customs of it for their good Service in helping ye Partian to take ye famous Ormous, Once

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8 Mr. Donald Ferguson suggests the following reading of this passage: "The Captain put down his box and said, 'Faro esta!' ('I wager this -- caixa = box'). 'Adio' ('Done!'), said the fidalgo.'

9 i.e., a Pantinist, the local name for the Jesuits. John Campbell seems to be alluding to the shrine of St. Francis Xavier, whose body was removed to Goa in 1554. According to his wont, Campbell alters dates to suit his purpose so that he may appear to have personally witnessed the events he describes. The right arm of the Saint was sent to the Pope in 1514. See The Voyage of François Pyrard of Laval (Hakluyt ed.), Vol. VI, p. 61. f. n.

9 The English factory at Gombroon was established after the taking of Ormus in 1622. In a letter to the Court from Surat, dated 2nd Nov. 1635 (Factory Records, Miscellaneous, Vol. 2) the Council remark that they have a right to the Gulf of Persia and port of Gombroon, by a truce League and Covenant made and Concluded at the Expulsions the Portugalls, which cost our nation both men and money to purchase."
soe ominent in ye portugalls tymne, from whome It was taken by ye Pertian. That its said of it, If ye world were a Kinge, Ormous was ye Dymond in it. But now in the Dust, And Bossara [Basra].

Wee had not beene at Commoroon 2 days, but advice saime Capt. Hill was arrived at Due, hauinge soe good a voyage by my means, Mr Gayreys, ye March, not knoweluge me, writ to Mr flowers that if such an English man saime, discrbinge me, whome he had Cognizance or interest; he would serve me, though, ye he, meaninge me, he did me a discorday once, yet hath he now served me beyond my expectation & made me trouble mends [amends].

The discorday I did him was in Conveyinge Sr Humphry Cooke out of India, for Mr. Gayreys would [have] sent him to ye Company because he traded in India in ye Company's goods.

My Lord Cooke, his father being sent by ye King of England to be Governour of Bumby, a Towne Given by ye Portugals as part of ye Dowrey of the Royall Queenes Katharue, lyeinge 24 bowers Saile & is an Island and the best port in India. The Christians hate,

My Ld was sent with 600 English Soldiers & the vice Roy of Portugall had order to deliver it to ye Ld Cooke, but tooke snuff [offence] he was not treated or respected aboard ye Engl vessell as he expected, set them a shore in a part of ye Island where they had noe fresh water & would not do [deliver] the Towne Bumby till most of ye 600 soldiers were kild with a flux by drinking brackish.

Mr John Flowers factor for ye India Company at Spahawne [Isphahan] & Commaroune,

My Kinsman, I left him at Commaroune & went for Spahawne & by Mr Flowers order had ye vse of ye Company's houses there for my entertainme!

14 Ormous was taken by Shāh 'Abbās, with the help of the English, in 1622.
15 Thomas Herbert gives the proverb in this form:—
   "If all the world were made into a ring,
   Ormous the gem an 1 grace thereof should bring." — Some Years Travels, ed. 1638, p. 105.
16 The Company established an agency at Basra, in 1640.
17 Henry Cary was Acting Deputy Governor at Bombay in 1667, and assumed the title of Governor after the death of Sir Gervase Lucas, in 1668. He was never confirmed in the office, and was censured by the Court for his arrogance in 1671.
18 Stephen Flower, with whom Campbell claimed kinship, was a factor in the E. I. Co.'s Service. He was "second" at Gombroon in 1636 and "Chief" from 1637 to 1639.
19 I can find no foundation for this story.
20 Sir Humphry Cooke was Governor for the King, from April 1665 to the end of 1666, during which time there was constant friction between him and Sir George Oxenden, the Company's representative at Surat.
21 In 1651 Bombay was ceded to the British Crown as part of the dowry of Katherine of Braganza, wife of Charles II. It was transferred to the E. I. Co. in 1669.
22 This statement is incorrect.
23 Stephen Flower was the Company's servant at Isphahan and Gombroon. It is strange that if Campbell really were his kinsman, that he should mistake his Christian name. A paragraph in a letter from Flower to Surat, dated Gombroon, 21st January 1669, shows Campbell in a very different position from what he leads us to infer, at this time:— "On a Yunks in Company eight more from Scinda lately arrived at Congo laden with goods, stipulations, came passenger one Mr John Campbell who had served ye King of India as a Gunner seven or eight years and having obtained licence to depart for his Country (to wh ch friends had often solicited him) his resolutions was to travel overland for England, (with wch moneys etc., he had gained in ye time of his service to ye value of 7 or 8000 rupee,) towards wh ch he was advanced as far as Scinda, when in Company of about 40 persons more in ye Caphila, they were unfortunately met with ye who robbed them all of their money and goods stripped him to his shirt and hardly escaped with his life, in wch miserable condition at his arrival Scinda finding no remedy, he chose rather to proceed on his Intended Journey though with nothing than return again to the service of his old Master, and about six days since repaired hither for my assistance, upon ye relation of which and story, I have taken his present condition into consideration, and furnish'd him with wch necessary to carry him to England, where God sending him safely to arrive, I have hopes of receiving from himself or friends satisfaction, in two or three days more he departs in Company a Portugall Padre to Busara where I shall Command him to ye fathers courtesy there for his safe proceeding to Aleppo, and there noe doubt but ye consall to whom I shall place writ will befriend him in what further needful. It would be a shame not to comminicate and assist in such cases as this our own country was from whose misfortune God defend us." — Factory Records, Surat, Vol. 106.
But from Comoroone I tooke in the way to Spawhawe \[?Lar\] wth is 70 Leagues from Comoroone, hauing a note from Mf Jn flowers & ye Commendore of ye Dutch, we English hauinge noe howse therin but the Dutch had, ye I might have entaigned there; 3 days I lodged theire wth was in the tyme of Gouvernes fast, soe could not speake wth him. But at night, After I had spooke wth him, that night caime a letter from Mf flower to me,\[26\] Telling me of Monsieur Demingoes invitation of all ye English, frrench & Dutch, wth servants, to a feast he had made, being ye frrench Agent at Comoroone.

The french Agent at Dinner Dranke to ye Dutch Commendore; ye Dutch Commendore had noe sooner pledge, but s\^d to Monseur Demingo, I am poysoned. S\^d, S\^d Monsier Demingo, theirse noe posyon in my howse, & tooke yp the same Glass & drank of it. He had noe sooner drank but he fell alse to vomitt, & S\^d, I think its posyon indeede. This broke yp ye Mirth, they both sick. Thanks be to god, noe other tocke of it, But had it beeene given when we had after Dinner begun to drinke as usal, all ye Company had beene lost.\[21\]

We Exhammoned ye Attendants & found it to be Contrived by ye great Banion [Banyan] who ought [swed] ye Company of ye Dutch 30000 Tomaine [tomān], every tomar is 30 Ropes, wth is Engi money 3\$ 7\$ 6\'. And Thretinge ye Boy who fled ye, Wyne, He Contest ye Bannyon did hyer him for 20 Tomaine, & gaue him the posyon to poyson his Maister & all the Company. This boy or slane went away neatly wth ye Bannyon & his sonne. They herd they went towards Larr. Mf flower writ to me at Larr & desired me for his honors sake to lay hold on them, for we have laid hold of all ye rest here, telling me ye Cause as above. They coming to Larr, herd of a stranger there, tooke me for a Dutchman Soc tooke ye Gouerners howse Vockecke [\œuji]\[23\] I had my spies abrode, wth told me they had given \pnhist [\fet] Vockeck money \pnhist to turne Moore [Muhammadans]. On wth I tooke house & went to ye Gounerer howse, A mile from my Lodgeinge. When I caime, I sent word into ye Gounerer I desired to speake wth him. He gaue me leave to come in to him; his name is Augoge [Aghaj].

When I caime in wth my armes, not usal for a Strange \[r\] to doe in ye Country, One of his men tooke my Armes, ye Godt biding me sit downe. I showed my letter. S\^d he, I cannot undersand it. I told him my grevance. Is there, s\^d he, such persons here. I told him, yes, in \fet Vockecke house. He sent for \fet Vockel & the 3 persons wth a gard to bring them Before he questioned them, he s\^d, pointinge to me, Doe ye know this man. They said noe. But there songe was they would be madde Moore. The Gou suger their reason, saying, we never knew a Genthe or Banyan turne Moore, but for some great fall. The Casa \[\œ\] being by, S\^d, can ye deny to make a heathen a trow Belieuer. I, heareing this, s\^d to ye Gounerer, shomma me danney che gusta [\œum \œm \œnt chah gu\œt\œ], doe ye know what ye say. S\^d he, be he\œ\œ\œ\œ en [\œnt\œh\œh], sit downe, be no soe force. I s\^d these are ye men, & I charged him wth Shaw Sollyman.

\[26\] From Flower's own account, given in the next note, the 'feast' seems to have taken place at Gombroon and not at Iepahan.

\[21\] In a letter to Surat, dated at Gombroon, 10th April 1665, Stephen Flower gives the following account of the poisoning affair: "The hosts being entred many begin daily to fall ake of fevours & others dead, among whom ye Kings Vizeers Sonne to his Exceeding graifes, but 5 days since & it were well if this were the only hazard ye poor Europeans are subject to in these paries, where many come to untimely ends by poison, both of English & Dutch, by their owne Servants and ye brokers as to apparent appears and hast bin proved by a late accident and Example of that nature, hapned in ye house of Deputy Marryage, where himselfs and ye Commendore by drinking and tasting a cupp of bear had allmost lost there lives as might the rest of ye Company (among whom I was present) had it not pleased God by a timely discovery to prevent soe greate an evil, for wth and all his mercies and deliverance this or at any other time I hope I shall remaine truely thankfull, for a particular relation and more satisfactory account of this sad story I desire you will be referred to the verball repetition of St Nicolao Vidall and others." — Factory Records, Surat, Vol. 106.

\[23\] \(i.e.\), took refuge in the vashis house.
de Roy [Shah Salaiman’s dwhas]. When he herd ye word, he rose vp & made 3 Sallams towards his kinge. I told him, these are ye men heate, or would [have] beene ye death of 23 March besides theire Servants; ye hate them in ye Custody; I looke to them; I am going for Spawhaune. Sd ye Gouner, two of these men looke like grt men. Pray, sd I, question them, He then questioned them & said, tell me teuth, Ie make ye Moores, & then ye are fra from all harms. He found they were gilty of wt I accused them of, And Committed them to a Room; Soe I left them, The Gouner att: yinge [parting] Sd, ye Engli, Dutch & f renche are ye good friends, Shall we loose 3 places for 3 men, in wt are Thousands.

Next morning he sent for me betimes & asked me where I was bound. I sd for spawhaun. He askt what service I would command him. I told him noe service, but desired Good justice. He is Gouner of Conge, Commoroon & Larr. While I was thus talking, came in 3 wth chains & Locks on theire hands. Said ye Gouer, how like you this; I sd well, & ye ye Engli Dutch & portugulls would Command his good justice.

Sd ye Gouer, I hawe don this on ye word & caused a letter to be written & I to set my hand to it & my seale also, ye if I had abused them wt out cause, the franks must give ace of it, and that before I left Spawhaune.

Next morning they were sent away wth 20 horse as a gard to Comiroon, wth a post before, wth would goe yp in 3 days (I was 7 in commeinge), & demanded of me to stay till answer was returned. The 5th day after came answer from ye Gouer [of] Comiroon that they had hanged the Commandores slave, And 200 Tounaine was gathered by ye Banyans, 1000 for ye Gouner of Comiroon, ye other 1000 for ye Gouner at Larr & 8000 for to be devided amonge ye Marchants [who] were theire, franks. To save the Banyans lives; & never anie Banyan to Break or serve in business to ye Christians On that Coast, wth is 100ds of thousands to theire loss, for they did all business for ye factories.

From Larr I tooke my Journey for Serash [Shiraz], 140 Leagues from Larr. First I came to ye padres theire. Next day came ye English Broker to me & told me It was not fit I should be here & Carried me to ye English howse.

The Gouner of Serash being a great Caunes [Khan], ye is Lord, & for some reason then not knowne, forsaake his meane & be took him to a Mountaine privat, & for 2 mo he had a day noe more then ye quantity of a penny white loafe. His desire after some tyme theire was to know how all did wth his fannily. A spirit appearing to him told him he could not goe to see his family wth out he would doe one of ye 3 thing when he caime theire he would pounce to him, vizt wth his Mother & Daughter or be Dranke. He answered ye last he would Doe. He went to his howse & great pifions was made, And being Over come wth drink he lay wth Mother & wth Doughter. Nex morning, Remembering what he had don, tooke his Doughter; it being in the tyme of ye raines, and Threw hir into a great Tanke. She was taken vp by others & knowne to be such a Lds daughter. The Ld, after he had throwes in his daughter, went to ye Justices & told him what had past, & ye he judged himselfe not worthy to live.

The justice & Gouner past it by, but sent for the Mother & Doughter & askt if it was as the Ld had told. They both deny it. In caime ye Men ye took vp ye Doughter out of ye tanke, & herd what they Sd & Quest how she caime theire; ye Ld hir father made answer I carried hir theire. Sd ye Doughter, father now I must speake, begge yor plox, I confess you forst me to it. A counsel was held & ye Ld was put in Irens. His Brothers sonn, then Gouner, Sd, my vake since he left ye Gouernor hath drank bangg & post, wth makes him talk Idley.

(To be continued.)

23 Fryer gives the same spelling 'Deryn, an interdict.' It is an appeal to the King for justice,
24 Hang and post, a preparation of opium.
THE CHUHRAS.

BY THE REV. J. W. YOUNGSON, D.D., CHURCH OF SCOTLAND-MISSION; SIALKOT.

(Continued from p. 83.)

A hundred horsemen marched—they rode in force,
And Dànà gave them orders strict to seize
And chain him; thus to bring him quickly, nor
Take time to look again towards him, but
To hasten back. They spurred their horses—
passed
Atâwâ, all the Lord's great works are good.
Those lines above are beautiful that he
Has painted — Lo a thunderstorm is here.
How will it pass? They to Nausher came.
And first a barber Jâmu met them. Straight
He told them all about the priest, the man
Who had been boy till just that morning, since
The boy had in a trice grown man, assumed
The form of age in the afternoon, and so
Was called old man — all in a single day
He reached the fourth stage — youth and mid-
dle age
He passed, and entered white old age. To talk
With calmness is the property of age
And wisdom: therefore said he calmly, 'Sirs,
Beware of harm. I do not seek to vex
Or injure you.' A soldier then approached
And said, 'Your servants we—Judge Danscalls
You. Fixed upon the bow the arrow lies:
It cannot miss you. If it does, 'tis ours
To throw again, to make it sure.' Disciple I
Have made this song. Repeat it. Asked the
priest,
'What wants your judge with me? I have not
bought
His property; I have not stolen his goods;
He gave for me no pledge that I might have
Sufficiency of corn. What reason is
That ye have come from him?' The soldier's
face
Grew pale; he nervously grew, just like a
shrew
That while she stays makes neighbours trem-
ble, but
A day comes when rebellious she denies
To do her husband's will, and he grows fierce,
Rough seizes her, and casts her out disgraced.
So stood the soldier, (Praise the priest),
abashed;

Dând pakî bahu karé, voyâh tôh pharêk,
Agé dhar lâduê, nûl lôdî pharêk.
Eihé pakî rôduê, vèkhojê na kôrêk.
Unhâ phagá laô hajojâ Aûâdâ tângé,
Kîtê kam Khûdà dé phir hôkê chângé.
Sônhé rong ôh nê jîhre Maulâ rângé.
Pêyâ kîyâ gaj akâ têkâ lômbî tângé.
Ôh vêrê Nishâwâr àkkê, miêlê òhûdû Jâmû nàî,
Jînê hât havâl akâ òhû ñûndî.
Pîr pahîlê pahî hât jë phîr javeó bôt jê.
Dîgar dîlo 'ûtî hai bâkâbîr jatâdê,
Dîhotë tângé êk, rîsîw smar hantâdê.
Khûkê nûîr hâtîm akâ kôtî rûthi dândî.
Apnê àp sawbâkûtê, mûâ hámûdà jê nàî.
In siyâhî partêk, jà ar sâm ñuâîs.
Aûîî hât têrê gûlé ñûndî, Dànà pêyâ kôkê,
Chûlê chûrâjîr akâ hoi ñûsâtê na jêî.
Agé khârâh na pêhê, hólâmûbê jûk.
Chûlê ñûndî jörijîn pahî nâm ñuâîsûn.
Pîr sipûhîdû nûs pûchhûdâ; Dûnâ kî fumàî.

Na kuchh ñûdà chaûkîyê na ñuhrû lêdî,
Na us sâmîm hôtê sâmûn dûnê dûldê.
Tûthâmû sâîr hûbâr hât tusûh ñûshôk dê,
Bâng sipûhî dê ñûshôk, kûchh êhrâd na ñuâlë.
Jîchâr kû vândî ghar vích hûvàn tharthàlê.
Ik dîn na lâqà kûdlwûn dî gàllë,
Gâl tûshâ pàkàwê kâqûdû na kuchh bânàt
pâllë.
Ugëd rong sîpûhî dê, kûchh êhrâd na ñuâlë,
Ik hê vûs sîpûhî dê (pin jît) kûchh mûn nûs
pâllë.
Bâtî pîr ñîvîc ñûdî gûzûrî,
Pîr pàkidîm bûy gûyê dû gûyê sâdîs vûrî.
Dhûnsar hêtê bûy gûyê tûlûsê dê wûldî.
All shamed and helpless, of authority
Divested. Bálâ priest thus thought in heart
‘Both priests and prophets, all have run their
race;
Mine may be ended. Men like Dhainsar died,
And those that ruled three realms are gone.
One ran
From death, even Moses — sought he hard to
hide
From death in all the quarters of the earth,
But no, he fell at last in weariness
Into a grave. Such men have died and failed
To conquer death.’ Then Bálâ thought of
God.
Great kings like Akbar died and left their
state
And Dillî all behind. A great prophetic host
Have graves that fill the world. They
fought once here,
Espoused a woman’s cause, but perished; all
Their plans were frustrated, but God did hear
Our Bálâ’s prayer. The Lord a letter wrote
To him. He summoned him, and thus he said,
‘Why sitst thou there, O Bálâ, why shouldst thou
Be so disconsolate and sad? Be sure
Thy followers will enter heaven: for food
They shall have rams, yes, more than need
demands.
They shall be fed to all satiety.’
’Twas his disciple made this song with all
Humility. Some traitors are that false
Desert the Churanâs, and become great knaves,
Musallîs. Vainly thus they go, for nought
It boots, and then, besides, to hell they go.
Grieved will they be some day when from
God’s face
They are excluded. ‘Why, Musallîs, why
Go straight to hell?’ the true disciple asks.
Multanâ Shâh, disciple, stood beside,
A follower true of Bálâ, much beloved,
Who said, ‘The length and breadth of this
good town
Is eight full miles — I will take up the flag,
It is not great beyond my strength to raise,
And then the Râvi will e’erflow its banks
And flood the town and judge. In it I’ll
drown
The town, and Multan, too, will perish with
The rest, because he dared insult our law.’
With prudent judgment the disciple made
This song. The priest said, 'O Multānī Shāh.
Let us fear God. Even though our strength
could lift
A hundred mounds, we must show patience.

God
Has sent this grief. Let us bear up like men,
And let the town live prosperously in peace.
We go to talk with Dānā.' So he bathed,
And dressed himself to suit the interview.
A silken girdle donned he on a coat
Of velvet; vest of white, a silken shawl,
A turban beautiful. Thus from his house
He came. They flocked about him. Then he
called
For's horse, caparisoned in gold — rich shawls
Were placed for saddle — bridled was the steed,
And Bālā caught the reins. He lightly placed
His foot in stirrup, laid his hand upon
The pommel — but in writing who can show
The grace of Bālā Pir? — Eyes could not stand
His glory — even the sun could not endure
To look. 'Twas like (the) Dēvāllī with its light
Of many lamps, which this disciple saw —
He therefore wrote this song. So Bālā rode
To this great controversy. Wednesday it was
Of the week, the month of August. They
who make
A journey in the sun must needs have care.
A cloud o'ershaded him; small drops of rain
Began to fall, a gentle cool breeze blew
Refreshing. Happy was he; with him were
Multānī, Rōshan Shāh, and Hasrat of
Kailānwalā — doughty wight was he
By grace of God, for ninety-nine crores
Of soldier angels, Dadu Bhagā too,
Thebards, did follow him. With folded hands
They made petition to him thus, 'O priest,
We are your helpers, be assured.' This song
A true disciple made. O read and seek
With reverent heart the Name. The priest
but said:
'O children mine, all young you are, untried;
If one receive a wound then who shall share
His pain? My capture and not yours
Will please this Dānā. Only hues that are
God made
Are beautiful.' The journey, though 'twas long,
Was quickly made. Whate'er the Lord does
must
Uhnā pēi nipātī sharo dē, tē gayū sirkārē.
Chauhāri uthōn uṣhīgā hath hathān tē mārē.
Chālē sijān jōrān pārh nām chitraē.

Be good. The priest had left Naushbāra when
The headman came from distant Gujranwāl.
Shām, village watchman, went and told him
all.

'Where is,' he cried, 'the priest that used
to sit.
And talk with you within the rest-house here?'
'The minions of the law have seized him, Sir,
And taken him away to judge him.' Up
The headman sprang and struck one palm in
grief.

Against the other. The disciple made
This song, and thinks upon the Name. Forth-
with
From all the land the Sainsāris’ mares were
brought,
And briddled all and saddled, so forth rode
The Sainsāris, arm grasping with their hands
The reins. The mares were good, of Afghan
breed.

And swift. So near Atawā met the bands.
With threats the headman faced the captors of
The priest, and to the priest, he said, 'Why
did
You go and leave us? Say, what were your
plans?
And why, if forced to go, you told me not?
All rough and ignorant are we, but fear
We know not, No. We bruise our flour when you
Do knead it, and we knead our rice when you
Do thresh it. This our way. O priest; our
law
Is force.' The priest replied, 'A prisoner I
Bound hence for Dilli.' Quoth the soldiers,
'Sir,
Be patient. No great business calls him there;
To-day he will return — it is not far
From your Naushbārā. Only here we have
A slight dispute about religion. For you
There is no business there.' The priest
said, 'Take,
My friend, no foolish step, for Dana will
Become your enemy, and ruin your home.
Why break a lump of salt in earthen plate?
Wait on the Lord, nor e'er impatient be.'
To whom the headman, 'We our band retain.
Five hundred horsemen have I, fighting men,
Without them what can I? And if I go
Without you to my village, what will then
My people say?" A soldier ran to tell
The tidings of the day to Dānā, how
That coming this same priest was but a boy,
And, strange, at noon he was full grown, and then
When evening fell an old old man was he.
And people called him Old Man — just a day
Had seen the changes three. And on the way
A cloud o'ershadowed him, and rain came down
Refreshing. "Do your will; you may; command.
But do not spiteful be. It will not serve.
Muhammad's soul, God's friend, was made by
God Himself. This heaven and earth proclaim.
But how
Did never cloud o'ershadow him, nor rain
From heaven refresh him?" 'Nay," said Dānā, 'Nay.
A babe is he who's newly born. The clouds,
How could he summon clouds? As for his form,
He may have learnt in Bengal arts for this.
The people say he is a man of God.
I'll try him." So he summoned artisans
And led them to a well within the town,
And gave them orders to fill up the steps.
To raise the higher part, and even it
Close with the ground; to dye great spreading
sheets
Of paper, which he laid on the well mouth.
So thin it would not bear a straw's weight.
Then
A paper mosque he made around it, with
Its mihrāb towards the Qāba, and its walls
So brick-like painted, and white-washed, with
names
Of God's most faithful written upon it. For
The will of Dānā must be done, and none
Dared disobey. He caused his men to sweep
The court, remove all dust, and handfuls sweet
Of fresh kastūrī throw, that passers by
Might tempted be to enter. To the priest
A follower said, 'O hear us, teacher mine.
In sight is Imminābād, quite near; soon will
Disputes arise. The mulas will with zeal
Surround us. The Qurān they know. They
know
Traditions also — intricate and deep
Their doctrines are — our blood is dried for fear —
We tremble. Tell us plainly if you have
The gift of superhuman power.' Said he,
'I have the One True Name — which has in
the world
A thousand different forms. God gave great power
To great Har Nāshak, him who caused all men
To worship him in place of God. Polād
Obeyed him not. He bound him fast in
chains:
From red hot pillars God released him. God
Was then believed in, and even now He will
In this great trouble aid us in His own
Good time.' Then the disciple, 'Bāla priest
Art thou. Thou goest to the house of God
Once every third hour of the day. One God
Alone thou worshippest and wonders dost.
The Most High is thy friend: thou tryst us
To prove us true. Once on a time the Sādhs
To Lōl came, the wife of Saint Kabir.
She had no food or water in the house
And they were hungry, thirsty all, so she
To feed them sold herself, and then at last,
As debtors must, she went to pay, and he,
The Bāniyā creditor already had
With flowers prepared his bed, but Lōl quick
Ascending straight the couch, God heard her
prayer,
And made a sign to Dhaul to shake the earth.
He touched the Bāniyā's heart, who like a
child
Began to suck her breasts. As God helped her,
He will not then delay to succour me.'
The towers of Imminābād were now in sight,
The people came in crowds to see the priest.
The maids to get good husbands made request,
'O priest, a blessing seek we — husbands good
Whom we may love.' He granted their requests
As they preferred them one by one. These
songs
Of praise the true disciple made; he reads,
And still he glorifies the Name. Resume
We Dānā's story. Priests and lawyers all
Sat round the mosque on rugs and carpets
spread
All in the open field, a great concourse,
Desiring they to see the priest. The saint
Shâh Sandal they addressed, 'Thou knowest all.
In earth and heaven. Try this man's right to be
A priest by insight spiritual.' He went,
And seeing the priest he cried, 'O Lord how strange
And wonderful Thy works! This is a sword
Outside its scabbard, whetted, ready drawn;
The fate of Dânâ now is sealed; 'tis clear
That fortune is against him.' Leading then
Aside Saint Sandal all the lawyers wise
Interrogated him, 'What hast thou seen?
How can the lamp of falsehood of this priest
Keep on to burn? Say, will he fight or flee?'
But Sandalwall said, 'No lie speak I.
As sure as death is sure, he is in truth
A winged serpent. He can fly aloft
And touch the sky. There's none can charm him
And dump him in a basket. My counsel hear,
Be not like children — yield obsequity meet,
And give him gifts.' The Qâst straight grew wrath.
He said, 'Away with such as you, you thief,
You rogue! For nought you eat your share of food
In Imminâbâd. You lie. You seek to save
This priest from shame.' But Sandalwall said,
'Tis plain. I am a poor faqir; I beg
My four poor bits of bread from door to door.
Expel me if you will, but know that like
A quail you're fluttering — the net is spread,
And ready for you.' So the Qâst did
Not dare to meet the priest in argument,
But trifled with him, saying, 'You have no law.
Why did you slaughter sheep? Men give their lives
To uphold the law; a father for it will
Befall his son. And those that eat the dead
Must not kill rams. The dead, as all men know,
Are food unclean. Even Shams Tabres the priest
In far Multân was hanged and flayed, because
The law abiding willed it.' 'Dânâ,' said the priest,
'Four things unlawful are; poison that kills,
A price paid for a daughter when she weds,
An angry outburst, and the use of food
Unlawful. Carrion you eat and straight
Deny, for five times in a day you pray,
You read; you search your old Qur'an; you read
Your books, and will not even look towards
A creature dead. You preach; the kāma too
You oft repeat, but only from the lips;
Heart of godliness you know not. Carrion
Is sweet to you the whole day long. You love
The taste of food that's given the seventh day past
A burial — a full dish you devour, nay
Interment you forbid unless the fee
Is paid. Is this God's will? Who forced a tax
Upon the dead? Is this not proved to be
To eat the dead? Speak Dānā. Dānā
learned
What real carrion is — he saw the priest
Was wise, and in his heart he said, 'He speaks
Of godly things — how wonderful the ways
Of God are. See this man has never learned
In mosque, or been to school to any wise
Philosopher.' 'Dānā,' the priest said,
'Learn
That he whom God gives victory will win,
He hates our castes, and worship true he loves.
Great teachers ye, but where are seen your shrines.
I tell your errors, those that lived before
Your prophet, made them idols false just like
Your carpenters. That's where your prophethood
Arose.' The true disciple without fear
Composed this song. Said Dānā to the priest,
'Begone! Excite me not to sin, for rage
Is sin. You taunt me with the gift of food,
My right to the interment of the dead.
You call the prophets carpenters. You must
Full satisfaction give.' The priest replied,
'Adar, a Hindu, once addressed the Name.
A carpenter was he, his work was sale
Of idols, which he made and hawked about
The streets. His son was Ibrahīm, who went
One day to sell his idols. He tied a rope
To the idol's leg, which dangled from his arm,
Khudhish nahi paikambar di muñh thīn
farmē
Oḥ ēdī rūh rēḥā vich kūtab dē, āmīyā tā
pīchēhā dē
Paikambar vāgēlē tussāī thīn kōi pārṇ ēvīnā;
Dēndē, na samēn ēsānī eī na qalam āyīdē
Ādam paiddē karn di Rabb khudhish päi.

As to the market place he carried it.
The price rose twofold and the boy made
more
Of profit than his father. Tell me now
Was ever greater saint than Ibrāhīm?
The true disciple has compiled this song
To praise the Name. The fourteen spheres
God made,
One half the earth, one half the heavens. He
made
Them all in wisdom — so the prophet wished
God said and it was done. The prophet's
soul
Was then in Polar star so high. It came
To the world, A greater prophet let us name
Than yours. O Dānā, neither earth nor
heaven
Existed then — nor pen nor ink was there
When God made Adam. Angels at his word
Brought earth, and fashioned it : the face
they could
Not make. Therefore to God himself they
went
With a petition. Then the Most High God
Spake thus himself, 'Look into water pure
And steady look.' They saw great Bālā's face.
With joy the work was all completed. This
Is why, when anything that's great must needs
Be done, a Chūhra's face is omen good.
You call your prophet great, but only great
Because you say it. Said Dānā, 'You speak
ill
About the prophets who have children still
Among us. Gave they not their sons to God
In sacrifice? Unsheathing knives they gave
Their sons to God with faces Mecca-wards,
But God in mercy sent a ram instead.'
The priest said, ‘Dānā, good and faithful,
you
In such discussion keep a window in
The wall. You err. God has with perfect
scales
Weighed prophets' faithfulness; a bandage
On his eyes did Ibrāhīm the prophet place,
Because his son was dear to him. Was this
Done like God's lover true? Ah, no.'

Twixt right
And wrong the true disciple makes, with care,
A difference. He sings God's praises. Priest
Of light was Bālā, who became Lāl Bēg
Incarnate. Lived he in Kashmir, among
Assa u. Bālā pīr samajhāda nā hā kōt Rabb dā dā. (Chāle esṭā de jërūla hā bē vīvēde)
Assa u. suhīyā edāh bhagā tā kōt Rabb dā bādā.
Ainā vāl bāhdōt kā kōt kādā.
Huī tān jadī mandē, kōt rā di evērd
Mān pākāda khud kādā, jag kā kāhā sārd.
Sādē chaliye rūkē kōnā mandūnākāhār.
Chāle esṭā de jërūla kar 'uqi niyērd.
Bālā nārī pē u mandhōnā jāliā
Mīliyā vēkē nulhāda lamōq qadāl chalā,
Mīliyā jē ujēr vitch u ars suṇā,
Bhākā dumiyā dhēr hār, phir vich lūkāt.
Mērā kunāda chalā bruhe ḍē kē diē diē tā.
Chāle esṭā de jërūla, pēr nāv suṇādā
Sādē nqābh pardē nā khūḳāh suṇādā,
Do tēri ghar bālā nē chērā dēgāh phānā.
Jē sat vāt hūndhē hāi tān mēr lā jēdā.
Jē Rabb pīyārā tūdā nān tān bāl khāvāhā,
Pēr manādā sūṭhāda mur ghar vāl dyē,
Bālak dōvē khēgāh bēhōrāh mangūdā.
Them dress and boil if thou in truth dost wish
To take us with thee. Prove thy love to
God,
And feed us with thy sons.' The priest
consents
And leads them back. The boys were sent
for from
Their play: hot water straight was brought;
the boys
Were bathed: in sight of God the Shâh
himself
Did kill them; Mother Mahin, who had held
Them sporting in her lap, was standing by,
Nor ever shed a tear, nor sorrow felt,
Her sons were God's, His gift. This song
The true disciple made and of the Name
He sings. The boys were cut in pieces, and,
The pans being set on the hearth, they were
with salt
And yellow dye, and liquid spices, red
Hot pepper too, well-cooked, and set before
The strangers. 'Come, my friends, ye men
of God,
And eat,' said Bâlâ. 'Lift,' said they, 'our
clubs
Of iron. We will go to dine. We need
To careful be, for if some one should steal
Them, we should grieve, and some one would
be called
A thief.' Give heed, O Dânâ, thus our
priest
Wast tested by the Lord himself. To sing
The Name the true disciple made this song.
'I can,' said Bâlâ, 'lift an iron club,
And home convey it, or to guard your clubs
I'll sit beside them.' Who has given to God
The flesh of his own sons to eat? This
song
The true disciple, thinking of the Name,
Has made. 'We have,' said they, 'clubs
fourteen told,
Uplift them all, the world will see thy might,
Thy sacrifice will be complete; thy griefs
Will end. All men will praise thee.' So he
made
A bundle of the iron clubs, and said,
'Lift them I must. Tis God commands.'
He put
His hands about them, then with effort strong

(To be continued.)
THE INSCRIPTION ON THE PIPRAHWA VASE.

BY A. BARTH, MEMBRE DE L'INSTITUT.

(Translated from the French by G. Tamon, M.A., Ph.D.; Göttingen.)

[The original article, of which a translation with the author's permission is given here, appeared in the Journal des Savants for October, 1906, p. 541 ff. M. Barth, who some eight years ago, almost simultaneously with the late Professor Bühler, first translated the Piprahwa vase inscription, has examined in it the interpretations which were afterwards given of that interesting document by other eminent scholars; and a translation of his paper will be sure to be welcome to all to whom the French Journal is not readily accessible. Those who are interested in the matter must be aware that the discussion on the meaning of the inscription has been carried on by my friend Dr. Fleet, in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1907, p. 105 ff. — F. K.]

The Academy of Inscriptions was the first to be made acquainted with this short but interesting document.\(^1\) I had the honour of laying it before that body\(^2\) more than eight years ago, when the steatite vase on which it is engraved had just been discovered. The vase was found under a large Stūpa, near the hamlet of Piprahwa, at the north-eastern extremity of the district of Basti, still in [542] British territory, but only about half a mile from the Nepal frontier. The following is the text, which I reproduce as I then received it from Dr. Führer through M. Foucher, and as it was accepted till quite recently. I add the translation that Bühler\(^3\) and myself gave of it immediately, almost at the same time and independently of each other:

\[\text{yanān }\]

\[\text{iyaṁ sāliṇḍhane budhāsa bhagavate saki suktibhātinām sabbāṅgikānāṁ saputa-}\]

\[\text{dalanāṁ.}\]

"This receptacle of relics of the blessed Buddha (is the pious gift) of the Śākyas, the brothers of Sukritā (or Sukrīta and his brothers\(^4\)), jointly with their sisters, their sons and their wives."

This short inscription, of which more careful fac-similes that came in soon after had left not a single letter doubtful, and the sense of which also seems at first sight sufficiently clear, has since that time continually occupied the specialists and even been brought before a larger public; for, the daily press deigned to be interested in "the tomb of Buddha," and all that has been written on the subject would fill a volume. Yet, as all these controversies presented only solutions that, in my opinion, could not be accepted, and did not bring forward a single new fact, I for my part did not wish to reopen the discussion. But now a new fact has been disclosed, against all expectation. One of the scholars that have rendered the greatest services to Indian epigraphy, Dr. Fleet, has rectified the order in which the inscription should be read; and from the result thus obtained — a result which, in my opinion, strengthens rather than weakens the position taken up by Bühler and myself from the beginning — he has drawn a different interpretation and far-reaching considerations which his great authority, as well as the minute learning and the confident tone with which he has produced them, [543] might cause to be accepted as established facts. I have, therefore, thought it my duty to take up the whole question again and in some detail. I do not, however, intend to\(^5\)

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1 This article reproduces a lecture delivered before the Académie des Inscriptions at its meeting of 15th June 1906.
2 Comptes rendus de l'Académie, 1898, pp. 146 and 232.
4 The two syllables yanān are engraved above the line. Of course, the words are not separated in the original, which forms a single continuous line.
5 Three interpretations are possible: the two given above and "the Sukritā brothers." In support of the second one I know of no other example in epigraphy. For the third we have the case of the three Varnabändha brothers, but it is only given in documents derived from China, in which misunderstandings may always be suspected. Thus, the first one remains, of which also there is no exactly similar instance, but which is supported by the analogous use of the metronymic replacing the same. It is at the same time the most natural one, and, upon the whole, the one I deem preferable. It must be assumed that the donors thought themselves sufficiently indicated by what was probably their common surname. — [Compare now also Prof. Hultzsch in Sp. Ind. Vol. VIII. p. 317, note 1. — F. K.]
draw up the bibliography of it, which would be too great a trial of the reader's patience. Of the numerous opinions expressed I shall examine only the principal ones, those that are the most characteristic and really original.

The first objection — first, if not in order of time, at least by the authority of him who raised it — came from Professor Rhys Davids.\(^6\) The word sukhi, which corresponds to the Sanskrit sukṛti and means "glorious, illustrious," instead of being the name of some unknown person, would in his opinion here denote the Buddha himself, and the Stūpa of Piprahwa would be the identical one that, according to the ancient account preserved in the Mahāparinibbāṇa-Sutta, the Sākyas of Kapilavastu, — here "the brethren of the Illustrious One," that is to say, the men of his clan, — had raised immediately after the Master's death over their share of his ashes. The Stūpa of Piprahwa, which is only about eight miles south-west of Rummindī, the site of the ancient park of Lamba, the birth-place of the Buddha, was certainly, if not at Kapilavastu itself, in close proximity to that ancient city, the exact position of which has still to be determined. On the other hand, Professor Rhys Davids has learnedly demonstrated — and on this point I entirely agree with him — that we must not take too literally the legends that show us king Aśoka breaking open (with the exception of a single one, that of Rāmagrama, which is not that of Piprahwa) the eight Stūpas among which the relics were said to have originally been divided, and distributing their contents among 84,000 new Stūpas, miraculously constructed by himself in one day at the four corners of his empire. The explanation, therefore, is a very attractive one; it is, at the same time, so natural that it must have presented itself to the minds of all who have dealt with the inscription. And, in fact, Professor Rhys Davids is not the first to whom this idea occurred: from various quarters and immediately after the discovery, it was brought forward in Indian newspapers. Nor have I any doubt that it was considered by Bühler, and at any rate I myself thought of it. If, nevertheless, we both of us set it aside, it may be supposed that we had our reasons for doing so.

Among those reasons I will not reckon the objection raised by Professor Rhys Davids himself, namely, that sukṛti is not a current epithet of the Buddha. The fact is that hitherto it has not been noted as such either in Pāli, or in Sanskrit, or in the Prakrit of the inscriptions; nor is it found among the 81 appellations collected from the Mahāsāgāratthi, nor among the 58 in the shorter list published by [544] Minayer. But we might readily admit that, after having expressly mentioned the Buddha, the author of the inscription should afterwards have referred to him by a simple laudatory epithet. Nor do I attach any importance to the fact that neither to Fa-hian, nor to Huen-tsiang, was any Stūpa shown containing relics of the Buddha, either at Kapilavastu itself or in its neighbourhood. But the two following considerations appear less easy to be set aside.

In the first place there is the writing, which is so perfectly identical with that of the inscriptions of Aśoka engraved in the same characters that it seems impossible to separate the two by an interval of more than two centuries. Bühler, who with good reason was ever on the look-out for any facts that might prove an early use of writing in India, simply declared that he considered the inscription to be anterior to Aśoka; but he died, without telling us by how much or why. I suppose that his sole reason was the absence of any notation of the long vowel. But, in addition to the fact that this notation is practised with a certain amount of laxity in the authentic inscriptions of the king\(^7\) — (it is well known that in the other system of writing which reads from right to left it has never been in use) — it is entirely absent from one of the inscriptions of Rāmagrāh-Hill,\(^8\) which no one has yet desired to date before Aśoka, and it is equally absent from the copper-plate inscription of Sāgaurā,\(^9\) with one single exception. And it is this very exception that, as it would

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\(^7\) For example in that of Rummindī. *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, 1897, p. 255.


\(^9\) *Proceedings As. Soc. Bengal*, 1904, p. 96. (Now see also *Journ. Roy. As. Soc. 1907*, p. 500 ff. — Ed.)
ecum, ought to give us a hint as to what was the real state of matters. The simplest explanation clearly is to see in the general absence of the long vowel the result of an intentional simplification, and to regard the exceptional occurrence of it in the plate as a mere slip of the writer or engraver who at the very end and in this one case only reverted to a practice that came familiar to him, not, as Dr. Fleet wishes, as a sign of the still uncertain use of a newly introduced notation. In our inscription, on the other hand, there is no similar inadvertency; here the simplification is a consistent one, and is moreover justified in this kind of graffito, where the characters, slender and somewhat cursive, are traced distinctly but very slightly, as if cut with a knife, but yet without presenting either in detail or in their general aspect any trace of those modifications that usually reveal a difference in time. It is certainly rash to judge of the age of a document from simple paleographic analogies. But when, as is the case here, there is a complete identity, not only as to the component parts, but also as to the style, with memorials of the same origin, hesitation is no longer permissible. It would require an incontrovertible proof to make us separate our inscription from the neighboring ones of Niglipa and Rumminder by two centuries or more.

This argument concerns only the age assigned by Professor Rhys Davids to the inscription. The following one touches the very core of his interpretation, namely, the description of the Sakyas as "brethren of the Buddha." In Sanskrit, as well as in Pali, the word that here occurs in the Prakrit form of bhata properly signifies "brother," and in the present case, where it is immediately followed by the words for "sister, son, wife," there is a priori, every probability that it has been employed, like these, in its proper sense. In certain cases it can also be used, by extension, for a very near relative, such as a cousin. Now we do not know of any "brothers" of the Buddha, and the cousins whom we know he had have nothing to do with the matter in hand. For more distant degrees of relationship we have jatia, vaisyia, bandha, saigata, and others, but never brati; at most, this word might be employed in such a sense in direct address, but in that case with a shade of familiarity which would be absolutely out of place here. Even spiritual brotherhood does not admit the use of this term; we find Buddhapatras, Sakyaputras, "sons of the Buddha, of the Sakyas," but the religious language knows of no "brethren of the Buddha." When ascetics meet, they address each other as "venerable one," or with ayumata (equivalent to "may you live long"), never as "brother" and when a monk accosts a nun and calls her bhagin, "sister," it is in a very different sense, so as distinctly to mark the purity of their relations. All the more would pious laymen have scrupled to use, in an authentic document, the familiar term of "brother" in connection with Buddha Bhagavat, "the Saint, the Blessed Buddha," the exalted being who in the oldest books of the sect is called "the Master of gods and men." Even for the period contemporaneous with that of the Buddha the supposition appears to me improbable, and I may add at once that it would be still more so if the inscription were of a later date. Professor Rhys Davids asks himself if the sole reason of the sceptics, who feel doubts as to his demonstration, might perhaps be that "it is too good to be true." And, indeed, there is something in this, but there is something else besides.

Professor Pieloch has arrived at the same conclusion as Professor Rhys Davids, but by another way. He objects to the word expressing the idea of gift or of pious act being understood, although the case frequently occurs, perhaps in one out of every three similar documents, and even though in the present case the word need not really be understood at all. It is so, in fact, only for us, in consequence of the requirements of our languages; in the original it is sufficiently expressed by nidadna, "receptacle, repository," this nidadna

10 Tradition ascribes to him a half-brother, Nanda, who became a monk.
12 A quite similar ellipsis is the rule in inscriptions on coins and seals, where the name of the king or of the owner is simply put in the genitive, without a governing word.
being that of the Buddha whose relics it contains, as well as that of the Śākyas, whose work it is. Professor Pischel, nevertheless, seeks for this superfluous word, and finds it in sukīti, which, according to him, stands for the Sanskrit sukṛiti, “pious foundation.” No one will deny either the sense of the Sanskrit word or the possibility of the Prākrit equivalent, although according to the analogies of the Pāli and of the Māgadhi of the inscriptions one would rather have expected sukati or sukati. But all the same the expression is found nowhere in the numerous inscriptions of that period, which are nearly all deeds of gift or of consecration and in which stylistic formulas abound; so we find in them dāna, dānamuhha, dēyadhamma, dharmaddīya, dhamma, but nothing resembling sukṛiti. However, passing by these objections, which certainly make one suspicious, we have the translation: “This receptacle of the relics of the blessed Buddha is the pious foundation of the Śākyas, of the brothers with their sisters, with their children and their wives.” In this translation we at once feel the halting character in the original of the construction proposed by Professor Pischel. The genitive bhātinaḥ stands in the air. We are not “the Śākya brothers,” any more than we are “the French brothers” or “the German brothers;” we are “the brothers of somebody.” It is necessary that this genitive, striding not only over sukīti but also over sakīyanaḥ, should go on to attach itself to budhara bhāgavate, where it has not even a grammatical connection, — a kind of verbal gymnastics perhaps admissible in the artificial style of the poets, but one which would be surprising in this language of the inscriptions which, though often elliptical and involved, is always direct. For surely this is how Prof. Pischel takes the matter: these Śākyas are the brothers, that is to say the distant relatives of the Buddha; and as he is accustomed to speak out plainly, he asserts as an established fact that the Stūpa is “the very tomb of the Buddha,” and that the inscription, the most ancient hitherto found [547] in India, was engraved immediately, or shortly, after his death, exactly in the year 480 B.C. After what has been stated above, namely, that there is little suitability in this fraternal relationship and that it is practically impossible to date the writing so far back, I hardly need add that Professor Pischel’s interpretation appears inadmissible to me.

Professor Sylvain Lévi, too, has turned his attention to this patient, so obstinate in not allowing himself to be cured.13 Pursuing the course of investigation started by Professor Pischel, he also sets upon the word sukīti, but he makes it an adjective corresponding to the Sanskrit sukṛiti, “meritorious, pious,” and qualifying “the brothers.” From the point of view of the dictionary, nothing could be more legitimate; what is much less so is the joining together, in a compound, of this adjective with bhātinaḥ. For, in this language of the oldest inscriptions, an adjective which is simply used as an epithet does not ordinarily compound with the substantive it qualifies, unless the two together constitute a standing expression. These “Śākyas, pious brothers,” then, are naturally the brothers of the Buddha, which produces another difficulty to which I need not return again. I shall only remark that Professor Lévi, who points out the “awkwardness” of Professor Pischel’s construction, proposes another which also is not very good, for with him, too, bhātinaḥ is separated in a most untoward fashion from the word by which it is really or logically governed. Professor Lévi gives us the choice of two interpretations. According to one we should have the relics of the Buddha consecrated by the Śākyas, his pious brothers, together with their families. This, on the whole, is the conclusion of Professor Rhys Davids, with a less easy construction, and I think I have explained why I cannot accept it. In one point, however, a single one, Professor Lévi has improved it: he has clearly seen the difficulty of dating back this writing to the time of the Buddha, and he has not failed to warn us against the robust faith that allowed Professor Pischel to set it aside. He therefore supposes that the inscription merely recalls a more ancient consecration, and that it was probably cut on the occasion of

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13 *Journal des Savants, 1906, p. 540 ff.*
a reconstruction of the Stūpa, such as tradition ascribes to Aśoka, and, who can tell?, perhaps by order of the king himself. Out of discretion, in which I have little faith, the promoter of the new consecration would have withheld his name. The improvement is a welcome one; but all the other difficulties continue to exist: one of them, the epithet of brothers bestowed on the Sākyas, happens to be even increased, as this qualification was no longer conceivable at a time when the Buddha, in the eyes of his followers, was invested with all his superhuman dignity.

According to the second interpretation, which Professor Lévi prefers, [548] we should no longer have to deal with the relics of the Buddha, but with those of the Sākyas, his pious brothers, who, in the well-known legend, are massacred by Virūḍhaka, together with their wives and little children. The monument, doubt erected afterwards, as the writing seems clearly to indicate, would perhaps be the Stūpa mentioned by Fa-hian, or one of the numerous Stūpas seen by Huen-tsang on the field of the massacre. The explanation is certainly ingenious; yet I doubt if it will bear examination, on account of the many difficulties it raises. There is, first, the construction, which, this time, is decisively defective: with the meaning proposed, subhīḍhathāṇah would have to come before sahīyānāh and immediately after bhūdāsa bhagavate. Then there is the absence of all mention of the promoter or promoters of the consecration. The researches in the Stūpa have brought to light no trace of it; it ought therefore to be found here. On reliquaries this absence only occurs where the inscription, a very short one, is a mere kind of label. For the moment, at least, I know of no other example of it in a formula so fully developed as this one. And the fact is easily explained. The recording of such names was certainly not a case of mere ostentation, on objects destined to be buried deep underground and never again to see the light of day. When we see how on the reliquary of Bhāṭṭiprālī, for instance, which presents so striking an analogy with ours, there is a long enumeration of names not only of the promoters of the foundation but of all those who took even the least part in it, — and, I will add, when we see how in our own case also, if the inscription is understood as it ought to be, the brothers of Sukriti associate in their work their whole house, — we are bound to reflect that there was in this something more than a gratification of vanity, and that a mystic efficacy was attributed to the recording of such names. The invention of the “pious brothers” does not compensate us for this deficiency.

There still remains the erection of the Stūpa in honour of those Sākyas and the consecration of their relics. Professor Lévi calls it a canonisation, and so it would be, but a strange one. These Sākyas of the legend are by no means the innocent victims that Professor Lévi presents to us. On three occasions, we are told, the Buddha averted from them the vengeance that they had brought upon themselves by their arrogance and bad faith; on the fourth time, he calmly allowed their fate to overtake them. In general, and in spite of forced eulogistic amplifications, tradition does not deal tenderly with the Sākyas: it represents them as proud, obstinate, and quarrelsome; it by no means hides the fact that the Buddha had no reason, exactly, [549] to be satisfied with his people, and that, in his case too, the proverb was verified that a prophet hath no honour in his own country. That afterwards people should have been moved to pity by this catastrophe, real or not so, of Kapilavastu, and that Stūpas should have been erected in honour of the victims so as to indicate the traditional locality of the massacre, is most natural. The Chinese pilgrims saw these Stūpas, and the fact that in recent times Dr. Führer took upon himself to invent them anew and to manufacture for each of them a nice epitaph in Pāli, is not a reason for doubting their naïf testimony. But this is a long way from the existence of a worship of relics. For, what we find at Piprahwa is neither a tomb nor a simple commemorative monument; it is a veritable repository of relics. Even without any inscription, the objects discovered there would prove this, namely, some pieces of bone mixed with mahāyalas, ornaments in gold, gold beads, pearls, small trinkets and images, &c., all that is usually found in similar cases. And these relics must have been

14 As on those of Sukrit; Cunningham, Bihar Tropes, p. 517.
of the very first order, for the Stūpa is one of large dimensions; even now, washed as it has been for so many centuries by the diluvial rains of that region, it presents a structure of considerable bulk, and excavations to a depth of 28 feet were necessary to reach the sacred repository consisting of steatite vases, two of which were large urns of the finest finish, and of a precious crystal casket of admirable workmanship. That this should have been done for laymen— to the number of 9,990 myriads according to the statement of Hsien-tsang—who never passed for saints, who, still for Fa-hian,17 were only kriṣṇāyamānas, simple candidates for sanctity and such only in articulo mortis, appears to me, of all suppositions, the most improbable.

Such was the state of matters when, by a simple remark, Dr. Fleet put things in their proper light.18 He informed us that, hitherto, we had all of us misread the inscription: that it does not begin with iyah sālitamidhane. To prove this, he had only to draw our attention to the fact that it must necessarily end with saktiyamāna, the last two syllables of which are engraved above the line. The inscription is written in a circle round the neck of the vase,19 and, as the circle was completed before the inscription, the engraver was forced to add the and by placing it above the line. This is clearness itself. That it was not [550] perceived sooner, is owing in the first place to the apparent exactness of the first copies, and next to the fact that the faulty arrangement they gave raised no important difficulties. The copies which Bühler and myself had at first received, indeed, presented the inscription expanded into one or two lines; we did know, it is true, that it was written in a circle, like most epigraphs on reliquaries; but it was not till later that we learned that this circle was quite complete, and then the matter had taken its bent. For my own part, I might even plead an additional lame excuse; in my first copy the text began not with iyah, but with the puzzling reading yah; the i had been taken for a flourish and represented as such in the copy, and in my turn I was naturally bound to see in it one of those symbols often placed at the head of this kind of documents.

But however this may be, Dr. Fleet's correction, though late in the day, is none the less certain; and what definitely proves it is that it removes the last anomalies and difficulties that might still have remained in the inscription. We have in fact now the following translation in telegraphic style:

"Of the brothers of Sukiriti, with sisters, with sons and wives,—this receptacle of relics of the blessed Buddha of the Sākyas."

Here, everything is in order: the string of genitives, which might have given rise to objections in the first arrangement, is distributed in an irrefutable manner; first, the donors or founders; then, the nature and object of the foundation, which is the normal construction; equally normal, as M. Senart reminds us by referring to numerous instances,20 is the genitive plural at the end, saktiyamāna, to indicate the tribe or sect; applied to the Buddha, it is a development of expressions like Sākyamuni, Sākyayinna, "the hermit, the lion of the Sākyas." So the first interpretation, which Bühler and myself gave, has been confirmed, with the exception that the promoters of the consecration are no longer described as Sākyas. In their own time they were no doubt great personages; but, as in the case of so many others, we know nothing of them but their name. The detail, however, is not without importance; for it is not very probable that, at the period indicated by the writing, Sākyas should still have existed as an ethnical designation.

And, at the same time, there is an end of the other interpretations that I have just examined. The one least affected is still that of Professor Rhys Davids; but [551] it, too, is affected, and deeply; for sukita, having again become decidedly a proper name, but now coming at the beginning, and being no longer an epithet used as a reminder, can no longer indicate the Buddha. Still more impossible are Professor Pischel's "pious foundation of the brothers," and Professor Lévi's "pious brothers," who would no longer be connected with anything. Except as a previously adopted

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17 Translation by Logge, p. 67.
19 See the reproduction I gave of it, after a copy by the hand of Dr. Führer, Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions, 1906, p. 232. In this reproduction the outlines of the letters are accurate, but the strokes are too thick.
conclusion, there can be no longer any question either of "the tomb of Buddha," erected shortly after his death, or of relics of the Sâkyas massacred during his life-time. These interpretations fall to the ground so completely that I might even have been dispensed from discussing them, if Dr. Fleet himself had not forced me to do so by his attempt to re-establish them, at least partly, by a new interpretation, in my opinion as untenable as the others. As it would have been necessary, in any case, to combat them, it was as well to do so in the order in which they were brought forward.

Dr. Fleet accepts, in effect, Professor Rhys Davids' now so improbable interpretation of *sukti* as a designation of the Buddha; from Professor Levi he takes over the latter's general conclusion that we have to deal with the relics of the victims of the massacre. But then the *sakhyamana* at the end can no longer be an ethnical name, as "the Sâkyas of the Buddha" would have no sense in any language. So he makes it an adjective, representing it as from the Sanskrit *svakāya*, "suns, proprits," with the meaning of "relations, kinsmen," which the word really has; and he thus obtains the following translation, which I reproduce while preserving as much as possible the order of words of the original:—

"Of the brethren of the Well-famed One, with (their) sisters, with (their) children and wives, this deposit of (their) relics — of the kinsmen of Buddha, the Blessed One."

I shall not return to the weak points, already sufficiently discussed, which this interpretation has in common with the previous ones; I shall examine only those that are peculiar to it, the construction by which it has been obtained, and the manner in which it dispenses with the ethnical *sakhei*.

And first as to the construction. By merely casting a glance at the above literal version, we notice at once that it is a strange one; that the first part of the inscription and the last one, which are in apposition to each other, are awkwardly separated by the medial clause, the mention of the reliquary. Neither in the Indian dialect nor in English is this clause in its place; in English this place would be at the beginning; in Indian it would be at the end. [563] And what shall we say of the etymology of the whole wording? After having indicated "the brethren of the Well-famed One," was it necessary to add that these brethren were kinsmen? And is it not as if the author of the inscription had himself felt the want of precision of the first designation? But then why should they have chosen it? This ancient epigraphic language, anxious to say what is necessary, and nothing but what is necessary, does not usually express itself in this redundant manner.

It will be seen that to bring to trial Dr. Fleet's construction is at the same time to bring to trial his interpretation of *sakhei*. I really do not know what he has against this ethnical term. In Sanskrit we find it under the form of *Sākhi*; in Pâli we have *Sakha*, *Sakha*, *Sakhi*; the Prakrits of the inscriptions show us *Saka*, *Sakya*, and here *Sakhi* which probably is not to be corrected into *Sakhi*. Of these forms, of which Dr. Fleet has drawn up a very useful list, none is suspicious; they are all in conformity with what we are taught by innumerable analogies of the phonetic or simply orthographic variations of these idioms; moreover, they all enter into phrases which correspond without the least discrepancy. Why, then, should we expel this term here, where it fits so well, for the benefit of a substitute which the lexicon undoubtedly furnishes, but which fits so badly? Is it, perhaps, because the tradition gives various and fantastic etymologies of it? We should be carried a long way in following this track. If I correctly understand Dr. Fleet, — for his theory is somewhat complicated and is not easily summed up in a few words, — he does not deny the existence of a nearly similar ethnical term, but he will have it that all the forms in which the name occurs in epigraphy, and, with a single exception, in Pâli literature, arise from a misunderstanding, and should be referred back to the possessive adjective *svakāya*. By dint of calling the members of the community or of the clan of the founder *Buddhakṣaya svakāya*, "the kinsmen of Buddha," they would finally have been called simply the *svakāya*. The hypothesis is ingenious, but I doubt if it will find many supporters. At least instances of the use of this prolific phrase ought to be produced, and hitherto, as far as I know, none has been cited, except the one in this very inscription understood as Dr. Fleet understands it.

[563] *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* 1900, p. 196 ff. Dr. Fleet did not at once arrive at this translation; another one will be found (ibid. 1906, p. 689), with the same interpretation of *sakhei*, which is still more improbable. I shall say nothing of it, as Dr. Fleet appears to have abandoned it himself.
Yet on this frail basis Dr. Fleet would build an entire chronological edifice. In our inscription, which, moreover, does not mark the long vowel — (I have already stated what should be thought of this omission), — sakiya would still be taken in its original sense; [553] the inscription must, therefore, be anterior, by at least a full century, to that on the pillar of Aśoka at Rummindei (the middle of the 3rd century B.C.), in which the notation of the long vowel is established and in which the designation of the Buddha as Sākyamuni, "the hermit of the Sākyas," shows that the possessive adjective has had time to change into an ethical term. The inscription would, therefore, be far more ancient than any yet found in India. Dr. Fleet does not venture, positively, any further than about half way between the reign of Aśoka and the date generally accepted for the death of the Buddha: for he is too experienced an epigraphist to carry back this writing, without more ado, to the very time of the nṛtṝga. Yet he allows us to perform the rest of the journey at our own risk. On the other hand, he does not disguise his hope that, thanks to the light the document has now thrown on the true history of the name of the Sākyas, a methodical investigation into the use of the various forms of this name may lead to important results in connection with the chronology of the books of the Pāli canon. We may wish that such an investigation may be made; but we must give a warning against too hasty conclusions being drawn from it.

One word still as to the construction proposed by Dr. Fleet. I have already referred to the strangeness of it; I must add that this, but not the other anomalies of the reduction, would be more or less attenuated if the inscription were in verse. Now, quite recently M. Thomas thought he actually recognised in it a very irregular Āryā stanza, which Dr. Fleet afterwards proposed to scan as an Upaniṣad [or Udgītī] almost as irregular. It is always difficult to recognise an isolated Āryā, especially when it presents anomalies as great as would be the case here. But the fact is that in Pāli and mixed Sanskrit some are found which are hardly better, and that, if such a one were met with among the verses of the Thērgathas, for example, to which M. Thomas refers, it would really have to be accepted as an Āryā. It is true that, in that case, there would remain the expediency, which we have not here, of suspecting the manuscript tradition. Without believing it very probable, I will, therefore, not absolutely reject the suggestion; but I wish to point out that it would in no way prejudice the meaning to be given to the word sakiya. Whether the latter really corresponds to a Sanskrit Sākya or to a Sanskrit sākhyā, it would still have its first syllable short; for, long ago Professor Jacobi has shown that, if Pāli and Prākrit necessarily shorten the vowel in position, Pāli often and Prākrit still often do not restore the long quantity when position has been removed.

[554] In conclusion, I therefore believe, with M. Senart, with whom I am happy to be in entire agreement, that we may admit the following as a definitive translation of our inscription:

"This receptacle of relics of the blessed Buddha of the Sākyas (is the pious gift) of the brothers of Sukirti, jointly with their sisters, with their sons and their wives."

In short, we must be resigned: the inscription teaches us none of the sensational novelties that some interpreters have thought they found in it; it does not afford us any testimony contemporary with the Buddha, whom it leaves in his vague and legendary twilight, and whose "tomb" it will not allow us to visit; it in no way tends, even indirectly, either to strengthen or to weaken the accounts of the distribution of the ashes, or of their removal by Aśoka, or of the destruction of Kapilavastu and the Sākyas; nor does it supply us with materials for constructing a chronological system; it simply makes us acquainted, together with the name of an unknown personage, no doubt some local rājā, with the existence (after so many others, teeth, frontal bone, alms-bowl, hair, even the very shadow) of new relics of the great reformer, relics probably more ancient, and which we may, if so inclined, suppose more authentic, than any others. This is little; but a negative result is better than illusory data.

The relics are now at Bangkok, where, after so many centuries of oblivion, they once more serve for the edification of the faithful.

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THE TRAVELS OF RICHARD BELL (AND JOHN CAMPBELL)
IN THE EAST INDIES, PERSIA, AND PALESTINE.

1654—1670.

BY SIR R. C. TEMPLE.

(Continued from p. 105.)

The judge answered (ye Ld brought on tryall before him), we must judeg according to Law wth condemns this fact. I took my journey after this to Spawahwne [Ispahan], wth is 50 Leags. This Ld was sent to Spawawne & Confest all before Shaw Sollymon [Shah Sulaiman] Kinge & his justices, & I saw him beheaded. He might have beene saide but was willinge to die. This was end Aug 1668.25

Att Spawawne, ye court of King Sollymon, Enyp of Pertia,26 I did lodge at y Companyes howse; 3 dutchmen, 4 frenchmen, King Sollymons Servants, wth ye padreys caine to see me, I hauing leir2 out of India. We were very merry at ye English howse. The first 2 days I was in ye citty we kept wthin deores, the Kinges hauing made a Crooke [garuq27 wth his Weomen & if any man kind aboyme Ellevan years old be abroad dureing the tymne of the Crook he is kilde, [whether in the] Citty or Contrey for 2 leageses, for Notis is given ye day before he make ye Crooke. Its only to be merry wth his weomen, wth ride in all manner of habbits as they best fancy for Mirth. This was told me by ye Wife of a Engl surgion, One of them before she married.

The 2d day, about 3 clock in ye afternoone, ye Crook broke vp, y Kinge 2d or adviser, Sheeth Alley Cowley Cawne28 [Sayyid 'Ali Quli Khán], sent for me & demanded if I belonged to ye Company. I said I was a poore Subject of my King. What, said he, is not ye Capt of ye company come, meaning Mr flowers. I told him he would come in 4 or 5 days. Newes came ye King sent out. He rose in hast to goe to Court. I took my leave. He said, you must goe before ye Kinge. I went & made my Obesiance after ye Industan Manner & phrase, being in that habitt, Sollam Alley [Ar-salâm alatâkum]. He 2d, Allegan Solam [alâkim as-salâm], ye you are welcom. Whereo, 2d ye King, haue ye lerned ye phrase being an Engl man, & laught. I said, I had served ye Magnil Oram Zebb. 2d ye K, he is my enemy, see ye are welcom from him: ye Kinge out of his gate showed me some of his great Gunns wth lay disorderly, And two Mortars none in his Court knew how to use. I told him I would charge them & show him ye vse of them. He, are they to be discharge[d] wth stone shot. I 2d wth a shell. 2d he, pray show me this, wth I did, ye King giveng ordre to ye Nasa [muzir],29 wth is Mr of all his Artillery, I should haue what desired. I cast 2 shells. In 4 days tymne I had them reely Cote

25 1668. See note 29 on p. 163, ante.
26 Shah Sulaiman reigned from 1666—1694.
27 "Kourock signifies a Prohibition to all Men and Boys above seven years of age, upon forfeiture of Life, to be seen in any place where the Kings Wives were to pass, if he were in their company. All the ways are hung on both sides with such stuff of which they make their Tents, to prevent the Women from being seen. And notice is given to all the Men to retire home at such an Hour. besides that, the Guards at two Leagues distance round, were ready to prevent any one from coming near the Places so overhaul... It is said, that during the five Months from the Coronation of the King till the year 1672 of the Hegira, which answered the Spring of our 1667, the King commanded no less than sixty-two Kourocks, going abroad with his Wives every time, and visiting the Places round about Ispahan."—Chardin, The Coronation of Solymen III, p. 74. ed. 1691.
28 For an account of "Haji-Kouti-Khan's" restoration to favour on the accession of Shah Sulaiman and of the various offices conferred on him, see Chardin, The Coronation of Solymen III, p. 74, ed. 1691. See also Tavernier, Persian Travels, Book V, ch. VIII. p. 218. ed. 1684.
29 "The Nazer or Seer; Superintendent General of all the Royal Domestics; and who also takes particular care of the Treasuries, Furniture, Buildings, Manufactures, Magazines, Stores and Servants."—Chardin, The Coronation of Solymen III, p. 13, ed. 1691.
over all with ye Caridges. The Kinge placeth himselfe On a Hill where seate were mad for ye purpose. And his Ladies within a Room where they might see. The Kinge caimed after nearer & demanded what should be done with them, if a标记 was to be set to shote at. 1 Sd, bringe men or sheepe, & ye Execution would show how to reveng himselfe On his enemies. Sheepe were brought, And one of ye Shells fitted ye way we call hen & Chickens, with shell does ye greatest Execution & made the kinge Amazed seinge it flie, & s4, it flies in the sire; it will doe noe Execution.

I returned answer by ye Ld that brought ye word from ye Kinge, yo shall prsently see ye Execution it will doe. It flow at ye hight 224 Minutes & fell amongst ye sheepe & kid 250 besides ye land. Immediately ye King sent me a horses & rich furniture (the same horses & furniture was that day led before him), & said, Bireca [barchu Ulah], Well done.

The other shell fell amongst An other flock 230 pieces of. The height it assended was 43 Minutes & fell & kid 133 sheepe. The king was very Joyfull of this, for the Mortar his Grandfather had taken from ye Turks, he driving them out of Persia.20

He calld me to him & bid me sit downe. I begd his prton, being hote, warre & black, & desired leave to refresh my selfe. I took leave, ye ff. [French] & Dutch accompanying us to ye English bowse. He Sent for me againe & I had the honer to eate & drinks with him & were very merry with Musique & Dancinge women (one of these women toss vp 7 8, or 12 halls & keeps them all in play above ground), & had wth else desireable. The Kinge desired me Serve him. I as I could not, my King had Comanded me home. So he, yer kinge is my Brother & what service you doe me, he wilbe well pleased with it. He vrged it noe more, but s4, lets be merry, & drank 3 small Goblets One after another, standing vp to ye King of England his Brother. I was to pend out of a Golden ladell21 qf containing a pinte & s, and was to drinks 3 of them, with I did, & all ye xpians there, Abundance of Lda & other Corteys by; & his women see vs, but we not them, from above. The Kinge dancet amongst vs & some of ye Dancinge women.34 Ye King would set his hands a side & laugh heartilly, saying, spare me not, when tugg was or Usings flyinge, I am at this tyne as one of you; sure wyne mad vs squall. But none of his Lee drank a drop. This was in Supper tyne, dines standing & last downe. But they & the Carpetts then sped were taken away & fresh Carpetts brought. After ye, he Commanded one of his french servants to play on ye violin, And drinks in that tyne was plentiful full with ye franks; ye King did not drinks as we were obliged as to ye Quantity.33 Very merry we were, & ye King very pleasant & jocous. This french man ye plaid comes vp to ye Kinge 3 small tunes & tells him such a Nobleman was fit to be his Gen.2 The king bid him sit downe, Sayinges, I know how to make Gefnaila. This french man, Drunken, vrged it againe; See ye King Commanded him be ript vp & given to ye Doggs, wth is ye Death for offend21 in that Contray, & others out of Christendome. But ye King gave some privat notis ye he should Only be carried into another Room & stript, & see steod naked for 3 howers, wth tyme we past in March, & mist not ye french men. The Kinge, seeing vs far enough in Drinks & Noldine, caime and shoakes me by ye Shoulder, & s4, rise vp, its tyne to goe home. Wheeres ye Brother, & brought me his Clothes, & s4, carres them to him. This was about 2 Clock in ye Mornings.

20 Shalmanes's grandfather was Shih Saif, 1622–1642. He did not drive the Turks out of Persia. On the contrary, Murid IV. recaptured Bagdad from the Persians, and its possession was confirmed to the Turks by a peace made between the two nations in 1638.
31 See Tavernier, Persian Travels, Book IV, ch XVII. p. 181, for a description of the Golden halle in which he pledged Shih Abbaa.
32 For the way in which Shalmanes gave himself up to drinking and dissipation, see Chardin, The Coronation of Solomon III. pp. 77, 78, 87, 88, 128, 129, ed. 1691.
33 Chardin, writing of events in 1665, says, "the young Prince had forborne wine all the last year, by reason of an Inflammation in his Throat occasion'd by his hard drinking." — The Coronation of Solomon III. p. 120, ed. 1691.
Two days after, we were sent for, & Mr flower being come home from Cammerroon [Gombroon], [who] had a present for the Kings from the Company, as went with me. Ye Kings asked me what I had brought from India rare, & so, their few traveller by land but bring rarities with them. I said, only my person. So ye King, we have seen many French, but few English traveller by land, & ye French bring not only their persons. I then told him I had a stone [Besoz], would expel poison. Ye Kings desired to see it. I showed it; he sleaughtered it, saying this is but a stone, what virtue can thare be in it. I said, give me this poison you can, & then ye vertue will be showne.

One of his Capons [eunuchs] brought a Glass of poison. Mr flowers then left me with a looks as if he would [have] kill me.

One of ye Kings Cheife Doctors gave it to me. I drank it, ye Kings first desiring me sit at a distance & sit, freindly, if ye kill ye selfe I have noe hand in it; have a care.

I cale for a Basin. A Jar of gold was brought. I then took my poison stone & put it into a glass of wynne one containing ¼ of a plate & kept ye stone in ye wynne a quarter of an hower or more. So the Kings, his Nobles & Doctor by, when I had drank, He stumbles not at it. So the Doctor, he hath as much as would kill Ten Ollyfant & he cannot live; Iisa the wynne makes him see Curious. With that I drank of my wynne & put ye stone into a little warme water (ye quantity I had drank of wynne), & drank it. Immediately I fell vomitting. So the Kings, now hes deade, I vomitted ⅓ of an hower; ye don, I took water & washt my mouth & face & cale for a glass wynne. Now so ye Kings, I se ye stone hath vertuce. Not, so the Doctor, for a Kingdome would I doe see much. I must, so ye Kings, have ye Stone, & what it Cost or ye will have it, I will give ye; But first purged me on my Oath wth this cost me, I, on my Oath, told him he cost me 8000 Ropes, wth is 837 10a 14s. Eng. money. So he then said, ask a Gift. (Maid. This was but a poence of A Stone.) In then comes my Cozen flowers. So ye Kings, ye selfe is not deade. So Mr flowers to me, now ye have a good occasion if ye valle my home or the Company, Ask ye Arrears at Cammerroon wth were for 4 yeares. I was silent. So he Kings, ask. I ask ye arrears. Ye Kings granted it, & caused the Accompl to be stated, wth came to Two lack of Abasses, wth is about 80000 fifty thousand pounds Eng. money.

When ye Law gave ye Kings this acc, the King So to me, had ye not better [have] asked for ye selfe. A smaller thing would [have] contented ye, But my word is past, & ye granted. But will not ye, ye word being granted, be willinge to serve me. I replied, with all my heart, but I must obey my Kings. Give, So he, it vnder ye & Mr flowers hand, if ye come not, ye will furnish me wth 3 as good men. Mr flower past it vnder his hand.

The King gave me a Scrope [carpa], that is 800, eeto & Gircle worth 300 Dollars.

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56 This was Flower's second visit to Isaphan. In 1694, at the time of the Coronation of Shah Sulaimano, he was sent by the President of Surat to the Persian Court. He had orders to keep away from the Dutch reputation and their "great present; to attest their motion and observe at Court, and learn what their business is, as also by his personal appearance check the liberty which they would otherwise take in abusing you our Masters and the nation."—General Letter from Surat to the Court, Factory Records, Mississippis, Vol. 2. On the occasion spoken of in the text, Flower arrived at Isaphan on the 9th Aug. 1699. Writing to Surat on the 9th Sept. (Factory Records, Surat, Vol. 165), Flower remarks that "The King with his Court lately retired to one of his Gardens with purpose after 8 or 10 days to prosect towards Penderman (not far from Bassera) being Jealous for the Turks who are masters of it." Flower gives an account of his interview with the "Etamon Dowlett," on the 9th Sept. and of the minister's promise to "Acquaint the King with our Complaints," but does not say that he had any personal interview with the King, nor does he allude to Campbell. For Flower's first embassy to the Persian Court, see Chardin, The Coronation of Soliman III., p. 69, ed. 1891.

57 I. e., at 2a. 3d. the rope.

58 I have not been able to trace the relationship between Campbell and Flower. See note 19 on p. 103, note, where Flower writes of Campbell as of a stranger.

59 The author's calculation cannot be right. Sir Thos. Herbert in 1677 makes the Abassi at 13. 4d. This would make the two lacs amount to £15,328 5s. 6d.

60 The records of the time make no allusion to any such occasion by Shah Sulaimano.
The Snowes being then in pertia, in ye end of ye Month August, &e soe Extreme ye, in our way to Spawhawne, my Savr lost his toes, with extremity of cold rotted off. Soe left him with M' flowers, he being my Slave (my other Hamstring in my voyage to Freser John [and] having wife & Children at Bagganogare [Bhāṅgāra, Hyderabad, Deccan], I gane ye valley of 60th to carrie him home. He would not have left me but I Considered his wife & Children, see pted [parted].

Leaveinge Spawhawne ye first day September 1668, I went my slave, a black, A french Padre, & 2 Dymond Marchants of Paris, One Monsier Jordan a protestant, & Monsier Rasin Roman Catholic, tooke o' Journey homewards, Beinge Accompanied out of ye Citty with all ye Engl french & Dutch, 2 Leagues, & after returned.

My Kinsman, M'flower, knowinge in part what Charge I had with me, Sd to me, Woe is me y' I prswaied y' against this journey; ye undertake it against my will. Doe not ye know Mr Humphrey Cooke, who ye Conveyed out of India, how he was served. He, embracinge me, told me, tho I came not safe home to England, my service done to ye Company & for his honor, with ye know Cosen ye have under my hand, shall be made good to ye' father, Or vnkle Whitty; Soe we parted. The 2 dymond March, I, My Savr, & ye Padrey I brought from Surain in India, whose name is Farre Capusena [Capuchin Brother]. The next towne from Spawhawne was 60 Leagues cald Pannulo; in 5 days wee Arrived ther, all in helth.

There we consulted whether we should goe by ye way of Bagdati or Towreys [Tauris, Tabris]. Sd ye Dymond March, we desire for Bagdat but have a great Charge; Towreys is the safer way. We agreed to goe by Towreys, and all went with ye Gollia or Carraun, with consisted of 40000 flageginge men, ye whole (horses, Cammells, & asses), 100 000.

The next great Towne from Pannulo to Towreys was 80 Leagues cald, We, 8 horsemen, with serv, left ye Coffloes & caime to Radie [Rad]. a verrie great Citty, in 9 days tyme; Thence for Towreys. In the way we noe Citty, only villages & Serays. Ye distance was 172 Leagues, with we went in 28 days, all coming to Towreys in helth. Four days before we got to Towreys, there was a strong Doctor ye had cut 3 slaves for ye Gourner to make Coides [Khāji, Coja, Eunuch] or Efunes [in modern Greek] to present to ye Emperor of Persia his Master, Shal Sollyman Kinge.

But ye Condition of ye Padrey or frayiers in those parts, as else where out Christen-dome, if not in, is ye noe Man, how good an artist soever, should live where they are, they pning to all arts, & by that means get into places & make propolities.

A french Padrey in ye citie went to ye Gourner & told him he could get Cheaper & safer then ye Doctor. The Gou; had given ye Doctor 40 Tomaines, with ye padrey knew. Ye padrey was fee'd, with ye Doctor knowing, Left ye Citty, taking 2 Serv & 2 Mules, & toke his way towards Smyrna, with is cald in ye Pertian tongue, Cashmeer [Ismir], & weere in the way buried in ye Sands.

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39 Campbell must surely mean 1669. See the note on his departure from Gombroon, ante, p. 123.
40 Monsieur Rasin was known both to Tavernier and Chardin, "Monsieur Rasin of Lyons, a Person of very good Reputate, and my Companie in my former Travels, embark himself once more in this sort of Trade; and though we differ'd in our Religion, Yet for all that we liv'd Peaceably and in Unity together." — Chardin, Travels into Persia, p. 2, ed. 1691. See also Tavernier, Ball's edition, Vol. II, p. 504.
41 See ante, p. 127, note 53. On Flower's return to Gombroon under the displeasure of the authorities at Surat on account of the involved condition of his affairs. He eventually satisfied the Company's demands on him, and, though he lost his appointment at Gombroon, he was, in July, 1671, ordered to "assess in the Custom house of Mayhwm if Mr. Barton agrees." — Factory Records, Surat, Vol. 104, and Miscellanea, Vol. 2.
42 I can find no verification of this story. See the note on Sir Humphrey Cooke, ante, p. 103, note 16.
43 Pannulo may be the modern Kashan, but it is difficult to trace the route followed by Campbell.
44 Hiatus in the MS. here. The town meant may be Kurn or Kasvin.
45 Fryer, in 1677, gives the value of a toman as £3 6s. 8d. — See Hobson-Jobson, s. v. Tomann.
The Padre Cutt 4; all Dyed. Nowe beinge carried of it, ye padrey Kild himselfe, wth thing brought a prejudice [prejudice] to all frenchmen in yer City.

Next day caime a Coffeloe from Cashmeer [Smyrna], ye" said they met A spice, 2 Servants, 2 Mules, wth a horsse (wth was starved) by them, and all deade. The Gouner, when Monsier Jordan & Rasin" went before him, told vs the above relation, demanding wth vs we 3 were. They Ss, they were fr [French] men. I Ss, I was an Engl man. Ss he, all french men are Haram Zadd [haramzade], Deceivers. For Engl men I have not to say of them, never hauinge anie tryall of them.

Must not, Ss he to ye fr. men, ye" Padrey be cald to Acc. for ye men hes kild & himselfe, besides he, being to ye as our Casa [qāṣf] is to vs, cannot answer it to God.

I am, Ss ye" Gouz, not see sorrie for him and ye Slanes As for the Docter, ye" Goodman, who by his meanes I slighted, and is now lost.

Wee tooke our leave & went to ye Seraie, But ye Padreys of that place invited vs to thire Convent, wth Monsier Jordan & Rasin did refuse by reason of ye Gouz" language.

4 Days we staid in the Seraie; every day the Gouz" sent vs 6 dishes of Meate. Our Coffelo [kāšla, caravan] being gathered to a heade, & reddy to goe, we went to ye Gouz" to take back wth some small gifts; but he refused them, & Ss, when ye came this way againe, bringe me some Europe token. Soe we parted; & went thence wth ye Coffelo 23 Leagues before we came into ye sands. 17 Days we travelled in ye Sands wth great losse of Men & Cattle, vis: Cammells, horses, and Asses. In all ye 17 days, wee were not hable to see o" horsse lenth before vs, or One an other, Or to open o" mouths or eyes; but when we would eate or Drinke, ye Sand got in like to Chakes vs; yet we had Muffellers Over our faces.

They Stringe 100 Cammells together to follow One after an other, And every 100 have a man On ye most Cammell wth a howse in wth he sits In, ye howse Coverd both day and night, And in it is a light & a Compass to guide ye Cammell" way, for ye Sands drive soe wth ye" wind, its not possible to see.

Wee hanceing 1 monte Jurney more to goe ere wee should be Cleere of ye Sands, and o" Cattell died soe as wee were forst to put two loads on One Back, I said, letts turne back, And, Consulatinge wth ye eminentest Marchant, an Arminyon, & ye 2 freemen, Judged it best to hyer a guide to pilote vs o" way an other way Towards Neneveigh [Nineveh], wth was a nearer way; & Leasinge ye" Coffelo, we could goe in One day 3 times as farr as wth it. 15 Arminyon Marchants (horesmen), ye 2 freemen, my selfe, and o" servants went, givinge 11 Dollars a head for Pilot money.

Wee had 140 Leagues to Neneveigh, neither pile gras, water or Ought else in o" way for refreshment but what we carried with us. Our Guyde brought vs to Neneveigh in 28 days all verry weary. Wee staid thire 7 Days, and in that tyme refreshe o"selues verry well.

From Neneveigh we went to Cornway in 12 Days, wth, at 20 Mile a day, I gess to be about 75 Leagues.

From Cornway we went to Kirkway [Kirkuk], ye fr: men I then only in Company; we went it in 7 Days, wth is about 80 Leagues.

From Kirkway to Bagdatt, 120 Leagues, in 13 Days. We arrived in Bagdatt in helth, but left o" Boyes in Kirkway & tooke fresh horses there, o" Boyes to follow to Bagdatt.

We had but beene 4 days thire, when ye 2 french Marchants felt sick, it beinge see hote, ye" with ye Bree of ye Snn, it kild the Natives; & Many I saw, as white as Engl men, kild immediatly & turnd as black as a Coale.

47 See ante, note 42 on p. 128.
I my selfe beinge at noone in the Sunn, a hote breese hath taken me & skinde my face. Those ye were scorched with ye Sunne, was of ye Bashawa [Pūshā’s] Soldiers, with lay within ye City, for ye Bashawa of Bagdad, Kirkway & Seneve were going with their Armies in ye Grand Senio service agaist Basora, now in ye hands of ye Arrabs. This was in February thus hot, & in Spawhawne in August soe Cold as my Sary in Peria had his toes rotted of.

Mess. I went to old Babylion with is 13 Leagues from Bagdad, and ascended the Tower, & plumed it with a line I carried for ye purpose, & its inst 60 fathom from ye top to ye earth; but ther is a great depth of earth above ye foundation, with depth is not knowne; its foot broad at top. They are every day loading a way from it stones to Bagdat or now Babylon.

In Bagdat I staid 23 Days, and on ye 4th Day of February I took my Journe for Aleppo, and in the way the great City was Hanna [Anah]. A City within a foment in ye Middle of a River [the Euphrates] with goes to Basora, The River Tygrissio & it joyning thereto to gether, And on each side of the River a City, And is distant from Babylon 180 Leagues. This Hanna is in ye Wilderness of Arrabia.

The French Padray byred a guide in Bagdad, & had security by his wife & 4 Children & an Arrabian Merchant that this guide should bring vs safe to Aleppo & bring vs every 2 days where we should have water. All was on my charge, and I would not have patience to tarrie till ye Coffelo went. We tooke with vs noe more than One days water, My Company beinge with my selfe, The padre & his servaunt, My Siane, the padrey's horse & serv' Mule, My horse & slaven Mule. All of vs beinge within water 2 days, I questioned ye Guide, & he gave me Cross language; doe I shott a pistoll at him to scare him, but after drabbed him with my stick. Ye Padre desired me, for Gods sake, to let him alone, Now we are in ye wilderness & know not whether to turn o' selves. I was vexed, being ready to Choak. Bound ye Gadya bands behind him, threatened him & said him usines, and said, if we die, we will all die together. This was about 7 Leages short of Hanna. Within 2 Leages of ye place ye I bound him he Cried, Aqa [Agha, my Lord], water. Give me, S3 he, my life & I will show ye water. We had not rid a league & halfe, but he lights & S4, hecesses water, ye Well impossible to be found but by ye guide, for it was not a yard over, and Turf as if it had beenne firme ground. These Guides Conslao ye water, they getting their living for Conducting travellers & releiving them with water in ye Journe throw the Wilderness of Arrabia. The Guide drew out a line he brought for that purpose, and a sheeps skin, [and] tyd ye 4 Corners to gether, for ye Buckett. The line was 60 fathom Longe & would but inst reach ye Water. I, Jealons [afraid] ye Rogue would run away, I bound him againe. The Padrey & my slav seere, both sick for want of water. But, refrast a little, we mounted, & presently I spied 7 horsemen, with came vp boldly within 500 paces of vs, On with I fryed a pistol. They then retreated back. The guide then addrest him to ye Padrey to make his peace with me for his liberty, Swearing by his beard, his god & Mahommiet, he would not run away. On ye I unbound him, & we were 5 days in geting to Hanna [Anah], ye Padre & my Siane sick, with was ye cause.

By perseveration of ye Guide we past abobe Hanna a league and a halfe On purpose to saue o' head money. We past the Towne and came to a river 5 Engli miles beyond it, & therse sat downe & refereht o' selves. S4 the Guide, heere are Rogues. S4 I, all Arrabs are Rogues. Before we could mount, came 28 horse & carried vs back to Hanna on foot, for that we had past ye City indeavering to saue o' head money. It Cost me 144 Dollers & all ye excuses I could make to ye Governer. We staid at Hanna ye days.

We had not left ye towne 2 Leages but 7 horsemen came riding after me. I S4 to ye Guide, who are these. He S4, Haram [haremsädä], Rogues & Robbers. S4 I, will ye stand to

43 44 Histus in the MS. here.
me.  Yes, S4 he, if ye will let me haue one of ye pistolls.  S4 I, noe, ye haue bow & arrowes, & if ye see ye stand not to it, thou shalt be ye first Ie kill, the I die afterwards.

The guide answered (We seeing them Exercize their lances), I was 4 yeares agoe Guide to Six Xpians, 4 dydmon Marchants and two Padres who went this way, & by fyering a pistoll, we wounded an Arrab in the thigh, was ye cause they all lost there lives by hausing there lances out of this. is a great trueth & told me by ye Padres at Babylon, who advised me by noe means resist if we met anie [bandits], & would [have] had me left my Armes & other things of Concernement.  T S4. I had not anie. Said ye two French Dymond Marchants I left theirse Sick, especially monsieur Jordan, Wee know he hath a Charge & One Dymond wh we have been about & [? for] or Kings, & could never attaine to it. Except he left it at Spawhawne we are sure he had it. 54 The padreys did vrge me againe, & S4, what ever I left with them should be safe Conveyed to me to what place I pleased; but by noe means doe ye travell with out ye Coffelec with a Charge. I denied ye I had ought. S4 they, if ye haue, it wilbe ye cause of ye loss of ye owne life & Company.

The 7 horsemen Caime vp againe. They had only lances; I whistled them, hausing a case of pistolls, bow & arrowes & a Cutlace. Ye Padre cried, for god sake haue a care with ye doe;不及we resist not they will not kill vs. I was angry, & S4, if he would not feight, I would kill him. He S4 it was not his Religion to feight. The Guide & he then run into ye enemy. The enemy Cried, surrender ye selfe & you shall have noe harme. I would not. Ye Padre said to me, ye had better Surrender; if ye doe not, ye will loose ye life; I haue saved mine. I told him, in ye Portugall tongue, I had some Concernments about me.

I left him with ye Rogues & past forwards, facing about everie Minute for ye length of an Englis Myle. They followed me, & when they se they could not [value], they returned ye padres & Guide. My horse being weary with facing them too & againe, I went a League further, & by a river side refresh't of selves; on other side of vs was a Bogg, and but One way to come to vs, see as One Man was as good as 20 in another place.

My Guide S4, these were noe rogues but only tried with xpians were; they had noe Saldes on their horses.

After 3 howers stay, ye Padre haining got a napp. S4 to me, those were Rogues, & my heart gives me they will follow vs; what ye haue, berry heere or give me. I had sent ye Guide to get grasses for ye horses, for, in ye Wilderness of Arrabia, is grass in most places vp to ye Belly, but noe rodo but wth Deere make or Wyld Beasts.

While ye Guide was gon, I took out my things out of ye Padre & gaue ye Padre some, & some I kept my selfe. When ye Padre see them, he Cried & S4, these wilbe ye Death of vs both. He had:

3 Dymond stringes wth Cresses
2 Stones ye Expell porson [bezoar]
2 Great Dymonds
a. Blood Stone
a green stone
100 Sapheres
.4 Dymond Ringes
3 spetiall Rubies

Kept by my selfe, vizt — a great dymond wth Kings arms on it, 8 other great Dymonds.

In ye meane tyme comes ye Guide wth grasses, & packing vp ye things those I had in a little pursce, I ty'd them about my members. About an hower after, we see 14 horser men, 7 of them

50 This does not agree with Campbells condition of desititution as described by Flower. See note 19 on p. 153, ante.
51 For the diamond with the King of Englands arms engraved on it, see ante, Vol. XXXV. p. 138.
had been with me in ye Morninge. This was 3 Clock in ye afternoon. We see them before they could see vs. Sd ye padre, we are betrayed. I ask ye guide who these were. He Sd, men goinge to ye next great town, soldiers. Yn he, ye Roogne, sd ye padre; ye have betrayed vs.

I was at a stand, considering what to Doe best. Yn Guide Sd, lets goe. Noe, Sd ye padre, lets stay heere till night. Did not ye, Sd ye Guide, agree with me in Babylon, wh I have given security to performe, & ye are to march when I say goe & to stay when I say stay. I replied, will ye bear vs harmless. He sd, yes I will. Wh ye he went out, pending to see if ye way was Cleere & staid from ye 2 of an hower, & returninge, he bridled ye horses & Sd vp, ye way is cleere. We had not rid a League, but we spied ye 14 hornesmen in ambush in a valley. They let vs pass till we came to ye top of ye hill, & then spred them selves. 4 came One way, 4 An other, 4 the 3d & 2 more, all with Compassed vs about. I had made my bridle fast to my horse legg & made my bow & arrows ready, but they came poothering soe fast, yd all their lances was about me in a trice, & Sd, we have now Gunns, fyer if ye d, for if ye either fyer or shoot arrow, yd are a deadman, & ye rest.

The Padre cried, do not shoote. In ye means tyme, they struck in with me & stript me Naked, all save my boots, with said me some thinges. They were all muffed vp; I could only see there eies. Some few Dollers I had about my Midle, with they lightly eased me of. And, starke Naked, made me lead my horse to a valley. I went not fast enuff enough, Soe one gave me a push with ye butt and of his lance, with put me on my Nose. In that tyme he spied ye purses & Snatcht it away; I was affraid all had gone together. Beinge in ye Valley, made me sit a side till they parted my things, vizt. My wearinge Clothes & Lynnen, 3 Scountains [scorpii, dress of honour]. One Prester John gave me, One Orum Zebbs ye 2d Madurl from his owne bodde, & One Shal Sollymon King of Pertia, 3d with other thinges of Vally. The Rogue Guide, after Devided, Cast lots who should have this & who that Share. Besides these, there was 3 of his Master Great scales ye Madurl gave me, beinge had On ye occasion before Express.

They caused likewise ye Padrey to be stript, & set downe likewise, & set us both downe to cut of ye heads. Sd ye Guide, my wife & Children is pawns for ye padre; Cut of ye head of ye other. They gave ye Padrey his Coase againe, Settinge me by my selve & a lance at my back & 2 swords Over my head, sayinge, take ye 2d leave of ye world. I desired them suffer me to say a few prayers, with they did, & in that tyme they tooke Counsell, And mutined amonge themselves, 3 went one way, & sd they would goe & complaine; 3 followed them to bring them back. He with tooke my Jewells from my members, said, Is it not enough we have taken his goods, but we must take his life; Theirs a God. They made me come to them, & fall downe & Kiss every. One of their feste, & say they had done well in taking away what I had, & to say God bless them for it, And hons me a Cammeel Coste, showinge vs the way. I would [have] gon for Babylon but they would not let vs goe that way.

Wee had not gon an Engli Myle, but two of them came after vs, & cameing vp to vs, demanded my slave (with was a Black as Those Arrabs are), & tooke him and My Mule, sayinge he was not to travell that way.

Wee travelld all that night, & next day, weary, hauing neither mans meate nor horsemeate, And hauing lost our way, we came to a den that whose month lay about 20 dead sheepe. It was about 3 Clock in ye afternoon. Sd ye Guide, wee are all vnden, judgeinge it a Denn of Lyons Or Tygers; But we see noedings to hurt vs. Att 12 Clock at night, we, redy to die and our horses quite tyred, we came to a River cald Olson, with runs into Tygris. Then weere wee from ane inhabitant 9 (Nine) days journey & had noe prytices. By Gods providence came downe the River Men vppon Rafts of Wood with tents vppon them, Goinge for Bossers. Wee were affriad, but of necessitie sent ye Guide, who spooke Arrab, to haile them. The whilst ye...

93 See ante, p. 127.
93 See ante, p. 129.
Padre & I set out. The Guide got of them 40 Cakes of bread, Cost 2 Dollers, wth served vs to an old City called Tyace [Taibah, Taibah]. We travelled 14 days, day and Night, & so we could reach it, and judge it from H Hanna 130 Leagues, for ye Certain Leagues in that Country is not knowne, but they reckne days journey accordinge as they & horses are hable.

When wee came to Tyace, there were we heart broken, hacing neither meate, money, nor freinds, And must pay head money, 10 Dollers a head. Soe want it, we were put in prison & were 3 Days there, but they sent us meate, & asked for our horses. The 4th day came A merchant from Allepo, And came to vs, & asked me wth I was. I s[ay] I am a Christian. Soe he, there are of That Cast sevarall, As Itallians [Italians], Spaniards, frs: [French] and others, of wch are yns. I s[ay], An English man. Soe he, gave me a note vnder your hand & I will give yns your Money yns desire, wth was 24 Dollers, & took it At Allepo. I took yns Money & gave yns Note as he desired. We paid in (paid our) head money And took Our Journey from Tyace towards Allepo, esteemed 40 Leagues or 4 days Journey. Its all a hard sand. In the Midst of it way Met us a party of Arrabs, wth fryed at vs before we came within shot of them. We sent a young man, wth came from Tyace wth us (ye Marchants sarrt: I lent me yns Money), He returning, s[ay], they are Rogues, yns hants nothing to base but your horses, & if yns will give me 2 Dolls a man, I will secure them. We did, by parol.

These Arrabs had taken a Caffes of of 16 or 17 Camnells and some 20 small assenegeres of their own Country mens. We aske the reason why they robbed theire neighbors. He s[ay], there was an Arrab Kinge in the Hills yns the Marchants had agreed to give him see much Camnell for FIRE passage, and had not permitted; Soe he made bold wth yns first he met. Its common to agree thus in those parts for every carrier, wth yns Arrabs that lie in his way, for they say, when a Jacob had gott all the blessings, Eas caime & askt; see his father told him he had given Jacob all & he must take what he could get. They own them selues of that race, and Soe some as on in yns morning, doe prays a good prize may come in their way, as we doe for our daily bread, & take it wth as much freome as if really it had been sent them.

The first town we came at from Tyace was Sallamminy, Two Leagues from Allepo. We rested there a night. S[ay] I to ye Padre, now we are out of all Danger. But yr people where we lay had sent to yns Kinge of the Arrabs, not far from them, and told him for 25 Dollers they would Deliver two Xphans into his hands. We had not gone a league but we overtook a drove of Laded Oxen. S[ay] yns Guide, come lets put on; Now we are out of Danger. We put a head of these Carriers or markett Carriers, Arrabs too, and heavily I spied twenty (20) horsesmen cominge easily downe a hill. When they see vs get a head, being 4 horsesmen, They caime powerings downe vs. S[ay] to yns Guide, who are these. S[ay] he, Rogues. We made all speede back we could, to get amongst the Oxen, But they were vs. I left my horses and [raut] into the thonge of yns Carriers, & gott behinde an Old Arrab weoman for shelter. She said ye Rogues, and raile at them for hinderinge travellers, but Carried I was to there Kinge, but did not part with my Old Arrab weoman. Comeinge before him, yns Kinge aske what I was. I s[ay], a poorman, Robd comeings from Babilom. Well, S[ay] he, then lookst like no richer. He cause yns weoman, by whom I held by, to seach me. Fynende nothings, S[ay] he, my luck is nought, I s[ay] I mett not wth yns before yns were Robd. And aske me where I had yns horse. The weoman S[ay], he is mine. I hate lett him ride, he beinge foot sore. He S[ay] in Arrab, Gome Giddo [gām jidda], wth is get yns son, yns Cuckold. Last att we pitt, & I gave yns poor weoman a Doller, wth made ye tears start out of his eies for joy of it.

Att 12 Clock the 59 day of August 1669 I came to vs Consals. In Allepo, Rich. Bell's, then at Dinner wth him, & saw in wth a Ragged & weather beaten Condition I came thither in; And of yr [yer] Examinations of yr Guide, whose life I had offerd me by yns Caddie [qāsr] in

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54 Ainepo (Port.), a young ass.
55 This place does not appear in the modern maps.
56 Historian in the MS.
57 Gunni jiddah, vulgarly pronounced guan dijda = get up grandmother, and was addressed to the old woman.
58 Historian in the MS. here.
59 This is the first mention of him, although he figures as the author of the MS.
Alleppo, but reserved him to bring out ye things I was rob'd of, I depositted him into the hands of Consul Delakoy [De Lannoy] & parson Frampton, with whom I left full power to act on my behalf, [they] intending great kindness, not only for my sake, but their Deere friend, Mr. John [Smith] flowers at Spawhawne.

The Padre I had brought out of India with me, 3 days after I had been in Alappo, came to see me, & asked me when he might wait on the Consul & Minister. I asked, & gave him a tymep, but was in hopes, when I see him, he had saved some things & was come to bring me them; for, from the tymep I was rob'd, he never told me he had saved ought, nor did I ask him; but he see me weeps frequently & tooke notis of my heavy & disquieted spirit, but gave me not ye least hopes to expect ought I had given him; Soe ye I had, I was to thanke my Bootes for.

But the next day comes The Padre, with ye Padre Governorcere of ye Society of ye fathers french in Alappo, And asked me if it were reasonable to visit ye Consul and Minister. I carried them In, & left them All together. Sd the Padre Governorcere, One of ye nation, now in ye house, hath beene at Great Charges with this flatterer of me, And to show to ye or honesty And thanks for his charge & Ligne, We come to give him what is his, he trusting ye Padre (he hath saved them for him), & tooke theire leave, leaving the jewels on the table.

I was cald in, & no sooner in the roome, I se what I knew well, & laid at first dash my hands On them. Sd ye Consul & minister, ye said ye were rob'd. Herees more than anie Ke in England hath. Besides we have seene Mr. flowers hath returned to ye father for ye 2700 pounds, wch if ye had noe more, is enough for anie honestman to live well on. Yes sd, I was rob'd, wth the padre witnessed & swore to, as before related.

I began to put vp my Jewells. Sd ye Consul & Minr, If ye please, we will lay them by for ye, wth I refused. Then, sd the Minister, there's a stone ye Consul thinks will be a fit present to his wife in England, & would by it. I said it was at his service; but, said he, he will not have it a gift, but will buy it; make yo'r price. Sd I, it cost me in India 2000 Ropers, besides ye hazard ye know & loss I have had in getting it better; But he shall have it as it Cost me first penny. They told me out 100 Lyon Dollers, wch is 20th English money. I looked coldly on it. Come, sd ye Consul, I will put it to him it 50 Dollers more. I was ill-pleased. Sd then the parson, can ye deny the Consul; he is ye freinde & canbe serviceable to ye, & ye have enough and more. Yes, sd the Consul, besides what Mr. flowers hath writ. (Harry, bring my papers) sd the Consul, he hath 20th pr an [per annuum] his father gave him, & 50th pr an left him by his uncle Whitty; And see bated me, ye I was whelmed out of my Jewells.

They gave me 60 lb for what was worth 200 lb, & gave me a Bill payable by Mr. Chillingworth at Logorne, wch he could not pay; But I have both there hands & scales for it. And this there vnkindnes to me in ye tymep of my Anguish for my loss hath disoblige me, & I have revolted ye trust I gave them, & put it into the hands of Mr. John Shepperd, March 1 in Alappo, by writing, the 24th Janry 1669.

Dated from Rome [Rome], & witnessed by

Rich Bell & Joseph Kent

in

Rome.

(End of Part I)

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60 Benjamin De Lannoy was Consul for the Levant Co. at Alappo at this time.

61 Robert Frampton was appointed as Chaplain at Alappo on the 30th Augst 1655. He held the post till 1706. He was the seventh to fill the office, and was chosen for his "extraordinary merit." He paid a visit to England in 1656, when he gave an account of the abuses suffered by the English at Alappo. After his final return from the East, he became Bishop of Gloucester. In 1691 he resigned his see as a nonjuror, and died in retirement in 1706. For a fuller account, see J. Biographical Sketch of the Chaplains of the Levant Company, by E. E. Pearson.

62 If Campbell were really as destitute as Flower describes him to be (see note 19 on p. 165, ante), it is difficult to understand how he could have acquired so much property in a few months.

63 i.e., £255, reckoning the rupee at 2s. 3d.
THE CHUHRAS.

BY THE REV. J. W. YOUNGSON, D.D., CHURCH OF SCOTLAND MISSION; SIALKOT.

(Concluded from p. 116.)

He lifted them. The genii and gods Did wonder. 'Fourteen clubs,' they cried, amazed, 'He's lifted; one's enough for us. They weigh Seven earths and seven heavens. Once Hazrat Shâh, The strong, did lift them, but even he could lift Them only to his knees; then his great strength Did fail him. Dhainsur, tall as heaven, could show Such power, and only he. But Bâlia, priest Of God beloved, is great.' The priest marched on In front, and so he brought the saints back to His house. They ask for daagh, sadhu's fee. They seek not food, they are not hungry, nay, They even refuse the house to enter, saying, 'How can we eat thy food? Thou'st murder done. Thy sons thou lovedst not; we but jested; wrong Thou'st done. Raise now thy sons to life, if thou. Hast worshipped God.' The priest made answer, 'I have earned no merit. But three cubits and A half my body is; and even so. It full of trouble is, God given.' They said, 'Thou art a mighty saint, with honours crowned.' The priest replied, 'O God, thou once didst send The fish, and from the heavens the bow: Thou didst...
Na tā kho-dākh ann sī, na piṭh pānī.
Tā̀ nām mērā jāp lēyā kar amrit bānī.
Tā mùrā lēyā māin vodād dīn,
Dēlāk tā jāgā le, phir suttē jānī.
Dachchhād māīn lēyā tā̀ rūt khānu.
Chét e sīkād jāyēd paśh amrit bānī.
Dēn jīnā nān pūkar lē chal vēch bādār,
Jān kē vāhēk saṃādē kōi damē kār,
Dachchhād pārā bān nān bōbār māl,
Nārō sañghātē vēth lēyā sab hūt bāndāl,
Pēyē lēkhē khā bāyā bāh vārt lē pānī.
Chét ē sīkād jērēdā paśh nām chaṭṭār.
Sādā nūsī lēkhē āh bāithā dān.
Dēlāk ēvē bādā kōi bhālātē dān.
Sādā bālāk vēkokē hō rêhē hārān.
Ik bōrd bhaṅgāt mādān bātē hē phir vēch jahādā,
Khālī Cūlā āsī vēkkē, hō gāyī qūrānā,
Qurānā humāī āṃtarāh, kār samaj kāyān.
Chēlā ēkāh, Dānwādā, tē jāgē āh pārānān.

Help Nāmā once, thy servant, and didst raise
The cow to life again. And Balmik’s shell
Salaamed thee — Balmik thou didst take
from out
It. Janak once adorned fair Sītā’s head
With flowers. Thou once didst send her
Rām to be
Her husband. Dropt! too thou veiledst, all
To hide her nakedness. Thou wentest once
A guest when sacrifice Bālārā made.
The glory thine. The head of Dhainsur thou
Didst lop, and helpedst Rām to plunder once
Ceylon. Bhaṭīgar too thou stayedst a night
With. Helper always thou art to thine
own.
In every age thy glory is. The Vēḍa
Gives witness. Nānak, Angad, Amar Dās,
United all to worship thee, and Tēgh
Bahādur, Gūrū Govind Singh, the tenth
Great leader of the Sikhs, were all by thee
Assisted. My turn comes: ‘tis thou that
Saviour.
Save me from all disgrace: now help thou
me.’
God said, ‘O Bālā, when there was no
earth,
Nor heaven, nor pen, nor ink, thy soul then
lived
In pearly shell for many ages. Food
Thou testest not, nor didst drink of water cold
A draughts, but with sweet words thou oft
didst take
My Name. I owe a debt to thee which I
Will pay. Now raise thy sons believing
them
Asleep. My fee I’ll take, and then I’ll dine.’
In language sweet the true disciple made
This song. The priest caught up his sons,
and straight
To the market place to sell them, or to hire
Them out to work, that he might have a fee
To give the holy ones in full. They saw,
They understood; they broke their fast and
dined.
The true disciple has compiled the songs
Keho, Dānād, paikambar Rabba dy baūtē?

Le medik baūtē Rabba pāle bāhē,
Jhāna paikambaruś nāt Rabba bādī ek挡 pād,
Mūsā ṛōṭi varṣīya Rabba saū khaṅdī.
Aśūn sāsū darah ni paikambaruś lāc,
Kaurā ṛādā karangē, am naṅū dē jān.
Pir āḥād, Dānād, hain Musulānān,
Wāt kārā Rabba dē tērā vich naṅā niṅā,
Maulānā Mūsā varṣīya Rabba na kītā hoi
parvān.
Chhe mahānā ann paṅkātē phir kōr pākān,
Nārī jhābā paṅkātē, Rabba maṅgu jān,
Sarīya manḍā dēkē paikambar, māgrōṅ āhākā
lāc.
Māgrōṅ māgari Rabba nūn, phir saṅsadā jān.
Savā manḍā ēkāḥ dēṭā saṅ gāyā mān.
Gadāi ann laddē, phir naṅū lī jān.
Khālīād ann jā māchchādāi gāyā samajh
jāhān.
Hoyā jāy sapārān na, vich dargāhā parvān.
Chelāsīlā jērīṅā saṅ kūṅū bāyān.

Shahra Dhanēsar vich es, ik pūnaṅ bhrāṅī.
Pustak jat es vichāṅ, dīnā avāh mūnādā
Shahri lēy uhmūṅ dēṅād jōtāti bhrāṅī.

Dēn nabhī es chhāṅā uhmūṅ Rām pīyārā.
Jān gharē avē pūṁaṅ dēṅālī kārāṅā,
Kālēyā mūrgā hāṅī līc, jāṅū māṅ mārāṅā,
Aśūn vich chhāṅān dē chhāṅ saṅ mārāṅā.

Of praise. Now read — adore the Name.
Were pleased
Those holy ones. They sat, they ate, and near
Them close the brothers stood to their sur-
prise.
‘A mighty devotee is this,’ they said,
‘And full of power in the world.’ The
people saw,
And loved. This Dānā was, confess, a good
And proper sort of sacrifice. This sort,
The Chela says, is acceptable. Say,
O Dānā, did not God the prophets make?
God made them his own friends, and seated them
Beside Him. Moses once invited God
To dine. He went to call him. Such great
things
The prophets did. Who are their equals?
None.
There is no mother now to bear such sons
As they were. ‘Dānā,’ said the priest, ‘thou
callst
Thyself a Muslim, preachest God, but faith
In thee there is not. Moses called the Lord
To dine. In vain he called. Moses cooked
For full six months, when God, enrobed in
light,
A pauper came to beg, but Moses thrust
Him from the door bestowing on him one
Burnt cake. Soon after Moses went to call
His guest, but there, when showed the cake
which he
Had given the pauper, greatly shamed was he
And carted all his fresh made cakes to feed
The fishes in the river. This the whole
World understood. The sacrifice was not
Accepted.’ Thus the true disciple gave
In song a full account.

There lived one time
A Hindu teacher in Dhanēsar town
Who read wise books, and had great love.
He was
A great astrologer, received no alms,
And loved great Rām. One day from thought,
he said,
‘My liver eat when death comes; do not let
It burn upon the funeral pile — who eats
Jiā̇kā khādā kalēndā pāndhā hāi ghar dā.
Jā̇ ghar dū̇n pāandhā th salā hēd pādā,
Pāndhā bhārdā bā̄nāyā, jō kalēndā hēdā.
Sunkē gailād Jāstrī tir kannā pēdē.
Tē rēgā hāth Bhāgānā dē jā̄hā Rān dūwādē,
Gā̄nē na khaṭē jōsīyē, d pūnād kālī,
Vēhā nē jīnā kaḥādī tē, sāhā nikē se nēlī.
Pē̄tē cākē kā rēnā hēd kalēndā bādā,
Chhi̇kē utte rākhiye vēh kāi rūmādā,
Mā̄hārānē aukhēchē hē tēr gā̄yē bādā kam
shē̄kēdār,
Chē̄lē sīfādā jēfādā pār̄ē nān chōtār.
Jāstrī nā gai nūn nācī pētē pukādē.
Us kalēndā chhi̇kēdā lēd lēyd mūnā rakh dō tārē,
Bā̄hār sakhārā tēr gāyē mūnā rakh vājrē.
Chē̄lē kāh ghar kē dākē, maīnānā nārē.
Jāstrī jīrāh pukhānādā jē̄kē bāmādā.

Ik lākhi tāpiyā tāp kā́lawē sī kātā nū̄dā,
Tāpiyā kōl Jāstrī gāyē vērē s vērē.
Chē̄hā māò̄nā labhīyā Bālē pēr dē darbār.
Jāstrī Bālē pēr dē jā nū̄māhēh bā̄tāh,
Tē mārē hāi bāp jī, maīnā tērā hē hē bējē.
Pīr jā kākē Jāstrīyē, pēr sūn tā bējē.
Bābā hēhā dū̄rā hāri hāi, phūr kāmānā nētī,
Chāhīyānā dē maīnā pēr hēnā, tā Brahmān bēg,
Jaim pīyārē, pīr jī, jīkē̄ Rabb nūn bāwē,
Maīnā tāpiyā dē vēkhēkē kūl labbī sārē.
Dūnīgī dē vīc tāpē nē, pândhē nū̄mānā,
Lākānā nūn dārē dē thō̄kā jānē.
Nārāk dē vīc tāpē hōtā, pāndhē nū̄mānā,
Maīn labbīyā lāi bādhē phē chhō̄ nāmānā jānā.
Pīr jō kākē Jāstrīyē, suh bētē ṛēnā,
Jō kuchh Bhāgānā labhīyā amrit kār jānāh,
Dū̄tā Bhāgānā dē kā̄dē, bāh amar langhānā,
Mātē sākādē chā̄hā kīchē jāh kābānē.
Jāstrī kā̄stādā chārēdā, kō bērī̄ hādēdā,
Kailādā jākē chūgādē kīchē jāh nēdēnā.
Sārā dēn ēch chārdē pūyāndā sī pānā,
Dērē ̀ēcē pēr dē; jādāi rāin vēhāā.
Sunkē gailād pēr dīā tādā bāh bānī,

My liver will succeed me.' This he told
To all. 'Whoever will be teacher great
Must eat my liver.' Jastri often heard
And well remembered it. She thought, In
God's
Good time some one will have it. Death
approached
The old astrologer, his breath grew short,
The angel of grim death took out his life,
He ceased to breathe, — they opened him,
they took
His liver out — they hung it in a bag
Suspended from the roof and hidden in
A handkerchief. Then fasting, at the dawn
Of day they burned him. The disciple sang
These praises. Read and think about the
Name.

But Jastri well remembering his last
Bequest, took down the liver, swallowed quick
Two parts, and went towards the desert, for
She feared the people of the house. A lad
Of holy men were in the wild, 'mong whom
She lived. She went among them till at last
When full six months had passed, she found
herself.

With Bala face to face. 'Thy daughter I,
My father thou,' she said. The priest replied,
'My daughter, hear. It is not right that thou
Shouldst sit with me a Chhara priest, and thou
A Brahmān's daughter. Go seek thou, my
child,
Another. But she said, 'That caste, O priest,
Is good that God loves. I have seen them all,
Hindu and Muslim priests that lead to heaven
And go to hell themselves — yes there there
are
Both pandās and mulewās; I have found
And will not leave thee.' 'Jastri,' said the
priest,
'My gentle queen, what God decrees, be sure,
Is living water; eat what He provides.
Here live, and tend our herds within this
A child she was. She tended his black kine
In pastures low. All day she herded, and,
At even she led them to the water. Then
At night she heard the words of Bala with
\textbf{Great reverence.} She sat within his hut
And heard strange stories of the Name. A saint
Is Jastrī. Bālī blessed her. She the world
Forgot, nor cared to be a wedded wife,
Nor cared for life itself — a nun she was.
God blessed her. Caring for her cows one day
She saw great crowds of people run, and wondering
She asked the priest, 'O father, all the world
Is hastening to the jungle, shunning quite
The road. No questions dared I ask,' The priest
Explained, 'We have to-morrow more the
great
Kumb-mēlā, when they bathe in Ganges stream.
At season opportune a bath one takes
In Ganges water washes all one's sins
Away. This is Kumb-mēlā. People run
To it.' Said Jastrī, 'Let us also go
And bathe, or else send me, my father, I
Will straight return to-night.' He gave her
leave,
And Jastrī in the twinkling of an eye
Will bathe before the world. All such as
bathe
At such an hour are meet for heaven. The
gods
Will sit a moment at the river's mouth
And happy he who bathes at such a time.
If you such fortune have, go all the way.
With wisdom has the true disciple made
These songs. Said Jastrī to the priest, 'Thou
knowest
The time when gods sit; if indeed to bathe
Ensures such blessing, help me to obtain
It.' The disciple made these songs to sing
And praise the Name. The priest said, 'When one
And one full quarter of the morning watch
That sees the sun has passed the gods sit. Stay
At home. A basin full I'll give thee. Bathe.
It is enough to wash your sins away.
Then herd your cows again.' A Brāhmaṇa was,
Who once became a leper. People said,
'O Brāhmaṇ, wisdom learn, to-morrow is
The bathing day.' So he prepared his flour,
And grain, and when they asked him whither he
Was going, 'To the Ganges,' said he, 'I
Bhā involving kumb dē, tā ṣāhē jāndā,  
Polut khareh pā lēyā aliā tā dānā,  
Puchhān ukhān lēy jād, ṣāhē maiā Gāngā jāndā,  
Chēlu uṣṭā jārdā, mēngē fāzī rabbāhūn,  
Bhāman rēhā bhukē pā yā vāārī.  
Ohā kiṁ matthē dé khol gugē, kītī mātāk yārī.  
Agyā Jastā rēhī vīyā dē, pētī kūltī chārē.  
Puchhāyā Jastā, Bāhmānī, tērī dēlt hai bhārī,  
Jarnā dīndā se māpēdā, dukh Rabb chā lētā,  
Dānā pāṅī patālah, tainān dā milādā.  
Nikkē vālē bhērē nā, pīchē rūkhā vāłē.  
Bāhmānī sāndīnā jînānā bālē jādē,  
Maithī chaṭīyā naḥānā kumb dē, Rabb kōrī gauūtī.  
Kumb naḥāmān Bāhmānī, phār hai naḥān vēlā,  
Tainān ēhā jāndānā há jād kā vēlā,  
Pīchē dānān mūr jā khānā, ghar jā savērā.  
Bāhmānī ēhā ládā nā, phār tīhā vēlā.  
Bāhmānī maiā andaśā dē, dukh Rabb chā lāyā,  
Dānā pāṅī parākhar, tainān dē milāyā.  
Bāhmānī ēhā shaṭhā jārdā, phār  
Hath jōrdē kharē hōgāyā, dr qamānā tā lāyā.  
Mēhr ā gūyān mar Jastā, aṣṭī tareśā āyā,  
Dērē sāddē chā khānā, ījhar pēr ā āyā.  
Jāndē Bāhmānī rēhā nān Jastā pā lēyā bāhākē,  
Jēnā Hīr pāṭtan toṁ mōrē, ghar Rānhā āūdē.  
Jēnā saṭṭā pūrī mākājā, ghar Punnā āūdē.  
Jēnā Bōhē jābē nīr vīchā, nīt mēng satānā.  
Jēnā Rūdō māṛūn kōlādūn kharē kūlāna.  
Jēnā mōjar Balōch dē bāhān se jāndā.  
Jastā dīndē tī rānā, tainān kām rābānā,  
Ī Bāhmānī hai anāāk, dēhā kūnāh satānā.  
Mārē hōgā rōkhā dē, dhādē naṁ Gāṅgā jāndā  
Īdāh kāya bhū jādē, ṣā jāg hai shāhānā.  
Pīr ā dē tārī ṣāyā, mān sū ṣāyā vēhrī.  
Jēkē gūyād pāṛī ādē, sānmāṇ trēhāyānā nīnā āhirī.  
Gāṅgā jāl tā sāṭhā, ṣāhē pīṅūṭā phār,  
Pīr Bīrī bāwūrā naḥānā lāṅdā dēr.  
Pīr jō ēhā Jasītīyē, chauhārē tēkē chauhārē,  
Gāṅgā jāl tē saṭṭī ādē, ṣāhē pīṅūṭā phārē,  
Dukh kāya pīṅūṭā phārē, ghar jādā sovērē.  
Bāhmānī dē hūgī Jastā ēhā pāṅūṭā nēlī,  
Must go.' The true disciple has composed  
These songs—he seeks God's grace. The  
Brahman lost  
His way, but fate marked on; his forehead helped  
Him—fortune him befriended. Jastī fed  
Her cows in the jungle. 'Why,' she asked,  
'look you  
So swollen?' He said, 'My parents gave me birth,  
But God has smitten me. My bread, and fate's  
Gift, water, brought me here to you. I have  
Both elder brothers and some younger too.  
But I am an outcast am. My sisters have  
Fair children. Now I go to bathe on this  
Great Kumb day; that my leprosy my God  
May cure.' "O Brahman, now there is no time  
To bathe in Kumb. Go home, and twelve short years  
Will bring the blessed time again." 'A poor  
And hapless Brahman! God sent this ill,  
A water and my fate have brought  
Me here.' The Brāhmaṇ stood with folded  
hands  
Before her; placed his head upon her feet.  
She pitied him. "Come to the hut," she cried.  
'The priest may now have come from Ganges stream.'  
She captured him as Hīr did Ranja when  
She made him leave the boat-bridge on the stream;  
As Sassi sat on the bridge and brought again  
Her Funni; just as Sohni for her love  
Was drowned, being sick of love; as Roda  
cried,  
Being beaten. He ran after the Baloch.  
And Jastī said, "O priest, God-blessed art thou.  
This Brāhmaṇ, leprous, goes to wash himself  
In Ganges stream. If he is cured indeed  
A Shahī sacrifice we see." The priest  
Was moved—a basinful of water was  
A stream for thirsty souls. 'The Ganges stream  
Poor on thy body; rub thyself.' The priest  
Great Bālā helps, and lingers not. He said  
'O Jastī, find a pond and straightway throw  
The Ganges water in, and in it let
THE CHUHRAS.

Jastri utthe pechay hathi te paani,
Ih ba shagun tekh da, phir sug kahuni,
Rag mohurda chukadi, phir dana pechay.

Chal deha Jastri, Bhamain te jahi.
Chappri vekha Jastri, bhannii te gahri,
Gangai jal us saujayda, tubhhe Bhamain mard.

Ohdi sayda sudh hoesay, jaua lati anjeeydi.
Dujii tubth merhi, phir dalal guardi,
Mere lehh mathi te khal gal, phir mastak sardi.

Ih mereh Bhagwan hai, khat hanan autari,
Munh utte halh pherkhe, Bhamaini tubth tryi mardi,
Jastri mani lain dii vilh dalii guardi,
Us halhleiah padi saujiad, lati li di,
Bhamaini puchhe Jastriyae, Vidhi hai, koodari?

Bhamain deha Jastriyae nali mereh jahi,
Paivir karib paka humd hamdaan,
Nath, dandii, abri, sir chauk chha paani,
Nali mereh sur pal, Bhamaini sudhik.
Jangaai vich batthkhe, aihhe ki bando?

Him bathe, and whole return.’ So Jastri, just.
As Hindu priests on Ganges’ banks are used
To do, poured water on his hands. From thence
The custom rose in the world. ‘Twas then her bread
And water took their rise. The chela says,
‘O Jastri, thee the Brâhman will take clean
Away.’ The pond that Jastri found was full
Of mud and stagnant water, so he poured
The Ganges water in, and forthwith dived.
His body grew like burning coal, quite whole.
A second time he dived and in his heart
Conceived a thought. ‘Fate’s impress on my brow
Has helped me—now my fortune’s clear—the priest
Is like a god to me—he is for me
Krishn incarnate.’ Once again he rubbed
His face in his hands, and dived a third time.

Now
He arena resolved to ask fair Jastri. Then
He splashed and swam, and said, ‘O Jastri, say
Are you a virgin or a wedded wife?
Come, Jastri, come with me—I’ll give you gifts.

Feet ornaments and necklace you shall have,
A nose ring, ear-rings, thumb ring, golden crown,
All these, and you will be a Brâhman’s wife.
What have you here in this wild jungle? Put
You off your plaid, and you shall have a gown
Of silk.’ But Jastri said, ‘O Brâhman this
Can never be, for I have humbly sat
At this priest’s feet, and he has blessed me. I care
For silken clothes. I love my plaid.

I care not for a palanquin, how good
So e’er the omens be. Rich food is not
My choice. Go wed a Brâhman girl. I am
A Chûhrî.’ With great pains those songs
were made.

The Brâhman humbly made request before
The priest. ‘The jungle is your home; you
have

Trêvar lai lai paat da bhûri châ ludiin,
Jastri abhi, Bhamain, ih gal hai kuri,
Maii ekharin baih hai piri di, meri pai gayi piri.

Na trêvar lênd paat da, maii nûn changi hai bhûri.
Na doli charhnâ shagun de, na khani churi.
Tû jahar koi Bhamaini, maii hunni hai chûhrî.

Chal deha tubth thoûtì, karibi manjûrti.
Bhamain ayô pîr de, koi arabt.
Tyai jangal undar hó ruhê, maahâ fabbur koi,
Ghar tuhaddi Jastri, kithi lai paâda hot.
No wife; how could fair Jastri be to you
A daughter ! This the true disciple makes
These songs with lowly heart: ' A Brâhman I,
No bard or barber, I sit at your doors
A suppliant — give her to me, a boon.
Or else I will with knife relentless take
My life.' The priest said, 'Jastri, look at this
Weak Brâhman—but a moment gone he was
A sorry leper, now he wants to wed.
Go with him — let him not for your sake do Himself an injury. And blame me not,
For you yourself did bring him.’ Jastri then Began to make excuse in presence of The priest. 'Why send me hence away out of
God’s way? Why should I take this step? Oh why,
O Brâhman, have you followed me? But now A leper, you come women to pursue.' The priest to Jastri said, 'A virgin pure Was Sita. Harichand did marry her To Ram, the fairies in attendance. Once Too Lol fair became the wife of saint Kabir. Kubjan gave birth to Kahn, the wife Of Bashdev was she. Blessed was the one Who bore great Baba Nanak. Thus the world Was peopled.’ The disciple made these songs, Then sing and glorify the Name. So still Was Jastri, bashful grown. 'Go,' said the priest,
'This Brâhman wed. I'll give you dowry large.' She said, ‘When once a flood full nine spears deep O’erspread the earth, the sky was dark with clouds, Then thy house only stood as dry as dust When all the world was flooded. Thou didst get A blessing from the gods — the moon and sun Are witnesses. That blessing give to me.
The privilege of begging, which is good.' The true disciple has compiled these songs With wisdom. Bâlî gave to Jastri right To alms and gifts at every eclipse
Of the moon, and said, 'My child, from thee will spring
A people called Vēdōs, who till the day
Of Resurrection will take alms, the moon
Eclipsed. O Dānā, know that Vēdōs take
due gifts, this blessing being the cause.
Repeat
False teaching to some Mussalman.' 'Become,'
Retorted Dānā, 'Mussalman yourself,
Musalî I can make you in a trice.
The way I know — repeat the kalima
Of our Muhammad; be among the true
The faithful. This is Adam's faith, that will
Bring you to heaven.' The priest replied,
'Fasts we
Have never kept, nor offered Muslim prayer,
We know not Adam, nor the kalima
Shall I to you your history tell? Know then
Your father Adam lived in Paradise.
Where once of greed he ate a grain of wheat.
That in him caused corruption, which the sheep
At God's command did eat. All refuse is,
Therefore, forbidden. But the sheep you eat,
And it is all unclean. When did you spend
A night in Paradise? What caste was there?
His kalima I'll speak with all my heart
Who came from thence.' The true disciple
made
These songs, being free from care. Dānā replied,
'The 'aw allows us: we will eat such things
As history approves. The prophets gave
A perfect law — we follow them.' Then said
The priest, 'O Dānā, false are all the tales
That are of prophets told: the sheep did not
Abstain from food forbidden. For your wives
You gamble, saying, God bade you. Fourteen parts
You say the world contains, with nine great poles
And all Muhammad's. Why then sadly died
His daughter's children without water?'
See
The true disciple made in language sweet
These songs, and sings them. 'Faith we
keep not, nor
Do we keep Hindu days, nor go pilgrims
To Mecca, nor keep festival like you,
Nor Adam's faith we follow, nor repeat
The kalima. Speak of your own quite plain,
The true disciple has composed these songs,
God victory gives. The priest said, 'Dânâ,
hear
My true defence. From Adam sprang the
castes,
And after him like branches people grew
Of Brahma. None else has there been. For
six
And thirty ages floated I in deep.
Dark water, where I the creed did say
Of him who is the Only One, Whom then
Can I call equal to him?' None. These
songs
The true disciple made, and vindicates
The truth. Then outspake Chandri Râm
Chand, 'Hear,
Thou, Dânâ, teacher of the law, speak as
Thou pleasest. Use no force: in Delhi
rules
A brave Chugatta. I will swiftly ride
To him.' Said Dânâ, 'What knowest thou
my friend,
To eat eight loaves, and sleep in the shade, or
drink
Card water, or go plough the fields. The law
We doctors only know.' A Khatri was
Rich Dévi Das, who showed much kindness
to
The priest. So rich he was that other men
Did borrow from him. This man standing up
Amidst the crowd said, 'Dânâ, doctor of
The law, you have become a fool. We saw
The priest's strange powers, although I am
Hindu
And worship stones, and offer bread and say
To idols, 'Eat;' the sun we worship, see
The marks upon our brows. We doff our clothes
And washing don them. Hindu I, I speak
The truth and fear not. Here a lamp filled full
Of water stands — a wick I place in it.
O doctor, light it by a miracle.
We then shall know you true: unless you can
Your boasted law is proved a lie. He called
The teachers all, did Dànà, and he sat
With all the learned men around the lamp.
The book Quràn they placed beneath it, then
They ranged their books about it, while they
said,

'Ínndu utuindu kullùhù,' and breathed
Upon the lamp. They asked God's grace, they
threw
Their verses at the lamp, but all in vain;
It would not burn, and they were ashamed
indeed,
But still they kept their spite, and made a
noise
In anger. Dànà said, 'Let the Pir Sháh light
The lamp. The whole assemblage will bow
down
Their heads before him, and a robe we'll
give
Of honour, which he'll wear and go.' The
priest
Great Bálà, priest of light, sent for those that
Revere the Name, and Dànà, Phaggú, who
Proclaim the truth, stood up with folded hands.
They warmed their wooden drum and sat
before
Great Bálà, priest. 'O sing,' cried Bálà, 'sing:
Sing hymns in praise of that great Name. The
lamp
Shall lighted be.' So Bálà, priest of light,
Did shout, and lo, the lamp with water filled
Burst into flame, and Bálà's fame was spread,
By God who helped him. This was grandson to
Láli Khán, the son of Pir Dhağánà. 'Thou,'
Cried Dànà Qází, 'are a doughy weight.
Sit in the mosque. Thou art no Chuhra, thou!
A wonder thou hast done — disciples we
Are henceforth. Thou art a saint.' When the
priest
But heard the name of mosque he went into
God's presence, where he standing made
request,
'This Qází here has made a mosque that
cost
A ìdáh of silver, and a curtain he
Has curiously contrived to kill me. Come,
Disciple has composed these songs, by help
Of Durgā, goddess eloquent. God said,
'O Bālā, thou art simple, take for me
Strange vehicles unseen, and flying beds,
And move about the mosque unharmed. Let not
This thing remain disputed. None has seen
God, nor does any know what weight or size
He has.' So Bālā said to God, 'Give bread,
Even holy bread to me, and with me be
A true Name.' 'When I enter look on me:
I in the garb of holy man will stand
Before thee. God made for thee, Bālā, fate,
Good fortune. Second hast thou none, although
Pirs there are a many.' Bālā Pir returned
And straight advanced towards the mosque.
God there
Was standing. Bālā went to Him, and bowed
His head. The true disciple has composed
These hymns, and reads them to proclaim the
Name.
Within the mosque our Bālā sat and prayed
To God. A priest was he and reverent.
Five times he prayed, and then appeared unhurt
Without the door, when crash the masjid walls
Fell flat; the well lay there exposed to view
Of all the world. The whole town saw and stared.
They cursed the Qāq Dānā, saying, 'Thou Hast meanly done.' But Bālā stood before
Them in the open. Dānā planned again.
'Well will feed the priest,' he said, and sent for
him
A robe of honour. 'We'll not let him go.
We'll say he never came.' And so he called
The cooks most skilful of the town and loads
Of gāh and flour prepared, and said, 'I will
Kill rams and goats when Bālā comes to be my guest.' So cakes and rice and all things good
He had—the flavour spread afar. These
songs
The true disciple made, and sings them for
The Name. So Dānā thought, 'This priest shall not
Without good trial go!' He killed and hanged
His cat and dog, and gave them to be cooked
By the village barber, saying, 'Fry it well,
And put no water in. The lid do not
Lift off, and Bālā will partake.' The true
Disciple made these songs. Proclaim them
for
The Name. The priest in due course heard
about
The dog and cat, and going into God's
Most holy presence said, 'I saw the dog
And cat which they have cooked. Priests,
prophets, saints,
Have never eaten food like this.' God said,
'Whenever thou shalt put thy hand within
The dish, say 'In God's Name,' and cat and dog
Will rise at my command, the dog and then
The cat. But quick the dish uncover.' So
He told to God a story. 'Once there was
A woman, who to God gave one-eleventh
Of all her income. Gifted he her with
A son, who in due time was married. Then
The drums were beat, and the party with
The barber took their way. A stream they
crossed.
The boatmen got their fee, the journey full
Was made, and all and sundry dues being paid
Homewards they came, the barber's wife
herself
Being with them, but midway across the stream
The bride with palanquin, and all the rest
Were drowned and lost. The mother wept for
twelve
Long years, and God restored them.' Dānā
called
For Bālā, spread a carpet for him, sent
His servants with a message, 'Come, my lord.'
A parrot white did shout loud praise to God,
But Bālā Shāh said to Shāh Rūshān, 'Dost
Thou know what sort of food this is?' then
came
A heavenly message, 'Thou shalt raise the
dead,
For Dānā has deceived thee. God doth like
Him not.' The dog and cat were presently
About the feet of Bālā, licking them,
And Bālā on his cot rose to mid heaven.
THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY.

Dharti upar majtai ayd, neen nech karu salimahu
Dhand saar yerd bakhroh, diitthu, sah nazranda,
Sai sari yadhi ogge diittch, karki gaye saimahu
Guru Nanaak sah pay undar diitt, diikhi
pakor shamhaina.

Shah Danal oshar langhyia maun itha, mundha
mogar hojia.

Toinu sarra Rabb baniyya, baakshak meri jangda

Rdzi ho Shah nazraa leeda, ayd, viich makhna
Samiy Shah di shukar bojia, sharm rakhi
Rahuna,
Vich niilam jhanday laay, nila gur zanday,
Bande vah pakara yerd, mushkil barn avana.
Aid aiichare Balla kiit, diitthi jumal jahdina.
Main aayahd hara japenda, bhaa jumaldin
yanda.

Oh thik sech Nam xani.

Then Dána bowed, his pride was broken; and
"Asārd" said he, giving gifts. He said,
"I many holy men have seen, who me
'Much honoured; Bábá Nanak made I grind
My corn; Shah Danál fled; the boys I made
Eject him; thee alone has God made great.
Oh spare my life.' The Sháh accepted all
His gifts, and homewards went; his followers
thanked
Great God, who saved him from dishonour.

Raised
He his fair flag, and made his grave where all
The people go to pray for help in pain.
Such wonders Bálá did — the whole world
saw.
A sinner I repeat the Name. From heaven
Give gifts. There is one Name, Eternal, True.

ARCHAEOLOGY IN WESTERN TIBET.

BY THE REV. A. H. FRANCKE.

Supplementary Note.

In the Plates attached I exhibit three photographs by Dr. E. Neve of Srinagar, Kaahmir,
which are of special interest, as the objects represented have never before been depicted
for the information of scholars, Two are from Alchi Monastery near Saspela (ante,
Vol. XXXV. p. 325) and the third from Khalatse.

Alchi Monastery.

Plate I. shows a portion of the gallery with its trefoil arch and wood-carvings, Plate II.,
fig. 1, shows a portion of the interior. The fresco of the monk behind the statues of Buddha is
said to be a portrait of Lotsava Rinchen bZangpo.

Dogra Fort near Khalatse.

Plate II., fig. 2, represents the most ancient inscription on stone (whitened before
photographing for clearness) in Ladák according to Dr. J. P. Vogel. It is situated a few
yards below the Dogra Fort at Khalatse. The characters are Indian Brahmi of the Maurya
period. Dr. Vogel reads them to represent the word BharadVjyasa. (See Annual
Progress Report, Archæological Survey, pp. 31-32.)
ARCHAEOLOGY IN WESTERN TIBET.
Plate II.

Fig. 1. Interior of the Monastery at Alchi-mkhar near Saspol.

Fig. 2. Ancient Inscription at Khalatse, Ladakh.

PHOTOS BY DR. E. NEVE, F.R.C.S., C.M.G.
W. GRIGGS
ON THE NAVASAHAŞAKCHARITA OF PADMAGUPTA OR PARIMALA.

BY THE LATE PROFESSOR G. BÜHLER, C.I.E., LL.D., AND DR. TH. ZACHERIAE.

(Translated from the German by May S. Burgess.)

I.—The Manuscript. 1

The following short account of a hitherto unknown Mahākavya is based on one manuscript only.

This manuscript belongs to the little-known collection of James Tod, preserved in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society in London, and is numbered 113. It consists of 185 (written, and a number of blank) palm-leaves, with two to four lines on the page, in old Nāgari writing. The two first, with the two last leaves, have been completed by a later hand, apparently because the MS. had been injured at the beginning and end. The date of the MS., if it ever was given, has not been copied by the writer of the 185 pages. It may be presumed, however, that the MS. is of great age, from the fact that the numbering of the single leaves is carried out on the right side by means of the usual figures, and on the left by letters: compare Kielyorn, Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS. (Bombay, 1881), p. viii. ff. Besides, manuscripts, such as the one under consideration, have been so often described,—e. g., by Kielhorn in the report just quoted,—that further description would be superfluous.

The manuscript is, on the whole, very well preserved. Only on a few pages is the writing blurred and indistinct. Leaf 82 is broken and part lost. Corrections on the margins of the leaves, as also completions of verses or parts of verses, are often carried out in Sārādī writing.

If the manuscript shows errors and defects—the text is not as a whole quite so correct as one could wish,—it is at least complete, and in this respect, in the meantime, unique. It is, indeed, still possible, that in India complete manuscripts of the Navasaḥakcharita may be found. Still, with each year that becomes less probable. Manuscripts which have become known up till now are incomplete. This is also true of the two manuscripts, which, according to Burnell (A Classified Index to the Sanskrit MSS. in the palace at Tanjore, p. 163 a.), are found in Tanjor. While the work of Padmagupta (Parimala) consists of 18 sargas, these manuscripts only contain 17 sargas. Besides, as one of them is not dated, and the other (written about 1630), imperfect and much injured, it may be taken for granted that the manuscript material at Tanjor would not be sufficient for an analysis or even for an edition of the work;—for the rest, the title of the Kāvyā is, according to Burnell, Sākhasākcharita, and the name of the author, Parimala Kālidāsa (?).

Also the manuscript, which the publishers of the Subḥāṭīdevī, Messrs. Peterson and Durgāprasadā, have brought out, was imperfect. The "fragment" includes several sargas and extends at least to the sixth sarga, as may be gathered from the account of the scholars just mentioned. The beginning of the work, however, is assuredly not preserved in this fragment, otherwise Peterson and Durgāprasadā would doubtless have drawn up a more exact chronology of Padmagupta than that given in the words: "In his Navasaḥakcharita Parimala or Padmagupta refers to Kālidāsa, somewhere between whom and Keshendra he is therefore to be put. His Kāvyā is in praise of a "king of Avanti" (Subḥāṭīdevī, Introd. p. 53). Further, it is shown below that the date of Padmagupta may be fixed as precisely as possible in the literary history of India.

1 This paper appeared in the Stimmungsberichte of the Wien. Imp. Academie of Sciences for 1888, in the Phil-hist. Class (Ed. CXVI, Hft. 1, S. 583—630). The first 30 pages of the German are by Dr. Zacharias, and the last 27 by Dr. Bühler.

2 Conf. Subḥāṭīdevī of Vallabhodara (Bombay, 1880), Introd. p. 57 ff. Here also in Peterson's small pamphlet, the Aṣṭākhyākhyāta of Keshendra (Bombay, 1885), p. 25 f., is found collected all that is known concerning the poet Padmagupta and his works.
II. — The Author, his time, and his work.

The name of the author is Padmagupta: so he is called in the colophon to the first sarga of the Nanjadvashadikacharita in the manuscript before us, in the first of the four tail verses which are attached to the poem:

Etad vinirakumaradadgutispadmaguptah
śrīsindhuśajjanipatiḥ ścharitāḥ babandhāh3 11

in the Dakrites (ed. Hall, p. 96); and in the Subhastavali under No. 168, another name — and as it appears the more usual name — of Padmagupta, is Farimala. He is almost always called so in the sarga signatures of the manuscript before us; also, for example, in the Gujaratnamahodahi, p. 117.

Padmagupta’s father was called Mrigadakagupta, as given in the colophon to the first sarga.

The period of Padmagupta is easily fixed. Padmagupta composed the Mahakavya Nanjavashadikacharita, which treats of the winning of the snake-king’s daughter Sasirobhini (Sasirabhinnih), for the glorification of his patron-king Sindharaja alias Navasahasanka. This is clearly and distinctly expressed in the concluding verses of the poem — compare the passage quoted. Who was this king Sindharaja, however? Where did he rule? This point is explained for us in the first sarga, especially in these two verses —

Sarasvatikalpatarākakandha
vandāmade vākpatirājaśevam 1
yasya parvadhayamaparyamutra
karindachirne pathi sanahardamah 11 11
atlīhān yadgurum vachī mudrād-
mandata yān vākpatirājaśevah 1
“tānvinyamād karīṃaḥ dharāya
kinnatī tān sampratī Sindhuśajjīūd, 4 11 11

Padmagupta was therefore court-poet to Vākpatirājaśeva, a friend of poets (karinibāndhava), and after his death, court-poet to Sindharaja, who is called a younger brother (anuvajman) of Vākpatirāja. Now we proceed to find Sindharaja described as Avantipati, Mālavamukhāna, Paramāravanahakotsa, &c., thus it appears quite certain that, in Vākpatirāja and Sindharaja, we have two well-known kings of Mālava, belonging to the dynasty of the Paramāras. The time of the rule of these kings is ascertained pretty closely from inscriptions, and from that the date of Padmagupta may be fixed. The period of the literary activity of Padmagupta falls in the last quarter of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century A. D.6

1 This story of the celebrated king Sindharaja, which is beautiful as a full-blow white lotus, Padmagupta has composed.

2 We praise the one (incomparable) root of the wishing tree of the Sarasvatī, king Vākpatirāja, by whose grace we also wander in the path trodden by the poet princes.

The seal, which Vākpatirāja put upon my song, when he entered heaven (by his death), the place and allowance of a court poet I lost, and ceased to compose poetry: Now Sindharaja, brother of that friend of poets, frees me.

3 Conf. Ind. Ant. Vol. VI. p. 45 ff., especially p. 51 ff.; and Vol. XIV. p. 159 ff., Bessenerger’s Beiträge zur Kunde der indogerman. Sprachen, IV. 71 ff. Sindharaja was the son of Slyaka (as mentioned in the Nanjavashadikacharita, 8, 77; 11, 85; 13, 59) and father of the renowned Rhoja of Dharā.

4 The period of Padmagupta is first correctly fixed by Zacharian in the article: Sanskrit vichchhitti, Cosmecos, a supplement to the science of Bessenerger’s Beiträge XIII., 99; Anm. 2. It points out also that Padmagupta was a contemporary (it is added: and an intimate fellow-countryman) of Dhanapala, the author of the Fugvaschekha. On Dhanapala, conf. Bühler, Alt. 74, p. 74. On Dhanapala, conf. Bühler, Alt. IV. 70 ff., and in the Sitzungsberichten der Phii.-hist. Cl. der K. Akad. der Wissenschaften zu Wien, 1882, p. 568 ff.
This is almost all we can extract from the Navasahasankacharita respecting Padmagupta. It may be mentioned that, according to his own statement in the fourth concluding verse, he composed his poem at the command of king Sindharaja, not from poetic pride (क्षणिकता लीला). In the colophon to the whole work, the author is called a कृतिका, a clever poet—a title which was held as specially honourable.

As regards the title of the Kavya Navasahasankacharita it must be remembered that there is another work of this name not yet discovered: Sriharsha is also known to have composed a Navasahasankacharita.

It may be accepted without dispute that Padmagupta wrote other works besides the Navasahasankacharita. There has even been expressed a conjecture as to the contents of a lost poem by Padmagupta. Kshemendra, in the Auchityodhakadhara, namely, quotes a number of verses under the name of Parimala, which, it may be remarked, do not appear in the Navasahasankacharita. From these verses Peterson has concluded that “the theme of the (lost) poem was that expedition into Gujrat despachted by Tailapa under a general of the name of Barapa,” against Mularaja, the founder of the Chaulukya dynasty of Anhilapattana, who for some time was hard pressed, though, according to the Gujrat chronicles, the general was eventually defeated with slaughter. “The striking verse in the Kavyaprakasa: राजये राजस्तु ना पाठयति मदन (p. 450, Calcut. Ed. 1876) wears every appearance of being from the same work, for which we should be on the lookout” (The Auchityodhara of Kshemendra, p. 26). Peterson’s conjecture may be looked upon as a good one, in so far at least as there is nothing against it from a chronological point of view. Tailapa, king of Kalyana and Parimala, were contemporaries. One only wishes that Parimala’s lost poem could be found.

III. — Quotation from the Navasahasankacharita.

As the time of Padmagupta can be pretty exactly fixed, it will be of interest to find out, on the one hand, which poets he names in his Kavya; on the other hand, by which authors verses from the Navasahasankacharita are quoted.

Unfortunately Padmagupta very seldom mentions earlier poets, and only those whom we know were earlier than the end of the tenth century. They are the following: Kalidasa, 1, 5, 2, 92; Gunadhyya, the author of the Brihatsatakam, 7, 64, in a play on words (सठ कुलद्याया ब्रह्माकायाम्); finally Bana and Mayana in a verse, which, in some degree, recalls the well-known verse of Rajasekhara: अहो महादेव वै गृहितम् त्रिवधाय।


Sri Harsha eva saunghaṭṭau ca karke bājanmayāraṇaḥ

The place has been described in detail by Zachariae in a sketch on Sanskrit vichhittin in Bezzenberg’s Supplements, XIII, 106.

7 Conf. Vrikshadhānovacharita, 13, 101, and also Jacob in the Literaturblatt für Orientalische Philologie, III, 68.
9 In the Colunma edition of 1862, p. 392, the verse is quoted with variations also in the Sarasvatīkotiḥādhvarana, ed. Boroah, p. 255, in which is added: अर्द्धमूडि भागयते। त्रिवधित्रिमार्गार्गस्य वर्णपदेः कृष्णिन कङ्कित प्राधमसमाप्तिः (p. 299).—Incidentally attention is drawn to the verse Yäsiṣṭhi kaḥ Sarasvatī, p. 349, 17, upon which Aufricht has already remarked in the Catalogus, p. 297 n.
10 Quoted for example in the Skandaśāmhitā, Introd., p. 86.
11 Here a correction and addition is acknowledged. The expression vartariyikā means with regard to the arrow of king Sindharaja “putting together of letters,” arrangement of syllables. The arrows of the king were marked with his name—The rare Sanskrit word vichhittin is also used in Naiveshakacharita, 17, 19.

L-aḥā saunghaṭṭau ca karke bājanmayāraṇaḥ

V-brhārtrāḥ kaōntśaḥ kaōntśaḥ (rājyāḥ) uttāravarnākṛtākatārāntī
tv-vichhittīṁ shuś karīkaratīdāḥ.
We must give greater attention to the quotations which are to be found in grammatical, rhetorical, and other writings of India under the name of Padmāgupta or Parimala. A number of such quotations have been already collected by Peterson and Durgāprasāda in the introduction to the Subhāshīdīvali, p. 51 ff. These quotations will now have to be gone through with the greatest possible avoidance of unnecessary repetitions.

The phrase namo namah kāyarasasya tasaśi in Subhāshīdīvali, No. 163, is taken from the introduction to the Navaśadānākacakarita, Sarga I., v. 13. The verse chitravartī sing apī ṛṣiṣe, which Dhanika quotes in the commentary to the Dauarāpa, II. 37 (compare Hall's publication, Preface, p. 36 n.; Petersburg Dictionary, Supplement under Padmāgupta), occurs Navaś. 6, 42. This is the only verse which Peterson and Durgāprasāda have found in the fragments accessible to them. All other verses, which have been quoted by these scholars chiefly from the Anekātyavishvāra-chaṇḍa of Keshendra, as belonging to the Parimala, do not appear in the Navaśadānākacakarita, and must therefore, in so far as we do not accept another Parimala beside our Parimalāparasāmā Padmāguptaḥ, be derived from lost poems of Padmāguptaḥ. One thing is still to be remarked that the strophe adhākṣena no Lāndaka can hardly belong to Parimala. In the work or works where it is ascribed to Parimala there is probably an error. It is to be remembered that the fourth Pāda of the strophe (Hamāmentam, 4.) is quoted by Ujjvaladatta (at Un I, 11, p. 6, 10, ed. Aufrecht) under the designation bhikṣukṣraya. This expression means something like “renowned example,” “classical example.” Is it to be accepted that Ujjvaladatta — or his authority — has honoured a passage from a work of Parimala’s with this designation?

In a systematic examination of certain classes of literature quite a number of quotations might perhaps be pointed out, either given under the name of Padmāgupta (Parimala) or anonymous. There are indeed often verses quoted without naming the author. We can here furnish only a small supplement to the groups in the Subhāshīdīvali (above referred to). Parimala is quoted (which Peterson and Durgāprasāda have overlooked) also in Vardhamāna’s Gaṇarātanamahodadhī (p. 117, 7, ed. Eggeling): chāpo dhanum ṣyaḥ Parimalasya.

Vipokṣakṣhāśhāśkaṇgaśaśa nātiṣaṭaṁ
vṝdhuvartāṇaṁ kṣaṇaṭasāvahāsaṁydh
vṛddhavrataṁ prasaktypuṣya
yasyānāvaḥ kṛṣṇaṁydh chāpaḥ ||

= Navaś. I. 74; ṣaṭya, i.e., Sindharājasya, The Navaśadānākacakarita is quoted anonymously four times in the tenth Ullāsa of the Kṛṣṇaparākāśa, p. 323, 2 (in the publication by Mahēsha Chandra Nyāyaratna, Calcutta, 1866).

Bhāmbaśristha eva rāgaste tanwī pārvam-adṛśīyata
adhuṇaḥ hriṣṭaya-puṇaḥ mṛṣīṣṭīvāhāsa lokaḥṣyate ||

= Navaś. 6, 60; Böhtlingk, Indische Sprüche, No. 4401. The verse serves as an example for the figure paryyāna.

Kṛṣṇap. p. 335, 7, 11, are given as examples for the figure viṣhama —
śīrṣādāyī msādāraṁ kṛṣiöm-ādātulocahān ||
ayaḥ keva cha kulaḥnīśarvāvahās āsādānātah ||

= Navaś. 16, 28, where the third Pāda begins with keva keva cha; and—

1 On the meaning of prayaṣa accepted above, conf. the commentary to Gaṇarātanamahodadhī, I. 3.; Zacharias, Beiträge zur ind. Lexigraphie, p. 75, note L. The lexicographers explain prayaṣa by nītiṣaṇa. — Böhtlingk takes bhikṣukṣraya for the title of a work. Aufrecht seems to look upon brīḥat as an abbreviation of Brīḥat-kṣraya; (conf. the Pet. Dictionary under Brīḥat-prayaṣa).

1 Pointed out by Zacharias, Göttlinger Gelehrten Anzeigen, 1880, p. 922.
NAVASAHASAN KACHARITA OF PADMAGUPTA.

sadāyaḥ karaṇapiram-sadāyaḥ satraḥ
dvaye yasya kriyānandakādā
śabdānāṃ karaṇindupāśaṇaṁ
yasya-trīkṣyādharapanāṁ prasaṭāḥ

Navasāḥ, I. 60 (with immaterial variations). The first of these verses is found besides the Alāmākāravimartini of Jayaratha (Deccan Coll. MS. No. 28, fol. 106 b) according to Pischel, Cott. Gel. Anseigem, 1884, p. 511; the second in the Sāhityāsarpāṇa,14 under No. 720. Both verses are, to all appearances, copied from Jayadeva15 in his Chandra-loha, V. 85, 86:

keśyaṁ darś namudvāpaṇi keva āvam-mahana-jayovāḥ
kṛitāṁ prasaṭāṁ dhavaṇāṁ śyāmāṁ tava kriyāṇāṁ

(in Jībāndā's publication (Calcutta, 1874). Finally the Kāśyapa-prakāśa, p. 339, 9, is quoted as an example for the figure ekdvaśi).

purīṇā yasyaḥ savarṣaṇāṇi
vardhaṇāṁ rūpapurakṣaśvidgāh
rūpah samunmūtitaśvavidvān-
ma-astām vīlādhir kṣemamādhvāḥ

from the description of the town Ujjayini, Navasāḥ, I. 21 (purīṇā yasyaḥ savarṣaṇāṇi, MS.).

No single passage from the Navasaḥasānakarita is quoted in the Saravatikasāṃbhavaraṇa. This is rather remarkable, for Bhojadeva, the recognised author of the Saravatikasāṃbhavaraṇa,16 must have known the court-poet of his uncle (Vakpai) and of his father (Sindhurāj). The possibility that the verse Vādikṣaḥ Saravatuḥ, p. 349, belongs to a lost work by Parimala has already been pointed out, p. 151, note 9.

If, on the other hand, verses by Parimala are seldom quoted in Anthologies, it may be understood from this, that his poem is poor in fine phrases and maxims (śubhādākā).

IV.—The Navasaḥasānakarita.

The Mahākāya of Padmagupta contains 18 Sargas, which, as in other poems of this class, bear special names. In the manuscript under notice all these names are not given completely. So far as they are preserved they will be given below.

The total number of the strophes is roughly 1525. With reference to the investigations by Jacob17 as to the uses of the metres in the Mahākāyas we ought, at least, to give the measures Padmagupta has used. The chief metres are: in 1, 2, 4, 14, 17 sarga, Upadāti; in 2, 6, 11, 16, Anuḥṭub; in 3, Pushpīdātra; in 4, 7, 13, Vākṣaśaṇa; in 5, Aupakhcchhāmandanikā; in 8, Raiṭpadhātī; in 10, Mañjūbhāṣākā; in 12, Vaṭālīya; in 15, Udgaṭā; in 18, Vasantatīlaḥ. Besides this, in the closing verses of single sargas, the following are used as side metres:—Prahartkṣiṇi Māndākānt, Mālinī, Vanaṃḍī, Śrāvīvīrākṛṣṭā Śālī, Sākharī, Sragāḥard, Harīṭa. Thus 19 metres are used in the Navasaḥasānakarita, that is, exactly as many as in the epic of Kāläśa. It is also to be noticed that Padmagupta is free from all metrical tricks.

14 In the English translation, p. 418 f., His (i.e., Sindhurāj's) sword, wonderful to say, dark as it is like the Tāmā tree, in every battle having obtained contact with his hand, engenders at the very moment a fame, white as the autumnal moon glorifying the triple world.
15 Pischel's assertion (Rudrata's Śrīhayānlakṣas, p. 8, 17) that Jayadeva, with one exception only, uses his own examples, must be somewhat qualified.
16 Bhājā Saravatikasāṃbhavaraṇikā, Gaṇapratamahadbāthī, p. 2, 11.
   mongol. Gesellschaft, 28, 615.
Three or more verses, which, according to the meaning, form a unity, are expressed as such by the expressions kalāpaka,\footnote{Without doubt these names of Ślok connections are referred to in the Trikāndaka III, 2, 23, under kalāpakaśravatāthakas, &c., which, like so many other statements in this Lexicon, has been misunderstood (see Zacharias in Beazley's Beiträge, X. 122 ff.). In the Petersburg Dictionary under Kalāpaka we meet with the meaning "sect mark on the forehead."} kalāka, tilaka, and samāddhitaka. The last two of these expressions have been till now used but sparingly; besides, their use does not always agree with the rules of the Indian theorists. Thus samāddhitaka as a rule is used in order to combine two verses, through which one and the same sentence runs, while this expression, for example, according to the Sāhityapadārthas, No. 558, serves to join three verses.\footnote{Yet the younger Vāgbhaṭa teaches in his Mahābhārataśāstra: ekam eñuḥ kartām kaiṇyakam | devādyam yogam vṛttaddhīśāna kaiṇyakam | tridāśī māttikam | chaturbhujkalāpaka | devādyam kalāpaka | kaiṇyakam. India Office MSS. No. 2545.} If in sarga 14, 72—85, seven verses, is called a tilaka,\footnote{Tilaka, really "brow ornament, cast mark," is like the word of the same meaning vīśekha, according to the Māhābhārata, s.v. tridāśī (tridāśīm kaiṇyakācatu pānam kaiṇyakācatu). Conf. Zacharias, Beiträge zur indischen Lexicographie, p. 72.} this is apparently merely a slip of the pen for kalāka.

Padmānabha's language is, on the whole, pure, simple, and easily understood. In individual cases the want of a commentary is pressingly felt.

The story which Padmānabha relates in his Navāśāhāsānācharita with the peculiar breadth of the Mahākāyasas, has, without doubt, a historical background. Not only the hero of the poem, king Śīndurāja, did really exist; the other people too, who appear in the poem as Nāgas, Vidyādharas, Asuras, &c., have played a part as comrades or enemies of the king. Meanwhile it will be difficult to fix the true names and positions of the historical characters which appear in Padmānabha and must be left to others (conf. below, p. 171).

The following analysis of the poem is given in brief. It will merely be a sketch. The endless speeches and long-winded descriptions, which fill up a great part of the poem, without essentially affecting the narrative, will not, as a rule, be taken account of.

First is an index of the characters (speaking or acting) which appear in the Navāśāhāsānācharita:

- Sindurāja alias Navāsāhāsānā, king of Mālava.
- Yakobhata alias Ramānągada, his minister.
- Sāṅkhatāla, a king of the Nāgas.
- Sāsīprabhā, his daughter.
- Śaṅgavati,
- Kālavati,
- Mālyavati. \{Friends of Sāsīprabhā.
- Paṭalā,
- Narmāda (Revā), the goddess of the river of the same name.
- Vākku, a Muni (Mahārahi).
- Rātānādīta, a young snake-demon.
- Śātimūrta, a king of the Vidyādharas.
- Mālātī, his wife.
- Vajrāṇākṣa, a king of the Asuras.
- Vīśvāṇa, his son.

V. — Analysis of the Poem.

The first sarga bears the title nāgarinārendravarṇanam. The town, that is, Ujjayant, is described, vv. 16—55. The rest of the sarga is dedicated to the nārendravarṇanam. The king is called Sindurāja. Other names of the king are Navāsāhāsānā and Kumāranārāyana. Of these
names Padmagupta uses the first pretty often (also Navinasañhikka, 6, 11, 11, 102); the second never. The usual designations of Sindhubāja are, besides, Avantisvara (1, 15) Paramāramahībrīt (2, 51) Malavarāja (3, 15). The minister and constant companion of the king is called Vasubhrata, or aparangā namā, Ramanāgada. At the close of the Sarga Dhāra is mentioned as "the other town" (aparag puri) of the king, as the "capital of his race."

The real narrative begins with the second sarga (cūrānīdvarālokanam). The king is engaged in hunting on the Vindhyā mountains (vv. 1-32). Here he catches sight of a spotted antelope, which bears a golden chain round its neck, and excites the king's highest curiosity. It withdraws into the thickets, but is wounded by an arrow shot by the pursuing king. The arrow, which the king has shot, is inscribed with his name (svamadhyayachikha, as the arrow of Ayus in the Viśvarūpaśī). The king is dissuaded from the further pursuit of the fleeing antelope by the advice of his minister. King and minister spend the night at a lotus-pond, and start next morning to seek for the wounded antelope.

Third sarga (gurukalā): the king vainly endeavours to find the spotted antelope. On the other hand he discovers a swan (sitachśikha), which bears a string of pearls (tālāva) in its beak. The king is successful in obtaining possession of this string of pearls, as the swan alights at a lotus-pond and lets fall the heavy pearls. The king in this way receives the first news of his future wife. Characters (cūrānīdadgā tattā), found on the pearls, disclose to him the name of the owner; it is the ornament of Sāstąpiprabha, which has fallen into his hands. The king is seized by a longing for the unknown.

In the fourth sarga (Pātaladevalokanam) a new vision is granted to the king. He observes a young maiden, who wanders in the wood, apparently trying to find something which is lost.

We find out who this maiden is in the fifth sarga, in which she gives a detailed account of herself and also of Sāstąpiprabha in a long speech (vv. 2-57). The speaker is a snake-maiden called Pāṭala, a daughter of the snake-demon Huma. She belongs to Sāstąpiprabha's retinue and holds the office of fan-holder (stakdmaradhāra nijukta). — Sāstąpiprabha, who, on account of her adroitness at the game of ball, also bears the name of Abhāga, is a daughter of the demon-prince Saṅkhalapā, who loves to wander around on the mountains — on the Harsāla (Kailāsa), on the Malaya mountains, on the Himāchala. One day as she was wandering on a spur of the Vindhyā, named Kusumavachala, her pet animal, her kinniriga (antelope, kept for her amusement), ran away. This is the "spotted antelope," which the king, while hunting on the Vindhyās, pursued and wounded with an arrow. While the king spends the night at the lotus-pond, Sāstąpiprabha rests on a sand-bank of the river Saṅkhasūtī (i.e., the Narmadā, or Revā). The wounded antelope, which she and her friends seek for in vain, is seen by the snake-king's daughter next morning standing beside her couch. On the arrow, which is sticking in the wound, she reads the name of the marksman, "Navasahashikā." Immediately the love-god enters her heart. Meanwhile a swan — the same, whose acquaintance we have just made in the third sarga — steals the string of pearls, which has slipped from the couch of Sāstąpiprabha. He takes the pearls for a lotus-root (mrūdālakā). The snake-maidens in the retinue of Sāstąpiprabha, among whom is Pāṭala herself, are sent out to seek for the robber of the ornament.

How the king has come into possession of this ornament and thus discovered the name of Sāstąpiprabha is now told.

In a second speech (vv. 69-78) Pāṭala advises the king to go himself to the river Revā and there to meet Sāstąpiprabha. So the king sets out led by the snake-maiden Pāṭala.

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21 Sukrādvaḥ, the Dhāra is also thus expressed, 18, 59.
22 Possibly the name of the fifth Sarga is: Pātaladevalokanānam. The title is wanting in the colophon of the manuscript.
In the sixth sarga (narendradarśanam) we are introduced to the love-sick Saśiprabhā surrounded by her friends. She is deep in contemplation of the royal arrow, which bears the inscription:

Navamāsāhasānkasyaya kūmādevākṛiter-ayam
Mālayavatikītanākasya Sindhuśayasya sāyakaḥ

Saśiprabhā asks her friends, who this Sindhuśaya may be, who is designated in such a manner as (new or second) Sāhasāni. She is answered by Mālayavati, the daughter of a Śiddha, whom the king had once seen at Ujjayini at the feast of Mahākāla (Mahākālaparvan). She gives information about the king, and sketches a picture of him on a stone. This likeness is not such as to lessen the love-sickness of Saśiprabhā.23 The words also of Anāgavati, another friend, are prompted too much by timidity and hesitation, for the snake-king’s daughter, to stir up a storm of her beloved. On the other hand, Kalāvatī, the daughter of a king of the Kinnaras, gives her encouragement. King Sindhuśaya is certainly somewhere in the neighbourhood. The friends, who have been sent into the wood to seek the swan, would meet the king. Kalāvatī closes (v. 94):

sthirā bhava nriṣeṣa tvam-ibha saṁyogam-āpasya
yathā kaṇvāram pūrvam duṣṭānyaṃ tākuntalā

Scarceiy has Kalāvatī finished, when Pāṇḍalī appears, and with her king Sindhuśaya.

The seventh sarga (phāśīrāpasutadasaḥdhaḥsanam) describes the meeting of the king with the snake-king’s daughter. Besides the king, his minister Ramānada and Mālayavatī are represented also as speaking. Saśiprabhā, who sits silent while the king is speaking, betrays, by a sign, her partiality for him.

Eighth sarga (nāyakokāśatra). Saśiprabhā disappears, together with her friends. She is carried away by invisible snakes to the snake-town Bhogavatī in the underworld. The way, which Saśiprabhā has taken, is pointed out to the king, by Rāva, by the mouth of the Sārāsa bird. In accordance with this direction, the king flings himself into the stream of the river, with the intention of following Saśiprabhā. He says nothing of his intention to his minister, as he is afraid he might hinder him from his rash deed (caha vigkham iva śitātoṣare kalpayatiḥyai mama). The minister, however, follows, when he sees what danger his master is about to put himself into. The king passes over the river, in spite of all hindrances which meet him. On the other side he reaches a golden palace. In the court-yard of this palace he is about to lay himself down on a golden Mahārātrike to rest, when a beautifully attired woman steps out of the palace. A parrot calls to the astonished king: the Narmādā is actually standing before him and wishes to extend hospitality to him.

The ninth sarga24 contains the Narmādāsaṁvādhāna, the conversation between the king and the Narmādā. The river the goddess gives the king news about Saśiprabhā, completing what Pāṇḍalī has told him, and discloses to him under what conditions he may gain possession of his beloved (v. 35 — 63): When Saśiprabhā was born, the house gods declared that the daughter of the snake-king, who has been given signs of good omen, will at one time become the wife of a ruler of the middle world, and accomplish the death of Asura Vajrāṅkuśa, a mighty enemy of the snakes (upādayaṁ nāsthānākṛtī Vajrāṅkūśya). Whereupon there was great joy in the snake-world. After Saśiprabhā was grown up, her father, pressed by the gods Siddhas and Mahoragas, fixed at a gathering the conditions (the price, tukṣaṇaḥklā 16, 88) under which he would give the hand of his daughter to a suitor; "In the pond, beside the well-watch pleasure-house of Vajrāṅkuśa grow a lotus with golden flowers. He who makes these golden flowers into ear ornaments for my daughter,

23 In this connection, Padmagupta’s verse quoted by Dhanika appears. Dūdarṇī II. 37, on the king (Sindhuśaya) represented in the picture.

24 The first seven verses of this sarga, beginning on page 38, are, according to the remarks above, on page 149, only partially preserved.
she shall be his wife. Up till now no one had fulfilled this condition. Narmalā affirms, however, that king Sindharaja has been set apart by fate to kill the Asura, to obtain the golden lotus flowers and thus to win the hand of Sāśiprabhā. Narmalā further narrates that at a distance of 50 gayāsūti lies the town Rātvāti built by the skilled Maya. This is the chief town of the Asura prince Vajrāṅkuśa. There the king is to go. Finally Narmalā prophesies to him that the Muni Vāṅku will appear to him on the way to Rātvāti. After this announcement the river goddess placed her own bracelet on the king’s arm, spoke a blessing and disappeared.

The tenth sarga (Ratnachādamānaprahaṇa) begins with a conversation between the king and minister, who is of no further importance in the narrative. The minister wishes to undertake the expedition against Asura Vajrāṅkuśa alone; the king, however, will not consent to this. Then the parrot, which we have already met with at the end of the eighth sarga, appears again and relates: he is a snake-youth (nīgāḍāraka) called Ratnachāda from the race of the Sāṅkachūḍa. A disciple of the Muni Kaṭhā had cursed him once and changed him into a parrot. Softened by his petitions, the Muni had declared to him, that he should resume his form again if king Navaśāhasānka should entrust him with a message to Sāśiprabhā. — The king acceded willingly to the desire of Ratnachāda and sent him with a love message to the snake-town (Bhavaṇa).

Eleventh sarga (Vaṅkumahārshadariśana), the king and minister proceed on the way pointed out by Narmalā. In this way they reach the grove of the Muni Vāṅku. He greets them, treats them hospitably and asks the race and name of the king (that one such stood before him he had recognised at once), and the object of the journey into the nether world. Upon this Ramāṅgada takes up the conversation (vv. 49–112) and gives Vāṅku the desired information. In this he goes far back; he relates the origin of the Paramāra dynasty — beginning with a description of the holy mountain Arbuda (vv. 49–63) and gives the line of kings from Paramāra to Sindharaja. The Muni declares himself satisfied and prophesies a successful ending to the undertaking of the king. Upon the request of the Muni to stay a little in the ascetic grove the king takes his place on a seat ornamented with precious stones.

Twelfth sarga (phapirājassudraaparnasamāgama). The king, overcome by sleep, sees Sāśiprabhā in a dream as she wanders in his pleasure grove at his side wearing the golden lotus flowers. The poet puts into the king’s mouth a long address to Sāśiprabhā (vv. 16–65).

In the thirteenth sarga (Vidyādharādhiparnasamāgama) the story is continued. After the king awakes he converses with the Muni Vāṅku about the affairs of the upper and under world. Just as he is about to break off and take farewell of the Muni, he sees a monkey standing before him, who is carrying a pomegranate, of a pale red colour like the cheek of an intoxicated Kerala woman. The monkey offers the fruit to the king; the king is about to take it, but lets it fall to the ground, out of it falls a multitude of sparkling gems. The king, as much astonished as rejoiced, makes the monkey a present of the bracelet, which he himself had received from the river goddess Revā. Immediately the monkey takes the form of a man and bows before the Muni, the king, and his minister, and to the question of the Muni, who he was and how he became a monkey? relates the following: I am called Sākkhandada: my father is Sikhaṇḍaketa, a prince of the Vidyādharas. My dwelling is in the mountain Sākkhantara. Once a rumour was spread, that a representation of Vishnu made of sapphire had risen out of the sea. The curious women of the town streamed out to see the wonder. My wife also, called Malati, overcome by curiosity, persuaded me to accompany her. So I leapt up with her into the air. Immediately the sea presented itself to our gaze. While I hovered over the sea on the blue cloudway my wife lost her head-parting jewel (sīmanalamāṇī).

20 Verses 14–20 enumerate the princes and peoples, who (cursa) were conquered by Sindharaja. The following are mentioned: the Prince of the Hutas and Kośala: the inhabitants of Vāgaṇa and Līṭā: the Muralas.

The jewel fell into the sea; I endeavoured to get it up, and the sea shut me off by a great wave (taraṇākṣaḥkṣaṇatākṣaṣṭa) from return to the air and drew me with a great roaring into the depths of the nether world. As I wandered about in astonishment here, I saw a maiden, who carried the jewel in her hand, and was about to enter an ascetic grove. As the maiden, in spite of my repeated entreaties, would not give up my wife's diadem, I wrenched from her neck "little jewel ornaments" in the form of foot-prints of the love-god upon which the Makara was carved." At the maiden's cries a Muni appeared, cursed me, and, as a punishment for my monkey-like trick, changed me into a monkey. Later the Muni was softened and decreed that I should again receive my former shape on the day when the son of Sūjaka (i. e., Sindharaja) should lay the bracelet of Narmadā in my hand before the eyes of the Muni Vaṅku. — Thus to-day, in thy grove, after I have spent a thousand years as a monkey in the nether world, the curse has fallen from me by the king's act.

The grateful Vidyādha-prince Saśākṣaṇa caused his troops to appear in order that they might help the king in his progress against the Asura Vajrākuṣa.

Fourteenth sarga (Pāṭalagāmakagāham). The king departs from Vaṅku's grove with his comrade's army. The king's war chariot is lifted into the air by Saśākṣaṇa's magic. In a long speech addressed to the king (vv. 7–76), the minister Ramāṅgada describes the progress of the army. First a wood is reached, then the Trimārga (the Gānd); on the shore of the Gaṅgā Saśākṣaṇa causes a halt to be made and camp pitched, and the king enters a pleasure-house, which had been built for him of crystal.

In the fifteenth sarga20 love-plays — especially the jalaṅkṛidd — are described as in the eighth sarga of the Śīrṣapālavadha.

Sixteenth sarga (kanakavrindāndavaśrīhamam). Pāṭalā appears and hands to the king (who inquires after the health of Saśāprabhā and her friends) a love letter (anāṅgajaleha) from Saśāprabhā, written by Mālyavati. After Ramāṅgada has read out this letter, the king sends Pāṭalā into the snake-town with the message that he will soon come himself and hand over the lotus flowers. The king proceeds now with the army of the Vidyādharas. On the way he meets the snake army under the leadership of Ratochhāla, who, in the meanwhile after he had delivered the letter to Saśāprabhā, had taken his own form again; both armies make a halt in a wood before Kātavatī. The minister Ramāṅgada is now sent to Asura Vajrākuṣa in order to effect the delivery of the golden lotus flower in an amicable manner (ekand). Ramāṅgada has to return without having effected his object. The allied armies surround the town Kātavatī.

The seventeenth sarga21 contains the description of the battle between the Asuras, who break out of Ratochhāla, the Nāgas and Vidyādharas. The allied armies win the battle. Vajrākuṣa, son of Vajrākuṣa, kills the minister Ramāṅgada; king Sindurāja himself kills Vajrākuṣa. The town Kātavatī is overcome; the snake-youth Ratochhāla is made governor over the kingdom of the Asura princes. The king takes possession of the golden lotus flower and proceeds toward Bhogavatī.

Eighteenth sarga (Saśāprabhādāḥ) Saikhpāla comes to meet the king and hands him a gift of honour. Sindurāja makes his entry into Bhogavatī amid expressions of astonishment and joy on the part of the inhabitants. His glance first falls upon a holy place (tūṣyam manimandirām) of Siva under the name of Sri-Hāṭakavesā. He enters, offers gifts of flowers, and gives

27 manahāṭāh sukhaśāntākṣaṇatākṣaṣṭa. The translation is according to a proposal of Būhle's.
28 The entertainments in the wood are described, vv. 27–76. 'Conf. Māyākṣeṣya, Sarga VII.
29 The title of this sarga is in the manuscript: Pāṭalagāmakagāham, as also that of the 14th. The true title might be jalaṅkṛiddavartana.
30 The title — something like yaddasvamana — is wanting in the manuscript.
31 The devo Hāṭakavesvarakhyā is also mentioned in the description of the snake-town Bhogavatī, sarga 5, v. 12 ff.
praise to Siva. In the same place, is also the spotted antelope, which the king has once seen in the Vindhyas mountain. Brought by Ramaṇuṣa, at the command of her father, Saśirprabhâ appears, in wedding dress, accompanied by Pāṭāla and her other friends. The king, at Mālayavatī's request, hands the golden lotus-flower to Saśirprabhâ. He has hardly done this when the spotted antelope is changed into a man, who bears a golden staff in his hand (sadhuvattraḥ). The king asks, who he is, and why he has been changed into an animal? The staff-bearer relates the following: I, the doorkeeper of your father Śrī-Harabālera (i.e., Śiśyakṣa) was once cursed by the Muni Mṛgandha because I refused admittance to him at the door. On the day on which king Navāshasāṅkṣa should give the golden lotus-flower to the daughter of the snake-prince I should regain my former shape.

The marriage of Śindhurāja and Saśirprabhâ takes place in the orthodox manner. Śanakapāla makes the king a present of a crystal Sivalinga made by Trisūrī. This linga — so Śanakapāla relates — vyasa once received from the puruṣottama (i.e., Śiva); then it came into the possession of Ādikavī;32 Ādikavī presented it to the exalted Maharshi Kapila; and Kapila finally gave it to the snake-prince.

At the end of the marriage festivities king Śindhurāja, accompanied by Saśikānta and Ramaṇuṣa, proceeds first to Ujjayini, then to Dārā, “the chief town of his race.” He entertained his guests according to rank, and dismissed them to their homes; Saśikānta returned to the mountain Saśikanta, Ramaṇuṣa went to Mālayavatī, the chief town of his newly-won kingdom.

VI. — The Historical Events from the Navāshasāṅkṣakārītā.

For no period of Mālvas history are there so many different sources, as for that of the Paramāra kings of the tenth or eleventh century. Besides a not unimportant number of inscriptions, which fix the succession of the kings completely and determine approximately the length of the reigns of most of them, many isolated chronological notes are found in the works of Brahman and Jaina authors, as well as detailed biographical descriptions of individual governors, especially Muniya’s and Bhaja’s. The fifteenth and last extract of the first Prakāsa in Merutunga’s Prabandhākirtināmi (completed on full-moon day of the month Vaisākha, Vikrama-samvat 1362, or in April 1306) is dedicated to the former. The life of the latter follows immediately and fills the greater part of the second Prakāsa. The same prince has been described in two later works, the Bhaja-prabandha and the Bhujacharitā, which have been long known and quoted in Europe, as well as edited in India. Under these circumstances, it might well be believed, that Padmagupta-Parimala’s Navāshasāṅkṣakārītā cannot add much that is new or important to the history of the Paramāras. In spite of this the contrary is the case. Padmagupta’s narrative completes and extends the information about the inscriptions, and shows more plainly than these, that the historian cannot trust to the Prabandhas and Charitās, and can only make use of them with great caution. The Prabandhas are founded exclusively on the traditions of the bards and the Jaina monasteries, in which Muniya and also his nephew very soon became mythical personalities. Whoever seeks to combine the statements of the inscriptions, with the narratives of the Prabandhas will find a mixture of truth and fiction, in which the contradictions are apparent.

The extract of the Navāshasāṅkṣakārītā, which is of the greatest importance to the history of the Paramāras, is to be found in sarga XI, 64—102, and, according to a photograph33 of sheet 106a—109a of the London manuscript, is transliterated thus:

Aṭisvādhisvarārāpalamūlāsamitthuṣam 1
munis-tapovanaḥ chakre tatrekahvākupurobhitaḥ 11 64 11

32 saṃśāti kākāśivākstanad āśāmnī Mās.; Ādikavī (=Vāmiki) is a supposition of Bühler’s.
33 Communicated by Zecharias along with an imperfect inscription found by himself. It was known to him for several years, but circumstances delayed the publication.
ह्रित्रा तसयकदा धनेश्वर कामसुर्गद्धिसुनना ।
कार्तविकरुकल्लेवा जामादग्ने आश्याय ॥ ६५ ॥
स्तुल्लाः रुद्रारसांवातसुपितसतावाकलाः ॥
अमरशपावकस्यभुद्धभारत्समादरङ्गद्ध ॥ ६६ ॥
अतिभरवविद्वन्त अधाय समान्त्राम अवितुं ददाम ॥
विकासद्विकासावलाति जातसदस्व ॥ ६७ ॥
तत्तात् कशंददा-सकोदशा भीरः कान्नानागदा ॥
उपजगाम्यनातो कौशामवन्यापुष्यन्म ॥ ६८ ॥
दुःसात्मसानन्ये विश्वमित्रं का ह्रित्रा ॥
तेनासिं न्युर-शांनुर-दन्तस्वर्वा भानुं ॥ ६९ ॥
तत्तात्-तंस्कयस्याभिवानान्यारलां कान्नानागदा ॥
कौले पापसस्य-नीदुपुपुराक्यापः ॥ ७० ॥
प्रार्थिकरुक्किता कान्नानागदा ॥ ७१ ॥
प्रवर्तितकरुक्किता कान्नानागदा ॥ ७२ ॥
पुरासकुरिमेशाम याः-चक्षृर्यन्द्रभोम्भ भवेन ॥ ७३ ॥
स्तुल्लाः रुद्रारसामक्षेषु मुक्ता-प्रलंबसामलिभश palms.
भूर-विद्वाने येन हेमायुपार-पुर्वाय ॥ ७४ ॥
प्राश्यस्तिचित्ताः शंकाणागे चिरेन्त नाजाहितिविशी ॥
अम्च्छितातलान्येव येन तल्लाहोकालह भजी॥ ७५ ॥
वासिन्तेन राष्यप्रवेदः तस्य-सुधारि-साततपत्र शुन ॥
निताः सुप्रत्तितच-गुरुतम् निपारी-मुक्तार्धराय ॥ ७६ ॥
सम्प्रपित्रतपातपीतिः निरमाणानात कारानाति ॥
उपेन्द्रे तस्य श्रीकालो चरसे चरसे चरसे चरसे चरसे ॥ ७७ ॥
सातंत्रिकचन्द्रेश्रुन्तं पुत्तम-अव्यर्थाचास-तनुम ॥
सत्कामावे यथासस सत्कामावे सत्कामावे सत्कामावे ॥ ७८ ॥
सातंत्रिकचन्द्रेश्रुन्तं पुत्तम-अव्यर्थाचास-तनुम ॥
अकारे जयासी येन हेमायुपारिक भारी ॥ ७९ ॥
टायरुम्राकुरिमेशायामक्षेषु मुक्ता-प्रलंबसामलिभश।
अन्याय जचाकुमारुक्किता भारी ॥ ८० ॥
टायरुम्राकुरिमेशायामक्षेषु मुक्ता-प्रलंबसामलिभश।
उपरि विश्वासाय भारी ॥ ८१ ॥
सातंत्रिकचन्द्रेश्रुन्तं पुत्तम-अव्यर्थाचास-तनुम ॥
सातंत्रिकचन्द्रेश्रुन्तं पुत्तम-अव्यर्थाचास-तनुम ॥
निन्याय-सिद्धांस्तम्बने न दानादने नातिकः निपारी ॥ ८२ ॥
वाराणसीं तस्य राष्य-साततपत्र तस्य-साततपत्र तस्य-साततपत्र ॥
कान्नानागदा ॥ ८३ ॥

Verse 65 — "नारकेनेव" — MS.
66 — शुल्कारे — MS.
70 — "संदर्भ" — MS. The syllables "निर्युःक्षिप्दाःनीर्युःक्षिप्दाः" are added on the margin in शारदाचर्य characters; दुहु and सु are indistinct: the correction given above is not certain.
74 — नारायणी — MS.
75 — वुष्क्र, and परमा — MS.
76 — The syllables in brackets are wanting in the MS. and are conjectural.
78 — The last syllable of सातत्रेश्रुन्तं is indistinct.
90 — "र्विकरुक्किता" — MS.
51 — दिशितान्या — MS.
82 — दानादने रुक्कित — MS.
83 — विश्वासिह — MS.
paulomiramāṇasyevasa chāpe vilākite
chakitsa sarasāsvatā kāma rājaḥahāsiramuchyata 11 84 II
Sri-Sivaka iti keśetram vasāsām-adabhūt-tataḥ 1
Dilipapratiṣṭha prthiṣṭikāṁ kātmāḥaṁ nṛpaḥ 11 85
Lakṣmīrī-Adhokṣhayasyevasa śaśisauri-vāmikā 1
Vājajeyabhadvadeva kalatrāmsa yasya bhūr-iva 11 86 II
akhandaṁmahasālempya praṇāpyaṁ-mahotpadeya 1
kaliṣamālasyasame vyaṁyāyāryaṁ nṛpaṇduṇā 11 87 II
vaśīkramahemālo yah kahamāmatytyāyām dadhat 1
rajasāramam-alalāchakre rājasāḥkāsachivarāḥ 11 88 II
smītiyeyonādārdepa vāśāpdaḥsyena mukherdunā 1
śaśasānur-vijayasya yasya Raṇāpuṣṭipseṣṭiyāḥ 11 89 II
ahjataṁkāhyāryamānāpuramamākhalam 1
Hūsāvarōdaṁ vaidhavyadīkṣhdhānam vyaṁdatta yaḥ 11 90 II
ayaṁ netṛvāsas-tasmaJurījyā devapitiprīyāḥ 1
jagattāmśabō netrājātiriva nīśākaraḥ 11 91 II
Śrīmadputpalājībhūd-agrajīṣyāgraṇi śatān 1
Sagarāpatyadatābdhiparikhyāḥ patir-bhuvāḥ 11 92 II
atīte Viṅkramādītye gatastyān Śatrāhane 1
ekavimitra viśeśārāma yasmin-devī Sarasvatī 11 93 II
chakrīre vedhasā nūnām nīryājauḍāyāsālināḥ 1
te chintāmaṇayeṣa yasya nirmāṇe paramāṇavāḥ 11 94 II
yāsobhir-induṣubhir-yasyāchchhataravērīvai 1
apurāṇyayeṣa brahmāṇḍaṣṭutri-mukūtaḥvalai ivā 11 95 II
Āryaṁ niḥājākāntyā yah prāṣayīḥyārā daśa dṛṣṭā 1
arāṭihbyāḥ-sa sahasa jahre nīsthrināśēklāyā 11 96 II
āmah savalkalagrānthiḥ sahaṃtāśalāvam śīraḥ 1
chakrīre yena-hītastriṣṭān-aḥkāsrutāh karaḥ 11 97 II
purāṇ kāḷakramāt-tena prasthanenāmākṣāpateḥ 1
mauruvikāṇāvatasāya prthiṣṭī dēṣīḥ nivedēśāḥ 11 98 II
prāṣēti paritō viṣāvam-UJJāvayīnā pari sthītah 1
ayaṁ Yāyāti-Māndhāṭrī-Duhṣahyanta-Bharatopamaḥ 11 99 II
aṇenātaḥ kapolaḥ puṇḍīmā rupīḥyāsitām 1
samāhityaśa tadbherṣyāśācī hiṇaḥśilai 11 100 II
sāda samakarasyaśa Lakṣmaṇkulaṃgihasya cha 1
Śinchdrājaya iti vyaktah nāma dugdhdodadh-iva 11 101 II
aṇena vihitānyatra yataḥsasatānitaḥtā 1
Navināsāhaśaṅkōyam viragoshthīhau giyate 11 102 II
Translation.

64. There (on Mount Arbuda) the wise house-priest of the Ikahrāku made a sage's grove rich in wild rice, fruits, roots, firewood and Kuśa-grass.34

65. His wish-granting cow was once stolen and carried away by the son of Gādhi, as was that of Jamadagni, Arjuna, of Kṛitavrty's offspring.

66. Arundhati, upon whose bosom the silk garment was bathed with streams of tears, became a log, on account of her husband's wrath.

67. Thereupon the first of the judges of the Atharvans songs,35 with holy sayings, threw an offering into the fire, which, kindling up with broad flames, seemed to bear an ascetic's hair braid.

68. Quickly a man sprang out of the fire, with bow and crown and golden armour.37

69. By him, the cow of the wise man, led away by Viśvāmitra, is brought back, as the sun brings back the light of day, which has been led away by the thick darkness.

70. Then the grove-maidens took the cheek, wet with tears of joy, from the supporting hand which is worshipped by the devoe.

71. He received from the prophet the fitting name of Paramāra — killer of the enemy — and a ruler's power over the globe, before whom all the parasites of all other kings were shut.

72. (From him), who, bringing a multitude of great offerings, only left the ancient tortoise,33 —

73. (From him) the sacrificer, by whom the earth was filled with golden altar stones, which, resting on foundations of precious stones, were ornamented with wreaths of pearlstrings.39 —

74. (From him), by whom, when he conquered the Daityas, Sachi was freed at last, with a heart at rest from jealous wrangling with the race of impure splendour,60 —

75. From him, who resembled the ancient King Mann, sprang a race, who obtained high esteem by virtuous kings, like beautifully rounded pears.41

34 A temple of Vasishtha, which, through local tradition, is closely connected with the holy mountain, is still found on the south side of Abū or Abūda. The inscriptions in its vicinity prove that it was kept up by the princes of Chandravati. To the right of the temple stands the statue of a warrior, which, according to a tradition, represents the mythical Paramāra. See J. Tod, Travels in Western India, p. 116 ff.
35 The story of the theft of the Kāmāchau and its recovery differs widely here and in the narratives of the bard of Rājputāk and Gujarāt, from the classical, and is, of course, merely a local representation.
36 Vasishtha is naturally a better judge of the Atharvasvada, the great collection of charms and incantations than the Paribotā.
38 I. e., he killed all other inhabitants of the ocean by his horse sacrifices and other Sāstras, which required an incredible amount of slaughter. Only the tortoise upon which the earth rests, was left.
39 On the golden, i. e., gold-plated stakes for the sacrifice, see J. Tod, Annals of Rājputāk, Vol. I. pp. 71-72, and specially note 1 on the latter page.
40 Probably this merely means that the Paramāra exterminated the Daityas, "the race of impure lustre," and so pacified Sachi, troubled about Indra's lordship.
41 The poet, as often happens in other works, plays on the word saviitā, "virtuous" and "beautifully rounded," Possibly a second play of words is intended with raghuvī race and "bamboo rod." Thus the end of the verse might be translated: a race . . . (and that, therefore) resembles a bamboo rod, which is made valuable by beautifully rounded pears. Referring to the Indian belief, that pearls grow in the bamboo rod.
76. Into this race a king was born named Upendra, who, although of great power, still lightened the burden of taxes and therefore was like the sun and the moon, of which the former is endowed with great heat and the latter cools the fire of his beams.43

77. His fame, which always spread further, and which was the subject of the song of Sitā, reached over the ocean and (therefore) resembled the (monkey) Hanuman, who always moves about relentlessly, who sprang over the ocean in order to comfort Sitā.43

78. This sacrificer, before whom Indra was afraid,44 whose body was made holy by sacrificial baths, decked the earth with golden altar staves.45

79. The sighs of his enemies' wives, the rays of light from whose glistening teeth broke into waves, cooled him like fans.46

80. When he and other rulers of men besides him were departed, there was born into this race a moon among the princes called Vakpatirāja.

81. His almond-shaped eyes were like the water-lily her beauty, and his ornamented arm, which afforded ease to women, caressed the Fortuna of the globe.46

82. When the earth trembled before his anger, the princes, whose hope of life sank, bowed their proud heads, they drew not their stiff brows.47

83. From him sprang a king, Varisūtihāna by name, a lion to his enemies; his fame, bright as jasmine and like the moon, was as a mane to him.48

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43 The frequent play of words with pradāpa, 'heat' and 'power,' also with kara, 'ray' and 'tax,' naturally do not escape Padmagupta.

44 The words antijāti-pravritta and sitakohitasitāhata have double meanings. The first has no difficulty.

45 A really fitting explanation for the second as an adjective to yuṣya, is found, it seems, only when, on the other hand, Sitā is regarded as a proper name and uchchhavacita as a synonym of udāna. "a song of the pouring out of the heart," Uchchhavā, literally "to breathe out," appears elsewhere also in this interchangeable meaning. A poetess Sitā, or Sitā appears in the Bhoga legend. For traces of her, and especially the words ascribed to her in the Bhogaprakānī, see Picholas, "the poetess Sitā," in the Reyl hour of the Bhogaprakānī, p. 92, 94. In the Prabhanda-krītād, completed in 1305 A.D., is mentioned a Sitāpātāidyaprabandha, the contents of which are shortly as follows: "In the time of Bhoga there was in his capital the mistress of a cookshop (rāmdhāt) Sitā by name. A pilgrim, for whom she cooked, died from taking Kaśṣupā bullied oil. She determined to kill herself by drinking the same. Instead of dying, however, she became very clever. She then studied the sciences a little and went with her young and beautiful daughter Vijaya to court. Sitā greeted the king with the verse:"

saṃvyāsam āśātrukakohayāvadhī, yado bhaumāpahākshāvadhī, tyāghakavravirāvadhī, tyāgha kshāvapadāvadhī, śrīvarṣa-sīramahājihinā īravadhī, śēbho gupaśām ganiḥ.!

The merry (vinumapratyā) king then challenged the beautiful Vijaya to the kuchasangama. She answered with a corresponding couplet to the above:

umāśāhishabhāvadhī bhadralakṣāmābāvadhī, sancāhavo, viśātra drāmāvadhī, kumaliniśrīavadhī, sambhavo, vāpaṭhā varṣpahāvadhī, kātanātā vājraśakramāvadhī, stīvarāgahā kuchamspadale yadī paraśāvarāyasthāvadī.!

Then the king gave Vijaya an ardhakavi on matters, &c., upon which, without hesitation, she composed the second half anumānī, &c. The king was then ashamed of himself (as he had come to be). Merutunga adds: atra hūla vaṭakonāha paramparāya jñāna. Neither the Bhogaprakānī, nor the Prabhanda-krītād, nor the verses attributed to Sitā can be quoted as a proof that the poetesses lived at Bhoga's court. The Prabhanda-krītād is also purely legendary in this part. On the other hand, it may certainly be expected, that there was a poetess Sitā as all the characters appearing in Merutunga are historical.

44 Indra feared the king, because he offered so many sacrifices and on the 100th would have driven him from the throne.

45 According to Indian custom (see, for example, Girdavaka, 695-697) the wives of the conquered princes must render slaves service to the conqueror and fan him with Yak's tails. While such prisoners stood behind Upendra they performed their task not with the Chair, but with their deep sighs. Meanwhile they opened and shut their lips continually and thus caused waves in the beams, which emanated from their flashing teeth.

46 Kuśālopa is used twice, and is to be translated the first time by "waterlily," the second by "globe" (kuśālopa) (Zacharias). The star on the king's arm is on the bangle.
84. When the kingly swans saw the bow of this prince, who was like Paulomi’s husband, they forsook the land, as the regal swans forsook the pond, when they saw Indra’s rainbow!  
85. From him sprang a king, Sri-Siyaka by name, a field of fame, a pearl from the mussel of earth, who was like Dīlīga.  
86. As Adhikshaya’s Lakshmi, as the moon crowned god’s Ambikā, so was the queen Vātajā — this ruler’s wife — like the earth.  
87. This strong man, a moon among the princes, who, on account of the piety of his subjects, attained to perfect happiness, banished the thick darkness of the Kali age.  
88. This king set up a retreat, subdued his thoughts, practising great patience, was clothed in the grass robe of a royal sage.  
89. With countenance like the moon, covered with tears, from which the sparkle of laughter is missing, the wives of the Lord of Rādopāṭi proclaimed his victory.  
90. He made the harem of the Hāna princes, from whom the bracelet, the sprangle, the footing, and the girdle were taken, into the dwelling-place for the consecration of widowhood.  
91. As the moon from the eye of Atri, so sprang from him this delight of the eyes, a favourite of the gods and his parents, who banished darkness from the world.  
92. His elder brother was the illustrious Utpalarāja, a leader of the band of nobles, the lord of the earth, who surrounded Sāgara’s sons with the ocean as with a grave.  
93. After Vikramāditya was departed, after Sātavāhana had gone home, the goddess Sarasvatī reposed beside this poet-friend.  
94. In the creation of this truly generous (prince) the creator actually used desire-granting jewels as particles.  
95. The shell of the universe was filled with his fame, which, of splendour pure as the moon, sprang from his flashing sword (and therefore) resembled pearl, which, pure as the moon, spring from the clearest water.  
96. With the glance (of his eye) which sparkled like the blue water-lily, he gave his friends happiness and suddenly he robbed his enemies with the flash of his sword, which glanced like the water-lily.  
97. He fastened the knots of the grass robe upon the shoulder of his enemies’ wives, wound ascetic plaits round the head, and wreathed the hand with roses.

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47 When the rainy season comes the Rājāhānas go north.
48 The first two comparisons are compliments to the king and his wife, who are compared with Vīshnu and Śiva, as also with Lakshmi and Pārvatī. When it is also said, that Vātajā “is like the earth,” Siyaka’s wife, it is to be remembered that, according to the Indian style of expression, the earth is invariably the first wife of each king.
49 Āpya is divided into d + āpya (!)
50 This “delight of the eyes,” is the ruling prince Sūndhārīja (Zachariae).
51 On Utpalarāja. See below, p. 168.
52 By Vikramāditya is meant the author of the era of 57-56 B.C., who is also mentioned as ruler of Ujjain (Zachariae). The Sātavāhana, who is meant here, is Hāla, the compiler of the Gāthākaśa.
53 The composite, achchhatara-vrījāṭiḥ, is to be divided the first time into achchha-tara-vrījāṭiḥ, i.e., aśhvat-kaṇḍa-senā-janasthaḥ; the second time into achchhatara-vrījāṭiḥ, i.e., aśvānta-sudāhāvala-janasthaḥ. According to the Indian legend, the pearl mussels come to the surface of the sea and open on the day of the Māṇik-Thāṭ. If it is raining, then each raindrop becomes a pearl.
54 Niśākhaṇḍa belongs to dṛṣṭā as well as to niśādhi-salakhaṇḍa and must therefore be twice translated.
55 The meaning is that the king pursued his enemies into the wood and forced them to live as hermits. Pallava has here the meaning given in the Ko śas (visāra).
98. Through him, who, in course of time, departed to the town of the husband of Ambikâ, was the earth laid in the arm of this (our present lord) who is represented by the striped bow.\(^{36}\)

99. Residing in the town of Ujjain, he rules all around, he who was descended from (the ancient rulers) Yayâti, Mândhârit, Duhyanta and Bharata.

100. Through this (hero) was the white colour laid with a strong arm upon the cheeks of the wives of his enemies after he robbed their husbands of their fame.\(^{37}\)

101. It is easy to be understood (that) the name of this (prince) who always possesses Makaras, and is the ancestral dwelling of Lakshmi, is like that of the milk-ocean Sûndhurâja — 'sea king.'\(^{38}\)

102. Because here (on earth) he accomplished hundreds of brave deeds, he will therefore be sung at the festivals of heroes as the new Sâhasânlaka.

The preceding extract and the previous single notices quoted from other parts of the Navasâhasânlakacharita result in the following genealogical tree of the Paramâra kings of Dhârâ and Ujain, who might at once, on account of the notices contained in the published inscriptions, be compared:

I. Navasâhasânlakacharita
   - Paramâra
     - Upendra
     - Vâkapatirâja
     - Vairisûnîha
     - Sîyaka or Sîrharshadeva\(^{39}\)
     - Utpalarâja or Sûndhurâja or Vâkapati rajâ II.\(^{40}\)  
     - Navasâhasânlaka or Kumârânârâyaṇâ\(^{41}\)
   - Muñjarâja or Sûndhurâja or Bhojarâja

II. Nâgpur Prâasti\(^{42}\)
   - Paramâra
     - Vairisûnîha
     - Sîyaka
     - Vâkapatirâja or Amoghabharah or Purâvatillabhâ or Sûrîllabhâ 974 and 979 A.D.

III. Vâkapati’s and Bhoja’s Land-grants\(^{43}\)
   - Krishnarâja
     - Vairisûnîha
     - Sîyaka
     - Vâkapatirâja or Amoghabharah or Prûvatillabhâ or Sûrîllabhâ 974 and 979 A.D.
     - Bhoja, 1021 and 1042–43 A.D.

\(^{36}\) i.e., after Utpalarâja died, the new ruling king Sûndhurâja became his successor.

\(^{37}\) According to Indian expression fame is "white." The king takes his enemies’ fame and so wins a white colour, which he puts on the cheeks of the wives of his enemies which become white with sorrow and anxiety.

\(^{38}\) The king possesses always Makaras, i.e., armies formed in the Makara Order (Mûsa, VII, 187; Khândakâ Nâtistha) just as the ocean is full of sea-monsters called Makaras, i.e., sharks. Fortune is always on his side as was the case with his fathers; he is thus the heir of Lakshmi. As the goddess of fortune, Lakshmi, rose out of the milk-ocean at the stirring of the Nectar, this is therefore also his inheritance.

\(^{39}\) See above, p. 150.

\(^{40}\) See above, p. 154.

\(^{41}\) The inscription was at first badly published, with a very imperfect facsimile by Hâl Gângâdhâra Shêstrî in the Jour. Bombay R. As. Soc. I. p. 259. The second publication of it by Lassen in the Zeit. f. d. Kunde des Morgenl. VII. p. 174 ff., is much better; it is made from a transcript of the copy found in Sâkha on a copperplate. This is now no longer sufficient for present requirements and a new copy is much to be desired. Lassen calls Sîyaka’s younger son Sîrharshadeva and he remarks (loc. cit. p. 211 [211], note 29) that this is distinctly the reading in his copy, while that of the facsimile in the Bombay Journal can no longer be read with any certainty. It is quite correct that the letters in the latter are defaced. The name looks like (p. 274, No. 15) grûtârâjug. Mr. J. F. Fleet, who possesses a paper impression of the inscription, kindly informs me that the original has sûr-Sûndhurâja. The form Sûndhurâja is no doubt owing to the copyists of Lassen’s transcription having made an unlucky conjecture as pendris often do.

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The origin of the Paramāras, placed by the tradition of the bards, which reflects the above-quoted verses xi. 64, 72, in the holy mountain Ādī-Arbuda, the most southern arm of the Arāvāli chain, which rises on the boundary of Rājsamāna and Gujarāt and in the grey far-off time when the great feud between the head Brāhmaṇ Varnākṣha and the Kṣatriya intruder Vīrāmītra was fought out. The bards also relate much of the early developed power of the Paramāras, of their manifold ramifications, and their great kingdom in Western and Southern India.46 There is, however, no sure trace of them in Indian history,47 before the appearance of the dynasty of Mālvā. The Paramāras first come into power in the town of Dhārā, which lies in the western part of the province, and from there they conquered the east of Mālvā with the capital Ujjain. This proves with more certainty than the tradition of the bards that Padmāgupta repeatedly (p. 159, above) calls Dhārā the family residence of the Paramāras. The period of the first development of their power cannot be fixed with certainty. It must, however, have been about 800 A.D. as will be shown further on.

As the Paramāras of Mālvā believe in the legend of the birth of their eponymous hero on Ābū, this may lead to the supposition that they came from the north-west. The old Fort of Achalgadh on Ābū, and the town of Chandravati south of Ābū, have been for centuries in the possession of a Paramāra family, who rendered homage to the Chaulukyas of Khālīvād from the eleventh century. Someśvara’s Prasasti of Vikrama Saṅvatsara 1287, recounts an older line, Dhumarāja, Dhandhuka, Dravabhata, and others, also a later and entirely historical one which consists of Hamadeva, Yakṣadhavala, Dhāravarsaka, Prahlādāna, Somasūkha and Kṛishnāparāja. The last six kings may be recognised from other works and ruled between 1150 and 1231 A.D. This connection between the Paramāras and Mount Ābū makes clear that it and nothing else had been the foundation of the legend of the rise of Paramāras from the Agnikūra there. Now, as the Paramāras of Dhārā possess the same legend, it is easy to suppose that they are a branch of the ruling race of Achalgadh and Chandravati, Upendra.

The first king Upendra sung by Padmāgupta was not the immediate predecessor of the next named Vākpatirāja I. Between them reigned other princes. The plural shows that there must have been three. On no consideration may the reign of Upendra be placed later than about the year 800 A.D. As the first king, for whose reign we possess several fixed dates, Vākpatirāja II., died, as will be shown further on, between 994 and 997, the date of his first land-grant is the year 974. As his brother Sindhurāja reigned sometime after him, then the beginning of his own

47 Lassen, Ind. Alterthumsk. III. p. 393, thinks that Ptolemy mentions the Paramāras under the name Powarois and adds: "Their name in this form comes nearer to the oldest (Pramāra) than to that of the present time Punwar or Powar where we get the second in Powargarh, i.e. Powargā, Fort of Powar: the name of Champānī, the old capital of a district in north Gujarāt." The identification of Powars with Paramāras is, however, doubtful, as the first word means a people, the second a Kṣatriya family, which, so far as is known, has given its name to no district in India. Thus it is to be remarked that the present Powars or Puaras certainly give themselves out as Paramāras, since a member of their family rules Dhārā, the modern Dhār. They are, however, Marāṭhas and not Rājputs. Their genealogical claims are certainly officially recognised, but native scholars in Mālvā never speak of it or rather the relationship of His Highness the Mahārāja Anand Rao with the Mahārāja Bioja without a meaning smile and do not believe in it. The grounds against the derivation are — 1st, that Powar or Puar do not agree well in sound with Paramāra; 2nd, that in Rādjnātra and Mālvā the real successors of the Paramāras call themselves Parmāra, not Puaras. The Puaras settled in Mālvā and Bundelkhand might all be successors or relatives of the Marāṭha Jodhwar Rāj Ka Puar, who received the title of king of Dhār in 1749 (conf. Mallinson, Native States of India, p. 267). Finally, as regards the name of Powargarh, this is a remnant of the Gālāhrīstic method of transcription. The mountain fort which is not, as Lassen thinks, identical with Champānī, and lies, not in northern, but in middle Gujarāt, is called in Gujarātī, Pāvāgadh, and in Sanskrit, according to an inscription of Saṅvatsara 1535 (Ind. Ant., Vol VI. p. 1 ff.) Pivakadurga, the Fort of the Pāvāka, perhaps "the fire." The name has nothing to do with the Paramāras, who have never, so far as is known, possessed Pāvāgadh.

48 Kiritkumudī, App. pp. 4-6, 7-15, and K. Forbes, Eds Mālā, pp. 210-211.
reign must have fallen about the year 970. Between Vākpatirāja II. and Vākpatirāja I. are two
generations, and between the latter and Upendra at least three reigns. If one reckons 25 years to a
generation, then there are 150 years between the beginning of the reign of Vākpatirāja II. and the
end of Upendra’s. Of course it is not to be supposed that there is any degree of certainty in this
statement, as the number of the kings omitted may be much greater. But it is the latest that is
possible. Padmagupta’s verses concerning Upendra assert merely that he diligently attended to the
Sānta sacrifices and was a great warrior. If the translation of verse 77 is correct, a poetess Sītā,
who perhaps lived at his court, sang of him (see note 43, p. 163).

Dr. F. E. Hall77 and Sir A. Cumingham79 identify Upendra with Krishnarāja, the first
king in the inscriptions of Vākpatirāja II. The supposition is natural, as Krishna and Upendra are
synonymous. It may also be correct, though Krishnarāja stands immediately before Vairisimha,
the third king in Padmagupta’s list. The text of the inscription merely says that each of the kings
mentioned “thought respectfully of the feet” (of the before-mentioned). Usually this phrase is used
in connection with an immediate predecessor. There are, however, cases in which it is used in
connection with a king further removed.80 Those who reject Hall’s identification must agree that
the next king in Padmagupta’s list likewise bore the name of Krishnarāja, which also is not
impossible.

Vākpatirāja I.

Padmagupta’s description of this king is purely conventional. According to what has been
already stated, the beginning of his reign falls about 895 A.D. His name seems also to appear in an
Udayapur inscription. Dr. F. E. Hall does not recognize the existence of two Vākpatirājas. He
says, however, loc. cit.: “Vākpati had issue in Vairisimha, and Vairisimha had a son Harsha.”
This only applies to Vākpatirāja I.

Vairisimha.

Of this king we only hear that he was his predecessor’s son. His reign may have begun about
920.

Siyaka.

Matters improve somewhat with Vairisimha’s son, who, according to Naez, XI. 85 and the
inscriptions, also called Siya, according to Naez, XVIII. 40 (p. 155) Sir Harshadeva. As
regards the first name till now unmentioned, it may be remarked that Siya stands for Siyaka.
It is the tertiary Prakrit name of Western India, in place of the Sanskrit sīha in a proper name, e.g.
sīgh or si is used. Thus, for Maraśimha both Amaraśing and Amaś are found; for Padmasimha,
Padmasingh or more often Padamśi; for Narasimha, very often Narś. In the present case, this
explanation is proved by the fact that Marutunga in the Muniapravakṣa calls the father of Muni
and Shīhba, Simhahnga.70 This was doubtless the original Sanskrit name of the king. Siya
is a half Prakrit pet-name. The second name Harsha or Harshadeva appears in the unedited
Udayapur Inscription and also in other Sanskrit works.71

77 Jour. Beng. As. Soc. Vol. XXXI. p. 114, note. Dr. Hall seems to have found the names in the inscriptions
from Udayapur mentioned there. He incorrectly calls him “the grandfather of Bhoja’s grandfather.”
80 See Ind. Ant. Vol. VI. pp. 194 and 196, where it says, that Durlabha of Achiprāj thought of the feet of
Chānuma, while his immediate predecessor was his brother Vallabha.
81 See also K. Forbes, Edu. Midd, 2nd ed. p. 94.
82 Conf. below, p. 168. What is said here about the identity of Siya and Harshadeva, as also that of
Utpalāraja and Vākpatirāja, rests chiefly on Zachariae’s communications. He has made these discoveries and
gathered the notices belonging to them.
Padmagupta describes Sivaka-Harshadeva first as a royal philosopher doing homage to quietism and asceticism and then as a warlike ruler. It will be necessary to reverse the order, and take for granted that Sivaka, like so many Indian kings, after an active life, turned his attention to the achievement of Moksha, without, at the same time, perhaps, retiring from his position as ruler. His warlike achievements were the conquering of the "Lord of Radopati," and the killing of a Huna prince. Who these kings or chiefs were, and where they ruled, has not as yet been ascertained. As to the Huna, who is mentioned very often in the inscriptions, it may be remarked that the earlier favourite identification of them with the white Huns is not tenable. It is quite correct, as Dr. F. E. Hall remarks, that the Hunas, or more usually Hugas, mentioned in the inscriptions of the middle period were an Indian Kshatriya family. In baradic lists they are counted among the Rupat races, and the accounts of their alliance with the Kukchuris show that they are counted as such. These facts naturally do not preclude the possibility that the Huna Kshatriyas sprang originally from Huna. As the Kshatriyas have adopted foreign elements in a remarkable manner. Sivaka's wife was called Vadajā.

Vākpātirāja II.

Like many other Indian princes, Sivaka's eldest son bore many names and was called Vākpātirāja, Utpalarāja, Muṇja, Amoghadavasa, Pṛthivivallabha and Srivallabha. The first two names are found in Padmagupta (p. 150, above), and, according to the suggested alteration in XI. 92, they are also to be found in Kshemendra and Vallabha. The former quotes the well-known verse, another drāh, in his Auckhityaricdracharica, and ascribes it to the esteemed Utpalarāja (irvāluptalarājasya), while the Subhadhātṛi of the latter names Vākpātirāja, son of the esteemed Harshadeva, as author. Padmagupta's account leaves no doubt that Vākpātirāja is the son of the esteemed Harshadeva, Vākpātirāja II. of Milav, nor that Kshemendra means the same prince. Because the person mentioned by Kshemendra bears the title śrīmat and dēva, only a king can be meant, and, as according to the Navasdrākāchara, XI. 92, Vākpātirāja, the son of Harshadeva-Sivaka, had another beginning with Utpala, thus, in view of Vallabha's remark, the above conclusion is unavoidable. Another case in which Vākpātirāja II. is called Utpalarāja is mentioned further on. That Vākpātirāja II. is identical with Muṇja, Dr. F. E. Hall recognized and repeatedly expressed in the Bengali Journal A. Soc., XXX. p. 114, note, and Dasiṣṭopa, p. 2, note. The proofs for it are: (1) the genealogical tree given above, where Muṇja appears in the place of Vākpātirāja; (2) the fact that Dhanika, in the commentary to the Dasiṣṭopa, p. 184, ed. Hall, ascribes one and the same verse "to the esteemed King Vākpātirāja" and "to the esteemed Muṇja." However strange such a method of quotation may seem to us, it is quite usual among the Indians, who thought nothing of mentioning a many-titled man under two or more of his names. Finally, the identity of Vākpātirāja-Amoghadarva of the land-grants with Padmagupta's Vākpātirāja II. is made quite clear by the list of reigns.

All that Padmagupta says of Vākpātirāja II., apart from conventional phrases, is, that he had a liking for poetry and poets, was extraordinarily generous and warlike. Twice, I. 7 (p. 150, above) and XI. 98-94, he calls him emphatically a friend of poets, and says, I. 6, that he was led by him to

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72 This may be a town or a country (conf. Ācārāvapātaka and Mādhūpa or Mevā).
74 See, for example, the genealogical tree of the Rāṣṭrakūtas of Mānyakēśa, Ind. Ant. Vol. VI. p. 72, and the table in Fleet's Dynamics of the Konares District, pp. 92-93.
75 The statement of the legends in Merutunga and others that he was a foundling seems to me untenable.
76 Peterson, Jour. Bomb. R. R. As. Soc. XVI. p. 139. Peterson's views there expressed are probably more correct than those in the Subhadhātṛi, p. 115, according to which only the one verse, No. 3414, should belong to Vākpātirāja.
77 This view was accepted without hesitation by A. Cunningham, Archael. Rep. Vol. X. p. 84, note 1.
tread the poets' path. From accounts gathered from other sources we may complete his statements. Vākpatirāja II helped other writers besides Padmagupta. Among these are the two sons of Vishnu, Dhanañjaya and Dhaniu, the first of whom composed the Daśarāpa, while the latter commented upon it. Dr. F. E. Hall does well to express himself carefully and say: "it may be suggested, that Dhaniu — one of his (Dhanañjaya's) commentators and possibly his own brother — was living about the middle of the tenth century." Now, however, since it is clear that Vākpatirāja, Muñja, and Utpalāraja are names for one and the same person, all doubt as to the age of the two authors disappears, the one of whom, according to his own words, was famous for his wit at the court of king Muñja, and the other describes himself as māhāśākhya-pāda of the great and esteemed king Utpalāraja. In the time of Vākpatirāja II, also falls the activity of the lexicographer and poet Dhanapala, whom the Prabandhas erroneously make a contemporary and favourite of Bhoja. The date of his Prakrit Kośa, Vikrama Saṁvat 1029, i.e. 972-3 A.D., makes this very apparent. Likewise Halayudha, the commentator of Pīngala, according to his own statement (Subhāshitadevi, p. 115), lived under the rule of this prince. Vākpatirāja's own activity in poetry is shown, not only by the numerous verses ascribed to him in the Prabandhas but more certainly by the quotations in the anthologies, among which the one mentioned above in Kṣemendra deserves special consideration, as Kṣemendra writes about 50 years after his time.

If Padmagupta speaks merely in ordinary terms of the warlike undertakings of his first patron, doubtless the reason is that the sad death of Vākpatirāja made it seem unfitting to describe the latter in detail. His words: "The seal which Vākpatirāja put upon my song as he mounted to heaven, is now broken by Sindhuśraja, the younger brother of that friend of poets," showed distinctly that the fate of his first master had affected him deeply. It is therefore not to be wondered at that he does not allow himself to go into details. From the inscriptions and the Prabandhas one gathers that Vākpatirāja was at war with his eastern and southern neighbours. The unedited inscription mentioned by Dr. F. E. Hall tells of a successful war against one Yuvārata of Chedi, the father of Kokaḷa II, during which he is supposed to have taken the capital of the Haihayas, Tripura. Dhanapala's account probably refers to him, that he wrote his work when the king of Dhāra had plundered Mānyaketa. As in the introduction to the edition of the Pāiyalakhehidhē is shown the capital of the Bāthors of Mānekir or Mālkhed must be Mānyaketa, and the conquered enemy of that race, Karka III, called Kakkala or Amoghavarsha. Vākpatirāja II doubtless helped to accomplish the fall of the Southern Bāthor kingdom. He remained also the enemy of the real destroyer of it, Chālukya Tailapa II of Kalyāna, who entered upon the possession of the inheritance of the Bāthors. Sixteen times, says Merutunga, did Muñja conquer Tailapa before he undertook his final march against him, and therefore scorned him. Although the number may be an exaggeration, and the Paramāra's fortune in war not always favourable, still so much is certain that Vākpatirāja Muñja waged war with Tailapa II for a considerable time. At last he was unsuccessful, suffered a decided defeat, and lost his life in the south. The Prabandhas give Muñja Vākpatirāja's last march in detail. They assert that he undertook it against the advice of his minister Buderatitya, was taken prisoner by

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18 Daśarāpa, p. 2.
19 Daśarāpa, End, and H. H. Wilson, Hindu Theatre, p. xx. (ed. Rost). That given by H. H. Wilson, and in a notice appearing in one of Dr. Hall's MSS. is wanting in the publication; notwithstanding its at first apparently inexplicable character, it is, however, entirely credible. Such historical notices are often left out in the MSS. The extract from the Prakrāttāpamānasu of Kṣemendra, inserted at the end of the first Prakrāta, is, of course, an interpolation. It does not appear in all manuscripts.
20 See above, p. 150, note 6.
21 See above, p. 150.
23 Sapthaśivaśaparikā samvatsaraśicā, janamātirikā, nirvānamāṇyaśivasūgādhyāya pāchamrācakalavāsāt分支 aśitaṁ uttvraṇa bhāsābyāraṇaṁ navasūyaṁ añu II (from the Muñja-prabandhas).
Tailapa, and sometime afterwards, when he made an attempt to escape, was first treated shamefully, and at length hanged on a tree.\textsuperscript{84} The narrative is adorned with so many touching scenes, and so many verses, which the imprisoned king is said to have composed, under different circumstances, that its legendary character is unmistakable. The details are therefore not to be depended on. But that Tailapa II killed Vākapatrīraja-Muṇja is correct, as two Chāluṇya inscriptions mention this famous deed.\textsuperscript{85} Also Rudrāvitya was, as Lassen has remarked, really Vākapatrīraja's minister, as he is mentioned in his Sāsana of 973 A.D. The fact that Vākapatrīraja was killed by Tailapa II makes it possible, with the assistance of a note in a Jaiva work, to fix the time at which his march took place and his reign concluded, within a limited period. Amitagati completed his Subhāshitaratnaśāndaha, Vikrama Sāvat 1050 or 998-94 A.D., during the reign of king Muṇja, and Tailapa II died shortly before or in the Saka year 919, i.e., 997-98 A.D., which is the first year of his successor. Muṇja's death, therefore, occurred in one of the three years 994 to 996.\textsuperscript{86} The beginning of his reign lies before Vikrama Sāvat 1031 or 974 A.D.: the date of his oldest land-grant must not, as has been remarked, be far removed from the same.

Sindhurāja.

According to the accounts of the Prabandhas, bitter enmity existed between Vākapatrīraja-Muṇja and his brother Sindhurāja, to whom they apply the pet-name Sindhula or Sindhala. Sindhurāja had to fly from Mālavā, and lived long as a fugitive "in the town of Kāsahra" in Gujarāt. Later he returned to his home, and was at first received kindly by his brother, but was afterwards blinded by him and confined in a wooden cage. During his imprisonment his son Bhoja was born to him, whom Muṇja, alarmed by the prophecy that he would be his successor, endeavoured to kill. Bhoja, however, was enabled to obtain a reprieve from his executioner and, by a letter, so to change the king's opinion that he chose him as his successor to the throne. After Muṇja's decease, Bhoja was anointed as king.\textsuperscript{87} Padma-gupta's poem completely discredits this narrative, which excludes Sindhurāja from the throne and proves what must also be concluded from Bhoja's land-grant of 1021.22 A.D. that he ruled over Mālavā for sometime. The only grain of truth which the Prabandhas may contain is perhaps that for a time the brothers quarrelled. The condition of things cannot have been serious. As otherwise, Padma-gupta, who had served under Vākapatrīraja, would not have been a favourite of Sindhurāja's. In support of this there is the poet's utterance in verse 98, that Vākapatrīraja "when he departed to the town of the Lord of the Ambikā, laid the earth on Sindhurāja's arm." Taken literally this means, that Vākapatrīraja on his death-bed appointed his brother as his successor. It may perhaps be accepted, therefore, that Sindhurāja, whether immediately before Vākapatrīraja's lateful expedition or still earlier, had attained to the dignity of yuvardā.

\textsuperscript{84} See K. Forbes, Rā Maṭā, pp. 55-53, and Lassen, Ind. Alterthank, III. p. 840. The above accounts are found in Meruṭhāga. Respecting his death it says:—

Tadāna Muṇjaṇa ṣrikesaṁ kasya māraṇavādābhavinga mān mūrayāyukthaḥ | viṣkhaśāhāśāvālayamabhisēt . . .

tadam tathā Muṇjaṇa viṣakhaṁ tachehāvī rājāya ātimākṣpatyāh kriyādaavanaugh māraṇa-nīyam-anam kāmam yāpataḥ

\textsuperscript{85} J. Fleet, Dynasties of the Kauarese Districts, p. 40.

\textsuperscript{86} Dr. E. G. Bhaṭṭācārjuka, Report on the Search for Sasakrit MSS., 1552-3, p. 45, has accepted this chronology. He places the beginning of the Vikrama era, however, in the year 56 B.C., which does not suit for Mālavā, as is clearly shown from the dates in Vākapatrīraja's second land-grant. There, it is said, the gift was made V. S. 1086. Kṛṣṭi-kā-pāraśī, at the time of an eclipse of the moon, which took place on Nov. 6, 979 A.D., while the Sāsana was composed, V. S. 1086, Chaṭṭra bādi 9. The Vikrama year in Mālavā began, according to this, not in Kṛṣṭi-kā-sudī I, but in Chaṭṭra-sudī I, and the calculation went by the northern Purāṇa system; see also Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV, p. 129, and especially note 2.

\textsuperscript{87} See also K. Forbes, Rā Maṭā, p. 54. Forbes identifies Kāsahra with Kāsandra-Pidālā at Ahmedābād.
According to the poem, Sindhrurāja bore the surnames of Kumāranārāyana and Navasahāsanka, "because he undertook hundreds of hazardous enterprises (śāhosa)." Several of these bold deeds are enumerated. A number of princes and peoples, whom Sindhrurāja is said to have conquered, are presented in X. 14—20. Among the names mentioned are a prince of the Hūnas of the same race as he, whom Siyaka waged war, and a prince of the Kosalas. Further is mentioned the subjection of the inhabitants of Vāgada, of the eastern part of the province of Kachchh, of Lāta, middle and southern Gujarāt, and the Muralas, of a people in Southern India, that is perhaps identical with the Keralas, the inhabitants of Malabār. The word of an Indian court-poet, when he speaks of his lord's victories, must not be put in gold scales. Every Indian hero must have made his digvijayayatra, "his march to the conquest of the world," and must have been successful. When the actual facts did not give material enough, poetic fancy was ready to fill up the gaps; though expeditions against the Hūnas, against Vāgada, which belonged to the kingdom of the Chaullukya of Anhilvād, and against Lāta where ruled the dynasty of Bārapa, also conquered by the Chaullukyas, were not at all unlikely. So far as the relation between the Chaullukyas and the Paramāras is concerned, it was always bad. The Jain Prabhataśāsas relate that the cause of the strife was an insult offered to the second Chaullukya King Chāmunda. When the latter had retired from the throne in favour of his son, 1010-11 A. D., he made a pilgrimage to Benares. On his entrance into the country of Malvā, the king caused his parasol and the other signs of his rank to be taken away. He was forced to let the insult pass; on his return, however, he commanded his son to take revenge. Thus began the enmity between Malvā and Gujarāt, which lasted till the destruction of both kingdoms by the Muḥammalans. This narrative sounds rather incredible. Still the long feud between the two states, which brought first one and then the other to the brink of destruction, is an indisputable fact. Its ground probably lay not in a chance occurrence, but in the old race-hatred between the Paramāras and the Chaullukyas or Chālukyas and the necessity of expansion of both neighbouring kingdoms. Thus Padmagupta's report of a certain temporary conquest of Vāgada is quite credible. Also it is quite possible that Sindhrurāja waged a successful war against his neighbour in the south-west, the king of Lāta. Bārapa and his family also belonged to the Chaullukyas and in nearer relationships to Tailapa II. On the other hand, it is difficult to understand how Sindhrurāja could overcome the Muralas, if by these the Keralas are to be understood. If it may be understood, however, that Padmagupta— as often occurs with Sanskrit poets—uses the expression inexact and means some inhabitants of Dravidian India, nothing can be said against his statement. For, from the Viṣṇumākunda vācharita it is certain that the struggle of the Paramāras of Malvā with the Chaullukyas of Kalyāna continued after Muśija's death. It is therefore not at all improbable that Sindhrurāja undertook an expedition to the south. Of the war with Kosala nothing trustworthy can be said. It may only be remarked that the kingdom of Kosala spoken of embraced parts of the Central Provinces of to-day and Berar.

The story from the personal history of Sindhrurāja, which represents the true object of Padmagupta's work, is unfortunately surrounded with so thick a mythological covering that it is impossible, without the help of accounts containing only sober facts, to give particular details with certainty. Those who are familiar with the court poet's method of description and the Indian inclination to change historical events of the most recent past, for purely poetical reasons, into myths will not doubt for a moment that Padmagupta's seemingly fanciful legend rests throughout upon a historical basis. Analogies in other poems are not rare. Take, for example, Bihāna's

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82 See above, p. 155.
84 K. Forbes, Rāg. Mālā, p. 32. Merutunga asserts that the king of Malvā referred to was Muśija. Hemachandra is not guilty of this anachronism in the Devdārāya-kosha; he gives, however, no names.
85 Viṣṇumākunda vācharita, p. 27.
Vikramādityakavadacarita, the god Siva appears regularly when the poet's hero and patron Vikramāditya-Tribhuvanamalla comes into combat with the moral law. The latter's birth also is a gift promised by Siva personally and it is celebrated by showers of blossoms and sound of trumpets. Finally, in the description of Vikramāditya's courtship, his chosen Chandaladevi is never mentioned by her true family name as a Silahara princess, but always called Vidyādharti in conformity with the mythological tradition. Very similar mythological representations are to be found in the parts of the Dvīpravetakosha, which Hemachandra dedicates to his lord and patron Jayasimha Siddharaja, as also in Somesvara's report of the events which caused his yajamana, Viradhavala of Dholka, to found an independent kingdom. To these examples from works of the 11th, 12th and 13th centuries, we may add one from an inscription which belongs at latest to the second century of our era. The Andhra king, Pulumati, asserts in perfect earnest in his great deed of gift, in Nasik care-inscription No. 15, that his father, Gotamiputra Sālakaumī I., won a battle in which "the wind-god, the bird-man Gāruḍa, the Siddhas, Yakshas, Rakshasas, Vidyādharas, Bhūtas and Gandharvas, as also sun, moon, and stars, took part." Besides these analogies, we may add to the above-expressed opinion that here and there perfectly prosaic details appear in Padmapaṇi's poems. For example, when one hears that the town of the demon-prince Varjaunikas lay 50 garudāsī, i.e., about 100 kṣa or 150-200 English miles distant from the Narimāla, one gets the impression that the poet speaks of an actually-known town, not of an imaginary picture of one. As regards the explanation of the story, only one point can be held as certain, namely, that the Nāga-princess Sāśikarī was not a snake-goddess but the daughter of a king or chief from the far-spread race of the Nāga-Kesātrya. The existence of Nāga-kings in Rājputana and Central India is accredited by inscriptions, and their successors must certainly have remained long in these regions. To venture further on this point is not advisable, while we have no assistance from inscriptions. It may, however, still be mentioned that the Maharshi Vaṅku appearing in the narrative corresponds with the geographical name Vaṅku in the Nāgpur-Praśasti, verse 54. Lassen erroneously reads Vaṅkhu, and believes that the river Oxus is meant. The minister Yasobhata-Ramāṅgada is also of course a historical personality.

Although so much in Padmapaṇi's accounts of the history of Sindharaja is dark and indistinct, still it gives us the fact that the latter reigned for some time. Years must have passed after he mounted the throne, before the Navasahasāṅkācharita was written, and the composition of it cannot be placed earlier than the first decade of the 11th century. Hence it is necessary to place the beginning of Bhosa's reign further down than is usually done. Various synchronisms demand this, and lead to the supposition that Bhosa was not a grown man in the lifetime of Muṇija, as he only mounted the throne towards the end of the second decade of the eleventh century. Unfortunately we have only two dates of the time of his reign, that of his land-grant, Vikrama Sānvat 1078, Chaitra sudi 14, which probably corresponds to 30th March 1021, and that of his Karasā of the Rājagriha, Saka Sānvat 954 or 1042-43. At any rate, the legends of the wicked uncle Muṇija, which disfigure Forbes' and Lassen's work, and which, until quite recently, always reappeared, may now be considered abolished.

Of the earlier history of Mālvā, Padmapaṇi merely mentions that the friend of poets, Vikramāditya of Ujjainiya, formerly ruled there. This notice shows at least that the Vikrama legend was developed in Mālvā in the same way as it was narrated in the Jaina Prabandhas of the 13th and 14th centuries.

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89 It is indeed improbable that Bhosa, at the time when Padmapaṇi wrote, had reached manhood. Had he been a Vayuvaria there would not have been wanting a compliment for him.
90 The date in a copy of the Jecalmir MS. is: Soto volatimando . . . . . . II.
THE TRAVELS OF RICHARD BELL (AND JOHN CAMPBELL)
IN THE EAST INDIES, PERSIA, AND PALESTINE.

1654—1670.

BY SIG R. C. TEMPLE.

(Continued from p. 134.)

Appendix to John Campbell's Narrative.

Additional Note on Thomas Pratt.**

Thomas Pratt was not actually in the Company's service, but was employed by the Agent at Hugli as a representative of the English at Dacca. In the Hugli Consultation Book,** under date 5th November, 1663, there is the following entry with regard to Pratt and the expenses he incurred at Dacca:—

A Noate of w^t demanded by Thomas Pratt Pr. Month for his expenses in servants wages diet & his owne salary.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>For 10 peones P^r.</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For 20 pikes [palk] &amp; a mange</td>
<td>34. 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For 4 pikes more</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Cooke Battler flagman</td>
<td>10. 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To my diet</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To a writer</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To 6 Cahars [kãhãr]</td>
<td>12. 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a washerman musselslye</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hollencore [hãlãlkãr]</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To my owne M^o salary</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For extraordinary expenses</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This is y^o Calculation w^h I present to y^r vewe, how you will accept of it knows not, but this much I desire you would take notice of, y^t I will frely give any man 50 Rup^p me more to bare my monthly expences. In w^t nature y^t Dutch live here is not unknown to some Englishmen there, yet their businesse hath not gone better forward in y^o Durbar nor they better respecked hitherto, although their expences hath beene 4 times as much; and likewise pray Consider when any great more [Moor], y^o Dutch, or any Foon of quality come, whether it is a small expence to give them entertainement, for I have here no investments y^t I can eace an Acco: by Charging it upon another but every expence must appear in its owne shape. Yr servant, Thomas Pratt.

Early in 1664, Pratt became embroiled in a quarrel at Dacca. The account of the occurrence was evidently written to Surt, but the reply only is extant, dated 19 May 1664:** — "Wee are Sorry to read y^t Unhappy accident y^t befell Thomas Pratt, hee did very rashly to give the occasion, but when bee was bett fit round wee know not w^t a man may bee provokd to doe, especially w^t his life is engagd, wee are pawad to thinke y^t Nabob may bee reconciled when hee shall take into Consideration the Cruell attempt made upon him by fyreing the house about his Eares." In July of the same year Pratt was still in disgrace, for, in a Consultation at Hugli on the 11th of the Month, we read** that the determination of the 9th June to stop Thomas Pratt's wages of 180 rs. a month was confirmed "until he shall give satisfaction for w^t laid to his charge or that we find thereby that we may lose the Nabobs favour by w^h our Masters business may receive a greater prejudice."
A year later, Pratt was still at Dacca. In July, he wrote to the Agent, Mr. Blake, at Hugli, with regard to the mental state of Mr. Marsh, the Company's servant at Dacca. Pratt declared himself unable to restrain Marsh and desired that someone might be sent to look after him. In September of the same year, the Council at Hugli wrote to the Directors in England, "Thomas Pratt remains at Dacca to prefer our complaints and to endeavour redresses."

The later career and end of Thomas Pratt is given by Manucci and the details have been supplied me by Mr. Irvine. Pratt had been employed by Mir Jumla to build and equip boats for him, but he was suspected by Daud Khan Qureshi, the Governor of Dacca, who sent to seize him. Pratt fired on his would-be captors, and then escaped by his back door to his ship in the river and embarked for Arakan.

Here he intrigued with the King of Arakan and planned an attack on Bengal. Daud Khan sent a letter to Pratt, couched in friendly terms, and arranged that it should fall into the hands of the Arakan King. Suspecting treachery, the King removed Pratt's goods from his ship, bound his crew, and then sent him and his ship to the bottom.

[II. — Narrative of Richard Bell.]

An acco of ye Voyage & Travells of Rich: Pell from Lisbon to Jerusalem & other places in anno 1669.

May 28th. 1669. I tooke boate from Lixa [Lisbon] to goe aboard ye Ship Mary and Martha, Capt. Dyer Bates, Commander, his streth 30 Guns, 50 Saylers, then Rysing in the bay Wagers [Oeiras?] agst. Passe Darkas [Paço d'Arcos].

We Weighd anchor of Tewesday at 4 Clock after none, ye winde faire & a fresh gaile, soe as we arrived at Tangiers ye 31 day, & caiue to anker before ye towns at 4 Clock in the morning.

In Tangiers a little remarkable saue ye Mould [Mole], wth is not in little tymse like to be finished for what wth some years lamber & Great cost was built, is a great part wath downe, & more like [to be] every day, without better artists be impresed. Many good houes are wthin ye walls. It lies on ye side of a hill; wthout ye walls there is a howse and Garden built and planted by Col. Alsop, who then had a ten [tenant] in it, who sold beere, wyne & Sallets. It [is] Calfe White Hull in Africa. We drank ye King of Englands helth in it, & at 4 Clock in ye afternoone went aboard, & ye winde faire, we weighed, Capt. Cod of Yarmoth and a ship of Bristoll in ye Company both bound for Genoa.

In ye way to Messena, ye being ye first port we were to touch at, we past ye Islanels of Maj & Minorca [Majoreca and Minorca], & by ye Islande Sardin [Sardinia], of wth lay becaland 47 sail of French Men warre & Vittellers bound for the reliefe of Candia. In Sardenia is
ye herbo wth if a man eate he dies laffing. On ye day June, we were becalmd amongst ye burninge [Lipari] islands for 2 days. They are called, 1 Strambelo [Stromboli] 2 Vulcan [Vulcano], 3d Vulcanello. We, ye 3r day, had a fresh gale, wth past vs betwixt ye pounts of Silla and Charib}[s], the one On ye Iseland of Scicilia, the other On ye Calabria, ye Popes Contrey. And, in two hours after, Moor'd our ships before Messena, & had prattick in 2 hours after.

This Messena is ye 24 Citty in ye greate Iseland of Sicilia. At ye tyne of vs being there, came 16 Gallies of ye popes & Maltezes, & 8 days after came 14 Gallys of ye French; all weighed, & were for the relefe of Candia.

Messena hath ye fairest mould [Male] of anse place in Xpiadome, and its most of its naturall. The Key, calld ye Marrrene [Marina], is a very faire one, & On it, for near a mile, stately housetes, all vnrorme, facing ye Sea, wth it bounds, so as ye may step of ye Key into a ship of 300 Tuns, there being water to make his swim wth his full Ladeing. Severall faire Castles, Convants, Monasterries & Churches are in it, As also faire Conduits & beautifull streets.

The Mannfacter is silk, ye greatest quantity made wthin 4 or 5 Miles about ye Towne wth I se drawe from ye Cod [Coccio] into skynnes, wth is an art very Curious to understand ye well doing of it.

From Messena wth Mr John Morgan, Mr James Stannier & Capt. Bates, we embarked in a sloop wth we hyred to Carrie vs to ye Citty of Cattania [Catania], 25 Leagues by Sea from Messena.

In our way we see Regio [Reggio, in Italy] ye plat St Paull præschd at, on ye Callabri] a side, & St Paulls pillar erected in memory of him. We past 3 leagues further on ye Calabria cost, wth is ye popes Contrey, well people, & good buildings & fruitfull, the very Moutnous. We after boarded to ye Sicillian coast, where are severall small Castles fronting ye Sea, & see are there on ye Calabria, all to prevent ye landing of ye Turk, wth vex often those pts & steals away ye xplains. Tho Hilly, yet very fruitfull for Ollives & corns.

In ye mornings & Evenings we see troopes of Woman, Girls & boyes descend the hills, wth are very steep, to fetch water, wth they bear on their heads in earthen pitchers from ye springs at ye foots of ye steepes hills; their habbit very mean.

Arrivinge at Cattania, ye 24 Citty of Scicilia, we viewd the towne, left almost empty of inhabitants by reason of ye Bruption of Mount Etma [als Mongebell [alias Monte Bello]], wth Sharrirs or Mettell [Sicilia or lava] wth is vommitta as a streame from a river in many Channells, hath run downe ye wall of ye Citty in severall places, & run downe about 20 dwelling housetes in ye Citty, 4 or 5 churches, 2 & 3 Monasterries and Nunnaries; & surrounded the Citty on 3 parts & a large Castles wth out ye walls, raisings it seies in some places about ye Surface of ye earth 10, 20, & 30 yds high; ye breach in some places 7 Engli miles at Cattania (wth lies on ye Sea 2 Miles), & its Channells when I [was] thers led into ye sea 2 Miles.

77 The author is apparently referring to the Cannabis sativa, hemp plant, which Campbell would know in India as Bhang.
78 Postique — Permission granted to a ship to enter a port.
79 Candia was besiged by the Turks in 1667, and, after a most heroic defence by the Venetians, who lost 30,000 killed and wounded, was forced to surrender in 1716.
80 Pelarca, a small vessel, used chiefly in the Mediterranean for coasting voyages.
81 Compare Lithgow, Painful Perseverations, p. 358, "Etna, called now Monte Bello or Gibello, signifying a faire Moutnayne." The eruption of Etna in 1799 is the most violent on record. Twenty thousand persons are said to have perished.
 breadth & then had fild vp ye châ [channel] in 6 & 7 fathom water, & raised it selle in some places 5 & 6 fathom abowe ye surface ye water ; Makinge ye Sea see both in ye depth as I could not suffer my hand in it.

We lyed hores & 6 soldiers to gard vs, for its a dangerous Centrey for anie to travell in, to Conduct vs to ye foot of Mongebell, wherese this erupcion was, it being 14 Miles from Cattania, and we went all the way alonge the Mettle [lava] it had throwne out. Att ye foot of this Hill, a little abowe ye vent, is 2 hills a quarter of a Mile in hight, all Ashes throwne vp by Mongebell since ye Erupcion. It was see terrable to looke in at ye vent or hole wth first this Methl past out at, as I trembled to see it & durst not stay. Its 20 yds longe and 10 yds broad, all of such a flauie as cannot be greater Imagined. Its 10 or 15 yds lower then ye surface of ye earth formerly it had run over.

In or way to it we rid over topps hovese & trees & townes & ways not formerly passable, but now levelled wth ye abondance of Ashes wth Mongebell commits Out ; for 15 & 20 Miles it hath done this.

The people, in seeral townes wth were Coverd, were gettinge out therie household stuff, & in seall vineyars bereing therie vines, wth they told vs wond ye next years beare ye better for it, for it enriches therie land much & makes ye barren ground fruitfull.

In Cattania & seeral other towns were written Over therie Doores Santa Agathia [Agatha] et Santa Mara [Maria] fogo [lava] noli me tangere;32 ye people had left therie howses. The Metle it runs is of 2 sorts, wth I haue, & alsoe a paper full of the Ashes.

After 3 days we imbarqued for Messena, in wth Scity I lodged at the hovse of Mr. Parker Marchant & by him Mr. Wilkinson, Mr. Morgan & Mr. Hill, Mr Stannier & Mr. Mendo (all Engl.), was kindly treated.

The Day of June vs weighed Anchor for Scanderroone33 in Turkey, ye wind faire, and sailed by ye west end of Candia, under wth land lay 10 saile of Turks men warr belonging to Argier [Algiers], wth had been in ye Service of ye grand Seniors ag Candia, And gane vs chase from 10 in ye Morning till 7 at night, at wth lower we could not avoid speakenge wth them. They Commanded vs hoysse out of boates. Or Capt possessively told them he would not. We were all in redesse, or yards slunge, and everyman to his quarters, resolved to die or sinke by them. They Chased vs wth french Cullers [colours], but when they haled vs, put out therie Swallooe tailes.

When they see we would not hoysse out of boates, therie Admiral hoysed out his & sent his Leave tenant aboard to Comand or Capt [command our captain] aboard him, but Capt Bates would not, nor anie other in ye ship. At last we judged it fit to send [some one] & all refusing, I34 went. Many questions he asked by ye runnagado English,35 but I answered as I thought good. At last it hapned soo well that insteale of beinge in ye bottom of ye sea, or Carring water in Argwer,36 the one of wth we so noe way to avoyd, all ye 10 sayle beinge Come vp, we got Cleere, & arrived saife at Silen37 in Cypresse.

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32 The author has mixed up Latin and Italian in his quotation.
33 Scanderroone, or Alexandretta, the port of Aleppo.
34 Apparently, Richard Bell.
35 The writer evidently means that the Turkish ships had on board renegade Englishmen in their service.
36 i.e., made to work as slaves in Algiers.
Being becalmed, lay there one day, in whose time came vp to vs Capt. Morrisse Commandr of ye Frangience from Scanderbourn bound for Sr. John De Agra, with 3 passengers One Mr. Stravenf [Francis] Hemsworth, One Mr. . . . Blunt, Mr. Sa. Godscall, all 3 intending for Jerusalem. I then left Capt. Bates and embarked in Capt. Morrisse, it being ye 26 day of June 1669.

We arrived at Sr. Jno. De Agra ye 29 June, & were received at the Chamber of Senor Antonio De Antonio Consull of ye place in ye Cane [khan, Sarai], & met there Mr. Hunt & Senor Francesco Consull, formerly at Tripolice. [Tripoli] a Jennerous [generous] chieftain. There was also Captain Midleton Comrd. of ye Margaret, who had a bannerette given him by ye Padre Guardian of Jerusalem, who entertained vs respectfully aboard.

30th of June, we hyred horses & a Janassary & 2 Arrabbs to ride vs for Nazareth. We got to it that night at 12 Clock, and were received at ye Convent, with Consists of 5 Franciskians, 1 The padre guardias, 2 Joseph, 3 Petro, 4 Nicolo, 5 Martene,90 Padre Nicolo accompanied vs in all or Journey to tyberious [Tiberias] & Mount Tabor with ye Janassery & 3 Arrabbs.

At Nazareth, we see ye house of ye Virgin Mary on whose house seems to have been built a spacious Church, by Queene Helena ye Mother of Constantine ye Emperor.91 2d the place where ye Engell appeared to her at prayer; in the same place now is a Chappell under ground, 3 the fountain of ye Peeter; 4 the Senagog of ye Jews; 5 the stone on whose Savior and his Apostles used to eat; 6 ye house of Joseph.92 Noe thing else in Nazareth observable, Sause they make in it about Two pounds and a half of Silk in it in Twelve months.

Betwixt Cane & The Blessed mount is a valley about 5 Engl miles in length & 2 in breadth, in whose valley it was ye desiples plucked the ears of corn. Its very rich earth, but for want of tillers only tillers grow, & as thick as a man On horseback.

July 1st 1669. We parted from Nazareth for the sea of Tyberious. On the way, about 3 Miles from Nazareth, stands ye ruins of ye Metropolis of Gallile, formerly called Cane, Where we drink out of ye same fountain out of whose Cane ye water was made wine at ye Wedding by o' Savior. Alsoe ye ruins of ye house was showne vs in whose Merrackle was don.

Seaven Miles from Cane is ye Mount of blessings, On ye top of whose seems to have been a chappell built in Remembrance of o' Savior's sermon93 & ye Merrackle of ye 5 loaves & 2 fishes, whose multitude at ye bottom of ye hill 2 miles from ye top. 3 miles further is the sea of Gallile, & in ye way my horses fell & brused my knee. This sea bears 3 severall Names from the 3 severall Contrays border on it, viz 1, ye Sea of Gallile; 2, ye Lake of Genazareth; 3, ye Sea of Tyberious. The Sea of Gallile, for ye it borders on it, the Lake of Genazareth, for ye Genazareth borders On ye east of it, downe whose hill ran ye herd of Swine; The Sea of Tyberious, from the Citty Tyberious, whose stands on ye west side of it. On ye east is ye Desert of Arrabia.

88 s. e. a Bannerette, a small silk banner.
89 Compare Maundrell, A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem at Easter, 1697, ed. 120, p. 151, "Nazareth . . . At this place are as it were immured, seven or eight Latin fathers, who live a life truly mortified, being perpetually in fear of the Arabs, who are absolute lords of the country." Compare also Chiswell, Journey to Jerusalem, in 1597, Add. MS. 18623, "16th April . . . Nazareth . . . The Convent here is a small and very mean Building, and the Poor Fathers who are six or seven in Number, lead a Life truly mortified being frequently molested and constantly in fear of the Arabs who take from them what they please, and abuse them besides — also their Lodgings were so nasty and full of Virmins, their Victuals so Ordinary, and Wine sover, that Our stay here was Very uneasy."
90 See Maundrell, Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem, p. 151.
91 See Pococke, Travels in the East, p. 455.
92 See Maundrell, Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem, p. 132.
THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY.

[June, 1907.

The Citty Saffat [Saphet] is seen from Tyberious, it being on a hill shewes it selfe very plain, tho 20 Miles of the Hill under it is Damascus is also plainly seen from thence, tho' it be esteemed 50 Eng. miles or 2 days journe.

In ye Citty Tyberious, with is 3 parts incomptent [encompassed] with a wall slight but shows new, ye 4th with ye sea, in all its compass about an Eng. Mile and hath Only One little gate in with ye enter. In this Citty is a Church called ye Church of St. Peter, some part standing as of Old, but vsed Only for Cattle to shelter themselves from ye Sun in the heate of the day. In this Citty is of all Ages & Sexes about ye number of 50 persons but not a house within ye walls of ye City, Only ruins in ye walls of which they live & dwell. The people speak Arrebb, there inhabit wild & poore like ye Contrey about them, with affords nothing worth mentiong, not ye the soyle is not good, but the people Idle. We had for ye food while we staid a night & a day, Milk, Cake & Honney.

In former tymne, 25 years since, was a boate on ye Sea of Tyberious, with belonged to some Jews with privileg to fish, paying 50 Dollars yearly to ye Bashaw of Saphet, with boate tooke fish & furnished all ye Contrey round about; but the Bashaw raised it to 200 Dolls, soe ye boate was taken away & it never fish'd in since to this day. We see abundance of fish play near ye shore, for some part of ye ruins of a great house runs into ye water 20 yds.

A quarter of a Mile without ye now wall of Tyberious is a natural hot bath, soe hot I could not goe into it till moderated with Cold water; its within a stones cast of ye Sea of Tyberious, under a great hill, & It seems as if the Old Citty wall had Compast it, by ye ruins of many buildings & an old wall runs beyond it.

24 July 1669. Wee parted from the Citty Tyberious to Nazareth. In ye way wee vewed two Caines [Khāns] or Castles, places in that rude contrey for Marchts, to lodge themselves, Goods & Cammells, in safe from Robbers. The farer is callne Inooh Nu tow Jar [Al-lukandatu't-tujjār], this is within a days Journey of the place where Josephs Brethren sold him to ye Ismailies. This Caine hath its name from a fountain where it stands.

A mile beyond this, at ye foote of Mount Tabor, we kill a yong bear, & rested it & eat it. On ye top of Mount Tabor. On ye very top of this Mount is ye ruins of 3 Churches, in one of which are seen ye 3 tabernacles Queenel Hellin built in memory of ye savio's transfiguration. From the top of this Mount is two miles high, in or assembled, 1st Ender, where K. Saul went to ye witch, 2nd, the plains of Jerahl; 3rd, Mount horne, 4th, the place where ye widdowes son was carried to buriall [Nain] & raised to life; 6th Mount Gilboa; 7th, the sea of Jordan; 8th, the sea of Gallile; And at ye bottom of this hill is ye plaine where Cissara was discomfeted [the plain of Edraelon] & ye place where ye blood of ye slaine ran into ye sea of Gallile; 9th, ye Middeterranian sea. At ye west end of this Mountaine is ye village of Deborah, & a Church, in which ye 9 Appostles rested when ye savio went vp the mount with ye other 3.

30 July. Wee departed from Nazareth at 11 Clock at night, & ye 4 July we, at 5 in ye morninge arrived at St. Jn de Acrea. The Charge of this Journey Cost each man 13 Lyon Dollers besides his gifts.

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48 The inn of the merchants: the Commercial Inn.
47 See Maundrell, A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem, p. 156.
58 See Pococke, Travels in the East, p. 435.
59 A Dutch coin bearing the figure of a lion.
5th July 1669. About 7 Clock at night we imbarqued in a feluke we hyred for Joppa, where we arrived the 6 day at 3 Clock in ye afternoone. In ye way we see Cesaria Phillippi, but durst not go ashore for ye Arrabbes wth are there & take Cophetua 3 Dollars or man.

In Joppa is a ruined castle & Symon the tanners howse, now a place where wyne is sold. Theirs a great trade there, it beeing the port for Jerusalem. Much Cake sop, silladose & Cotton Lynnen wth & blew is sold there Cheap.

7th July 1669. We departed from Joppa to Ramah in ye Phillistines Contrey, wth is 10 Miles from Joppa, & all ye way throw a great plains & fertile Contrey. In ye way was 100 tents of Arrabbes together wth their families, Cattle & Cammells. When they have eaten that part bare, they remove further in to fresh pasture.

We arrived at Ramah at 9 in ye morning, & at 10 Clock at night we mounted hors for Jerusalem. In Ramah is much tobacco planted, & it is a great town, & hath faire Moskeys in it. Theirs a convent wth does receive all Siracks wth belong to Jerusalem, where we arrived the 8th July 1669 at 7 Clock in the Morning, spending that day in the Ceremonies of the Convent, Calf Lyon Convent. The Padrey Guardian washing of fonts, & after wth Candles in ye hands, went in procession about ye howse & church in it, where we ended ye day wth devotion. Our entrance was at ye gate cald ye gate of Damascus. We were receed by ye Dragoman [Dragoman] & ye Caddies [cadi, qadi] officer; the former conducted vs to ye Convent, wth is where was ye howse of St John ye Evangelist.

9th Being fryday, in the morning we were accompanied out Towne wth fratre Thomas throw ye gate of Bethlehem. On ye west side wth ye town is a small castle built by ye Pisans in wth is a guard of Turks soldiers. Passing southward, near ye City wall, is ye Valley of Gibeon, & in ye Midle thereof, there seems to have been a pool, wth is said to be that where Barseba [Bathsheba] was seen by David bathing his selve, & dwelt by it, being vnder & near Mount Zion, where was ye palis of king David & Oser looks ye Pool. A little further is the potters feild bought wth ye 30 p's silver Judas returned. On wth small pece ground is a building levels it wth adjoyning rock. At ye top of wth rock are 3 holes, throw wth are let down the bodies of ye dead into a vault about 20 yds deep, wth earth is of such nature, it consumes the flesh in 24 howers after put in.

(To be continued.)

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100 Khaʃaʁa, a premium for defence, a tax for safe passage. Compare Maundrell, *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem*, p. 4, "Caphars are certain duties which travellers are obliged to pay at several passes upon the road, to officers who attend in their appointed stations to receive them."


2 Mr. Ferguson suggests that this word may be the Spanish *follaciar*, an ancient kind of trousers, very baggy, and that possibly the kind worn by Arabs is intended. On the other hand, "folladze," may be the Turkish *ferje", a cloak worn out of doors by women.


* Compare Pococke, *Travels in the East*, p. 414, "it is the office of one of the lay-brothers to take care of them [European pilgrims] ... the lay-brother ... goes always out with them."

* Compare Pococke, *Travels in the East*, p. 412, "The castle, which is now called the tower of David ... is said to have been built by the Pisans in the time of the holy war." See also Maundrell, *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem*, p. 35.

* Compare Maundrell, *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem*, p. 133.

* Compare Maundrell, *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem*, p. 133, "One moiety of it [the Potters Field] is taken up by a square fabric twelve yards high, built for a charnel house. The corpses are let down into it from the top, there being five holes left open for that purpose. Looking down through these holes, we could see many bodies under several degrees of decay; from which it may be conjectured, that this grave does not make that quick dispatch with the corpses committed to it which is commonly reported. See also Pococke, *Travels in the East*, p. 424."
BOOK-NOTICE.

In the Introduction, besides the necessary particulars concerning the manuscript, Pater Schmidt gives an abstract of its contents and a summary of the information available about other Mon MSS. at present known to exist. Porchhammer in 1880 made a list of 53 Mon MSS. which are said to be now in the Bernhard Free Library in Rangoon, and besides these there are a few catalogued in European collections. Owing to the Mon character being practically the same as the Burmese, these last have usually been classed as belonging to that language, — scholars in Mon being so rare in the West, that apparently no one has yet been found capable of reading them. Now that attention has been drawn to the fact, it is possible that other works in the same language may be found in European libraries, similarly hidden under a Burmese classification.

While we can most heartily congratulate Pater Schmidt on being privileged to introduce Mon literature so successfully to British students, it is not easy to repress a feeling of patriotic envy that the first serious attempt at dealing with an important Oriental language, spoken by nearly 175,000 British subjects, should have appeared in Vienna, and not in London or Rangoon. One resource there is, and I hope it will be soon adopted. This is to translate Pater Schmidt’s excellent work as quickly as possible so that it may become accessible to scholars in India who are not acquainted with the German language.

GEORGE A. GRIEBERG.

Readers of The Indian Antiquary, who interest themselves in Iranian studies, will be glad to learn that Professor Bartholomae has issued a supplement to his monumental Althiranisches Wörterbuch which appeared in 1904. It appears under the title of Zum althiranischen Wörterbuch Nacharbeiten und Vorarbeiten, and is published at Strasbourg by Karl J. Trübner.

The book, which contains about three hundred pages, includes not only additions and corrections to the main work, but also replies to criticisms and a special excursus of 68 pages devoted to a consideration of the vowels and vowel signs in the Iranian manuscripts lately discovered in Turfan.

It is hardly necessary to say that the importance of the subjects dealt with, and the eminence of the writer, render the book indispensable to all students of Old Iranian literature.
A PLAN FOR A UNIFORM SCIENTIFIC RECORD OF THE LANGUAGES OF SAVAGES.

Applied to the Languages of the Andamanese and Nicobarese.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE.

Preface.

SOME years ago, I published ante, Vol. XXVIII. (1900), pp. 197 ff., 225 ff., a Theory of Universal Grammar as applied to a Group of Savage Languages, and in Vol. XXXI. (1902), pp. 165 ff., this theory was successfully applied by Mr. Sydney Ray for the elucidation of a short statement in sixteen unrelated and morphologically distinct languages. While compiling Vol. III. of the Report on the Census of India, 1901, Andaman and Nicobar Islands, I had an opportunity of applying it in detail to the languages of the inhabitants of those islands. In 1904 I had another opportunity of revising the Theory in a lecture to the British Association at Cambridge. I now publish the Theory as revised on that occasion, and its application to systematic grammars of the languages of the Andamanese and the Nicobarese. In this matter I have had the advantage of the assistance of Mr. E. H. Man, the greatest expert on the subject.

The following abstract of the ideas elaborated in the succeeding pages may be of use to the reader.

During the last 30 years the careful record of "savage" languages has been frequently undertaken, and a serious difficulty has arisen, owing to the accepted European system of grammar, which is based on a system originally evolved for the explanation of highly inflected languages only, whereas in many, if not in most, "savage" languages, inflection is absent or present only in a rudimentary form. The European system has therefore been found to be unsuited for that purpose. During attempts to provide a suitable system a Theory of Universal Grammar was evolved.

The root idea is that, as speech is a convention devised by the human brain for intercommunication between human beings, there must be fundamental natural laws by which it is governed, however various the phenomena of those laws may be.

The Theory starts with a consideration of the sentence, i.e., the expression of a complete meaning, as the unit of all speech, and then seeks to discover the natural laws of speech by a consideration of the internal and external development of the sentence.

In explaining internal development, the sentence is ultimately divided into words, considered as components of its natural main divisions, in the light of their respective functions. This leads logically to a clear definition of grammatical terms.

From the consideration of the functions of words the Theory passes to that of the methods by which they are made to fulfill their functions. It shows how words can be divided into classes according to function and explains their transfer from class to class. This leads to an explanation of connected words and shows how the forms of words grow out of their functions. The growth of the forms is next considered, involving an explanation of roots, stems, and radical and functional affixes. This explanation shows that the affixes determine the forms of words. This is followed by a consideration of the methods by which the affixes affect the forms.

The sentence, i.e., the unit of speech, is then considered as being itself a component of something greater, i.e., of a language. This consideration of its external development leads to the
explanation of syntactical and formative languages, the two great divisions into which all languages naturally fall, i.e., those which depend on the position of the words, and those which depend on the forms of the words in a sentence, to express complete meaning.

Syntactical languages are then shown to divide themselves into analytical, or those which depend for comprehension mainly on the position of the words, and into tonic, or those which combine tone with position for the same purpose. So also formative languages are shown to divide themselves into agglutinative and synthetic, according as the affixes are attached without or with alteration. Formative languages are further divided into premutative, intramutative or postmutative, according to the position of the affixes.

The Theory further explains that, owing to a fundamental Law of Nature, no language can have ever been left to develop itself alone, and how this leads to the phenomenon of connected languages and thus to groups and families of languages. It also explains how, again according to a Law of Nature, no language has ever developed in one direction only or without subjection to outside influences, leading to the natural explanations of the genius, or peculiar constitution, that each language possesses.

It is believed that every language must conform to some part or other of the Theory and it can be shown that children and untutored adults in learning a language act on the instinctive assumption of the existence of such a Theory. Assuming the Theory to exist and to be correctly stated, it is of great practical importance as leading to the quick, accurate and thorough, because natural, acquirement of a new language.

In brief, the Theory is based on the one phenomenon which must of necessity be constant in every variety of speech, viz., the expression of a complete meaning or technically the sentence. Words are then described as components of the sentence, firstly as to the functions performed by them and next as to the means whereby they fulfil their functions. Lastly, languages are considered according to their methods of composing sentences and words.

Phonology and orthography, i.e., pronunciation, spelling, and alphabets, are not considered, as these belong to other branches of the development of the human mind.

I.
The Theory of Universal Grammar.

(a) The Theory.

The existing European system of Grammar is an old growth based on ancient Greek and Latin Grammars, which embodied the results of a system originally evolved for recording the observed laws of highly synthetic or inflected languages. It is naturally engrained in all European scholars. The objection to it for general use and to my mind the overwhelming objection, is that it is in essentials unsuited to a very large number of languages, which are not synthetic or inflected, or at any rate have synthesis or inflection present only in a rudimentary form. It is entirely unsuited, for instance, for recording English, and in order to use it for that purpose, terms suitable for describing Greek and Latin have to be forced to new and unsuitable uses.

As regards the civilised and deeply studied languages, scholars and students have naturally become so imbued with the ancient system, that it is hardly to be expected that they can be induced to adopt any new or radically different system, and it is not now proposed to appeal to them to change that which is so well established. It is rather sought to find a way of recording on a uniform system the languages of savages nowadays so frequently reported, and, owing to the lack of a suitable and settled method, much too often on a haphazard plan, to the detriment of their successful handling.
Thirty years ago this subject was forcibly brought to the present author's notice when trying to represent, with Mr. E. H. Man, the purely "savage" language of the Andaman Islanders, in which work the active and very competent assistance of the late Mr. A. J. Ellis, F. R. S., President of the Philological Society, was secured. Some years later Mr. Ellis, finding the accepted grammatical terms so little suited to the adequate representation of savage speech for scientific readers, stated in his Annual Presidential Address to that Society for 1882, that: "we require new terms and an entirely new set of grammatical conceptions, which shall not bend an agglutinative language to our inflexional translation." In 1883 he started the author on the present enquiry, and asked if it were not possible "to throw over the inflexional treatment of an uninflated language." Ever since then, as opportunity offered, the enquiry has been taken up and has resulted in the evolution of a Theory of Universal Grammar, which is of necessity a plan for the uniform scientific record of all languages, though, for the reason already stated, it is now sought to limit its application to "savage" languages only.

The Theory was applied in part in Portman's Comparative Grammar of the South Andaman Languages in 1898 and again in an article on the same languages by the present author in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1899, and elaborately and fully in his Census Report of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands for 1901, in which the languages of both groups of islands were discussed and explained in full Grammars. The Andamanese Languages are agglutinative and represent the speech of savages of very limited mental development: the Nicobarese Languages are a highly developed analytical form of speech, like English. In both, inflection is only present in a secondary and rudimentary form, as in English. The Theory was also applied in outline by Mr. Sydney Ray in the Indian Antiquary for 1902 to sixteen selected languages of every type—synthetic, agglutinative, analytical, syntactical (monosyllabic)—from the most highly civilised and developed to those of the most primitive savages. In the opinion of these writers, the theory succeeds in describing on a uniform plan every language to which it has been applied, as indeed it must succeed in doing, if it be a correct theory.

The very great importance to anthropologists and observers of savage tribes and peoples unknown to Europeans of a uniform scientific system in this matter is so obvious, that no excuse is made for bringing it once more before the readers of this Journal.

The root idea of the Theory is, that as speech is a convention devised by the human brain for intercommunication between human beings, there must be some fundamental natural laws by which it is governed, however various the phenomena of those laws may be. The business of the Grammarians is to discover and report the laws. These considerations form the basis of the Theory of Universal Grammar, the practical application of which at the present day must, on account of long formed habits, be limited to a Plan for Uniformly Recording the Languages of Savages.

In building up a Theory of Universal Grammar, it is necessary, in order to work out the argument logically, to commence where the accepted Grammars end, viz., at the sentence, defining the sentence as the expression of a complete meaning, and making that the unit of language. This is the fundamental argument. Nothing is an intelligible communication, unless it is complete enough to be understood. It is by observation of the internal and external development of the sentence or complete meaning that the natural laws of speech will be discovered.

A sentence may, clearly, consist of one or more expressions of a meaning or "words," defined as single expressions of a meaning. The difference between a word and a sentence may be shown thus: "go" is a sentence, as it says all that is necessary; but "cow" is merely a word, because something must be said about the cow before the communication is complete.

A sentence can also consist of two separate parts—the subject, i. e., the matter to be discussed or communicated, and the predicate, i. e., the discussion or communication. Thus,
"the badly hurt cow" would be the subject and "died suddenly yesterday" would be the predicate of a sentence.

And when the subject or predicate consists of many words, it must contain principal and additional words. In the sentence already quoted, the words "cow" and "died" are the principal words, and the rest are additional.

This leads to the argument that the components of a sentence are words, placed either in the subjective or predicative parts of it, having a relation to each other in that part of principal and subordinate. Therefore, because of such relation, words fulfil functions. The functions then of the principal words must be to indicate the subject or predicate, and of the subordinate words in the predicative part of the sentence to illustrate the predicate, and in the subjective part to explain the subject or to illustrate that explanation. Thus, in the sentence already discussed, the functions of each word are quite clear. "Cow" indicates the subject and "died" the predicate. "The" and "hurt" explain the sort and condition of the cow, i.e., of the subject. "Badly" illustrates the explanation of the subject by stating how much the cow was hurt. "Suddenly" and "yesterday" illustrate the predicate by stating how and when the cow died.

Again, as the predicate is the discussion or communication on the subject, it is capable of extension or completion by complementary words, which form part of a sentence recognised in the Grammars as "the object." Thus, in "the policeman found the dead man," the communication made in the predicate "found" is completed by the complementary words "the dead man," which form the complement or object.

These observations complete the first stage of the argument leading to a direct and simple definition of grammatical terms. But speech obviously does not stop here, because mankind speaks with a purpose, and the function of his sentences is to indicate that purpose, which must be one of the five following in any specified sentence: (1) affirmation, (2) denial, (3) interrogation, (4) exhortation, (5) information. Now, purpose can only be indicated in a sentence by the position, as in English, or by the tones, as in Chinese, of its components; or by variation of their forms, as in Latin; or by the addition of special introductory words, as in most languages. Also it is obvious that when purposes are connected, they can be indicated by connected sentences, and that these sentences must be in the relation of principal and subordinate. This relation can only be expressed by the position of the sentences themselves, as in English; by variation of the forms of their components, as in Tamil, Turkish, and many other languages; or by the addition of special words of reference. In English, subordinate sentences usually follow the principal. When they do not, this rule is recognised by saying that the statement is inverted. The use of special words of reference is shown in such a statement as "I am certain John died on Sunday, because Mary told me so," where "because" is specially added to the subordinate sentence to connect it with the principal sentence.

A word of reference must act in one of two ways, either by merely joining sentences, or by substituting itself in the subordinate sentence for the word in the principal sentence to which it refers. In "I caught the man who ran away," the word of reference "who" connects the subordinate with the principal sentence. "John ran away. He had killed his mother." Here are two connected sentences, the subordinate following the principal and connected with it by the words "he" and "his," substituted for "John." in the principal sentence to which they refer.

Further, as there is a necessary interrelation between the words in a sentence, this can only be expressed by the addition of special connecting words, or by variation or correlated variation of form. In "the story about John was told me yesterday," the intimate relation between "story" and "John" is expressed by the connecting word "about." In "descensus Averni," inflexion of one of two intimately related words is used for the same purpose, just as in English the special
connecting word "into" would be used in such a corresponding expression as "descent into Hell." Agreement or concord between adjective and noun, or verb and noun, in the inflected languages has exactly the same object. In the Persian "ism-i-sharif" (noble name), the relation between noun and adjective is expressed by the connecting word "i."

These considerations complete what may be called the second stage of the argument leading to clear definitions of grammatical terms. The argument thereafter becomes more complicated, taking us into the explanation of elliptical, i.e., incompletely expressed, forms of speech, and into those expansions of sentences known as phrases, clauses and periods. But, to keep our minds fixed only on that part of it which leads to plain grammatical definitions, it may be stated now that functionally a word must be, inventing new terms for the purpose, one of the following:—

(1) An integer, or a sentence in itself (imperatives, interjections, pronouns, numerals).
(2) An indicator, or indicative of the subject or complement (object) of a sentence (nouns).
(3) An explicator, or explanatory of its subject or complement (adjective).
(4) A predicator, or indicative of its predicate (verbs).
(5) An illustrator, or illustrative of its predicate or complement, or of the explanation of its subject or complement (adverb, adjective).
(6) A connector, or explanatory of the interrelation of its components (or words, conjunctions, prepositions).
(7) An introducer, or explanatory of its purpose (conjunctions, adverbs).
(8) A referent conjunctor, or explanatory of the interrelation of connected sentences by joining them (pronouns, conjunctions).
(9) A referent substitute, or explanatory of the interrelation of connected sentences by substitution of itself in the subordinate sentence for the word in the principal sentence to which it refers (relative pronouns, conjunctions).

These then are the terms it is proposed to use in the explanation of the functions of words, and the arguments out of which they grow. Of course, grammarians will know that all this is syntax, and it must now be explained why the Theory makes it necessary to consider it far more important to study function than form or tone, as essential to the correct apprehension of the nature of words, and that accidence arises properly out of syntax and not the other way round, as so many of us have been taught.

It is obvious that any given word may fulfill one or more or all the functions of words, and that therefore words may be collected into as many classes as there are functions, any individual word being transferable from one class to another and belonging to as many classes as there are functions which it can fulfill. This is to say, that words are divisible into classes according to function as just explained, and that the same word can belong to more than one class, as it does constantly in English. Thus, "the tiger returns to his kill," "Shall we kill the horse?" "Shall we cross at the bridge higher up, or shall we bridge the river here at once?" And so on ad infinitum. In the above examples the same word has been transferred from the indicator (noun) class to the predicator (verb) class. And the same words in English and many other tongues are constantly nouns, adjectives, verbs or adverbs, simply according to the function they happen to perform for the time being.

The function a word fulfills in any particular sentence can be indicated by its position therein, without and with variation of form, as in English and Latin respectively; or by its
tone, as in Chinese. And because of this, the form or tone which a word can be made to assume is capable of indicating the class to which it belongs for the nonce. In Chinese the same word can become a noun or verb and so on merely by the tone used in uttering it: tone being to Chinese what inflexion is to Latin. So the Latin stem *domin-* by changing its form does all sorts of things and belongs to all sorts of classes. As *domin*-us it is an indicator (noun): as *domin-*or it is a predicative (verb): as *domin-*ans it is an explicator (adjective): as *domin-*i it may be a subordinate noun showing its intimate relation to some other word or it may be simply a noun according to context: as *domin-*o it is, again according to context, an illustrator (adverb) of a verb or a complementary indicator, i.e., a noun governed by a verb, as we have all been taught to say: as *domin-*um it is always a complementary indicator: and so on.

It is further obvious that words transferable from class to class belong primarily to a certain class and secondarily to the others, that a transfer involves the fulfilment of a new function, and that a word in its transferred condition becomes a new word connected with the form fulfilling the primary function, the relation between the forms or tones, i.e., the words so connected, being that of parent and offshoot. Form and tone therefore can indicate the class to which a parent word and its offshoots respectively belong. In English it is not usually difficult to detect primary and secondary function, or parent and offshoot words. Thus, in the case of “bridge” the noun and “bridge” the verb: of “kill” the verb and “*kill*” the noun, or in the case of “*kill*” and “*killer*.” In the inflected languages it is never easy, as all the observable forms are probably connected secondary forms of some older lost word. It is not easy to say offhand what should be affixed to *domin-* as the form of its primary function. But the principle of the application of every existing inflected form is precisely that above explained.

It is by the above induction that one is led to the argument that form grows out of function, or, to put it in a familiar way, accidence grows out of syntax, because when connected words differ in form they must consist of a principal part or stem, and an additional part or functional affix. The function of the stem is to indicate the meaning of the word, and the function of the functional affix to modify that meaning with reference to the function of the word. This modification can be expressed by indicating the class to which the word belongs, or by indicating its relation or correlation to the other words in the sentence. All this is illustrated in the words just quoted. The meaning of those connected words lies in the stem *domin-* and this meaning is modified, and the function in the sentence and relation to its other words of each individual is determined, by affixing *us,* *or,* *ans,* *i,* *o,* *um* and so on.

But the stem itself may consist of an original meaning and thus be a simple stem, or it may contain a modification of an original meaning and so be a compound stem. A compound stem must consist of a principal part or root and additional parts or radical affixes, the function of the root being to indicate the original meaning of the stem, and of the radical affixes to indicate the modifications by which the meaning of the root has been changed into the meaning of the stem. As simple examples may be instanced, the modern English words “form” and “information,” of which the former is a simple stem and the latter a compound stem, built up of the root “form” and the radical affixes “in” and “at” and the functional affix “ion.” So too the stem *domin-* already mentioned is a compound stem with root *dom,* having the sense of “(to be) set,” modified into the sense of “mastery” by a radical affix, which has there the form of *in*.

Further, since words fulfil functions and belong to classes, they must possess inherent qualities, which can be indicated by qualitative affixes and by tones. There are many English words, whose modern forms are however chiefly old decayed inflectional forms, which can illustrate
this point. Thus, "bury" is always a verb: so too are "believe," "give," and so on. So also by form *dominari* would always be a verb, and *dominus* a noun.

Thus it is that affixes determine the forms of words, bringing into existence what is usually called etymology or derivation. They are attachable, separably or inseparably, to roots and stems and words by the well-recognised methods of prefixing, infixing and suffixing, either in their full or in a varied form. It is the method of attaching them by variation of form that brings about inflexion in all its variety of kind. This is an important point. Affixes are additions to roots or stems. Those to roots are both prefixed and suffixed in most languages and are sometimes fixed into the roots, dividing them into parts, as in Arabic with much inflexion, and more plainly in Nicobarese: e.g., in the latter case *pa-hoa*, to fear; *pa-ma-hoa*, a coward; *d-ak*, to come; *d-am-ak*, a guest. Prefixed affixes to show function are the rule in the South African Languages, infixed affixes in Arabic, suffixed affixes in the European inflected languages.

Such is the line inductive argument naturally takes in order to work out the grammar of any given language or group of languages logically, starting from the base argument that speech is a mode of communication between man and man through the ear by talking, through the eyes by signs, or through the skin by touch, and taking a language to be a variety or special mode of speech. The grammar, *i.e.*, the exposition of the laws, of any single language stops at this point and to carry the argument further, as one of course must, is to enter the region of Comparative Grammar. In doing so one must start at the same point as before, *i.e.*, the sentence, but progress on a different line, because hitherto the effort has been to resolve the unit of language into its components, and now it has to be considered as being itself a component of something greater, *i.e.*, of a language.

To continue the argument. Since a sentence is composed of words placed in a particular order without or with variation of form, its meaning is clearly rendered complete by the combination of the meaning of its components with their position and tones or form or both. Also, since sentences are the units of languages, and words are the components of sentences and languages are varieties of speech, languages can vary in the forms and tones of their words, or in the position in which their words are placed in the sentence, or in both. And thus are created classes of languages. Again, since the meaning of a sentence may be rendered complete either by the position of its words or by their tones and forms, languages are primarily divisible into syntactical languages, or those that express complete meaning by the position of their words; and into formative languages, or those that express complete meaning by the forms of their words. These are the two great divisions into which all languages fall. The order of the words and the forms of the words in the sentence determine the particular natural laws to which a language chiefly conforms.

Now, since syntactical languages depend on position, or on position combined with tone, to express complete meaning, they are divisible into analytical and tonic languages. Of such English and Chinese are respectively typical examples.

Further, since words are varied in form by the addition of affixes, and since affixes may be attached to words in an altered or unaltered form, formative languages are divisible into agglutinative languages, or those that add affixes without alteration, of which Turkish is a good example; and into synthetic languages, or those that add affixes with alteration, of which any inflected language serves as an example. And lastly, since affixes may be prefixes, infixes or suffixes, agglutinative and synthetic languages are each divisible into (1) promutative, or those that prefix their affixes, like the South African Languages; (2) intramutative, or those that infix them, like Arabic; and (3) postmutative, or those that suffix them, like Latin, Greek, or Sanskrit.

Thus inductive argument can be carried onwards to a clear and definite apprehension of the birth and growth of the phenomena presented by the varieties of human speech, *i.e.*, by languages.
But, as is the case with every other natural growth, in obedience to a fundamental Law of Nature, no language can ever have been left to develop itself alone, and thus do we get the phenomenon of connected languages, which may be defined as those that differ from each other by varying the respective tones, forms and position, but not the meanings, of their words. And since variation of form is affected by the addition of altered or unaltered affixes, connected languages can vary the forms of the affixes without materially varying those of the roots and stems of their words. In this way they become divisible into groups, or those whose stems are common, and into families, or those whose roots are common. On this definition it is possible to gather French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese and the "Latin" Languages into a Group. Hindi, Hindustani, Bengali, Urdu, Bihari, Panjabi, Marathi and the "Prakrits" Languages could be formed into a Group. Latin, Greek, Persian, Zend, Sanskrit, Pali, and the Prakrites would belong to a Family.

It is also against natural conditions for any language to develop only in one direction, or without subjecting to outside influences, and so it is that we find languages developing on more than one line and belonging strictly to more than one class, but in every such case the language has what is commonly called its genus or peculiar constitution, i.e., it belongs primarily to one class and secondarily to the others. This point cannot be too strongly insisted on. No language has ever developed entirely on one line of development, hence the "irregularities" that vex the souls of learners. English is fundamentally analytical, but there are many highly inflected forms and functional inflexion occurs in many instances. There is also intromutation present in such forms as "man, men," "broad, breadth," "know, knew." Such highly inflected languages, too, as Greek and Latin have points in common with analytical languages.

I have long thought and I believe it can be proved that every language must conform to some part or other of the Theory just outlined, and in that case the Theory would be truly, as I have ventured to call it, a Theory of Universal Grammar. That the facts for such a Theory exist in Nature and only await unearthing I have no doubt whatever. Mankind, when unhampered by teaching, acts on an instinctive assumption of their existence, for children and adults alike always learn a language in the same way, if left to themselves. They copy the enunciation of complete sentences from experts in it to start with, learning to divide up and vary the sentences so acquired afterwards, and this is not only the surest but also the quickest way of mastering a foreign tongue correctly. Its natural laws, i.e., its grammar, as stated in books about it, are mastered later on, and in every case where they only are studied there comes about that book-knowledge of the language which is everywhere by instinct acknowledged to be a matter apart from, and in one sense inferior to, the practical or true knowledge. I use the term "true" here, because, unless this is possessed, whatever knowledge may be acquired fails to fulfill its object of finding a new mode of communicating with one's fellow man.

Book-knowledge of a language is only useful for scientific and educational purposes, but if the laws laid down in the set Grammars were to follow closely on the laws instinctively obeyed by untutored man, and to do no violence to what instinct teaches him to be the logical sequence of ideas, the divorce between practical and linguistic knowledge——between knowledge by the ear and knowledge by the eye——would not be so complete as it is nowadays. And not only that, if the laws could be stated in the manner above suggested, they could be more readily grasped and better retained in the memory, and languages could consequently be more quickly, more thoroughly and more easily learned by both children and adults than is now practicable to the ordinary learner. Looked at thus the matter becomes of the greatest practical importance.
This is what the Theory attempts to achieve: but assuming it to be fundamentally right and correctly worked out, it should explain the workings of the untutored mind of the savage as exhibited in his speech, although it reverses the accepted order of teaching, alters many long accepted definitions, and while admitting much that is usually taught, it both adds and omits many details, and taken all round is a wide departure from orthodox teaching. How wide the following observations will show. The familiar terminology has been changed in this wise. The old noun, adjective, verb, adverb, preposition and conjunction have become indicator, explicator, predicrator, illustrator, connector and referent conjunctor, while interjections and pronouns have become integers and referent substitutes. Certain classes also of the adverbs have become introducers. Gender, number, person, tense, conjunction and declension all disappear in the general description of kinds of inflexion:—the object becomes the complement of the predicate and concord becomes correlated variation.

The Theory is based on the one phenomenon, which must of necessity be constant in every variety of speech, viz., the expression of a complete meaning or technically the sentence. Words are then described as components of the sentence, firstly as to the functions performed by them and next as to the means whereby they can fulfill their functions. Lastly, languages are considered according to their methods of composing sentences and words. Assuming this course of reasoning to be logically correct, it must, when properly worked out, explain every phenomenon of speech; and when its dry bones have been clothed with the necessary flesh for every possible language by the process of the direct natural development of every detail, a clear and fair explanation of all the phenomena of speech must be logically deducible from the general principles enunciated therein.

The Theory takes no count of two subjects introduced into all formal Grammars for obvious reasons of convenience—phonology and orthography. It has no concern with pronunciation, spelling, and alphabets. These are subjects which do not affect it and belong to other branches of the development of the human mind.

(b) The Course of Grammatical Development.

The Sentence is the Unit of all Speech.

I. — The Sentence and its Components.

(a) A Sentence is composed of words.
(b) A Word is the expression of a meaning.
(c) A Sentence is the expression of a complete meaning.
(d) Words required to express the meaning of a sentence are (1) integers, (2) indicators, (3) predicrators, (4) explicators, (5) illustrators.

II. — The Interrelation and Intimate Relation of the Components.

(a) Interrelation of components can be expressed by variation in form.
(b) Intimate relation of components can be expressed by correlated variation in form (agreement).
(c) Words required to express the interrelation of components are (6) connectors.

III. — The Sentence and its Function.

(a) The function of a sentence is to express its purpose.
(b) Words required to express the function of a sentence are (7) introducers.
(c) The function of a sentence can be expressed by variation of the tones of its components.
(d) A Tone is a point on a conventional scale of the voice in speaking.
IV. — Expansion of the Sentence into the Period by the substitution of Phrases, Clauses and Connected Sentences for Words.

(a) A Phrase is the substitute for a Word by the collective expression of a meaning by two or more words.

(b) A Clause is the substitute for a Word by the collective expression of a complete meaning by two or more words.

(c) A Period is a Sentence expanded by Clauses or Words.

V. — Interrelation of the Components of the Expanded Sentence or Period.

(a) Connected Sentences express connected purposes.

(b) Words required to express the interrelation of connected sentences are (3) referent conjunctors, (9) referent substitutes.

VI. — The Functions of the Components of the Sentence.

(a) The Essential Components of the Sentence are (1) indicators, (2) explicators, (3) predicates, (4) illustrators, (5) complements.

(b) Complements are indicators or explicators.

(c) The Optional Components of a Sentence are (1) introducers, (2) referents, (3) connectors.

(d) Referents are referent conjunctors or referent substitutes.

(e) An Integer is a sentence in itself.

(f) An Indicator indicates the subject or complement of the sentence.

(g) An Explicator explains the subject or complement.

(h) A Predicate indicates the predicate.

(i) An Illustrator illustrates the predicate or complement or the explanation of the subject or complement.

(j) A Connector explains the interrelation of the components.

(k) An Introductor explains the purpose of the sentence.

(l) A Referent Conjunctor explains the interrelation of connected sentences by joining them.

(m) A Referent Substitute explains the interrelation of connected sentences by the substitution of itself in the subordinate sentence for the word in the principal sentence to which it refers.

(n) The Subject of the sentence is the matter communicated.

(o) The Predicate of the sentence is the communication made about the subject.

(p) The Complement of the sentence is the completion of the predicate.

VII. — The Classes of the Components of the Sentence.

(a) Class indicates the nature of a word.

(b) Form, tone and position can indicate the class of a word.

VIII. — The Interrelation of the Classes of the Components.

(a) Connected words indicate their transfer from one class to another.
IX. — The Interrelation of the Functions of the Components.

(a) The Root indicates the original meaning of a word.
(b) Affixes comprise prefixes, infixes and suffixes.
(c) Affixes modify the meaning of a word.
(d) A Radical Affix modifies the meaning of a root.
(e) A Simple Stem is the principal part of a word indicating its meaning.
(f) A Functional Affix modifies the meaning of a stem in relation to its function.
(g) A Compound Stem comprises a root and its radical affix.
(h) A Qualifying Affix modifies a word by indicating its nature (inherent qualities) in relation to function or class.
(i) Connected Words comprise stems and their affixes.
(j) Inflexion is caused by alteration of the form of inseparable affixes.
(k) Inflected words conform to particular kinds of inflexion.
(l) Tone is a substitute for inflexion.

X. — The Position, Form and Tone of the Components.

(a) The meanings of the components combined with their positions or with their forms or combined with the positions and the forms or tones complete the meaning of the sentence.

XI. — General Development of Languages from the Sentence.

(a) No Language has ever developed along one line of development only.
(b) The sentence by the forms or positions of its components or by their forms or tones combined with their positions causes the development of all languages.

XII. — Development of Languages from the Sentence into Classes.

(a) The positions of the components of the sentence cause the development of Syntactical Languages.
(b) In Analytical Languages position governs the class.
(c) In Tonic Languages position combined with tone governs the class.
(d) The forms of the components of the sentence cause the development of Formative Languages.
(e) In Agglutinative Languages the affixes developing the forms are attached unaltered.
(f) In Synthetic Languages the affixes developing the forms are attached altered by inflexion.
(g) In Premutative Languages the affixes developing the forms are prefixed.
(h) In Intrumutative Languages the affixes developing the forms are suffixed.
(i) In Postmutative Languages the affixes developing the forms are suffixed.

XIII. — Development of the Interrelated Classes of Languages from the Sentence.

(a) Affixes to stems develop Groups of Languages.
(b) Affixes to roots develop Families of Languages.
(c) Variation of tone, form or position in Families develops Connected Languages.

d) Skeleton of the Theory.

Speech is a mode of communication between man and man by expression. Speech may be communicated orally through the ear by talking, optically through the eye by signs, tangibly through the skin by the touch. Languages are varieties of speech.
The units of languages are sentences. A sentence is the expression of a complete meaning.

A sentence may consist of a single expression of a meaning. A single expression of a meaning is a word. A sentence may also consist of many words. When it consists of more than one word, it has two parts. These parts are the subject and the predicate. The subject of a sentence is the matter communicated or discussed in the sentence. The predicate of a sentence is the communication or discussion of that matter in the sentence.

The subject may consist of one word. It may also consist of many words. When it consists of more than one word, there is a principal word and additional words. The predicate may consist of one word. It may also consist of many words. When it consists of more than one word, there is a principal word and additional words. Therefore the components of a sentence are words placed either in the subjective or predicative part of it, having a relation to each other in that part. This relation is that of principal and subordinate.

Since the words composing the parts of a sentence are placed in a position of relation to each other, they fulfil functions. The function of the principal word of the subject is to indicate the matter communicated or discussed by expressing it. The function of the subordinate words of the subject may be to explain that indication, or to illustrate the explanation of it. The function of the principal word of the predicate is to indicate the communication or discussion of the subject by expressing it. The function of the subordinate words of the predicate may be to illustrate that indication, or to complete it. The predicate may be completed by a word explanatory of the subject, or indicative of the complement. Therefore, primarily, the words composing a sentence are either —

1. Indicators, or indicative of the subject,
2. Explicators, or explanatory of the subject,
3. Predicators, or indicative of the predicate,
4. Illustrators, or illustrative of the predicate, or of the explanation of the subject,
5. Complements, or complementary of the predicate.

And complements are either indicators or explicators. Therefore also complementary indicators may be explained by explicators, and this explanation may be illustrated by illustrators. And complementary explicators may be illustrated by illustrators.

But, since speech is a mode of communication between man and man, mankind speaks with a purpose. The function of sentences is to indicate the purpose of speech. The purpose of speech is either (1) affirmation, (2) denial, (3) interrogation, (4) exhortation, or (5) information. Purpose may be indicated in a sentence by the position of its components, by the tones of its components, by variation of the forms of its components, and by the addition of introductory words to express it or introducers.

Also, since the function of sentences is to indicate the purpose of speech, connected purposes may be indicated by connected sentences. The relation of connected sentences to each other is that of principal and subordinate. This relation may be expressed by the position of the connected sentences, by variation of the tones or forms of their components, or by the addition of referent words expressing it or referents. A referent word may express the inter-relation of connected sentences by conjoining them, or by substituting itself in the subordinate sentence for the word in the principal sentence to which it refers. Referents are therefore conjunctors or substitutes.
Also, since the words composing the parts of a sentence are placed in a position of relation to each other, this relation may be expressed in the sentence by the addition of connecting words expressing it or connectors, or by variation of the forms of the words themselves.

Also, since predicators are specially connected with indicators, explicators with indicators, illustrators and complements with predicators, and referent substitutes with their principals, there is an intimate relation between predicator and indicator, indicator and explicator, illustrator and predicator, predicator and complement, referent substitute and principal. This intimate relation may be expressed by the addition of connecting words to express it, or by correlated variation in the forms of the specially connected words or by their relative position or by their relative tones.

Since speech is a mode of communication between man and man by expression, that communication may be made complete without complete expression. Speech may, therefore, be partly expressed, or be partly left unexpressed. And since speech may be partly left unexpressed, referent words may refer to the unexpressed portions, and words may be related to unexpressed words or correlated to them. Referent substitutes may, therefore, indicate the subject of a sentence.

Again, many words may be used collectively to express the meaning of one word. The collective expression of a single meaning by two or more words is a phrase. The relation of a phrase to the word it represents is that of original and substitute. A phrase, therefore, fulfils the function of its original.

Since a phrase is composed of words used collectively to represent a single expression of a meaning, that meaning may be complete in itself. Therefore a phrase may be a sentence. A sentence substituted for a word is a clause. A clause, therefore, fulfils the function of its original.

Since clauses represent words, a sentence may be composed of clauses, or partly of clauses and partly of words. A sentence composed of clauses, or partly of clauses and partly of words, is a period.

Therefore a word is functionally either —

1. A sentence in itself or an integer,
2. An essential component of a sentence, or
3. An optional component of a sentence.

The essential components of a sentence are (1) indicators, (2) explicators, (3) predicators, (4) illustrators, (5) complements. And complements are either indicators or explicators.

The optional components of a sentence are (1) introducers, (2) referents, (3) connectors. And referents are either referent conjunctors or referent substitutes.

To recapitulate: Functionally a word is either —

1. An integer, or a sentence in itself.
2. An indicator, or indicative of the subject or complement of a sentence.
3. An explicator, or explanatory of its subject or complement.
4. A predicator, or indicative of its predicative.
5. An illustrator, or illustrative of its predicative or complement, or of the explanation of its subject or complement.
6. A connector, or explanatory of the interrelation of its components.
7. An introducer, or explanatory of its purpose.
8. A referent conjunctor, or explanatory of the interrelation of connected sentences by joining them.
9. A referent substitute, or explanatory of the interrelation of connected sentences by substitution of itself in the subordinate sentence for the word in the principal sentence to which it refers.
An individual word may fulfil all the functions of words, or it may fulfil only one function, or it may fulfil many functions. When a word can fulfil more than one function, the function it fulfils in a particular sentence is indicated by its position in the sentence, either without variation of form, or with variation of form or by its tone. There are, therefore, classes of words.

Since a word may fulfil only one function, there are as many classes as there are functions. Also, since a word may fulfil more than one function, it may belong to as many classes as there are functions which it can fulfil. A word may, therefore, be transferable from one class to another; and this transfer may be effected by its position in the sentence without variation of form, or with variation of form or by its tone. The class to which a word belongs may, therefore, be indicated by its form or tone.

When a word is transferable from one class to another, it belongs primarily to a certain class and secondarily to other classes. But, since by transfer to another class from the class to which it primarily belongs (with or without variation of form) the word fulfils a new function, it becomes a new word connected with the original word. The relation between connected words is that of parent and offspring. Since the form of a word may indicate its class, both parent and offspring may assume the forms of the classes to which they respectively belong.

When connected words differ in form, they consist of a principal part or stem, and an additional part or functional affix. The function of the stem is to indicate the meaning of the word. The function of the functional affix is to modify that meaning with reference to the function of the word. This modification may be effected by indicating the class to which the word belongs, or by indicating its relation or correlation to the other words in the sentence.

A stem may be an original meaning or simple stem, or it may be a modification of an original meaning or compound stem. A compound stem consists of a principal part or root, and additional parts or radical affixes. The function of the root is to indicate the original meaning of the stem. The function of the radical affixes is to indicate the modification by which the meaning of the root had been changed into the meaning of the stem.

Since words’ fulfil functions and belong to classes, they possess inherent qualities. The inherent qualities of words may be indicated by qualitative affixes or by tones.

Affixes are, therefore, functional, or indicative of the function of the word to which they are affixed, or of its relation or correlation to the other words in the sentence; radical, or indicative of the modifications of meaning which its root has undergone; qualitative, or indicative of its inherent qualities.

Affixes may be —

(1) Prefixes, or prefixed to the root, stem, or word;
(2) infixes, or fixed into the root, stem, or word;
(3) Suffixes, or suffixed to the root, stem, or word.

Affixes may be attached to roots, stems, or words in their full form, or in a varied form. When there is variation of form, there is inflexion or inseparability of the affix from the root, stem, or word. All the functions of affixes can, therefore, be fulfilled by inflexion; and inflected words may conform to particular kinds of inflexion.

Since a sentence is composed of words placed in a particular order, with or without variation of form, the meaning of a sentence is rendered complete by the combination of the meaning of its components with their position, with their tones, or with their forms, or partly with their position and partly with their forms or tones.
Since sentences are the units of languages, and words are the components of sentences, and since languages are varieties of speech, languages may vary in the forms of their words, in the tones of their words, in the position in which their words are placed in the sentence, or partly in the forms and partly in the position of their words. There are, therefore, classes of languages.

Since the meaning of a sentence may be rendered complete by the position of its words, by their tones, or by their form, languages are primarily divisible into syntactical languages, or those that express complete meaning by the position and tones of their words; and into formative languages, or those that express complete meaning by the position and forms of their words.

Since syntactical languages use either position or position and tone, they are divisible into analytical languages and tonic languages.

Since words are varied in form by the addition of affixes, and since affixes may be attached to words in an unaltered or altered form, formative languages are divisible into agglutinative languages, or those that add affixes without alteration; and into synthetic languages, or those that add affixes with alteration.

Since affixes may be prefixes, infixes, or suffixes, agglutinative and synthetic languages are each divisible into (1) premutative languages, or those that prefix their affixes; (2) intromutative languages, or those that infix their affixes; (3) postmutative languages, or those that suffix their affixes.

Languages are, therefore, by class either syntactical or formative. And syntactical languages are either analytical or tonic, and formative languages are either agglutinative or synthetic. And agglutinative and synthetic languages are either premutative, intromutative, or postmutative.

A language may belong entirely to one class, or it may belong to more than one class. When a language belongs to more than one class, it belongs primarily to a particular class, and secondarily to other classes.

Since the meaning of a sentence is rendered complete by the meaning of its words in combination with their forms or position, languages may be connected languages, or those that vary the forms, the tones, or the position, without varying the meanings, of their words.

Since variation of form is effected by the addition of affixes in an unaltered form, connected languages may vary the affixes without variation of the roots or stems of their words. Connected languages whose stems are common belong to a group. Connected languages whose roots are common belong to a family; and, therefore, all connected languages belonging to a group belong to the same family.

(d) A Brief Exposition of the Theory.

All speech expresses a communication between man and man by talking or by signs. Languages are varieties of speech. The unit of every language is the expression of a complete communication, i.e., the sentence. All sentences are divided into incomplete expressions of communication, i.e., words, and are as naturally multiplied into languages. Thus there is a development both ways from the sentence.

The necessary primary division of every sentence made up of words is into the matter communicated (subject) and the communication made about it (predicate). The words in each of these divisions are of necessity in the relation of principal and subordinate, which involves the fulfillment of a function by every word.

The function of the principal word of the subject is obviously to indicate the matter communicated and of the subordinate words to explain the indication and illustrate that explanation. Similarly, the principal word of the predicate indicates the communication made and the subordinate words illustrate the indication or complete it.
Therefore, in every language the essential words in a sentence are:

1. Indicator, indicating the subject or the complement.
2. Explicator, explaining that indication.
3. Predicator, indicating the predicate.
4. Illustrators, illustrating the predicator or the explicator.

As all speech expresses a communication, it has a purpose, and the functions of the sentences are to express one of the five following purposes:—

1. Affirmation.
2. Denial.
3. Interrogation.
4. Exhortation.
5. Information.

The methods adopted for indicating the purpose of a sentence are:

1. Placing the components in a particular order.
2. Varying the forms or the tones in which they are spoken.
3. Adding special introductory words.
4. Placing them in a particular order.
5. Varying the forms or tones of their components.

When the purposes of speech are by their nature connected together, this connection is naturally indicated by connected sentences in the relation of principal and subordinate, which is expressed by methods similar to those above noted, viz., placing them in a particular order, or varying the forms or tones of their components, or adding special referent words of two kinds: (1) simple conjoining words, (2) words substituting themselves in the subordinate sentence for the words in the principal sentence to which they refer.

The relation of the words composing the parts of a sentence is also expressed by the similar methods of adding special connecting words, or of varying the forms or tones of the words; and so, too, the intimate relation between indicator and predicator, indicator and explicator, illustrators and predicator, predicator and complement, referent substitute and principal, is similarly expressed by special connecting words, by correlated variations of the words in intimate relation, by their relative position, or by the tones used in severally expressing them.

Complete communication can be, and is habitually, in every language, made without a complete expression of it in speech, and so referent words are made to refer to words unexpressed and to be related or correlated to them, and referent substitutes are made to indicate the unexpressed subject or complement of a sentence.

The function of the sentence and the interrelation of the words composing it are therefore in all speech expressed by three methods: position, variation, or addition of special words. Every language adopts one or more or all of these methods.

Therefore, in every language the optional words in a sentence are:

5. Connector, explaining the interrelation of the components.
7. Referent conjunctors, joining connected sentences.
8. Referent substitutes, indicating the interrelation of connected sentences or unexpressed communications.

To the essential and optional components of the sentence must be added (9) the integer, or word that of necessity in every language expresses in itself a complete communication, i.e., is a sentence.

Thus is explainable the natural resolution of the sentence into its component words, but any one word can be, and habitually is, extended to many words, used collectively to express its meaning. Words thus used collectively form a phrase, which is substituted for its original. When a phrase contains in itself a complete meaning, and thus is a sentence substituted for a word, it becomes a clause. Therefore, clauses and phrases are merely expanded words, fulfilling the functions and bearing the relations of the words for which they are substituted in an expanded sentence or period. Therefore also, the period is a true sentence in the sense of being the expression of a complete meaning, and so the unit of every language adopting it.

In all speech, words are made to indicate the functions they fulfil in a sentence by their position in it, with or without using tones, and with or without variation in form, and this habit gives rise of necessity to clauses of words according to function. And as any given word can naturally fulfil more than one function, it becomes as naturally transferable from its own class to another, the transfer
being indicated by position in the sentence with or without variation in form or tone. The class of a word thus indicates its function; and its position, alone or combined with its form or tone, indicates its class.

So when a word is transferred from its original class, it necessarily fulfills a new function and becomes a new word, connected with the original word in the relation of parent and offspring, each equally necessary for assuming the form or tone of its own class.

The functions of words in a sentence, and consequently their classes, are therefore in all speech expressed by two methods: position or position combined with variation or tone. Every language adopts one or other or both.

When in any language connected words differ in form, they are made to consist of a principal part or stem and an additional part or functional affix. The stem is used for indicating the meaning of the word, and the functional affix for modifying that meaning according to function, by indicating the class to which the word belongs, or its relation or correlation to the other words in the sentence.

A simple stem necessarily indicates an original meaning, but a stem can be, and habitually is, used for indicating a modification of an original meaning. It then naturally becomes a compound stem, i.e., made up, by the same method as that above noted, of a principal part or root and of additional parts or radical affixes, each with its own function, the root to indicate the original meaning, and the affix its modification into meaning of the stem.

As all words differing in form or tone of necessity fulfill functions and belong to classes, they must possess a nature, i.e., qualities inherent in themselves, and these, in all languages, using such words, are indicated by the addition of qualitative affixes or by the tones in which they are spoken.

Every affix is of necessity fixed in the midst of, or prefixed or suffixed to, a root, stem, or word, the affixing being naturally effected in full or in a varied form. Whenever there is variation of form, amounting to material change, there is necessarily inflexion, or inseparability of the affixes. Inflexion can therefore be made to fulfill all the functions of affixes, and inflected words to conform to particular kinds of inflexion, in order to indicate function and class: and as tone can be equally made to indicate the functions and classes of words, it takes the place of inflexion.

Words are therefore made to fulfill their functions merely by the tone in which they are spoken or by an external development effected by affixes, and to express modifications of their original meaning by a similar use of tones or of internal development. In the case of both internal and external development the affixes are prefixes, infixes, or suffixes affixed in full or varied form or by inflexion. All languages, using variation of form for causing the components of sentences, i.e., words, to fulfill their functions, adopt one or other, or all the above methods of effecting the variation.

Therefore in all speech, communication expressed in a sentence is rendered complete by the combination of the meaning of its components with their position, tones or forms, or with position combined with form or tone.

The methods adopted in developing the sentence, i.e., the unit of speech itself, are found to entirely govern those adopted in its further development into a language or variety of speech.

Languages differ naturally in the position of their words in the sentence, or in their forms or tones, or in the combination of position with form or tone. Thus are set up naturally two primary classes of languages: — Syntactical Languages, which express complete communication by the position, and Formative Languages, which express it by the forms of their words.

As position alone or combined with tone can fulfill all the functions of speech, the Syntactical Languages employ one or both of those methods, and thus are created respectively Analytical Languages and Tonic Languages.

Again, in all speech, variety of form is secured by affixes attached to words in an unaltered or an altered form. Formative Languages necessarily therefore divide themselves
into Agglutinative Languages, attaching affixes in an unaltered form, and Synthetic Languages, attaching them in an altered form. These two classes are both farther naturally divisible into (1) Fremutative, (2) Intramutative, (3) Postmutative Languages, according as they attach affixes as prefixes, infixes or suffixes.

In obedience to a fundamental Law of Nature, no language has ever developed along a single line, and therefore every language belongs of necessity primarily to one of the above classes, and secondarily to others, by partial adoption of their methods.

Languages, varying the form, tones or position, without varying the meanings, of their words, form naturally Connected Languages in the relation of parent and offshoot. Connected Languages, whose stems, i.e., the meanings of whose words, are common to all, form a natural Group of Languages, and those Connected Languages, whose roots, i.e., the original meanings of whose words, are common to all, form a natural Family of Languages. Therefore also of necessity all Connected Languages belonging to a Group belong to the same Family.

As the above method of expounding the Theory involves the use of unfamiliar terms, it is as well to state that the new and the old terms of Grammar roughly, though not exactly, correspond as follows; it being remembered that the old terms are themselves the outcome of another tacit Theory, based upon other observations of natural laws or phenomena.

Table of Comparative Grammatical Terms.

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<tr>
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<td>Verb.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Adverbs of different classes.</td>
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<td>Relative Adverb.</td>
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<td>Government.</td>
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**Diagram I.**

**Explaining the Lines upon which the Theory is Worked out.**

**Principle of the Development of the Sentence out of its Components.**

In all speech the meaning of words (imcomplete meanings) combined

<table>
<thead>
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<th>with their forms</th>
<th>with their tones</th>
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completes the sentence (a complete meaning).
(e) Methods of Analysing the Sentence

according to the Theory of Universal Grammar.

I. — By its Components.

Definitions and Notes.

1. A sentence is composed of Words.

2. A Word is the expression of a meaning.

3. A Sentence is the expression of a complete meaning.

4. Words required to express the meaning of a sentence are (1) integers, (2) indicators, (3) predicators, (4) explicators, (5) illustrators.

Analyses.

1. An Integer completes the Sentence.

2. The Subject and the Predicate make up the Sentence.

3. An Indicator completes the Subject.

4. The principal word (Indicator) and subordinate words make up the Sentence.

5. Illustrators and Explicators make up the subordinate words.

6. The Predicate completes the Predicate.

7. The principal word (Predicate) and subordinate words make up the Predicate.

8. Illustrators and the Complement (Object) make up the Predicate.

9. An Indicator or an Explicator completes the Complement.

10. The principal word (Indicator or Explicator) and subordinate words make up the Complement.

11. Illustrators and Explicators make up the subordinate words.

II. — By the Interrelation and Intimate Relation of its Components.

Definitions and Notes.

1. Interrelation of component words is expressed by variation in form.

2. Intimate relation of component words is expressed by correlated variation in form (agreement and government).

3. Words required to express the interrelation of component words are (6) connector.

Analyses.

1. Connected Words complete the Sentence.

2. Component words with variation in form and connectors make up the Sentence.

3. Indicator and Predicator, Indicator and Explicator, Illustrators and Predicator, Predicator and Complement form the Component Words.

4. Correlated Variation in form expresses the intimate relation between Indicator and Predicator, Indicator and Explicator, Illustrators and Predicator, Predicator and Complement.

III. — By its Function.

Definitions and Notes.

1. The function of a sentence is to express its purpose.

2. Words required to express the function of a sentence are (7) Introducers.

Analyses.

1. Affirmation, Denial, Interrogation, Exhortation, or Information, completes the Sentence.

2. The function of the Sentence is either Affirmation, Denial, Interrogation, Exhortation, Information.

3. Words varied in tone or form indicate the function.

4. The position of the words indicates the function.

5. An Introducer indicates the function.
IV. — By its Expanded Components.

Definitions and Notes.
1. The Components are expanded by the substitution of Phrases, Clauses and Sentences for Words.
2. A Phrase is the substitute for a word by the collective expression of a meaning by two or more words.
3. A Clause is the substitute for a word by the collective expression of a complete meaning by two or more words.
4. A Period is a sentence expanded by Clauses or Words.

Analyses.
1. Clauses substituted for Words complete the Expanded Sentence or Period.
2. Phrases or Clauses substituted for Words and Words make up the Expanded Sentence or Period.

V. — By the Interrelation of its Expanded Components.

Definitions and Notes.
1. Connected Sentences express connected purposes.
2. Words required to express the interrelation of Connected Sentences are (8) Referent Conjunctors, (9) Referent Substitutes.
3. A Tone is a point on a conventional scale of the voice in speaking.

Analyses.
1. Connected Sentences complete the Expanded Sentences or Period.
2. The Principal Sentence and Subordinate Sentences make up the Connected Sentences.
3. Referent Conjunctors indicate the Principal Sentence.
4. Variation of the tone, form and position of the words indicates the Principal Sentence.
5. Variation of the tone, form and position of the words indicates a Subordinate Sentence.
6. In Subordinate Sentences the Subjective part is indicated by referent substitutes with correlated variation in form, with or without variation in form, and with or without tone.
7. In Subordinate Sentences unexpressed communication is indicated by referent conjunctors with correlated variation in form, with or without variation in form, and with or without tone.

VI. — By the Functions of its Components.

Analyses.
1. Essential and Optional Components make up the Sentence.
2. An Intensive completes the Sentence.
3. Indicator, Explicators, Predicator, Illustrators and Complement form the Essential Components.
4. Indicator and Explicators complete the Complement.
5. Indicator, Explicators and Illustrators make up the Complement.

VII. — By the Classes of its Components.

Definitions and Notes.
1. The Class indicates the Nature of a Word.
2. The Form indicates the Class of a Word.
Analyses.

1. Fulfilment of function by component words combined with position completes the Sentence.

2. Fulfilment of one, many, or all functions produces the transfer of component words from class to class.

3. Fulfilment of one, many, or all functions indicates the class of a component word.

4. A Component Word, without and with variation of form and with and without tone, by position fulfil one, many, or all functions.

VIII. — By the Interrelation of the Classes of its Components.

Note.

1. Connected Words indicate their transfer from one class to another.

Analyses.

1. Connected Words in the form of their Primary Class or of their Secondary Classes together with other Component Words make up the Sentence.

2. The Parent Word and Offshoot Words form the Connected Words.

3. Classes of words consist of the Primary Class which forms the Parent Word and of Secondary Classes which form the Offshoot Words.

4. Secondary Classes by fulfilling new functions and by transfer from the Primary Class, with or without variation of form and without or with tone, form the Offshoot Words.

IX. — By the Interrelation of the Functions of its Components.

Definitions and Notes.

1. The root indicates the original meaning of a word.

2. Affixes comprise prefixes, infixes, suffixes.

3. Affixes modify the meaning of a word.

4. A radical affix modifies the meaning of a root.

5. A simple stem is the principal part of a Word indicating its meaning.

6. A functional affix modifies the meaning of a stem in relation to its function.

7. A compound stem comprises a root and its radical affix.

8. A qualitative affix modifies a word by indicating its nature (inherent qualities) in relation to function or class.


10. Inflection is caused by an alteration in the form of inseparable affixes.

11. Inflected words conform to particular kinds of inflection.

12. Tone is a substitute for inflection.

Analyses.

1. Connected words and other component words make up the Sentence.

2. Qualitative Affixes indicate the inherent qualities of classes of connected words.

3. Simple stems and compound stems make up connected words.

4. Functional Affixes, by indicating class, interrelation and correlation, modify simple stems and compound stems.

5. Radical Affixes modify roots into compound stems.

6. Prefixes, Infixes and Suffixes attached separably in full or varied form to root, stem or word form Affixes.

7. Prefixes, Infixes and Suffixes attached inseparably by inflexion (altered form) of one or many kinds to root, stem or word form Affixes.
X. — By the Position, Tone and Form of its Components.

Analyses.
1. The meaning of the components with position or form completes the Sentence.
2. The meaning of the components with position and form or tone completes the Sentence.

XI. — By General Development into Languages.

Note.
1. No Language has ever developed along one line of development only.

Analyses.
1. The Sentence by the forms or position of its components creates all Languages.
2. The Sentence by the forms or tones combined with the position of its components creates all Languages.

XII. — By Development into Classes of Languages.

Analyses.
1. The Sentence by variation of the forms or position of its components creates Classes of Languages.
2. The Sentence by combining variation of the forms and position or of the tones and position of its components creates Classes of Languages.
3. The Classes of Languages comprise the Syntactical and Formative Languages.
4. The position of the components of the sentences create the Syntactical Languages.
5. The forms of the components of the sentences create the Formative Languages.
6. The Syntactical Languages without tones form the Analytical Languages.
7. The Syntactical Languages with tones form the Tonic Languages.
8. Formative Languages by varying the forms of the components of the sentences by means of unaltered affixes form the Agglutinative Languages.
9. Formative Languages by varying the forms of the components of the sentences by means of altered affixes (inflexion) form the Synthetic Languages.
10. Agglutinative and Synthetic Languages by means of prefixed, infixes and suffixed affixes form respectively the Premutative, Intramutative and Postmutative Languages.
11. Syntactical and Formative Languages which are by nature of one Primary class are Parent Languages.
12. Syntactical and Formative Languages which partially adopt the nature of Secondary Classes are Offshoot Languages.
13. Parent and Offshoot Languages comprise all Languages.

XIII. — By Development with Interrelated Classes of Languages.

Analyses.
1. The Sentence with or without varied affixes to the stems of its components creates Groups of Languages.
2. The Sentence with or without varied affixes to the roots of the stems creates Families of Languages.
3. The Sentence by variation of the tones, forms or position of its components in Families of Languages but without variation in the meaning of the components creates Connected Languages.
4. Connected Languages by conforming to one Primary Classes or by conforming partially to Secondary Classes comprise all Languages.

(To be continued.)
NOTES ON THE CHINS OF BURMA.

BY THE REV. G. WHITEHEAD.

(Formerly Missionary to the Chins, S. P. G.)

Religion.

The religion of all the Turanian races has been Animism or Shamanism. The general lines of the religion of all the hill-tribes of Burma may be given in brief in the words in which Prof. A. H. Sayce in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* describes the religion of the Sumerians of Babylonia of three thousand years B.C. "According to the Sumerian idea every object and force in nature had its *zi* or 'spirit,' which manifested itself in life and motion. The *zi* was sometimes beneficent, sometimes malignant, but it could be controlled by the incantations and spells which were known to the sorcerer-priests."

The chief objects of worship among the Chins may be divided into three groups: — (i) the Great Parent of all; (ii) the spirits who live in earth and sky, who send rain or withhold it, who watch over the village, the rice-fields, the jungle, or some one tree or mountain, &c.; and (iii) the penetes, i.e., deceased forefathers, whom they fear rather than love, for while they dread their anger they expect little in the way of blessing from them. The Chins do not worship any images; nor do they make any carved representations of any of these objects of worship.

The Great Parent of all is regarded as a female, Mother 'Li, and they do not think that she has or had any male counterpart. Perhaps one may rather say that they believe that sex does not enter into 'Li's essence. Mother 'Li reigns 'on her throne in the heavens,' "never growing old and never dying." She created, of her spittle, the earth and the sea and the sky, and brought forth by her power all life, animal and vegetable. She created man and imparted to him all the material and mental and spiritual blessings that he enjoys. All mankind are her children, and she loves them all. She has given to each nation its bounds and language and letters. She is wholly good.

Reasoning, as I imagine, from the analogy of daily life, the teachers or priests have told the Chins that Mother 'Li herself has not existed from all times, but had, as parents and ancestors, Yin, Aw, 'Kou and 'Kyön, who are now dead, and, like other departed spirits, much more apt to trouble the living than to assist them; — so much so that the names Yin-Aw are sometimes used to denote in brief all the spirits (Mother 'Li alone excepted), and that in a very unfavourable sense. It was too much, however, for the Chin mind to go back one step further, and to ask whence Yin and Aw came. They have never really faced the question of the First Cause.

The genesis of the human race in general, and of the Chins in particular, is thus told by the Chin teachers. In the beginning, after Mother 'Li had made the world, she laid a hundred eggs, which she hatched in cotton-wool, and from which sprang a hundred pairs of human beings, the progenitors of the different races of mankind. She laid yet another egg, a little one, which was most beautiful to see, and which she specially cared for. In her affection she did not put this one in cotton-wool, but kept it in an earthen pot, and so it did not hatch. After a while, thinking that the egg was added, she threw it on to the roof of the house. It fell from the roof into some rubbish under the eaves, and was not broken. Afterwards when the rains came, it was borne down by the water with the rubbish into a stream, and finally lodged in a yang-lai (or gya-n-yê) bush. Here the ashun, or king-crow, spied the egg, and carrying it off, hatched it; and from this egg came a boy and a girl, the progenitors of the Chin race. It was only a small hamlet of nine or ten houses where the Chin race was hatched; but as to the race of the people who lived in

1 Tenth Editir  col. XXVI. p. 46.
that hamlet, tradition naturally says nothing. To this day, out of gratitude to the benefactor of their ancestors, the Chins will not kill or eat the king-crow (or the long-tailed bald jay) which they will still speak of as their father and mother.

"After the boy and girl were born they were separated. When the boy grew up, as he had no mate, he made a bitch his wife. The Chin girl also grew up by herself, and was carried off by a bear, who placed her in a tree and kept her there. From this captivity she was delivered by a bee, which came to her and directed her to tie a piece of cotton to his tail, by means of which he guided her to where the male Chin was living in the valley of the river called by the Burmese, the Chindwin. In commemoration of this, when children are born a piece of cotton is tied to their hands. The man wished to make this woman his wife, but the woman objected, because the bee had told her that they were brother and sister. To settle this dispute they went to their Mother 'Li. Her order was that as the man had married a bitch, the bitch should be sacrificed, and the man should then marry the woman; that their sons and daughters should also intermarry, but after that the brother's daughters should marry the sister's sons. Hence arose the Chin customs of offering up a dog to the household spirits and of giving the daughters of brothers in marriage to those brothers' sisters' sons.

"Mother 'Li loved her youngest born son, but before she found him she had already partitioned off the world among her other children, and there was nothing but inhospitable mountain ranges left for the Chin. These she assigned to him, and she gave him also elephants and horses and cattle, and directed his Burman brother to look after his education. This Burman brother, however, turned out to be a very wicked and unscrupulous guardian. He pretended to educate the 'ignorant wild Chin,' but he showed him nothing but the blank side of his slate; so that he never learned a single letter. Before he put him on an elephant, he rubbed the elephant's back with cowhage, which so tickled the poor Chin's bare skin that he refused to have anything to do with such animals in future, and gave them all to his elder brother the Burman. The buffalo, too, the Burman managed to deprive him of. When the Chin tried to ride it, the Burman's wife put herself in the way and got knocked down. The Burman complained to Mother 'Li, who decided that the buffalo should be given over to the Burman in compensation for the injury done. Ultimately all the animals which had been given to him, goats and fowls and pigs were the only ones which remained in his possession.

"The grasping Burman did not even permit his brother to remain in undisturbed possession of his mountain home. When the boundaries of the different countries were marked out, the Burman took care to mark his with permanent objects, but the Chin set up no marks save some twisted knots of grass. These were burnt up by the jungle fires, and then as the Chin had no marks to show, he was ordered to live wherever the Burman allowed him. Thus his race has never had a country of its own, and wanders still over the mountain ranges of Burma.

"The origin of every Chin law and custom is religiously assigned by the Chins to the orders of Mother 'Li, the great mother of the human race, who is said to have laid down a complete code of laws for the guidance of her Chin progeny." 2

As Mother 'Li gave letters to other nations, so she did to the Chins also. The Burman paid not very much attention to the gift, but wrote the letters on leaves and stones; the Chin in his veneration towards the Giver wrote his language on parchment (deer's skin); but when no one was in the house, the dog came along and ate the skin. The Chin submitted as patiently as he could to the loss, but he still hopes, when he eats the flesh of his young dogs, as he

2 Col. Horace Browne, Gaster of Thayetmyo (1874), pp. 45, 49.
frequently does, to imbibe some of the wisdom which that progenitor of the race of dogs then swallowed. 3

Like the other hill-tribes, the Chins are much addicted to drinking "kaung, or rice-beer, and this gift is also attributed to Mother 'Li, and the Chins say that when it is prepared in the orthodox fashion it has the same consistency as Mother 'Li's milk. It was given them, they say, to maintain their strength after the lake of milk with which Mother 'Li had first endowed them was dried up. 'Kaung, however, is not offered to Mother 'Li, though it is always offered to the spirits (penates, or otherwise), and forms an essential part of every Chin marriage or funeral. Among the wild Chins, I believe, at the end of a big wedding, often not a single man, woman, or child is sober; and charges made before the village elders of adultery committed on such occasions have been summarily put aside on the ground that there was no person present at the time who was sober enough to know and to remember what took place. The Burmans, as Buddhists, are all, at any rate in theory, total abstainers from alcoholic liquors; and the Southern Chins, who have come very much in contact with them, have, at least, learnt to believe that it is not meritorious to get drunk, and many of them are free from the vice of intemperance. It should be added that it is not the Chin custom to drink 'kaung regularly, but they are addicted to very heavy drinking on the occasion of a feast or of making sacrifices (to the spirits).

Tribal System.

The Chins are divided into forty or more of clans, called a'so, each clan having its common ancestry, called 'kun. The 'kuns are often spoken of as male. There is also the (n)zö-yai ancestry worshipped only by the women, with an offering of dog's flesh; but of this, and of another tribal distinction called 'kó, little information can be got. The (n)zö-yai does not seem to be a female ancestry, but it is reckoned to be in the female line of natural birth. One may be adopted into a different 'kun, for the name is used of the clan, as well as of the original ancestor and of his deceased descendants, male and female; but one's (n)zö-yai can never be changed.

The Chin clans are all exogamous, i. e., a man may not marry a woman of his own clan; but, as we shall see later on, after the marriage ceremonies are over, the wife is initiated into her husband's clan, and has her wrists wrapped with cotton-yarn as a witness to all evil spirits that she is under the guardianship of the 'kun of her husband. So, too, all children, four or five days after birth, are admitted in like manner into the 'kun; and at the same time children have their ears bored. As to the origin of this last custom, the Chins have a strangely childish tradition. They say that if Pöi 'Kleuk, the Lord of the Underworld, spies a man who has not his ears bored, he will think that this is not a man but a rabbit, and will give chase. So to avoid this mistake, and the disaster that might attend it, all Chin infants have their ears bored.

If a Chin dies leaving a widow with young children, some months after his death she will return to her parents or elder brother, and she will be readmitted, with the children also, into her ancestral 'kun. Afterwards when the children are grown up, they may be readmitted into their father's 'kun. The widow, too, may marry again; and in that case will, of course, be

3 Of recent years the American Baptist Missionaries have, with somewhat modified success, adapted, for the Chin language, the Pwo-Karen alphabet, which is again a modification of the Burmese one. They have also published in that form a Chin spelling-book, an elementary catechism, a hymn-book, and a translation of St. John, i—vi. They are, however, I understand, doubtful as to the advisability of continuing to use these characters. In 1892, Mr. Bernard Houghton, I.O.S., issued his "Essay on the Language of the Southern Chins" (with grammar, vocabulary, and sentences), in which he used the Roman characters, and this has been found far more suitable for the purpose, although as there is as yet no reading public very little has been produced in that form.
admitted into the 'kun' of her second husband. If the string were not tied round their wrists on their admission into the 'kun', they would probably soon come to an untimely end, and on their death they would not be permitted to arrive at the land of Pôi 'Kleuk.

When two Chins who are strangers meet and enter into conversation, the first question is ordinarily, "What is your clan?" All of the same clan are regarded as brothers. Like all the hill-tribes and the people of the plains, too, of Burma, the Chins are hospitable according to their means, — and more especially so towards their brethren of the same clan.

The explanation which the Chins themselves give of their origin of the clans is that long, long ago each tribe, or clan, lived by itself on one mountain side, e.g., that the Mendet tribe originally lived in Mendet village. Nowadays even a small village may have members of an indefinite number of tribes.

Some of the clans, as the Mendet and Talan, are to be held in more honour than others; but as their daughters must marry into other clans than their own, and their own wives also must have come from other clans, there is a complete absence of caste feeling.

Certain sacrifices to the guardian nat (the Burmese name for "spirit") are performed by the Mendet and Talan clans alone. When they make these sacrifices, one person from each house, partaking in the sacrifice, brings a small measure (sadê) of uncooked rice with a little cotton-yarn on the top of it. A pig is sacrificed, and the rice is cooked. A stand for the offering to the nat is erected before the house where the worshippers assemble, and all the persons taking part in the sacrifice have their wrists wrapped round with the yarn. Then, after the pa'sen 'saiyd (their teacher or priest) has uttered the incantations, and the nat is satisfied and gives permission, they all eat to and feast.

Every year each clan will have a special sacrifice to their deceased forefathers, and will offer them pork and rice and 'kaung'. The pa'sen 'sayd invites the spirits to the feast, calling over their names, and if there have been any comparatively recent deaths (say within two or three years) in the clan, the spirits of these their relatives are enrolled in the 'kun'.

Propitiatory Ceremonies.

The Chins have a custom of offering first-fruits to Mother Ceres, whom they call Pôk Klai. They say that if she gives them but one look they will have plenty of rice, and they tell a somewhat gruesome story to explain the origin of the custom of offering first-fruits. "Once upon a time a woman had a daughter. Before her death, as she lay dying, she said to her daughter, 'After I am dead and cremated, I shall return, wearing my intestines as a necklace. You must remain on the stairs. I shall come up by the back stairs and verandah. When I come you must throw some of the kada-water (with which the corpse had been washed) over me. If you throw it I shall become a human being again.' Now when her mother came wearing her intestines as a necklace, the daughter was afraid, and durst not throw the kada-water upon her mother; so, because she dared not, this woman could not become a human being again. Yet afterwards, her mother showed her where the cucumber seeds and the sweet cucumber and pumpkin seeds were, and, giving her a command, said: 'My daughter, eat the first-fruit of the corn in its season.' So to this day the Chins eat the first-fruits of their corn, as a religious function. Before the men eat they make offerings in their yaa (corn, or vegetable patches) for their deceased ancestry to eat."

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* Perhaps "cousins" would be the better rendering; for the Chins, like the Burmese, call their cousins of the first, and even of the second or third remove, by the same words as are used for "brother" or "sister."

* i.e., taught her how to grow the vegetables required for their curry.
The Chins also propitiate the rain spirit, *Plaung 'Saw*, with offerings of cattle, pigs, and chickens, and, of course, with rice and *kaung* too. When this sacrifice is being held all the women must remain standing from 9 a.m. to 3 p.m.

When the Chins have sown their corn, they gather together in their fields and pray the Earth to lend herself (i.e., her increase) to them once again. If they do not thus petition the Earth to lend herself to them, but thanklessly and gracelessly clutch at what they can get without even so much as 'By your leave,' they may expect poor crops, and their children too will fall sick of fever through possession by the spirit. So they make an offering of a pig, a fowl, and a pot of *kaung*, and also of three large and one small wicker-basketfuls of rice. They also wrap cotton-yarn on a piece of bamboo about three-quarters of a yard long, and pour some water from the bamboo on the baskets of offerings and on the worshippers. Again, as has been already stated, after the harvest is reaped, they assemble in the fields to make to the ancestors and others an offering of the first-fruits, and then they can eat the new corn.

In their houses, too, some Chins will, before they take a meal, call upon their ancestral *'kun*, or some other spirit, and then throw away a little ball of rice for the summoned spirit to eat; but of late the custom has not been performed with much devotion, even where it is still kept up.

Chins will also offer on sundry occasions to their ancestors the flower of the *thabyét* or *sycopsis*, stones, cooked glutinous rice, and cotton.

The Chins have no images of Mother 'Li, of their *penates*, or of the other spirits whom they fear; and the figures of the king-crow and of the elephant, which are often carved on the top of the memorial posts placed in their ancestral cemetery, are not worshipped by them. Neither have they any chapels, temples, or other set places for assembly and for worship. Possession by an evil spirit does not connote with them either madness or moral turpitude, but merely sickness or some untoward accident.

Sickness or other trouble is supposed to be due to the animosity of some spirit-being, who has been provoked by something some one has done, probably unintentionally and in ignorance; but the consequence is the same, the spirit holds the man in his grip. The spirits are considered as capricious rather than wicked; though the people do not shrink from saying that they worship them because they (the spirits) are bad and therefore dangerous to them.

If a man strikes his naked toe against the ground, for they wear no boots or shoes, and his foot grows more and more painful after two or three days, he must propitiate the spirit of the ground, *(n)*pek'san'put, by an offering of cooked rice, which is placed in a small bamboo basket, and buried at the place where the man hurt his foot. So, it is hoped, the spirit may be appeased by the food given him.

Immediately after the birth of a child, *nats* have to be appeased by the offering of two chickens made underneath the house; otherwise they would cause the child to be for ever crying, and to be in bad health.

**The Spirits.**

The names and number of these spirits is legion, and the duty of the teacher is to show the people how to perform the sacrifices duly, and to utter the right incantations; otherwise the offerings would be ineffective. The common name for the teacher is *yai-shên*, (called by the Burmans *pun'san 'sarpè*), or *ok-mi* if skilled and respected. All these teachers recite rhythmically the customs relating to Mother 'Li, which they have received orally from their own teachers, and all of them are much given to the drinking of *kaung*. The *lai-lô*, who holds forth at marriages, is a less esteemed teacher, and is especially fond of liquor. The office of teacher is not hereditary; neither are they intent on keeping the knowledge of their sacred
lores to themselves. They are, at least among the Southern Chins, agriculturists like their
neighbours, and a viliager who is not skied enough in the traditions to be a yai-sen may
yet be a mong "ten (i.e., of "skilled lip") and able occasionally to make certain
offerings in the absence of one more skilled than himself.

Some spirits may be satisfied if a chicken is offered in sacrifice, and a little of the flesh and
some cooked rice thrown on the ground for them to eat; but generally a miniature house has
to be constructed for the spirit (or sat, as the Burmese would call him), and offerings made of
dogs, or pigs, or bullocks, or buffaloes. Sometimes whatever offerings may be made, the mind
of the sat cannot be appeased; and in such cases, of course, the man dies. The pa-sun "sayy" would not find the people so ready to listen to him, I imagine, were it not that the occasion
of a sacrifice is almost the only time that the Chins eat any other than vegetable curry with
their rice.

Cosmology.

The Chins conceive of the world as a flat surface, which is supported by two giants
(n)Söng and (n)Höél. Sometimes to ease their shoulders they change the position of the
load somewhat, and this is the cause of the earthquakes. The weight of the earth has caused
awful sores on their shoulders, and as, after the manner of Chins, they do not wash the sores
freely, much less use antiseptics, maggots have bred on their wounds, and these maggots are
as big as elephants, so I have heard them say.

Forked lightning is considered to be the work of a spirit called (n)Glot; and
meteorites sometimes found are called (n)Glot's teeth. Of the sheet lightning, so common
in mild evenings, sundry accounts are given; but there seems to be common to these varying
traditions the attributing of the lightning to two spirits (one or both female), the one placed
in the east and the other in the west, who wink at one another out of mutual affection.

The rainbow is called the yawning of the dragon, and when they speak of an eclipse of
the sun or moon they say that "the dog bites" or "catches" them; but I have not heard
from any Chins the explanation of these sayings.

Witches.

The Chins are afraid of witches; but, as has been the case with other peoples, they find
great difficulty in learning for certain whether a given woman is a witch or not. If they knew
it they would certainly drive the woman out of the village, and perhaps resort to further
violence. Like the Burmese, they believe that witches have the power by their incantations
to introduce foreign matter into the bodies of those whom they hate, and so to cause them to
sicken and die. It is the custom of the Chins to cremate the dead, and they think that
when a witch is cremated, her bowels, which they conceive to be anything but human in their
formation, will explode with a loud noise; and so the relatives of one who is suspected of
being a witch will, when she is cremated, take care to put some big bamboo on the pyre, along
with the cutch wood which is always used on such occasions, so that when the explosion takes
place they may be able to affirm confidently that it was not her body that exploded, but the
bamboos.

Law.

In the former days the Chin elders would decide all manner of questions and disputes
that might crop up in a village, in accordance with Chin customary law; and the expenses
of litigation were but pots of "kaung", and sometimes also a pig for sacrifice and consumption.
Nowadays, the powers of the elders are limited to their religious customs, including, of course,
questions of marriage and divorce. Other matters come before the Government representative,
the thuyi (i.e., head man), to whom they must give "the cost of a quid of betel" (commuted
in these jungle villages at one rupee), on referring any matter for his decision. The Chin
national custom of taking an oath was to hold a sprig of the Eugenia (shalay) in his hand whilst
giving his evidence. It may be noted that the Burmese when victorious in war would crown
themselves with chaplets made of the leaves of the same tree. Disputes are not frequent in
Chin villages, and even under the British rule, which in practice unfortunately seems to foster
litigation, it is very rare that the Chins ever appear in any case in the courts.

Manner of Life.

The Chin manner of life is of the simplest, and before the days of the British occupation
they were very chary of leaving their homes. The Chin requires very little, excepting salt
and a dd (or chopper), which he cannot get for himself; though he frequently nowadays has
all kinds of luxuries unknown to his forefathers, e. g., ngapi (i. e., pickled fish, generally more
or less putrid), earthenware jars, matches and lamps. The bamboo alone gives him material
for the walls, floor, and roof of his house, for his mats, cups, and waterjugs, for handles to
his tools, for his weaving implements, for his baskets of all sizes, and for his substitute for
twine. By rubbing two little pieces of bamboo together he can at once make a fire; and he can
also make musical instruments of sorts from the bamboo. He grows his own corn (rice), and
thatches and poons it himself. In his ya he also grows all the vegetables he requires for his
curry, beyond what can be found growing wild in the jungle, and cotton too, which his wife
spins into yarn and weaves into garments and blankets. The dyes which he requires, and he
has a considerable number of them, including indigo, he manufactures himself mainly from
plants, either wild or cultivated. He grows his own tobacco, though, like the Burman, he spoils
it in the drying, and he manufactures his pipe from a little bamboo. Formerly the Chins were
only able to take up the laborious and wasteful taunj-yd method of cultivation, whereby
fresh patches of jungle must be cleared each year for that year’s crop, as they had no
paddy-fields (t) and often neither bullocks nor buffaloes; but of recent years they have slowly
been improving their condition. In all his work, excepting the cutting of the jungle for ya,
or the cutting down of bamboos and timber generally, and in ploughing, in the few cases
where he has paddy-fields, the wife and daughter of the Chin take their full share.

The Chins are a very simple-minded people, and have not that facility in lying which most
Orientals seem to possess; that is to say, the Chins may lie freely, but they cannot ordinarily
lie boldly and consistently. I have been told by a magistrate who had lived among the
Northern Chins, a savage people whose greatest delight, until the British occupied the country
a few years ago, was to go head-hunting along the neighbouring mountains, that a bold liar
was considered a great acquisition in any of these villages, and that whenever a Government enquiry
was to be made on any point “the liar” was brought forward to answer all questions. The
Chins have been, and are, perpetually being defrauded by their more wily Burman neighbours,
who keep up the character ascribed to their ancestor in Chin folklore. The Chins have
saying that “the Burman language is the most simple and straightforward of languages, but
the Burmese man is the most crooked and deceitful of men.”

Tattooing.

Until a few years ago every girl on reaching the age of puberty had her face tattooed.
In the Northern Chin Hills this tattooing is done chiefly in rings and dotted lines; but among
the Southern Chins, who were hemmed in by the Burmans, the whole face from the roots of
the hair on the forehead, round by the ear to the neck, including even the eye-lids, was tattooed,
and that so thickly and darkly that at a distance the whole face looked indigo, and only a close
inspection would disclose the patterns worked on the face. It is not the Chin hereditary
custom for boys or men to be tattooed; but now they mostly have their body and thighs tattooed
as the Burmese do, whose manner of dress they also generally follow. The reason generally
given by the Chins themselves, and by others, of this strange custom of tattooing their
women’s faces is that they wished to make them ugly, so that there would be less danger of their
being forcibly carried off by the Burmese ; though some Chins attribute this custom also to Mother 'Li's injunctions. I should imagine that the custom of tattooing the faces of the women goes back far beyond the time when the Burmans grew strong enough to harass the Chins.

**Burmese Influence.**

In the days before the British occupation of Lower Burma, the Southern Chins who had been driven down southwards along the mountains by pressure from their fellow countrymen in the north, had found for their abode a land naturally more fertile than their old home ; but they were perpetually harassed by the Burmans. Whenever a Burman was seen near a Chin village, the whole population would flee, if there was opportunity ; for the Burmese, and more especially the officials, seem to have regarded the Chins as their legitimate prey. In those days the Chins were desperately poor : sometimes a man would be sold into slavery, or would sell his children, on account of a debt amounting to no more than a shilling, and few Chins had any cattle. Occasionally a band of Burmans, villagers who lived perhaps a day's march away, would surround a Chin village and carry off forcibly as slaves all the youths and maidens ; on such occasions they would sometimes give Rs. 5 or Rs. 10 to the parents, as a proof. I suppose, should the matter ever possibly come to the ears of the Government, that these were slaves lawfully purchased. Sometimes the women were set free after a number of years when they had ceased to be attractive to their captors or purchasers, and when they could no longer get through as much work as when they were young. At other times the Chins fared still worse. The village would be surrounded by armed men, generally headed by a Government official, and the men who were not able to make good their escape into the surrounding woods were slaughtered. The Chin women, too, were first ravished and then slaughtered ; and sometimes even the babes would be thrown up in the air and caught on the points of spears. The village, and all that could not be carried away, was burnt or destroyed ; and many even of those who had escaped into the woods died of starvation and exposure. As the Chin who told me said, "those were terrible times."

Latterly, the Chins have largely copied the language and dress of the Burmans, and to some extent their religion and other customs, — though without throwing over their own hereditary practices altogether. "If you do not know the fashion in dressing your hair, follow the mode in your village," says a Burmese proverb; and certainly, if we may judge from their acts, the Chins seem largely to approve of that motto. In some few villages not only have the Chins given up most of their national customs, but the children do not even know the Chin language. In the Census Reports, decade by decade, a larger percentage of the Chins and other hill-tribes is returned as Buddhist; thus in the Prome District in 1872 there were 16,300 persons returned as animists, in 1901 the number was 8,632. "Nor is Buddhism yet a moribund faith, for it is still attracting to it Shamanist or nat-worshipping Karens that have not yet fallen within the influence of the Christian missionaries . . . . The fact that no attempt at proselytising is attempted by the Buddhist clergy is probably an inducement to the uncultured to join them. The savage looks upon the missionary with suspicion. He cannot readily understand that the missionary's motives are disinterested, whereas he sees the advantage of joining such a religion as Buddhism, as it raises him in the social scale. Moreover, he need not abandon his tutelary gods. It is this easy tolerance that has facilitated the spread of Buddhism. It may be taken as an axiom that the more thorough the conversion from one religion to another is, the more difficult it becomes to obtain converts. But this easy tolerance of Buddhism has led to its becoming adulterated in the process of absorption of the wilder creeds. As a matter of fact, however, the Chins are at present between two stools and there is much room for Christianity as a means of raising them. As a rule they will more or less

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* He thereby practically becomes a Burman, much as the Tauriac becomes a Russian by joining the Orthodox faith.

+ Census Report (Burma), 1891, pp. 59-60.
frequently kneel before the Buddha's image and join with the Burmese in their festivals, and yet they follow the customs of their forefathers. They dread the evil spirits and revere the name of the Great Parent of all good, but hardly worship that power. Their worship is mainly a propitiation; and what need, think they, is there to propitiate their Parent who loves them dearly, and ever does them good? Very few Chins have any real affection for Buddhism, though they can see the beauty of the moral law laid down as binding on the Buddhist 'householders' or laity. Since the British occupation the Chins have been less attentive, as I have been informed by the people themselves, to the religious ordinances incumbent on Buddhists than they were before; for now they do not need the material protection which the profession of Buddhism used to give them, by raising them from the state of 'savages,' the lawful prey of any one, to that of civilized men.

Marriage Customs.

When a little girl is born she is placed under the guardianship of an elder brother, or cousin or uncle, on her father's side, and when she grows up she may not marry without his consent,—though this is rarely denied when there is persistence on the part of the sweethearts. Of course, the parties to a Chin marriage must be of different clans, and the ancient customs must be followed. Pre-nuptial chastity does not seem to be very highly esteemed among the Chins, and the parties often, if not generally, live together openly before marriage. Infidelity after marriage is not very common in the remote villages. Girls are generally married at fifteen years of age onwards; boys when two or three years older. If a girl reaches twenty or twenty-five years of age and is yet unmarried, she is counted an old maid and avoided by the young men; indeed, it is not considered creditable, and hardly reputable. A marriage should take place only in the hot weather, on or just before the full moon of the months of Tabouwu and Ka'pung. If the parties elope together, the youth may then, or afterwards, be fined Rs. 60; but this is rather a following of Burmese customary law.

Some time previous to the marriage the youth will have gone with some comrades to the house of his prospective brother-in-law, taking some 'kaung' with him. This time nothing is said about marriage; but, I suppose, if the 'kaung' is tacitly accepted it implies consent on the part of the guardians of the girl. After that the parents of the youth will go with him to her brother or parents, and formally ask for her in marriage for their son. The girl's parents or brother will then settle what kind of wedding feast the youth's parents must provide, that is to say, what pigs have to be sacrificed for the feast. On the day fixed for the wedding the friends and relatives of the bridegroom will assemble very early at the bride's house, the men bringing the pigs required, and the girls carrying 'kaung' in gourds. Sometimes there will be as many as twenty or thirty girls thus carrying 'kaung.' These will all sit on or by the steps of the house where the bride lives, and none of the bridegroom's party may go in without contributing a pot of 'kaung.' The friends and relatives of the bride also bring 'kaung' in pots, and in addition chickens and rice for the feast. The 'kaung' is put into a huge jar into which two bamboo tubes are inserted, and through these they all suck the beer.

In the meanwhile a little porker has been killed, and the village elders examine its liver. If certain marks are seen on the liver, it is declared to be insidious, and a second porker is killed. When the bridegroom is in real earnest, if this second liver, too, is pronounced to be insidious, a third little pig is offered; but if now, too, the fates declare against it, the marriage may not take place. The brother or parents of the girl would not allow the marriage, for there would be no children born of it; or, if there should be, they would die early, or some other dread misfortune would befall them. So the wedding is stopped, and they give the youth a present on account of the expense and inconvenience he has been put to, and this present is called a 'wiper away of tears.' But if, as is ordinarily the case, the fates have been more propitious, the tanzi pig, of medium size, which has been presented by the youth to his father-in-law, is slaughtered and cooked to serve as food for the bride's company,
the "superior" company as it is generally called. The bridegroom's or "inferior" company on the other hand eat of the chickens provided and cooked for them by the "superior" company. This rule about eating is strictly kept, or at least any breach of the rule brings about a fine of a pot of 'kaung'. The two companies sit and eat separately, but drink from the same jar, though through different tubes.

The two pigs mentioned above are always killed at a Chin wedding, and sometimes the bride's brother or parents insist also on the offering of a huge tusker, and occasionally even of a fourth pig as a special offering to the spirits. Under certain special circumstances yet other pigs may have to be offered, over and above what may be demanded to satisfy the appetites of the guests. The "inferior" company cook the pigs which they have brought, and wait on the bride's relatives and friends at the wedding breakfast; then these in their turn serve those with the chickens and rice they have brought. After that, all young and old men and women drink freely. The marriage is considered as settled and confirmed when the bride's brother eats of the pork which the groom's party have prepared.

After that one of the bride's party, or some other of their friends who may be skilful in the precepts of Mother 'Li, will recite these to the bridegroom. Presents are also interchanged, and her parents give the bride her share of their property. Before and during the marriage the bridegroom has to pay very great deference to his elder brother-in-law. The bridegroom is also exhorted to treat his wife kindly and with due respect. "Do not beat our sister," say they, "so as to make blood flow, or to raise a festering sore. If she is stupid and will not obey you, correct her by word of mouth, or at least with moderation. If you beat her so as to break a bamboo over her, or to break her bones, she will run away back to her brother." After this the drunken lal-lo "teacher" also recites rhythmically the precepts of Mother 'Li amidst his liberal portions of 'kaung'. Soon after mid-day the function is over, and the bridegroom's friends are summarily dismissed; the "superior" party will pour water over them, or beat them with the tubes through which the 'kaung' has been drunk. The bride is then conducted to her father-in-law's house, where she is admitted into her husband's clan, the bridegroom's mother and sisters wrapping cotton-yarn round her wrists. She afterwards gives them a chicken or a pig, yarn or money for this service. After a woman has been married, and the young people have been established in a new home, she has by Chin law no more inheritance in her parents' house.

Should the young husband be violent in his treatment of his wife, she can demand to be separated from him, receiving a full share of their united property and also in addition a bullock as compensation. More frequently, however, matters are settled peaceably by apologies and offerings of pigs and of 'kaung for a feast. Husband and wife may mutually agree to part, and then, as in the Burmese custom, they divide equally their acquired property between them. If the husband alone wishes to separate, he must give his wife Rs. 60 over and above her half of the property; and very few Chins have so much money. If the wife wishes to leave her husband without any offence on his part, she must leave behind everything she possesses. Still there are among the Chins but few cases of separation, i.e., of divorce, and the husband and wife generally get on fairly well together. In these days it is more customary for the young people to continue to live, until perhaps a second child may be born, with the parents of one of them; and if with the bride's parents, they would only receive the dowry when they set up house for themselves. A few days' labour, or a few weeks' labour, would make all the difference between a mean house and one above the average,—and this built at no other cost than their own labour at a time when they might otherwise have been doing nothing.

Sometimes, on account of the expense, a man is unable to marry the woman with whom he lives, and who may have borne him two or three children. Should she die without ever having been lawfully married, the husband is bound to go through the marriage ceremony with the corpse; and the wife at last will be admitted into the 'kan of her husband.
Burial Customs.

All sickness or accident is, as has been already stated, supposed to be directly due to the action of some supernatural being, and when this spirit refuses to be appeased by the offerings made to him, the man must die. The body is then washed with water, in which the leaves of the katu plant have been steeped, and the hair is combed. A small chicken is killed, and tied by a string to the big toe of the deceased. This chicken will accompany the deceased to the other world, and will peck at the caterpillars lying in the way, which might otherwise incommode the traveller to that far-off land. Other chickens are sacrificed, and pigs also; and if the man was fairly well-to-do, buffaloes and bullocks too,—for the welfare of the deceased and to provide a feast for the visitors. Whenever bullocks or buffaloes are sacrificed, the blood is mixed with rice or “bread” and then put into the large intestines and roasted. A portion of this, too, is thrown away for the spirits to eat, and the rest is eaten by the guests.

Rice-beer (‘kaung) is prepared before a man dies, for it takes four or five days to brew; and were all left to the last, there might not be found time to make it before the body would have to be disposed of. Should this happen, or should there be no yai-shen present to utter the incantations, the corpse is buried; and then after a year it is unearthed, and the burial customs are duly performed. Chicken and rice and ‘kaung are from time to time given to the corpse to eat; and the yai-shen, sitting between the liquor and the corpse, chants the customs of Mother ‘Li. All the village, and many visitors from a distance, flock to a big funeral; but if the body is to be buried there will only be a very few present. Often the women, and formerly the men too, would dance in front of the dead man’s house.

A piece of wood, nearly four feet in length, is carved with a figure of the bird (the king-crow) or an elephant on the top of it; or in the case of a poor man a piece of bamboo is cut, and the end of it is made into a fringe. This is called the (n)klo-seung, and is put into the dead man’s hand. The yai-shen utters his charms, and the spirit of the deceased is bidden to take up his abode in this stick. Before the corpse is removed from the house, the (n)klo-seung is taken away and set up in the ground somewhere outside the village.

Frequently, too, a wooden spear and a wooden gun were put into the hands of the dead man; or in the case of a woman the loom of her loom. There is also put into the dead man’s hand money to pay as ferry-charge over the stream of death. Sometimes a piece or two, or two annas it may be, or sometimes as much as Rs. 10, or even more, is given. This money, as well as the little chicken tied to the big toe of the deceased, and the pawn-zeng thread is burnt at the cremation of the body. Five small pieces of bamboo, wound round with thread (red, white, black, green, and yellow) called pawn-zeng, are also put into the hands of the deceased for him to take with him to the land “over there.” The neighbours make an offering of a pig for sacrifice, also called pawn-zeng; and the master of the house gives a big pig (called laun-gd) for the guests to eat. A wake is kept up the whole night before a funeral; “There can be no sleeping.” The whole village attend the corpse to the burning-ground, which is not far away; but all, excepting a few men, return before the cremation actually takes place. The funeral pyre is of no great height, and is made of cutch-wood, as this is found to be the best for burning. The few who remain by the fire imbibe still more ‘kaung, and keep the fire up until the body is consumed. Then they gather the charred bones and put them in a new earthen pot of the ordinary kind, such as are in daily use. The pot is for a time, at least in the rains, or when the people are otherwise busy, placed on a small stand made for it under a tree outside the village fence. Afterwards, at a convenient season, the bones are conveyed away.
to the ancestral burial-place, which is generally situated in some remote jangle. It is usual for a person to be cremated about three days after his death. A burial would normally take place within twenty-four hours of the death.

The spirit of the dead man should take up its abode in the (n)’klo-seung; but the living are much afraid that it may not do so. They do not believe that the life “over there” is a very joyous one; being rather of the view of Achilles, whose shade told Ulysses that it was better to be a slave on earth than a prince in Hades. The dead man is told that he may not linger more than seven days in his old house; for they believe that the spirits of the dead look with envy on the living, and that they will harm them. The night before they take away the charred bones to the cemetery (a-yoibaung) they interrogate the pot of bones. They ask him what disease he died of, and will say “Let it be that he died of fever if the pot feels light; of some other disease if it feels heavy”; and then they test it. Again they ask him if he is still lingering about here, or does he now inhabit “that country,” and the answer is given in the same way as before.

Next morning they start off early, and if the deceased was a person of any means at all, they will carry with them an elaborately carved memorial post of cutch-wood to erect in the cemetery. On the top of the post will be carved the figure of an elephant or of a bird; and beneath that six-parallel circles will be cut round the post in the case of a male, and five in the case of a female. In the case of an unmarried girl all her private belongings are taken and deposited by the pot of bones, and in every case rice, chicken, ngapi, chillies, betel, and tobacco will be left for the soul of the departed to enjoy.

I do not find it possible to reconcile all the traditions and ideas held by the same individual Chin; and perhaps it would be too much to expect that they should admit of being harmonized, — and more especially so with regard to matters concerning the future life. Certainly the Chins generally do not seem to believe in the doctrine of the transmigration of souls; yet my chief informant gave me the following information in Chin writing: — “We, Chin people, must die when the rice given to our spirits on their departure from their former existence is finished. We can only remain in this existence as long as that rice lasts. The people who had much given them [lit. “brought much with them”] live long. This rice is put in small baskets outside the village fence before the corpse is removed from the house for cremation.” The writer went on to add, what is indeed more in accord with the general traditions, but scarcely consonant with the above. “When a woman dies her husband will cry out by the corpse, ‘when you come to Poi Kleuk tell him that I am left behind here; and ask him to call me before long.’ Now when [he adds] people with some little property die, bullocks and buffaloes are offered in sacrifice that they may find favour when they present themselves before Poi Kleuk; but if the people are poor they make offerings of pigs and fowls.”

But to return to the funeral. When the people convey the pot of bones to the cemetery, they take with them some cotton-yarn, and whenever they come to any stream or other water, they stretch a thread across, whereby the spirit of the deceased, who accompanies them, may get across it, too. When they have duly deposited the bones and food for the spirit in the cemetery they return home, after bidding the spirit to remain there, and not to follow them back to the village. At the same time they block the way by which they return by putting a bamboo across the path.

The spirit, however, has not finished his travels yet. It must go on until it comes to the stream of white water, on the other side of which dwells the Lord of Hades, Poi Kleuk. He will cry out to Poi Kleuk, and after he appears will let the breeze waft, streamer-like
across the water, the thread which is let loose from the paaum-zang bamboo that
were burst along with the corpse at the cremation; for the shades of the little chicken
and of this thread have accompanied the deceased on his journey to his comfort and assistance.
Then, after the thread has been duly fastened, the spirit goes across to receive his judgment
for the deeds done in the body. Sometimes a spirit is terrified on account of his past misdeeds,
and will endeavour to escape. But though the spirit may run, there is no remedy; for Pói 'Kleuk has a dog, who will bite the runaways, and they dare not face him. In his terror
the spirit will climb the tree of hell; but the mighty Pói 'Kleuk will shake the branches, and
the poor wretch will fall into the cauldron of hell, which is full of boiling water. Or, if he
climb to the top of the tree, the dreadful vulture, hak-kyi, will devour his vitals. There is no escape. He must come down and receive his just punishment. There is no need to utter
the sentence of condensation. Pói 'Kleuk merely points to them with his fourth, called 'the
nameless,' finger, and they go away to be roasted in hell.

The Chins have some belief in a happier land, but their ideas on this subject are not very
tangible; and it is difficult to know how far the hope, which they sometimes express, that they
may be enabled to go by the straight and narrow way into the presence of the Great Parent
of all good, and there for ever abide, is derived, directly or indirectly, from Christian teaching.

BOOK-NOTICE.

DIE MON-KHMER-VÖLKER EIN BONDEGILIEN ZWISCHEN
VÖLKEREN ZENTRALASIEN UND AUSTROASIENS.
(Reprinted from the Archiv für Anthropologie, Neue
Folge, Band 1, Heft 1 u. 2.)

This work, also from the pen of Pater Schmidt,
appeared originally in the Archiv für
Anthropologie, and has been reprinted in another
form at Brunswick in the same year. In it, we
have the summing up of the author's researches
into the Mon-Khmer languages and his final
conclusions as to their relationship, whether
mutual or to other forms of speech. A detailed
account of its contents would occupy too much
space, and moreover can be found in the pages of
the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for
January 1907 by those who are interested in the
subject. I confine myself here to stating the
results to which his enquiries have led Pater
Schmidt, and which, in my opinion, he has
conclusively proved. Briefly, they are these:—

(a) There is a group of languages called Mon-
Khmer, which is closely connected not only with
several tongues spoken on the Burma-Chinese
frontier, such as Palaung, Wa, and others, but
also with the speech of certain aboriginal
tribes of Malacca, with Nicobarese, with the
Khais of Central Assam, and with the Mundž
languages of Central India. It is further to be
remembered that under the last head must be
included a number of extinct sub-Himalayan
dialects, reaching as far west as Kandjar, traces
of which still plainly survive in the Tibeto-
Burman languages spoken by the descendants of

those who employed them. To this group of
Mon-Khmer-Malacca-Mundž-Nicobar-Khais
languages Pater Schmidt has given the name of
"Austronesian," and he shows that not only are all
the different forms of speech mutually related, but
that their speakers have the same physical type.

(b) In former works the learned author showed the existence of another group of languages, the
"Austronesia," which includes three related sub-groups, the "Indonesia," the "Melanesian,
and the "Polynesia," covering the areas indicated by their respective names. In a second
part of the work under notice, he undertakes the
task of comparing, by rigorously scientific
methods, the Austronesian and the Austronesian
languages, and of proving that these two groups
of speeches are ultimately related to each other,
and form together one great united whole which
he calls the "Austric" family. This speech-
family is the most widely spread of those whose
existence has been established since the birth of
comparative philology. The tract over which it
extends reaches from the Panjāb in the West to
Easter Island, off the coast of South America, in
the East; and from the Himalayas in the North to
New Zealand in the South. Such a result,—and
I do not think that any one can seriously impugn
the arguments on which it is founded,—ample
justifies us in maintaining that Pater Schmidt's
work is one of the most important contributions
to comparative philology which has issued from
the press in recent years.

George A. Grierson.
A PLAN FOR A UNIFORM SCIENTIFIC RECORD OF THE LANGUAGES OF SAVAGES.

Applied to the Languages of the Andamanese and Nicobarese.

BY SIR RICHARD O. TEMPLE.

(Continued from p. 203.)

II.¹

The Theory of Universal Grammar applied to the Andamanese Languages.

Prefatory Remarks.

I.

The Andamanese are divided into twelve Tribes belonging to three Groups or Divisions, as under, from North to South (vide Map attached):

1. The Yërau or Northern Division, consisting of the Chàriâr, Kôri, Tâbô, Yëre and Kede Tribes.
2. The Bejunggii or Southern Division, consisting of the Jôwai, Kôl, Bojgyôb, Balawa and Bëa Tribes.
3. The Ongi-Jarawa or Outer Division, consisting of the Ongi and Jarawa Tribes.

Port Blair is situated in the Bëa Territory, and that Tribe and its language are consequently by far the best known and the Bejunggii is the best known Group or Division.

Every Tribe has its own set of names for itself and all the others, and these names have constant conventional prefixes and suffixes attached to them, making the names long and unwieldy. In this Grammar the Bëa set of names has been adopted, and for convenience of presentation they have been stripped of the habitual prefixes and suffixes attached to them (vide Appendix C).

Also, except where otherwise specially stated, all examples and all vernacular words quoted are taken from the Bëa (aka-Bëa-da) speech. Diacritical marks are not used except where unavoidable.

Lastly, it is necessary to note that Colebrooke's Jarawa Vocabulary made in the XVIIIth Century was gathered from one individual of the Tribe and not from several persons, as has been hitherto supposed.

I. — GENERAL DESCRIPTION.

a. — Philological Value.

The Andaman Languages are extremely interesting from the philological standpoint, on account of their isolated development, due to the very recent contact with the outer world on the part of the speakers. Of the speech of the only peoples, who may be looked upon as the physical congeners of the Andamanese, — the Samangs of the Malay Peninsula and the Acts of the Philippine Archipelago, — no Vocabulary or Grammar is available to me of the latter, and the only specimen of the Samang tongue I have seen bear no resemblance or roots common to any Andamanese Language.

The Andamanese Languages exhibit the expression only of the most direct and simplest thought, show few signs of syntactical, though every indication of a very long etymological, growth, are purely colloquial and aching in the modifications always necessary for communication by writing. The Andamanese show, however, by the very frequent use of ellipsis and of clipped and curtained words, a long familiarity with their speech.

¹ Largely reprinted with additions and many corrections from Chapter IV. of Part I. of the Census Report, Indics, 1901, Vol. III. Since this article was written, Skeat and Blagden's Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula has appeared, but I have not been able to collate it for the present purpose.
The sense of even Proper Names is usually immediately apparent and the speakers invariably exhibit difficulty in getting out of the region of concrete into that of abstract ideas, though none in expanding or in mentally differentiating or classifying ideas, or in connecting several closely together. Generic terms are usually wanting, and specific terms are numerous and extremely detailed. Narration almost always concerns themselves and the chase. Only the absolutely necessary is usually employed and the speech is jerky, incomplete, elliptical and disjointed. Introductory words are not much used and no forward references are made. Back references by means of words for that purpose are not common, nor are conjunctions, adjectives, adverbs and even pronouns. An Andamanese will manage to convey his meaning without employing any of the subsidiary and connecting parts of speech. He makes out with a clever mimicry a great deal by manner, tone and action; and this habit he abundantly exhibits in the form of his speech. His narration is, nevertheless, clear, in proper consecutive order and not confused, showing that he possesses powers of co-ordination.


The general indications that the Languages give of representing the speech of undeveloped savages are confirmed by the intense anthropomorphism exhibited therein. As will be seen later on, the Andamanese regard not only all objects, but also every idea associated with them, as connected with themselves and their necessities, or with the parts of their bodies and their attributes. They have no means of expressing the majority of objects and ideas without such reference; e. g., they cannot say “head” or “heads,” but must say “my, your, his, or ———'s, this-one's, or that one's head” or “our, your, their, or ———'s, or these one's, those one's heads.”

But though they are “savage” languages, limited in range to the requirements of a people capable of but few mental processes, the Andamanese Languages are far from being “primitive.” In the evolution of a system of pre-fixation in order to intimately connect words together, to build up compounds and to indicate back references, and in a limited exhibition of the idea of concord by means of post-inflection of pronouns, they indicate a development as complete and complicated as that of an advanced tongue, representing the speech of a highly intellectual people. These lowest of savages show themselves to be, indeed, human beings incomparably superior in mental capacity to the highest of the brute beasts.

c. — Agglutinative Form.

The Andamanese Languages all belong to one Family, divided into three Groups, plainly closely connected generally to the eye on paper, but mutually unintelligible to the ear. They are agglutinative in nature, synthesis being present in rudiments only. They follow the general grammar of agglutinative languages. All the affixes to roots are readily separable, and all analysis of words shows a very simple mental mechanism and a low limit in range and richness of thought and in the development of ideas. Suffixes and prefixes are largely used, and infixes also to build up compound words. As with every other language, foreign words have lately been fitted into the grammar with such changes of form as are necessary for absorption into the general structure of Andamanese speech.

d. — Samples of Minuteness in Detailed Terms.

The following are examples of the extent to which the use of specific terms to describe details of importance to the Andamanese is carried by them.


Stages of the day: — Wainyala, first dawn: sławinga, before sunrise: bọdolá dətəinga, sunrise: waininga, early morning: bọdolá kətəinga, morning: bọdolá kəngu, full morning: bọdo

1 Liti, black skin.
2 Liti, early to-morrow morning: dilmu, liti, early morning that is past: dilmu, dilmu, niyga, liti, this morning: waininga dilmu-liti, early every morning.

e. — Specimen of Andamanese Method of Speech.

The following account of a story, abstracted with corrections from Portman, of an imaginary pig-hunt as told by a Bôa ëremdu (forest-man) for the amusement of his friends, will go far to explain the Andamanese mode of speech, and the form that its Grammar takes.

The narrator sits on the ground, facing a half circle of lounging Andamanese. After a short silence, he leans forward with his head bent down. Suddenly he sits erect with brightening eyes and speaks in a quick, excited way, acting as if carrying on a conversation with another person. "In how many days will you return?" And then answering as if for himself: "I will come back early in the morning, I am off pig-hunting now." A pause. "I am going." Very suddenly. "You stay here in my place." Moving as if going away. "I am going away." Squeaking like a young pig with pantomime of shooting it. "It is only a little pig. I will bring it to the hut." Moving his shoulders as if carrying. "They can roast it here." Wave of the hands signifying that the pig was of no account. "I will start early to-morrow morning after a big one, — a big pig." Motions of hands to show length and breadth of pig. To an imaginary friend. "I will sharpen pig arrows to take with me. Come after me and we will hunt together." Imitation with the hands of a pig running, shooting arrows, slap on the left breast, squeals of several wounded pigs, and so on. A pause. "You bring them in readiness to cook for me." Directions by pantomime to other persons as to the pigs. "They were cooking them for me in the hut, cooking them well." Brightens up and begins again. "I will bring several more." Pretends to listen. "We have got them here. The dogs have barked." And so on for hours.

The actual expressions for such a story are:

How many? day—past you come. Morning—in I come. Then I pig
dele. Kam wai do. Kam wai do ona. Dî drîg—len
hunt. Here indeed I. Here indeed I come (go). Me-place—in
here. Indeed I go away—do. Pig—little. Here indeed I take come.
Wai kâ eda otojî. Do itîtî dôga—i. Reg
Indeed here they roast. I (in—this) early—morning big—(pig)—for. Pig
dôga. Do ôla vëjit’—ke. Dî—okamun—is.5 Kaich dî—drôlo.
Do—ny’—igâle. Dî drôtolema tk ona. Wai dî—at otojî—ka
I—you—hunt. Me—before take come. Indeed me—sake cooking —were
Wai eda ikkânawa—re.
Indeed they bark—did.

Nothing could show more clearly how "savage" the speech is in reality, how purely colloquial, how entirely it depends on concurrent action for comprehension. When the party, who were out with Mr. Vaux when he was killed by the Jârawas in February, 1902, returned, they explained the occurrence to their friends at the Andamanese Home in Port Blair by much action and pantomime and few words. The manner of his death was explained by the narrator lying down and following his movements on the ground.

* i. e., of to-morrow.
* This is not a Bôa form; probably borrowed from Bojigáby.
f. — Bibliography. 6

a. — Books.


1883. Man. *Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands*: London. (Many references to older writers.)


1898. Portman. *Notes on the Languages of the South Andaman Group of Tribes*: Calcutta (Government). (Many references to older writers.)

b. — Journals.

1794. Colebrooke, in *Asiatic Researches*.


c. — Pamphlets.


II. — GRAMMAR.

a. — History of the Study.

I have taken so large a share in the development of the knowledge of the Andamanese tongue that a brief personal explanation is here necessary to make clear the mode of presenting it that now follows.

The first person to seriously study the Andamanese Languages and reduce them to writing was Mr. E. H. Man, and in this work I joined him for a time soon after it was commenced, and in 1877 we jointly produced a small book with an account of the speech of the Bojignyjida Group, or more strictly, of the Bêa Tribe. We then worked together on it, making such comparisons with the speech of the other Andaman Tribes as were then possible and compiling voluminous notes for a Grammar and Vocabulary, which are still in manuscript. In 1882 the late Mr. A. J. Ellis used these notes for an account of the Bêa Language in his Presidential Address to the Philological Society.

In compiling our manuscript, Mr. Man and myself had used the accepted grammatical terms, and these Mr. Ellis found to be so little suited for the adequate representation for scientific readers of such a form of speech as the Andamanese, that he stated in his Address that: — "We require new terms and an entirely new set of grammatical conceptions, which shall not bend an agglutinative language to our inflectional translation." And in 1888 he asked me, in a letter, if it were not possible "to throw over the inflectional treatment of an uninfllected language."

b. — History of the Theory of Universal Grammar.

Pondering, for the purpose of an adequate presentation of Andamanese, on what was then a novel, though not an unknown, idea, never put into practice, I gradually framed a Theory of Universal Grammar, privately printed and circulated in that year. This Theory remained unused, until Mr. M. V. Portman compiled his notes for a *Comparative Grammar of the Bojignyjida (South Andaman) Languages* in 1898, based avowedly, but not fully, on my theory. These notes I examined in a second article on the Theory of Universal Grammar in the *Journal*.

* In addition to the article mentioned in the Preface to this article.
of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1899, which again was subjected to the favourable criticism of Mr. Sidney Ray, who has since successfully applied it in outline to sixteen languages, selected because unrelated and morphologically distinct, viz.,

1. English.
2. Hungarian.
3. Latin.
5. Anam, French Cochin China.
6. Ashanti, West Africa.
7. Kaffir, South Africa.
8. Malagasy, Madagascar.
9. Olo Ngadju or Dayak, South East Borneo.
12. Mortlock Isds, Carolines Group, Micronesia.
13. Moia, Banks' Islands, Melanesia.
15. Awabakal, Lake Macquarie, Australia.

c. — Position of the Andamanese Languages in the General Scheme of the Theory.

The next point for consideration is: Where do the Andamanese Languages come into the general scheme? This will be shown in the following general account of them, and as the grammatical terms used will be novel to the reader, the corresponding familiar terms will be inserted beside them in brackets, wherever necessary to make the statements clear in a familiar manner. Diacritical marks will only be used when necessary to elucidate the text.

d. — Examples of Sentences of One Word.

The Andamanese Languages are rich in integer words, which are sentences in themselves, because they express a complete meaning. The following examples are called from Portman's lists:—

### TABLE OF INTEGER WORDS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hurrah</td>
<td>We</td>
<td>Yui</td>
<td>Yui</td>
<td>Yui</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I don't know</td>
<td>Uchin</td>
<td>Maka</td>
<td>Konkete</td>
<td>Koen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very well : go</td>
<td>Uchik</td>
<td>Kobale</td>
<td>Koi</td>
<td>Koi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(with a lift of the chin)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humbug</td>
<td>Akanoiyadeke</td>
<td>Akanoiyadeke</td>
<td>Omkotichkake</td>
<td>Okamkotichschin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oh : I say</td>
<td>Peteke</td>
<td>Ya</td>
<td>Kalat</td>
<td>Yokokone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ironical)</td>
<td></td>
<td>{ Kalaitata }</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It's broken</td>
<td>Turushno</td>
<td>Turuit</td>
<td>Turush</td>
<td>T'ruish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Back me up</td>
<td>Jegdo</td>
<td>Jegdo</td>
<td>Jaklengi</td>
<td>Atokwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Say 'yes'</td>
<td>Kak</td>
<td>Ya</td>
<td>Kaka</td>
<td>Alô</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not exactly</td>
<td>Cho</td>
<td>Ya</td>
<td>Aikut</td>
<td>Kene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonsense</td>
<td>Ewe (drawled)</td>
<td>Wai (drawled)</td>
<td>Kote</td>
<td>K'lo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes (ironical)</td>
<td>Chunko</td>
<td>Chunye</td>
<td>Chunyeno</td>
<td>Chunye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What a stink</td>
<td>Chunye</td>
<td>Chunye</td>
<td>Chunyeno</td>
<td>Chunye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How sweet</td>
<td>Pue</td>
<td>Pue</td>
<td>Pue</td>
<td>Pue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(smell, with a puffing out of the lips)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2 Portman is so frequently inaccurate that it must be understood that throughout this article, wherever he is quoted it is with corrections.
3 This is doubtful.
THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
<th>BÉA</th>
<th>BALAWA</th>
<th>BOJIGVĂR</th>
<th>JEWAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>It hurts</td>
<td>Iyî</td>
<td>Yi</td>
<td>Yi (drewled)</td>
<td>Eyō (indignantly)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oh (shock)</td>
<td>Yite (with a gasp)</td>
<td>Yite</td>
<td>Yite</td>
<td>Jite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't worry</td>
<td>Ijyimaaingata</td>
<td>Ijyimaaingata</td>
<td>Iramyolano</td>
<td>Remjolokne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is it so?</td>
<td>An wai?</td>
<td>An yatya?</td>
<td>En kōle?</td>
<td>An k'le?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lor</td>
<td>Kākātek</td>
<td>Kakate</td>
<td>Keleba</td>
<td>Alōbai</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**Elliptical Speech.**

Portman's *Vocabulary* shows that the habit of speaking by integers, i.e., single words, or by extremely elliptical phrases, is carried very far in Andamanese, and the *Fire Legend* themselves give the clearest instances of it, in so far as these legends have been recorded by Portman.

The Bēa version winds up with the enigmatic single word “Tömola,” which has to be translated by “they, their ancestors, were the Tömola.” In the Köl version occurs the single-word sentence “Kōlotake,” itt. “Kōlotake be,” which has to be translated: “Now there was one Kōlota.” In the first instance, one word in the indicator (noun) form completes the whole sense; in the second, one word in the predicate (verb) form does so. Such elliptical expressions as the above and as the term of abuse, “Ngabgōrob” (ng + ab + gōrob, you + special—radical—prefix + spine), would be accompanied by tone, manner, or gesture to explain its meaning to the listener. Thus, the latter would be made to convey “You humphack,” or “Break your spine,” by the accompanying manner.

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**Portman’s Fire Legend in the Bēa Version dissected to illustrate Grammar.**

The Andamanese sentence, when it gets beyond an exclamation or one word, is capable of clear division into subject and predicate, as can be seen by an analysis of the sentences in a genuine specimen of the speech, Portman’s “Fire Legend” in the five languages of the South Andaman (Bojigutji) Group. In the Bēa Language it runs thus:

**Bēa Version of the Fire Legend.**

(a Place)—in God asleep—was. (a Bird) firewood stealing bring-did.
chōpā-la Pāluga-la pūgāt—ka. Pāluga-la bōi—ka. Pāluga-la chōpā firewood God burning—was. God awake—was. God firewood
eni—ka. a įk chōpā—inik Lūratāt pot-puguri—re.12 īk Lūratāt-la seizing—was. he taking firewood—by (Bird) throw—at—did. at-once (Bird)
eni—ka. a Tārheko10 pot-puguri—re. Wōta-Emi-bairaj—len Chāunga-tēbanga taking—was. he (a Bird) throw—at—did. Wōta-Emi-village-in The —ancestors
oko—dol—re.14 Tōmola.

made—fires. Tōmola.

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**Portman’s Rendering (amended).**

God was sleeping at Tōl-oko-tima. Lūratăt came, stealing firewood. The firewood burnt God. God woke up. God seized the firewood; took the firewood and threw it at Lūratät. Then Lūratăt took (the firewood); he threw it at Tārheko in Wōta-Emi village, (where then) the Ancestors lit fires. (The Ancestors referred to were) the Tōmola.

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10 Cf. Man’s *Andaman Islanders*, p. 99.
11 One of the (?) six kinds of the Andamanese Kindfisher.
12 This expression means “threw a burning brand at,” a common practice among the Andamanese. It has been extended to meet modern requirements to denote “shooting with a gun,” the flash from which is likened to that from a burning brand when thrown.
13 Probably an error for Chāleko, the generic term for the kindfishers.
14 This expression is elliptical. Chōpā, firewood: chōpā-tēdē, the eye of the firewood, a fire: chōpā-oko-tēdē, firewood-eye-do (make), make a fire.
h. — Subject and Predicate.

Taking this Legend sentence by sentence, the subject and predicate come out clearly thus: — (P. = predicate; S. = subject).

1. Toll'okotimalen (P.) Pulungala (S.) mamika (P.).
2. Luratutla (S.) chapatapnga (S.) omore (P.).
3. Chapala (S.) Pulungala (P.) pugatka (P.).
4. Pulungala (S.) boika (P.).
5. Pulungala (S.) chapa (P.) enika (P.).
6. A (S.) ik (S.) chapalik (P.) Luratut (P.) lotpugurire (P.).
8. A (S.) Tarcheker (P.) lotpugurire (P.).
10. Tomolola (S.) (P. unexpressed).

i. — Principal and Subordinate Words.

That the words in the above sentences are in the relation of principal and subordinate is equally clear thus: —

1. In the Predicate, Toll'okotimalen is subordinate to the principal mamika.
2. In the Subject, Luratutla is the principal with its subordinate chapatapnga.
3. In the Predicate, chapa is subordinate to the principal enika.

And so on, without presentation of any difficulties.

j. — Functions of Words.

The next stage in analysis is to examine the functions of the words used in the above sentences, and for this purpose the following abbreviations will be used: —

**Abbreviations used.**

- int.: integer
- in.: indicator
- e.: explicator
- p.: predicator
- ill.: illustrator
- c.: connector
- intd.: introducer
- r. c.: referent conjunctor
- r. s.: referent substitute
- c. in.: complementary indicator
- c. e.: complementary explicator
- c. ill.: complementary illustrator

In this view the sentences can be analysed thus: —

1. Toll'okotimalen (ill. of P.) Pulungala (in.) mamika (p.).
2. Luratutla (in.) chapa (e. in.) -tapnga (p., the whole an e. phrase) omore (p.).
3. Chapala (in.) Pulungala (c. in.) pugatka (p.).
4. Pulungala (in.) boika (p.).
5. Pulungala (in.) chapa (c. in.) enika (p.).
6. A (r. s., in.) ik (e.) chapalik (ill.) Luratut (c. in.) lotpugurire (p.).
7. Jek (r. c.) Luratutla (in.) enika (p.).
8. A (r. s., in.) Tarcheker (c. in.) lotpugurire (p.).
9. Wota-Emi-baraiflen (ill. phrase of P.) Changa-tabunga (in. phrase) okodaire (p.).
k. — Order of Sentence.

By this analysis we arrive at the following facts. The purposes of all the sentences is information, and the Andamanese indicate that purpose, which is perhaps the commonest of speech, by the order of the words in the sentence thus: —

1. Subject before Predicate:
   Pulungala (S.) boika (P.).

2. Subject, Complement (object), Predicate:
   Pulungala (S.) chapa (c. in.) enika (P.).

3. Indicator (noun) before explicator (adjective):
   Luratulua (in.) chapa-tapaga (a. phrase) omore (p.).

4. Illustrator of Predicate (adverb) before Subject:
   Tole'okotimalen (ill. of P.) Pulungala (in.) mamika (p.).
   But illustrators can be placed elsewhere, thus:
   A (r. s. used as in.) ik. (p. of elliptic c. phrase, c. in. unexpressed)
   chapa lik (ill.) Luratulua (c. in.) l'otpagurire (p.).

5. Referent conjunctor (conjunction) commences sentence:
   Jek (r. c.) Luratulua (in.) enika (p.).

6. Referent substitutes (pronouns) follow position of the original:
   A (r. s. in.) Tarcheker (c. in.) l'otpagurire (p.).

From these examples, which cover the whole of the kinds of words used in the sentence, except the introducers and connectors, the absence of which is remarkable, we get the following as the order of Andamanese speech:

A. (1) Subject, (2) Predicate.
B. (1) Subject, (2) Complement (object), (3) Predicate.
C. (1) Indicator (noun) before its explicator (adjective).
D. Illustrator (adverb) where convenient.
E. Referent conjunctors (conjunctions) before everything in connected sentences.

We have also a fine example of an extremely elliptical form of speech in the wind up of the story by the one word "Tomolola" as its last sentence, in the sense "the ancestors who did this were the Tomolola." Jek Luratulua enika is also elliptic, as the complement is unexpressed.

l. — Order of Connected Sentences.

Connected sentences are used in the order of principal and then subordinate:

Pulungala chapa enika (principal sentence) and then a ik chapalik Luratulua l'otpagurire (subordinate sentence), after which jek Luratulua enika (connected sentence joined by "jek, at once"), and then a Tarcheker l'otpagurire (subordinate to the previous sentence).

The sentences quoted show that the Andamanese mind works in its speech steadily from point to point in a natural order of precedence in the development of an information (story, tale), and not in an inverted order, as does that of the speakers of many languages.

m. — Interrogative Sentences.

It may also be noted here, though no interrogative phrases occur in the Fire Legend, that the Andamanese convey interrogation by introducers (adverbs) always placed at the commencement of a sentence or connected sentences.

13 We have this in English: "suddenly John died; John suddenly died; John died suddenly."
The introducers of interrogation in Bēa are Ba? and An? And so, too, "Is ______? or ______?" are introduced by "An ______? an ______?" Either these introducers are used, or an interrogative sentence begins with a special introducer, like "Tēn? Where Michiba? What? Mijia (honoriïfic form), or Mija? Who?" and so on.

n. — The Mode of expressing the Functions and the Interrelation of Words.

But the Andamanese do not rely entirely on position to express the function of the sentence and the functions and interrelation of its words. By varying the ends of their words, they express the functions of such sentences as convey information, and at the same time the functions of the words composing them.

Thus, the final form of Pulugila, Luratatula, chapula, Tomotola proclaim them to be indicators (nouns) of mamika, boika, pugatka, omare, okotaka, l otpugurire, to be predicats (verbs) of chapata-punya (phrase) to be an explicator (adjective) of Toll'okotima-len (phrase), chapulik, Wota-Emi-barajien (phrase) to be illustrators (adverbs).

o. — Expression of Intimate Relation.

The intimate relation between words is expressed by change of form at the commencement of the latter of them.

Thus in Luratat (n. in.) l otpugurire (p.), where Luratat is the complement (object) and l otpugurire is the predicate (verb), the intimate relation between them is expressed by the l of l otpugurire. So again in Tarzhek l otpugurire.

In phrases, or words that are fundamentally phrases, the same method of intimately joining them is adopted.

Thus Toll'okotima-len means in practice "in Toll'okotima," a place so named, but fundamentally Toll ______ l' ______ okotima-len
Toll (tree) ______ (its) ______ corner — in
means "in (the encampment at, unexpressed) the corner of the Toll (trees, unexpressed)."

Here the intimate relation between Toll and okotima is expressed by the intervening l'.

The actual use of the phrases is precisely that of the words they represent. Thus,
Wota-Emi-baraj-len
Wota-Emi-village-in

Here a phrase, consisting of three indicators (nouns) placed in juxtaposition, is used as one illustrator word (adverb).

p. — Use of the Affixes, Prefixes, Infixes, Suffixes.

It follows from what has been above said that the Andamanese partly make words fulfill their functions by varying their forms by means of affixes.

Thus they use suffixes to indicate the class of a word. E.g., ka, re, to indicate predicats (verbs): ka, da, for indicators (nouns): nga for explicators (adj.): len, lik for illustrators (adverbs). They use prefixes, e.g., l', to indicate intimate relation, and infixes for joining up phrases into compound words, based on the prefix l'.

It also follows that their functional affixes are prefixes, infixes, and suffixes.

It is further clear that they effect the transfer of a word from class to class by means of suffixes.

Thus, the compound indicator (noun) Toll'okotima is transferred to illustrator (adverb) by suffixing len: indicator (noun) chapata to illustrator (adverb) by suffixing lik: indicator (noun) phrase Wota-Emi-baraj to illustrator (adverb) by suffixing len: predicata (verb) top (-ke, -ka, -re) to explicator (adj.) by suffixing nga.
A very strong instance of the power of a suffix to transfer a word from one class to another occurs in the Köl version of the Fire Legend, where Kölolat-ke occurs. Kölolat, being a man's name and therefore an indicator (noun), is transferred to the predicate (verb) class by merely affixing the suffix of that class. The word Kölolatke in the Köl version of the Fire Legend occurs as a sentence by itself in the sense of "now, there was one Kölolat."

q. — Differentiation of the Meanings of Connected Words by Radical Prefixes.

Fortunately in the sentences under examination, two words occur, which exhibit the next point of analysis for elucidation. These are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>chapala</th>
<th>Pulugala</th>
<th>pugat—ka</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>firewood</td>
<td>God</td>
<td>burning—was</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

and then

| a Tarcheker | l’otpguri - re |
| he (a Bird) | throw-at—did |

a ik chapa—lik | Lurat | l’otpguri - re |
he taking firewood-by (Bird) throw-at—did

Here is an instance of connected words, one of which is differentiated in meaning from the other by the affix at, prefixed to that part which denotes the original meaning or root (pugat, pāguri) of both. Therefore in Andamanese the use of radical prefixes (prefixes to root) is to differentiate connected words.

The simple stem in the above instances is pugat and the connected compound stem ot-tpguri. Similarly okotima, okodalre, occurring in the Fire Legend, are compound stems, where the roots are tima and dal.

r. — Indication of the Classes of Words — Qualitative Suffixes.

The last point in this analysis is that the words are made to indicate their class, i.e., their nature (original idea conveyed by a word) by the Andamanese by affixing qualitative suffixes, thus:

ka, re to indicate the predicate class (verbs): nga, to indicate the explicator (adj.) class: la, da to indicate the indicator (noun) class: lik, len to indicate the illustrator (adverb) class.

s. — Composition of the Words.

The words in the sentences under consideration can thus be broken up into their constituents as follows:


| (1) Mami (S.) — ka (S. Q.), Sleeping — was. | (7) Ik (S.), tak — (ing). |
| So also pugat-ka, boi-ka, eni-ka. | |
| (2) Chapa (S.), firewood. | (8) Chapa (S.) — lik (S. F.), firewood — by. |
| (3) Tap (S.) — nga (S. Q.), steal — ing | (9) l’ (P. F.) — ot (P. R.)— puguri (R.) — re (S. Q.), (referent prefixes) — throw at — did |
| (4) Omo (S.) — re (S. Q.), bring — did | (10) Jak (S.), At-once. |
| (6) A (S.), He. | (12) Oko (P. R.) — dal (R.) — re (S. Q.), — eye-make — did (lighted). |
t. — The Agglutinative Principle.

Words are therefore made to fulfill their functions in the Andamanese Languages by an external development effected by affixes and to express modifications of their original meanings by a similar internal development. Also, the meaning of the sentences is rendered complete by a combination of the meanings of their component words with their position and form.

The sentences analysed further show that the Languages express a complete communication chiefly by the forms of their words, and so these languages are Formative Languages; and because their affixes as will have been seen above, are attached to roots, stems and words mainly in an unaltered form, the languages are Agglutinative Languages. It will be seen later on, too, as a matter of great philological interest, that the Languages possess premutation (principle of affixing prefixes) and postmutation (principle of affixing suffixes) in almost equal development: intromutation (principle of affixing infixes) being merely rudimentary.

u. — Identity of the Five Languages of the Southern Group of Tribes.

The above observations, being the outcome of the examination of the ten sentences under analysis, are based only on the Béa speech, but a similar analysis of the sentences conveying the Fire Legend in the five South Andaman Languages (Bojigaiji Group), as given in Appendix A, would fully bear out all that has been above said. With the aid of this Appendix is here attached a series of Tables, showing roughly how these languages agree and differ in the essentials of word-building, premising that they all agree in Syntax, or sentence-building, exactly. An examination of the Tables goes far to show that the Andamanese Languages must belong to one family.

### Comparative Tables of Roots and Stems of the same meaning occurring in the Fire Legend.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Béa</th>
<th>Balawa</th>
<th>Bojigaiji</th>
<th>Juval</th>
<th>Köl</th>
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<td>ik</td>
<td>ik</td>
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<td>bring</td>
<td>omo</td>
<td>omo</td>
<td>lechi</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>burn</td>
<td>pugat, peguri</td>
<td>pugurn</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wake</td>
<td>boi</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>konyi</td>
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</table>

Referent Substitutes (pronouns).

- he     | a    | i, ong | ong | a |
- (they) | ...  | ongot | n'ong | n'a |

### Comparative Table of Affixes occurring in the Fire Legend.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Köl</th>
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<td>(hi-, it-)s</td>
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<td>l'-, t'-'</td>
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<td>k'</td>
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<tr>
<td>(their-)s</td>
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<td>...</td>
<td>n'-</td>
<td>...</td>
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### The Indian Antiquary

**Prefixes, radical.**

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<tr>
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<td>oto-</td>
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<td>...</td>
<td>ir-, iram-</td>
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<td>...</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
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<td>ong-</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>ong-</td>
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**Suffixes, functional.**

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**Suffixes, qualitative.**

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<td>-ye, -an</td>
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<td>-an, -chine</td>
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<td>(hon. of in.)</td>
<td>-la, -ola</td>
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Many further proofs of the existence of the Andamanese Languages as a Family, sub-divided into three main Groups, will be found later on when considering that great difficulty of the Languages, the use of the prefixes, and it will be sufficient here to further illustrate the differences and agreements between those of the South Andaman Group by a comparison of the roots of the words for the parts of the human body, a set of words which looks preponderatingly before the Andamanese mental vision.

### Comparative Table of Roots and Stems denoting Parts of the Human Body.

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<td>bang</td>
<td>tomur</td>
<td>kólang</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pulled to pieces, Andamanese words of any Group of the Languages seem to be practically the same, but this fact is not apparent in actual speech, when they are given, in full with their appropriate affixes, thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>forehead</td>
<td>igmúguda</td>
<td>idmúgu</td>
<td>irmikeda</td>
<td>remikekile</td>
<td>erminekeche</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Any one who has had practice in listening to a foreign and partially understood tongue knows how a small difference in pronunciation, or even in accentuation, will render unintelligible words philologically immediately recognisable on paper.

III. — ETYMOLOGY.

a. — The Use of the Roots.

As the Andamanese usually build up the full words of their sentences by the simple agglutination of affixes on to roots and stems, the word construction of their language would present no difficulties, were it not for one peculiarity, most interesting in itself and easy of general explanation, though difficult in the extreme to discover: *expero credo*.

The Andamanese suffixes perform the ordinary functions of their kind in all agglutinative languages, and the peculiarity of the infixed *l* occurring in compound words depends on the prefixes. It is the prefixes and their use that demand an extended examination.

b. — Anthropomorphism colours the whole Linguistic System.

To Andamanese instinct or feeling, words as original meanings, i.e., roots, divide themselves roughly into Five Groups, denoting—

1. mankind and parts of his body (nouns):
2. other natural objects (nouns):
3. ideas relating to objects (adjectives, verbs):
4. reference to objects (pronouns):
5. ideas relating to the ideas about objects (adverbs, connecting words, Proper Names).

The instinct of the Andamanese next exhibits an intense anthropomorphism, as it leads them to differentiate the words in the First Group, i.e., those relating directly to themselves, from all others, by adding special prefixes through mere agglutination to their roots.
c. — The Use of the Prefixes to the Roots.

These special radical prefixes, by some process of reasoning forgotten by the people and now obscure, but not at all in every case irrecoverable, divide the parts of the human body into Seven Classes; thus, without giving a full list of the words in each class —

Radical Prefixes in Words denoting Parts of the Human Body by Classes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Ea.</th>
<th>Balawa</th>
<th>Bougyâs</th>
<th>Jûwai</th>
<th>Kûl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. Head</td>
<td>ot-</td>
<td>ât-</td>
<td>âto-</td>
<td>âto-</td>
<td>âto-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brains</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neck</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heart</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hand</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wrist</td>
<td>oog-</td>
<td>ong-</td>
<td>on-</td>
<td>on-</td>
<td>on-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knuckle</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nail</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Foot</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ankle</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mouth</td>
<td>akâ-</td>
<td>aka-</td>
<td>o-</td>
<td>òkâ-</td>
<td>o-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tongue</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jawbone</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lip</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoulder</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thigh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knees</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. Shin</td>
<td>ab-</td>
<td>ab-</td>
<td>ab-</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>o-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belly</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Navel</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Armpit</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eye</td>
<td>i, ig-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eyebrow</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forehead</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. Ear</td>
<td>ìg-, ik</td>
<td>id-</td>
<td>ir-</td>
<td>re-</td>
<td>er-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nose</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cheek</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arm</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breast</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI. Spine</td>
<td>ar-</td>
<td>ar-</td>
<td>ar-</td>
<td>ra-</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leg</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Buttock</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hip</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII. Waist</td>
<td>âto-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

d. — Prefixes to Words referring to the Human Body.

Next, in obedience to their strong anthropomorphic instinct, the Andamanese extend their prefixes to all words in the other Groups, when in relation to the human body, its parts, attributes and necessities, and thus in practice, refer all words, capable of such reference, to themselves by means of prefixes added to their roots. In an Andamanese Language one cannot, as a matter of fact, say "head," "hand," "heart," one can only say —

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>my</th>
<th>yours</th>
<th>his</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(so &amp; so) — %</td>
<td>(that one) — 's</td>
<td>(this one) — 'a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

head, hand, heart.
e. — The Prefixes of Intimate Relation.

It is thus that the otherwise extremely difficult secondary functional prefix (always prefixed to the radical prefix, which is usually in Boijnggij 1e- or ka- (but practically always used in its curtailed form i- or k'-, n'-, t'- in certain circumstances) is clearly explainable. It is used to denote intimate relation between two words; and when between two indicators (nouns) it corresponds to the English connecter (of), the Persian iradat (-i-), and so on, and to the suffix denoting the "genitive case" in the inflected languages. The Andamanese also use it to indicate intimate relation between predicative (verb) and complement (object), when it corresponds to the suffix of the "accusative case" in the inflected languages, and indeed to "cases" generally.

f. — The Prefix System.

Starting with these general principles, the Andamanese have developed a considerable system of prefixes, making their language an intricate and difficult one for a foreigner to clearly apprehend when spoken to, or to speak so as to be readily understood.

As examples of this, let us take the stem bēri-nga good: da-bēri-nga, good (human being); un-bēri-nga (good hand, ong pref. of hand), clever; ig-bēri-nga (good eye, ig pref. of eye) sharp-sighted; akā-bēri-nga (good mouth or tongue, akā pref. of month and tongue), clever at (other Andamanese) languages; ot-bēri-nga (good head and heart, ot pref. of both head and heart), virtuous; un-t-ig-bēri-nga (good hand and eye, ong pref. of hand, ig pref. of eye, joined by t' pref. of intimate relation), good all round.

So, too, with jābag, bad: ab-jābag, bad (human being); un-jābag, clumsy; ig-jābag, dull-sighted; akā-jābag, stupid at (other Andamanese) languages, also nasty, unpalatable; ot-jābag, vicious; un-t-ig-jābag, a duffer.

So again with lāma, failing: un-lāma (failing hand or foot), missing to strike; ig-lāma (failing eye), failing to find; ot-lāma (failing head), wanting in sense; akā-lāma (failing tongue).

Lastly, in the elliptic speech of the Andamanese, the root, when evident, can be left unexpressed, if the prefix is sufficient to express the sense, thus: —

t-bēri-nga-da! may mean, "his-(face, pref. i)-good-(is)." That is, "he is good-looking!"

d'-akā-chāma-ke! may mean "my-(mouth, pref. akā)-sore-is." That is, "my mouth is sore!"

g. — Prefixes to Words relating to Objects.

The system of using radical prefixes to express the relation of ideas to mankind and its body is extended to express the relation of ideas to objects in general. Thus: —

ad-bēringa, well (of the body): ad-jābag, ill (of the body); akā-lāma (applied to a weapon), failing to penetrate the object struck through the fault of the striker. So ig-bēringa means pretty (of things): akā-bēringa. nice (to taste): all in addition to the senses above given.

This is carried, with more or less obvious reference to origin, throughout the language. Thus: —

In Bēa: yōb, pliable, soft. Then a cushion, wax or sponge is ot-yōb, soft: a cane is ēto-yōb, pliable: a stick or pencil is akā-yōb, or oko-yōb, pointed: the human body is ab-yōb, soft: Class II. of its parts (hand, wrist, &c.) are ong-yōb, soft; fallen trees are ar-yōb, rotten; an adze is ig-yōb, blunt.

So again, in Bēa: chōrogna, tying up (whence also that which is usually tied up in a bundle, viz., a bundle of plantains, faggots). Then ot-chōrogna is tying up a pig's carcasse: akā-chōrogna, tying up jack-fruit: ar-chōrogna, tying up birds: ong-chōrogna, tying up the feet of sucking pigs.

h. — General Sense of Prefixes to Roots.

Possibly the feeling or instinct, which prompts the use of the prefixes correctly, could be caught up by a foreigner, just as the Andamanese roots might be traced by a sufficiently patient etymologist, but it would be very difficult and would require deep study. The Andamanese themselves, however,
uncerfully apply them without hesitation, even in the case of such novel objects to them as cushions, sponges and pencils; using *ō* in the two former cases, because they are round and globular, and *ākā* in the latter, because they are rounded off at an end. In both these cases one can detect an echo of the application of the prefixes to the body: *ō* of head, neck, heart, &c.; *ākā* of tongue, chin, &c.

Portman gives somewhat doubtfully the following as the concrete modifying references of such prefixes to the names of things:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ō</em></td>
<td>round things</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ēto-</em></td>
<td>long, thin, pointed, or wooden things</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ākā</em>-</td>
<td>hard things</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ēr-</em></td>
<td>upright things</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ēg-</em></td>
<td>weapons, utensils, things manufactured</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ēad-</em></td>
<td>speech (noises) of animals</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With this habit may be compared the use of numeral coefficients in Burmese and many other languages.

From Portman also may be abstracted, doubtfully again, the following modifying abstract references of some of the radical prefixes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ō</em>- <em>o</em>- <em>ō</em></td>
<td>special relation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ēg</em>- <em>īk</em>- <em>ī</em></td>
<td>reference in singular to another person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ēji</em>-</td>
<td>reference in plural to another person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ēb</em>- <em>ēp</em>-</td>
<td>reference to ideas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ēkā</em>-</td>
<td>reference to self</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ēar</em>- <em>ēra</em></td>
<td>plural reference to persons generally</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ēar</em>- <em>ēra</em></td>
<td>(also) agency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ēad</em>-</td>
<td>action of self</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ēab</em>-</td>
<td>action or condition transferred to another in singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ēoio</em>-</td>
<td>action transferred to others in plural</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following preliminary statement of the function of the radical prefixes can, therefore, be made out: *viz.* to modify the meanings of roots by denoting:

1. the phenomena of man and parts of his body;
2. the phenomena of objects;
3. the relation of ideas to the human body and objects;
4. reference to self;
5. reference to other persons;
6. ideas; *i.* *a.* (a) actions of self, (b) actions transferred to others, (c) actions of others (agency);
7. reference to ideas.

---

**i. — The Use of the “Personal Pronouns.”**

The habit of the Andamanese of referring everything directly to themselves makes the use of the referent substitutes for their own names (personal pronouns) a prominent feature in their speech. These are in full in the Bojigijji Group as follow:

**The “Personal Pronouns.”**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td><em>d'ol-la</em></td>
<td><em>d'ol</em></td>
<td><em>t'ū-le</em></td>
<td><em>t'ū-le</em></td>
<td><em>la-t'ū-le</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thou</td>
<td>ng'ol-la</td>
<td>ng'ol</td>
<td>ng'ū-le</td>
<td>ng'a-kile</td>
<td>la-ng'ū-le</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He, she, it</td>
<td>ol-la</td>
<td>ol</td>
<td>u-le</td>
<td>a-kile</td>
<td>laka-u-le</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We</td>
<td>m'ōlō-chik</td>
<td>m'ōlō-chit</td>
<td>m-u-le</td>
<td>m'é-kile</td>
<td>la-m'ū-le</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You</td>
<td>ng'ōlō-chik</td>
<td>ng'ōlō-chit</td>
<td>ng'ūwe'l</td>
<td>ng'e-l-kile</td>
<td>la-ng'ūwe'l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They</td>
<td>bōlō-chik</td>
<td>olo-chit</td>
<td>n'ū-le</td>
<td>n'e-kile</td>
<td>kuchla-u-le</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
j. — Limited Pre-inflexion.

In combination with and before the radical prefixes the "personal pronouns" are abbreviated thus in all the languages of the Bojigayûi Group:

Abbreviated "Pronominal" Forms.

I, my ... ... ... ... { d'- in Bûa, Balawa
thou, thy ... ... ... ... { t'- in Bojigayû, Jûwai, Kûl
he, his, &c. ... ... ... ... ng' - in all the Group
we, our ... ... ... ... ... ... m' - in all the Group
you, your ... ... ... ... (ng' - in Bûa, Balawa, Bojigayû
they, their ... ... ... ... ... ... t - in Bûa, Balawa,
this, that one ... ... ... ... ... ... t - in Bojigayû, Jûwai,
that one ... ... ... ... ... ... t - in all the Group

In this way it can be shown that there are no real "singular possessives" in Andamanese, as the so-called "possessive pronouns" are merely the abbreviated forms of the "personal pronouns" plus ta (-da), &c. = belonging to, (property); thus —

"Possessive Pronouns."

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
<th>Bûa</th>
<th>Balawa</th>
<th>Bojigayû</th>
<th>Jûwai</th>
<th>Kûl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>my, mine</td>
<td>d'ia-da</td>
<td>d'ège</td>
<td>t'îya-da</td>
<td>t'îye-kîle</td>
<td>t'îye-che</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thy, thine</td>
<td>ng'ia-da</td>
<td>ng'ège</td>
<td>ng'îya-da</td>
<td>ng'îye-kîle</td>
<td>ng'îye-dele</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>his, her, its</td>
<td>ia-da</td>
<td>ege</td>
<td>iya-da</td>
<td>eyes-kîle</td>
<td>iye-dele</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The "plural possessives" have been brought into line with the expression of plurality by radical prefixes, as will be seen later on.

Now, it is easy enough to express on paper the true nature of the above abbreviations by the use of the apostrophe, but in speech there is no distinction made. Thus, one can write "d'un-lâmère, I missed (my) blow," but one must say "duñâlâmère." So one can write ng'ot-jûbâg-da, "you (are a) vicious (brute)," but one must say ngotjûbâg-da. So also one can write:

\[ \text{d'ûn-t'îg-jûbâg} \]
formerly

\[ \text{d'ûn-t'îg-hûrî-nga} \]
now

\[ \text{d'ûn-t'îg-hûrî-nga} \]

(odde I was a duffer, now I am good all round).

But one must say "dûn-dûntjûbâg bûdëre, dëchëk dûntjûbëringa." It would, therefore, be correct to assert that, though Andamanese is an agglutinative tongue, it possesses a very limited pre-inflexion, i.e., inflexion at the commencement of its words.

Limited Correlated Variation (Concord).

The Andamanese also express the intimate relation of the "personal pronouns" with their predications (verbs) by a rudimentary correlated variation (post-inflexion in the form of concord) of forms thus: —

mûnî-ke — mûnik-ka mûnî-re mûnî-nga
sleeping-is sleeping-wa sleep-did sleep-ing
Then,

do mâmi-ke ... ... I am sleeping
da mâmi-ka ... ... I was sleeping
da mâmi-ré ... ... I slept
dona mâminga ... ... I (me) sleeping

This peculiarity is shown in all the Bojigongi Group, except Kól; thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
<th>BÉA</th>
<th>BALAWA</th>
<th>BOJNYÀN</th>
<th>JÚWAI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>tuk</td>
<td>te</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thou</td>
<td>ngo</td>
<td>ngo</td>
<td>nguk</td>
<td>nge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He, she, it</td>
<td>a, o</td>
<td>ong</td>
<td>uk</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We</td>
<td>móëche</td>
<td>mút</td>
<td>mút</td>
<td>me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You</td>
<td>ngóëche</td>
<td>ngongot</td>
<td>nuk</td>
<td>ngel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They</td>
<td>eda</td>
<td>óngot</td>
<td>net</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

“In the Present Tense” (ke).

| I       | da  | do     | tong     | te    |
| Thou    | ngá | ngo    | ngong    | nge   |
| He, she, it | a   | ong    | ong      | a     |
| We      | meda | mongot | mút      | me    |
| You     | ngeda | ngongot | ngonget  | ngel  |
| They    | eda | óngot  | net      | ne    |

“In the Past Tense” (ka and re).

“In the Present Participla” (nga).

| I       | dona | ... | tong     | tón   |
| Thou    | ngona | ... | ngong    | ngùn  |
| He, she, it | oda | ... | ong      | òn    |
| We      | moda | ... | mút      | mon   |
| You     | ngoda | ... | ngowel   | ngówel |
| They    | oda  | ... | nong     | ne    |

1. — Expression of Plurality by Radical Prefixes.

The examination of the “pronouns” shows that the Andamanese can express things taken together (plural) as well as things taken by themselves (singular). This in their language generally is expressed by changing the forms of the radical prefixes, in Béa and Balawa habitually and in Kól and Júwai occasionally. Thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SINO.</th>
<th>PLU.</th>
<th>SINO.</th>
<th>PLU.</th>
<th>SINO.</th>
<th>PLU.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In Béa.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ot-</td>
<td>otot-</td>
<td>ong, on-</td>
<td>otot-</td>
<td>ig-, ik-, i-</td>
<td>itig-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ab-</td>
<td>at-</td>
<td>ar-, ara-</td>
<td>arat-</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>akat-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>òto-</td>
<td>òtot-</td>
<td>eb-</td>
<td>ebet-</td>
<td>ìjì-</td>
<td>ìjìt-, ìjèt-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>òko-</td>
<td>òkot-</td>
<td>ad-</td>
<td>ad-</td>
<td>ìkan-</td>
<td>ìkan-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>en-</td>
<td>et-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Balawa.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SINO.</th>
<th>PLU.</th>
<th>SINO.</th>
<th>PLU.</th>
<th>SINO.</th>
<th>PLU.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>òt-</td>
<td>òtot-</td>
<td>òng-</td>
<td>òngot-</td>
<td>ìd-</td>
<td>ìdit-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ap-</td>
<td>at-</td>
<td>ar-, ara-</td>
<td>arat-</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>akat-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>òto-</td>
<td>òtot-</td>
<td>eb-</td>
<td>ebet-</td>
<td>ìdÌ-</td>
<td>ìdit-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>òko-</td>
<td>òkot-</td>
<td>ad-</td>
<td>ad-</td>
<td>ìkan-</td>
<td>ìkan-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>en-</td>
<td>et-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SING.</td>
<td>PLU.</td>
<td>SING.</td>
<td>PLU.</td>
<td>SING.</td>
<td>PLU.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Jūwai.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ir-</td>
<td>ir-</td>
<td>ab-</td>
<td>at-</td>
<td>iche-</td>
<td>iche-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iram-</td>
<td>iram-</td>
<td>in-</td>
<td>in-</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Köl.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>re-</td>
<td>ri-</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>eche-</td>
<td>iche-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rem-</td>
<td>rim-</td>
<td>en-</td>
<td>in-</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As has been already noted, the plural of the "personal pronouns" in the "possessive" form has been made to fall into line with the plan of expressing plurality by means of the radical prefixes. Thus:

**Table of Singular and Plural "Possessives."**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. my</td>
<td>diada</td>
<td>dege</td>
<td>tiyēda</td>
<td>tiyeakile</td>
<td>tiyiche</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. our</td>
<td>mētāt</td>
<td>matat</td>
<td>miyēda</td>
<td>miye</td>
<td>miyedele</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sing. thy</td>
<td>ugiada</td>
<td>ngege</td>
<td>ngiyēda</td>
<td>ngiyēkile</td>
<td>ngiyedele</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. your</td>
<td>ētāt</td>
<td>ngatat</td>
<td>ngiyida</td>
<td>ngiyel</td>
<td>ngiyil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sing. his</td>
<td>īdā</td>
<td>ēge</td>
<td>iyēda</td>
<td>eyēkile</td>
<td>iyedele</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. their</td>
<td>ūntāt</td>
<td>ūtāt</td>
<td>niyēda</td>
<td>niye</td>
<td>niyiche</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

m. — Qualitative Suffixes.

The suffixes of Andamanese are (radical) qualitative (expressing the class of a word) or functional (expressing its function in the sentence). The radical qualitative suffixes usually employed are:

**For Indicostones (Nouns).**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-da</td>
<td>-da, -nga, -ke</td>
<td>da</td>
<td>-lekile, -kile</td>
<td>-che, la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-la, -ola</td>
<td>-le</td>
<td>-le</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>-le</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-la, -lo</td>
<td>-o, -ô</td>
<td>-ô</td>
<td>-o</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ba</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first of these is usually dropped in Balawa, and in all the languages also unless the word is used as an integer, or sentence in itself. The second is an honorific, and is always added in full. The third is "vocative" and is suffixed to the name called out. The fourth is a negative: thus, ablika-da, a child; ablika-va, not a child, a boy or girl.

**For Explicators (Adjectives).**

- -da  ...
- -la  ...
- -re  -et, -ot, -t

The second is honorific: the third applies to attributes, &c., of human beings. Generally these affixes follow the rule for those of the indicators (nouns).

**For Predicators (Verbs).**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(kill) s</td>
<td>-ke, -kan</td>
<td>-ke, -ken</td>
<td>-ke, -kan</td>
<td>-che, -chine</td>
<td>-ye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>was (kill)ing</td>
<td>-ka</td>
<td>-ka, -te, -kate</td>
<td>-ya, -ye</td>
<td>-chike</td>
<td>-ye, -k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(kill)ed</td>
<td>-re</td>
<td>-t, -et</td>
<td>-nga, -nen</td>
<td>-chikān</td>
<td>-an, -wan, -nen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>may-not (kill) 18</td>
<td>-kok</td>
<td>-ton</td>
<td>-k</td>
<td>-chik</td>
<td>-k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(kill)ing</td>
<td>-nga</td>
<td>-t, -et, -ña</td>
<td>-nga</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>-in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(kill)a not</td>
<td>-ba</td>
<td>-ba</td>
<td>-na</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>was (kill)ing not</td>
<td>-ta</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>will (kill)</td>
<td>-bo</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

18 Prepos.

---
The last three suffixes are added to the suffix — nga in Béa, thus:—

do     māmī-nga-ba
I       sleep-ing—not (I am not asleep)
donā     māmī-nga-bo
I       sleep-ing—will (I shall sleep)
kārāmā   dol-la    kōp-nga-ta
bow     me-by     cutt-ing- (wae)-not (I was not making a bow)

n. — The Functional Suffixes.
The usual functional suffixes in Andamanese are:—

Table of Suffixes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
<th>BÉA</th>
<th>BAJAWA</th>
<th>BOJIGYÁB</th>
<th>JUWAI</th>
<th>KÔL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In, to, at</td>
<td>-len</td>
<td>-len, kām, -ā</td>
<td>-an</td>
<td>-an</td>
<td>-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From</td>
<td>-tek</td>
<td>-te, -le</td>
<td>-e, -le, -le</td>
<td>-e, -lak</td>
<td>-e, -lak, -kate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To, towards</td>
<td>-lat</td>
<td>-lat</td>
<td>-lat</td>
<td>-late</td>
<td>-late</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Of</td>
<td>-lē</td>
<td>-lēge</td>
<td>-liye</td>
<td>-liye</td>
<td>-liye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For</td>
<td>-lēb</td>
<td>-lēb</td>
<td>-lēb</td>
<td>-lēb</td>
<td>-lēb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>After</td>
<td>-lik</td>
<td>-le</td>
<td>-le</td>
<td>-le</td>
<td>-le</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

o. — The Functional Suffixes are Lost Roots.

Attempt at Recovery.

It may be taken as certain that the functional suffixes are roots, now lost to Andamanese recognition, agglomerated to the ends of words by the usual means in their languages, as exhibited in the prefixes; viz., by prefixing to them I', I', I'- in the manner already explained. The roots of some of the suffixes can be fairly made out thus, from the Vocabularies:—

(1) Len, kan, ā, an, “in, to, at,” seem to be clearly I', I'- + the root e, e, ik, “take, hold, carry, seize.”
(2) Tek, te, le, e, lak, lāke, lāke, “from” seem to be I', I'- + the root īk, ī, eak, “take away.”
(3) Lat, lāte, “to, towards,” seem to be I'- + the root at, ate, “approach.”
(4) Lē, lēge, līye, līye, “of” seem to be I'- + the root ēye, ēye, ēye, “belonging to.”
(5) Lēb, lēb, “for” seem to be I'- + a root not traced.
(6) Līk, le, “with, after,” seem to be I'- + the root īk, ī, ēk, “to go with, follow on.”

IV. — PHONOLOGY.
a. — The Voice of the Andamanese.

The voice of the Andamanese, though occasionally deep and hoarse, is usually pleasant and musical. The mode of speech is gentle and slow, and among the women a shrill voice is used in speaking; but though the tendency is towards a drawled pronunciation, they can express their meaning quickly enough on occasion, too quickly, indeed, for a foreigner to clearly follow the minutiae of pronunciation without very close attention. The general tone of the voice in speaking is low.

On an examination of the prevalent vowels and vowel interchanges and tendencies in the languages of the South Andaman (Bojigngjī) Group of Tribes, as described by Portman, it may be said that they relatively speak thus from a close to an open mouth:—

JUWAI . . . . . . . . . with closed lips
BOJIGYÀB AND KÔL . . . . with flattened lips
BAJAWA . . . . . . . . . with open lips
BÉA . . . . . . . . . . . with lips tending to open wide.

It is interesting to note that the above results carry one straight from North to South.
b. — History of the Reduction of the Language to Writing.

The Andamanese speech, as it is now studied, was first committed to writing on a system devised by myself, which was an adaptation of the system, invented by Sir William Jones in 1794 for the Indian Languages, and afterwards adopted, with some practical modifications introduced by Sir W. W. Hunter, by the Government of India as the “Huntarian System.” My method of writing Andamanese was subsequently modified for scientific purposes by Mr. A. J. Ellis in 1882, and having so highly trained and competent a guide, one cannot do better than use here a modification of his system, adapted to the needs of a general publication. Postman, unfortunately, has, in his publications, gone his own way to the great puzzle of students.

In this view, there is no necessity to say anything of the consonants used, and as to the vowels, the following table will sufficiently exhibit them in the Bēa Language:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Bēa</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Bēa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>idea, cut</td>
<td>aala</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ā</td>
<td>evr</td>
<td>bā, yāba</td>
<td>ō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ā</td>
<td>cas</td>
<td>elākā</td>
<td>ō17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ā</td>
<td>father</td>
<td>dāke</td>
<td>ḍ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ā</td>
<td>fathoma</td>
<td>jārawa</td>
<td>ḍ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>bed</td>
<td>Ṁnej</td>
<td>ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ē</td>
<td>fode</td>
<td>Ṁkābēnda</td>
<td>ō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ē</td>
<td>pair</td>
<td>ēr</td>
<td>ai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>lēd</td>
<td>igbadigre</td>
<td>au</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>polfše</td>
<td>yādī</td>
<td>āu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>ōi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

c. — Peculiarities of Speech.

Stress in Andamanese is placed on every long vowel, or on the first syllable of the root or stem. Peculiarities of pronunciation in the South Andaman Languages are as follow:

Bēa.

Sibilants tend to become palatals, s to sh: ē and ō are interchangeable: final open d and ē tend to s and e: t is an indistinct palato-dental.

Belawa.

t is palato-dental and lisped. cf. Irish pronunciation of English t and d. The a vowels tend to be drawn out: a to become o, and ē to become od. There is also an incipient sandhi in words ending in gutturals: e, g, rēh, pig; rēy-dōamo, pig’s flesh.

Bojigyāb

ch is palato-dental and tends to t, and the ch of Bēa tends in Bojigyāb to become s; t, c, palatals tend to become sibilants.

Jūwai.

Short vowels are not clearly marked: e and a are interchangeable: final e and ē tend to ē. Vanishing short vowels are common and are shown thus, jōmēk: o is often drewled to ē; penultimate e is lengthened to ē, and stressed ē is drewled to ēa. There is sandhi of final and initial vowels in connected consecutive words. Dental, palatal and cerebral t all exist: palatals tend to dentals, ch to t: p tends to soften to ph and almost to f.

Kōl.

ē interchanges with ē; d tends to ed, cf. old English pronunciation gyarden for garden: ē tends to ē: final open vowels are uncertain.

11 Found in Ōnge only.
V. — THE NORTHERN AND OUTER GROUPS.

a. — Proofs of the identity of the Northern and Southern Groups of Languages.

Of the Five Languages of the Northern (Yéréwa) Group, two, Kórâ and Tâbô, are still quite unstudied, the knowledge of the existence of the Tribes speaking them being of less than two years' standing, and the Language of the Yéré Tribe is very little known. Portman has, however, preserved long lists, unfortunately to be treated with much caution, of Kélé and Chàrîár words, together with many sentences, and it will be sufficient here to give a series of roots and stems, showing where the Northern and Southern Languages meet and how closely related they are by roots: premising that the syntax and word-structure of the Northern Group is identical with that of the Southern Group, and that affixes, notably the radical prefixes, are used precisely in the same way in both Groups. It is in the names for common objects and things that languages show their relationship, and the Bojîngjîji and Yéréwa Groups form no exception to this rule.

Table of some Bojîngjîji and Yéréwa Roots, showing a common origin.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pig</td>
<td>reg</td>
<td>re</td>
<td>ra</td>
<td>ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>turtle (hawkbill)</td>
<td>tâu</td>
<td>tare</td>
<td>tórô</td>
<td>tórô</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clam</td>
<td>chûwâi</td>
<td>chowai</td>
<td>chowai</td>
<td>choa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grab</td>
<td>bûtû</td>
<td>petî</td>
<td>pata</td>
<td>pata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fish</td>
<td>yât</td>
<td>taiye</td>
<td>tajeu</td>
<td>tajeu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bow (N.)</td>
<td>âkîko</td>
<td>chokio</td>
<td>chokie</td>
<td>chokwi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bow (S.)</td>
<td>karama</td>
<td>ko</td>
<td>ku</td>
<td>ku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wooden arrow</td>
<td>tîrîch</td>
<td>tolo</td>
<td>tîrelk</td>
<td>tîrelk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wooden pig a.</td>
<td>pâligma</td>
<td>paligma</td>
<td>paligma</td>
<td>paligma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wooden a. head</td>
<td>châm</td>
<td>chám</td>
<td>chôm</td>
<td>chôm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>harpoon string</td>
<td>betma</td>
<td>kôri</td>
<td>betmô</td>
<td>luremô</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bamboo bucket</td>
<td>gûb</td>
<td>bire</td>
<td>kup</td>
<td>kup</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shell-dish</td>
<td>chîdi</td>
<td>kar</td>
<td>kar</td>
<td>kar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shell-cup (nautilus)</td>
<td>ôdo</td>
<td>kor</td>
<td>kar</td>
<td>kar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adze</td>
<td>wêlo</td>
<td>wole</td>
<td>wo</td>
<td>olo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baby-sling</td>
<td>chîp</td>
<td>chepe</td>
<td>chipa</td>
<td>chiba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cori-ornament</td>
<td>râ</td>
<td>ra</td>
<td>ro</td>
<td>iku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leaf-wrapper</td>
<td>kâpa</td>
<td>kaba</td>
<td>kôbo</td>
<td>kôbu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>red-ochre</td>
<td>kôbôb</td>
<td>keyep</td>
<td>keip</td>
<td>keip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stone hammer</td>
<td>tailîbana</td>
<td>me</td>
<td>mio</td>
<td>meô</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stone anvil</td>
<td>rárap</td>
<td>rarap</td>
<td>rôrop</td>
<td>rôrop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>canoe</td>
<td>rôko</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>ro</td>
<td>rua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. outrigged</td>
<td>chârigma</td>
<td>charikma</td>
<td>chorok</td>
<td>chorok</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The same community of roots is to be seen in the names of the trees on the islands, establishing beyond doubt the close common origin of the Andaman Tribes of the Yéréwa and Bojîngjîji Groups, though it will, of course, be understood that in full form, with prefixes and suffixes, very nearly related words are in practice unintelligible to the ear. There are, equally of course, a great number of words, the roots of which, while common to each other in the Yéréwa Group, differ entirely from those common to the Bojîngjîji Group: thus—

Table of varying Bojîngjîji and Yéréwa Roots.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ornamental net</td>
<td>râb</td>
<td>rap</td>
<td>chirebala</td>
<td>chirebale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jungle-cat</td>
<td>baian</td>
<td>beyen</td>
<td>chau</td>
<td>chau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>belt, round</td>
<td>bôd</td>
<td>bel</td>
<td>tôô</td>
<td>tôô</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h. flat, broad</td>
<td>rôgun</td>
<td>rogan</td>
<td>kuto</td>
<td>kudu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### A List of Önge-Järawa Words

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Colebrooke’s Järawa</th>
<th>Portman’s Önges</th>
<th>Bonigo’s Önges</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>arm</td>
<td>pi-li</td>
<td>oni-tó-le</td>
<td>oni-tó-la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arrow</td>
<td>batoi</td>
<td>batoi</td>
<td>bato</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bamboo</td>
<td>o-ta-li</td>
<td>o-da-le</td>
<td>o-da-le</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>basket</td>
<td>tó-la</td>
<td>tó-la</td>
<td>tó-la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bead</td>
<td>taiyi (stone)</td>
<td>kuoi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>breast</td>
<td>ingo-taiya (b. a person)</td>
<td>yoku-ō-be</td>
<td>on-yoku-ō-be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bite</td>
<td>oto-go-le</td>
<td>are-kwa-ge</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>black</td>
<td>m-o-poka-be (hu-me)</td>
<td>oni-boga-be (b. a person)</td>
<td>oni-boga-be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blood</td>
<td>chigiu-go</td>
<td>be</td>
<td>i-kiu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bone</td>
<td>ko-eche-nge</td>
<td>ga-eche-nge</td>
<td>eche-nge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bow</td>
<td>ng-i-to-nge (your b.)</td>
<td>oni-da-ge</td>
<td>aé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(as shown in ng-i-tahi)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(your bow)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>canoe</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>ga-ka-ge</td>
<td>ga-ka-go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chin</td>
<td>tó-ke</td>
<td>du-ge</td>
<td>da-ge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cold</td>
<td>pi-to-nge (c. bone)</td>
<td>fô-ka-inge (c. bone)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cough</td>
<td>chuima</td>
<td>on-yi-še-be (to be c.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drink</td>
<td>ingo-tai-še (to c.</td>
<td>udu-be</td>
<td>udu-be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ear</td>
<td>m-inggo-be (f. d.)</td>
<td>i-ka-ge</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>earth</td>
<td>kwa-ge</td>
<td>tutono-nge</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

18 See Appendix C.

19 Roots shown in italics.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Colebrooke's Jàrawa</th>
<th>Portman's Únges.</th>
<th>Bonig's Únges.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>eat</td>
<td>ingo-lo-lia (? imp. lo-ba)</td>
<td>öni-lokwa-te-be</td>
<td>öni-louwo-be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elbow</td>
<td>m-ahé-lojbe (my e.)</td>
<td>aha-lagbòi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eye</td>
<td>jëbe</td>
<td>öni-jëbëi</td>
<td>öni-jëbëi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>finger</td>
<td>m-öme (my f.)</td>
<td>öme</td>
<td>öno-boda-nga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fire</td>
<td>m-ona (my f.)</td>
<td>tu-ke</td>
<td>tu-ke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fish</td>
<td>ga-boki</td>
<td>cho-ngo</td>
<td>eha-ngo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hair</td>
<td>otti</td>
<td>ode</td>
<td>ode</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hand</td>
<td>ng-öni (your h.)</td>
<td>ome</td>
<td>ön-o-me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>head</td>
<td>tebe</td>
<td>öni-tolagiëbi (man's head)</td>
<td>öni-ota-be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>honey</td>
<td>lo-ke</td>
<td>tanjai</td>
<td>tanju²⁰</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>house</td>
<td>bede</td>
<td>bedai</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iron (adze-head)</td>
<td>dahi</td>
<td>dòi</td>
<td>dau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jump</td>
<td>i-tó-la (a j.)</td>
<td>akwa-tokwa-be (to j.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>knee</td>
<td>ingo-ke (man's k.)</td>
<td>o-la-ge</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laugh</td>
<td>onke-me-be</td>
<td>öngö-ma-be</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nail</td>
<td>m-ó-bëjáda-nga (my n.)</td>
<td>öni-ngito</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neck</td>
<td>tohi</td>
<td>chi-kwe</td>
<td>chi-kwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>net</td>
<td>bato-li</td>
<td>öni-njati-boi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nose</td>
<td>m-e-li (my n.)</td>
<td>taai</td>
<td>tae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paddle</td>
<td>m-sok (my p.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>path</td>
<td>eko-ki</td>
<td>kwe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pig</td>
<td>stwi</td>
<td>öni-gini-be</td>
<td>gi-gimbe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pinch</td>
<td>ingi—gini—cha (don't pinch) (don't pinch me)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plantain-tree</td>
<td>eko-ki</td>
<td>yòldë-le</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pot</td>
<td>bukuhi</td>
<td>bukhu</td>
<td>chago-la, yaula-la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pull</td>
<td>toto-be (+ tigikwa)</td>
<td>toto-be (go)</td>
<td>buchu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rain</td>
<td>oye</td>
<td>gujö-ngo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>run</td>
<td>ng-aha-bela-be (you r.)</td>
<td>aha-bela-be</td>
<td>heja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scratch</td>
<td>ing-bëa-be</td>
<td>a-kwea-be</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sing</td>
<td>goko-be</td>
<td>göbabë-be</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sit</td>
<td>ng-ongtahi (s. you)</td>
<td>on-antöbë-be</td>
<td>namtöbë-be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sleep</td>
<td>ng-omoka (s. you)</td>
<td>omoka-be</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sky</td>
<td>madamo</td>
<td>bë-nga-nga (flattened out)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sneeze</td>
<td>o-ësë-ke (a. s.)</td>
<td>e-chi-be (to s.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spitting</td>
<td>inga-kwa-nga</td>
<td>öna-kwa-nga</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>star</td>
<td>chilo-be (? shines)</td>
<td>chilome-be (moon: ? shines)</td>
<td>hôbë-hôbëa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stone</td>
<td>wà-la</td>
<td>taiyi</td>
<td>kubëi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sun</td>
<td>eha</td>
<td>eka</td>
<td>eka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swim</td>
<td>kwa-be</td>
<td>kwana-be</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>take up</td>
<td>ng-a-toka (you t. u.)</td>
<td>gëne-be</td>
<td>i-do-be (t. away)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teeth</td>
<td>m-ahö-ri (my t.)</td>
<td>m akwë (my t.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tongue</td>
<td>ta-li</td>
<td>alan-da-nga</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>walk</td>
<td>bunjusa-be</td>
<td>bujëö-be</td>
<td>bujö-be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>water</td>
<td>m-ique (my w.)</td>
<td>i-nga</td>
<td>i-nga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weep</td>
<td>sana-be</td>
<td>wana-be</td>
<td>wana-be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wind</td>
<td>tomjame</td>
<td>totöte</td>
<td>totöte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wood (tree)</td>
<td>tange</td>
<td>da-nga</td>
<td>tada-nga</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

²² Bonig has lot for honeycomb.
In addition to this list of words offering comparisons, the following from Colebrooke can more or less clearly be made out on the same lines:

**Colebrooke's Jārawa Words.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Jārawa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(white) ant</td>
<td>donge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bat</td>
<td>witwi-le</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>belly</td>
<td>ng-a-poi (your b.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bird</td>
<td>lohe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bracelet</td>
<td>a-le</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>charcoal</td>
<td>wahi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crow</td>
<td>nahe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flesh</td>
<td>wuni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>friend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>padu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>leg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>chi-ge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ng-amo-lan (you are a man?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mouth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>m-on (my m.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>seed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kita-nge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>smoke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bali-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>swallow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bi-be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>thigh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>poi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wash (self)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>igna-doha-be</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Portman is unfortunately always difficult to follow in his linguistic statements, as they are so uncertain. His vocabularies are apt to differ frequently from the statements in his lists of sentences, and where his vocabularies can be compared they are inconsistent; but at p. 731, Vol. II., of his *History of our Relations with the Andamans*, he gives a comparative list of Jārawa and Önge words from his own observations:

**Portman's Önge-Jārawa Words.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Jārawa</th>
<th>Önge</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>arrow</td>
<td>barto</td>
<td>barto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>axe</td>
<td>doii</td>
<td>doii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bamboo</td>
<td>otale</td>
<td>òdale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bow</td>
<td>aaii</td>
<td>aaii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bucket</td>
<td>nhu</td>
<td>nku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crab</td>
<td>kagai</td>
<td>kagaia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drink</td>
<td>injowa</td>
<td>injobe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eye</td>
<td>injama</td>
<td>unijboj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fire</td>
<td>tuhawe</td>
<td>tuke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>foot</td>
<td>monge</td>
<td>muge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hair</td>
<td>enoide</td>
<td>mode</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hand</td>
<td>mome</td>
<td>mome</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iron</td>
<td>tanhi</td>
<td>doii (iron adze)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leaf</td>
<td>bebe</td>
<td>bebe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>navel</td>
<td>gaai</td>
<td>gaai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>net</td>
<td>inkwa</td>
<td>onikwale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nose</td>
<td>bortai</td>
<td>chikwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>road</td>
<td>inama</td>
<td>uningaibo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>run</td>
<td>ischele</td>
<td>ichele</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sea</td>
<td>ahabelabe</td>
<td>akwebelabe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sit down</td>
<td>etale</td>
<td>detale (Passage Id, an islet in the sea)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sky</td>
<td>aton</td>
<td>unantokobe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sleep</td>
<td>baingala</td>
<td>bengonge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>string</td>
<td>omohan</td>
<td>omokabe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stone</td>
<td>etai</td>
<td>ebe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tooth</td>
<td>ali</td>
<td>taiyi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>water</td>
<td>anwai</td>
<td>makwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>enule</td>
<td>inge</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

August, 1907.]

**RECORD OF THE LANGUAGES OF SAVAGES.**

241
In some of the above words, where Colebrooke differs from Portman, it will be found that Colebrooke's forms, when reduced to a common transcription, are nearest the Ónge.

**d. — Recovery of Colebrooke’s Jārawa Vocabulary of 1790.**

By pulling the words in the first list to pieces, the identity in race of Colebrooke's native (Jārawa) with Portman's natives (Ónges) will be at once evident. Many roots and affixes are common, and the words are clearly built up precisely as are all other Andamanese words by radical prefixes to roots relating fundamentally to the body and its parts and by qualitative suffixes. In addition to this, the prefixes are joined to the "personal pronouns" by pre-inflection in the manner peculiar to the Andamanese languages. And although we have nothing more on record of the Jārawa tongue than Colebrooke's list, supplemented by Portman's, of any value, we have thus enough to establish the relation of Jārawa and Ónge as languages of the same Group, and the relation of both as languages of the same Family as the other Andamanese tongues.

In Jārawa the k of Ónge tends to interchange with h, and by inference the Jārawas appear to use ñng for the Ónge ng and to say i-ñngo in place of ñnge.

Leaving the roots to explain themselves, the inflected forms of the "pronouns" show themselves, thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Jārawa</th>
<th>Ónge</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I, my</td>
<td>m'</td>
<td>m'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You, your</td>
<td>ng'</td>
<td>ng'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The qualitative suffixes appear to be as follow:

**Ónge-Jārawa Qualitative Suffixes.**

- for "nouns" -li, -le
- for "verbal nouns" -nge, -nga, -ge, -ke
- for "verbs" -be, -me

The radical prefixes are given in a great variety of forms, which will probably disappear on closer knowledge of the languages.

**Ónge-Jārawa Radical Prefixes.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Jārawa</th>
<th>Ónge</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ingo-, ingi-, inga-, onke-, ŏng-, ō-</td>
<td>ŏni-, ŏna-, ŏnu-, ŏno-, ŏnan-, ina-, ine-, eng-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uni</td>
<td>eni-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o-, i-, ő-, ț-</td>
<td>ŏ-, ū-, ţ-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pi-</td>
<td>eje-, ichin-, e-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-</td>
<td>ibi-, ebe-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aha-, a-</td>
<td>akwa-, akwe-, ako-, ik-, ig-, i-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>omo-</td>
<td>omo-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oto-</td>
<td>are-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>alan-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Of these, as prefixes relating to mankind and its body, the following occur:

öni-, a general prefix of the body, and then,

Class I. ... öni-  head, lip, neck, nose, navel, hip, testicles, stomach
Class II. ... ik-, ig-, i-  cheek, ear
Class III. ... ibi-  chin
Class IV. ... o-  fist, knee, nail, throat
Class V. ... alan  teeth

That the relation between concrete words for the parts of the body and those for ideas belonging to them is shown by the prefixes, comes out neatly in ik-kwa-ge, ear: ik-aihene, deaf. So, too, the words ichin-da-nge and i-to-nge given for "bone" probably refer to a bone of Class II.

o. Grammar of Önge.

Mr. Bonig made a slight attempt at this by providing a few sentences and phrases. It is only an attempt, but it shows that the principles of the Önge are those of Andamanese generally. Thus we have:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Önge</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ode, hair.</td>
<td>oduleda, sick.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>öö-ode, animal hair.</td>
<td>.......</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niga m'ode, thy hair.</td>
<td>mig-a-m'oduleda, I am sick.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngi m'odeka, your hair.</td>
<td>ngi m'oduleda, you are sick.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>otangka g'ode, [his] [your] hair.</td>
<td>otangka pardale, [he is] [you are] sick.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jelito g'ode, our hair.</td>
<td>jelito g'oduleda, we are sick.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>götalota g'ode, the hair of all of us.</td>
<td>götalota g'oduleda, we are all sick.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yetadake g'ode, some one's hair.</td>
<td>yetadakeq g'oduleda, some one is sick.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>otiyadaka g'ode, their hair.</td>
<td>otiyadaka g'oduleda, they are sick.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This would seem to give m' as to the prefix of 'my' and 'your,' g' as the prefix of all persons not the 'self.'

The few sentences are very obscure.

ön-ibiti dode, what have you?
ön-ibiti dali ilekwale-be, what are you saying?
g'ati bams, what do you call this?
wanae otangka, where is he?
ön-akuchi otang, call him.
ötangka akuchwa, you are called.
g'oangkinkü-be, you go away.
le chune, there it is.
m'injaiche nene, I don't understand.

f. Proof of the Identity of Önge-Järava with the other Groups.

Among an untutored people, so long isolated even from the other Andamanese, one would hardly look for many roots now in common with them, but the following, which occur in such short lists as those available, sufficiently establish a common origin for the Family:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Some Roots common to the Andaman Languages.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cold</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

21 The sense is that the person referred is absent.
THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY.

ENGLISH. | ÖNGE-JÄRAWA. | REMAINING LANGUAGES.
---|---|---
red ochre | gyalap | bilap, upla
net | chi | chi
sneeze | che, chi | chiba (Bëa, Balawa)
"God" | Uluga : (öluge, thunder) | Puluga, Bilak (Bëa, vei-nga, storm)
turtle | chōbe | chokbe (Kede, Chāriār)
water | i, ig | ina (Bëa, Balawa)
bone | to | ta, toa (Bëa, Balawa)
wood | ta, da | ta, toa, to

Colebrooke showed all sorts of impossible things to his Järawa to name, and one interesting result is the following:

ENGLISH. | JÄRAWA. | ÖNGE.
---|---|---
cotton-cloth | pa — nge — be | be — nge — be
paper | flat — become — is | flat — become — is

Of course, no Järawa had ever seen before anything approaching to either object, and this man’s one expression for both means “it is (has been) flattened,” which is what the savage meant to convey, when asked anything so impossible as to name them.

In Appendix B will be found a further list of Önge words to aid in the study of this interesting language.

g. — Derivation of Minocpie.

We are now in a position to solve a great puzzle of ethnographers for a century and more: why were the Andamanese called Minocpie by Europeans? What word does this transcription represent? It can now be split up thus:

M—ö—nge—be
I—man-kind-am
(I am an Önge)

Or, as the Järawas perhaps pronounce the expression, “M-inggo-be,” or even “M-injo-be,” I am an Inggo (Injo). The name given by the Öges to themselves is a verbal noun, ö-nge, man-being. So that when questioned as to himself by Colebrooke, his Järawa replied “M’inggobe,” or something like it, which compound expression by mispronunciation and misapprehension has become the well-known Minocpie of the general ethnological books in many languages for an Andamanese. The Öges call their own home, the Little Andaman, Gwabe-l’Önge. Järawa is a modern Bëa term, possibly radically identical with Yërowa, the Bëa name for the Northern Group of Tribes.

It is just possible that Colebrooke’s Järawa misunderstood what was wanted altogether and simply said, “I am (will be, would be) drinking: m-inggo-be, I-drink-do.”

I have now to record a great disappointment. The proof that the method herein adopted for recovering the Järawa Language was correct lay in the fact that the word i-nga for “water” was ascertained from a little Järawa boy captured during an expedition in February, 1902, and the identical word was quite independently unearthed from Colebrooke’s and Portman’s Vocabularies as Önge-Järawa for “water.” The only other word clearly ascertained from the boy, wału-ng for “pig,” has not been gathered independently as yet. This little boy was the last of the prisoners left, who were captured on that occasion, as the women and small children and girls were all returned and only two boys kept back for a while, in order to get their language, &c., from them. Of these, the elder died of fever, and on the very day that their language was fairly recovered, and we were in a position to set to work to learn quickly from him, the younger died very suddenly of pneumonia, without any warning illness.
APPENDIX A.

The Fire Legend in the Bojigayji Group.

(The Bò Version has been already given.)

Balawa Version.

Dim-Dóra — le rita  
Keri-l'ong-tówer — te Puluya  
l'i togo — choapa l' — omo
(a Man)  
long-ago  
(a Place)  
by God  
his platform fire  
bringing

— kate | ong ik  
akat-póra  
puguru — t' — a — re | Bolub  
ka Tarkór.
— was | he taking  
all—men  
burn — t  
di — d | (a Man)  
and (a Man)
ka Bilichau  
ongot oto — jurujmu  
— t — ia | ongot  
at — yókat  
mo.
and (a Man) they  
in—the-sea-wen — t — did’ | they  
fish  
becom-
— nga | ongot oaro — tikhsh—ena  
to  
Rokwa-l'or-tonga—baroij — a  
oko — dal
— ing | they  
carry-taking — by  
(a Place)  
village — in  
fire-mak-
— nga | a — re
— ing  
di — d

Fortman's Rendering.— Dim-Dóra, a very long time ago, at Keri-l'ong-tówer, was bringing fire from God's platform. He, taking the fire, burnt everybody with it. Bolub and Tarkór and Bilichau fell into the sea and became fish. They took the fire to Rokwa-l'ar-tonga village and made fires there.

Bojigayji Version.

Tól-l'oko-tim — an Bilik l'ong — pat — ye | Luratut | l'ong at — ab — lechi — nga | (a Place) — in God  
sleep — did | (a Bird) | he  
sleep — bring — ing

Luratut l'ong — di — ye | kota ong Bilik l'ab — biki — ye  
| kota Bilik l'ong — konyi
(a Bird)  
seiz — ed | then God  
burn — t | then God  
awaken
— ye | Bilik  
l'ong at — li — ye | ong e  
Luratut l'oto — toi-chu — nga | (a Bird)
— ed | God  
he  
fire seiz — ed | he then  
(a Bird) (with)  
fire hit — ing

kota hol ong e  
Tarchal l'ote — toi-chu — ye | Chalter  
l'ong — di — ye
then again he  
them then  
(a Man) (with)  
fire hit — did | (a Bird)  
seiz — ed

ong Lau-Cham — len da — nga | Wótta-Emi — en ota  
| Lau-Cham | n'ong o — kadak — nga.
he ancestors — to give — ing | Wótta-Emi — in then ancestors  
they  
fire-mak-ing.

Fortman's Rendering.— God was sleeping in Tól-l'oko-tím. Luratut went to bring fire. Luratut caught hold of the fire, then he burnt God. Then God woke up. God seized the fire. He hit Luratut with the fire. Then again he hit Tarchal with the fire. Chalter caught hold of it. He gave it to the ancestors. Then the ancestors made fire at Wótta-Emi.

Jwái Version.

Kuro-l'on-mik — a  
Mom Mirìt — la | Bilik l'ókó — ema — t | pekar at — lo  
top |
(a Place) — in Mr. Pigeon | God  
seep — t | wood  
fire — with stealing |
Portman's Rendering.—Mr. Pigeon stole a firebrand at Kuro-T'on-mika, while God was sleeping. He gave the brand to the late Lech, who then made fires at Karat-tatak-emi.

Kol Version.

Tol-loko-tim — en Bili — la pot — ke | Luratut — la Oko-Emi — t at kek — an | (a Place) — in God asleep — was | (a Bird) | (a Place) — in fire too — k | Klotat — ke | in v — a — chol — an Min-tong-ta — kete | Min-tong-ta — kete — lak | (a Man) — was | by (he) — wen — t (a Place) — to | (a Place) — to — by | v — ir — bil — an | Klotat viir — pin viir — dik — an | (it) — out-wen — t | (a Man) charcoal — break — did | fire-make — did | n'a n'otam — tepur — an | at — ke n'ote — tepur — an | Min-tong tık-pọrōt — they alive — became | fire — by (they) — alive — became | (a Place) — village — in Jagiil | n'a loko — dik — an | in ancestors — they fire-make — did |

Portman's Rendering. — God was sleeping at Tol-loko-tima. Luratut took away fire to Oko-Emi. Klotat went to Min-tong-ta, (taking fire with him from Oko-Emi). At Min-tong-ta the fire went out. Klotat broke up the charred firewood and made fire again, (by blowing up the embers). They (the people there) became alive. Owing to the fire they became alive. The ancestors thus got fire in Min-tong-tık village.

APPENDIX B.

Önge Vocabularies.

The "Outer Group" of the Andamanese (Önges and Jarawas) bears the closest resemblance in customs, &c, i.e., assuming them to bear any at all, to the Semangs and Aetas, of all the Andamanese Tribes, and hence there is much interest exhibited in their languages. In this Appendix, therefore, is gathered together as much of the Önge Vocabulary as can be with any degree of safety extracted from Portman's Andamanese Manual, the information in which is not, however, unfortunately as clear as is desirable.

Subsequently to the compilation of this article, Mr. M. Bonig, Assistant Harbour Master at Port Blair, made, at the present writer's request, several trips, in January 1903, to the Little Andama, the home of the Önges. He brought back with him three Önges from Kwattinyaboi Creek on the East Coast of that island, named Tākkōaste, Antōkiwāne, and Antidōxēwāne, with the object of learning their language. When these men were taken home again, four others, named Idābōi, Gōgamin, Agōdēle and Nyūndī, of the Palanka Sept were induced to go to Port Blair. Mr. Bonig found that they understood the words he learnt from the East Coast, but altered a good many, showing that Portman's words were collected in Ekitia Bay, which belongs to the Palanka Sept, and that differentiating dialects exist on the island.

In the first of the accompanying Vocabularies, wherever Portman's words have been verified by Mr. Bonig, the fact is shown in square brackets [ ]. In the second are recorded the words as to which Mr. Bonig either entirely differed from Portman or which he collected in addition. In both the roots have been separated from the prefixes and suffixes.
I. — Portman's Vocabulary.

*Bonig's variants in square brackets.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Yoruba</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>abundant</td>
<td>gene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abuse (to)</td>
<td>önu-kwëba-be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ache (to)</td>
<td>öni-dang-wule-be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acid</td>
<td>a-nōōi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adze [chisel]</td>
<td>dōōi [dan]²²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ant [small black]</td>
<td>chantëbo-de [yan⁵]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apron (women's)</td>
<td>ga-kwënyagë-le</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>armlet [fibre]</td>
<td>ìbí-kwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arrow (iron) [reed]</td>
<td>batoi [bato]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arrow (wood)</td>
<td>tɕeta-le</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arrow (fish)</td>
<td>tome</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arrow (pig)</td>
<td>takōi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arrow-shaft</td>
<td>takëte-le</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ashes</td>
<td>tongkun-te [tong⁵]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>awake (to)</td>
<td>lōga-be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bag (of netting)</td>
<td>kumumwu, taŋgu-le</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bale out (to)</td>
<td>gaiye-bōko-be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bamboo</td>
<td>ì-da-le [o-da-le]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>banana</td>
<td>yōlo-le</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bark</td>
<td>ngwëgi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barb (arrow)</td>
<td>tome</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>basket</td>
<td>tō-le [tō-le]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beard</td>
<td>ìn-gu-bo-de</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beat (to)</td>
<td>[ön]-yōkwë-be [yōkwo⁴]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beetle [dung]</td>
<td>todanchu [&quot;ran&quot;]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>belt (round)</td>
<td>m-are-kwë-gë (my b.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>belt (broad, flat)</td>
<td>m-ino-kwe (my b.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>binder</td>
<td>tu-kwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bite (to)</td>
<td>ìn-ì-ba-gë-be [ditto]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>black</td>
<td>be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blood</td>
<td>ga-che-në [che-në]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blow (to) [out fire]</td>
<td>a-kiwô-bë [a-kuwô⁴]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boil (to)</td>
<td>tamboi-(be)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bone</td>
<td>ichin-da-ngë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bone (human)</td>
<td>ìn-i-da-ngë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bow</td>
<td>a-si [a-ō]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>break (to)</td>
<td>gi-kwë-be [gi-kwa⁴]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>breast</td>
<td>ga-ka-gë [ga-gë]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>breathe (to)</td>
<td>kwaëboë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>broom</td>
<td>da-ge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bucket (wood)</td>
<td>ukwi [uku]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bucket (bamboo)</td>
<td>kubudu-në</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>butterfly</td>
<td>ìbë-brë [ditto]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>call (to)</td>
<td>ìn-gùø-be, ìn-ai-waba-be [ditto]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cane</td>
<td>tati [ditto]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cane-necklace</td>
<td>i-đë-da-le</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>canoe</td>
<td>da-në [ditto]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cast away (to)</td>
<td>yöboë-ì-ë-be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cheek</td>
<td>gi-ë-ì-ë-boi (your o.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chin</td>
<td>ìbì-da-ngë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clam</td>
<td>taga-le</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clap (to)</td>
<td>ako-bana-bëkwe-be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clay (white [yellow])</td>
<td>we [ōō]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>for smearing [the body]</td>
<td>baije</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cloud</td>
<td>da-ge († wood, tree)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cocoanut</td>
<td>öngi-ë-be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cold (to feel)</td>
<td>inai-öba-be, ìn-u-kwëgëme [ön-aïya⁵]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>come (to)</td>
<td>gō-tōlë-be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>copulate (to)</td>
<td>udu-ge [ditto]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cough</td>
<td>kaga († kaga)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crab [large edible]</td>
<td>kuai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>creek</td>
<td>cyëra-shël (scrapér)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dance</td>
<td>totu-le</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dead (to be)</td>
<td>ìn-ol-a-gë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deaf</td>
<td>bëa-ham-ë-me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dish (wooden)</td>
<td>ìk-sëbëne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drink (to)</td>
<td>da-në-gë, (wood)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dugong</td>
<td>da-në-gë, (wood)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ear</td>
<td>injo-be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>earth</td>
<td>twëwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eat (to)</td>
<td>ik-ë-kwë-gë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ebb tide</td>
<td>tutanö</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>embrace</td>
<td>ìn-i-lokwa-be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eye</td>
<td>ga-de</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fall (to)</td>
<td>ku-ge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fastening (a)</td>
<td>ìn-i-ëboi [ditto]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feather</td>
<td>ìt-ë-ka-be [gi-x⁴]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feather</td>
<td>gwi-kwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fern (sp.)</td>
<td>ìn-ìtë-ë-be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fever (to have)</td>
<td>ìn-ukwë-be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fight (to)</td>
<td>e-me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>finger</td>
<td>tuke [ditto]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fire</td>
<td>cha-ë [cha⁴]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fish</td>
<td>ìn-i-ëtë-ë-be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fist</td>
<td>ìn-i-tëtë-ë-be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flood tide</td>
<td>ìkobakwe-le</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fly (a)</td>
<td>ìngonei [ngönø]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

²² This reads like a corruption of the Indian and Burman djó, a universal instrument used as a knife, axe, adze, sword, &c., as the result of recent intercourse with strangers.
food (to take) gi-da-be
foot m-u-ge (my f.) [ön-u-]
forbid (to) go-bokwe-be
glad (to be) a-kikökö-be
go (to) ön-i-tiöö-be (come)
God Ulu-ge
good i-wado
good tokwongöye
green totanda-nge
grass ön-ini-nye
gun m-ode (my h.) [ode]
hand m-ome (my h.) [ön-ome]
head-dress (cane) ng-i-iča-le (your h. d.)
heavy (to be) ga-tukwö-be
hip ön-i-bei
his ng-ik-i (you h.)
hi (with arrow) gai-be
honey tanjai [°ja]
hook (for fish) tome
hop (to) ichin-kwöö-be
hot (to be) jonjome-be
how much? chöö?
hum (to) gojai
hungry (to be) ön-gi-si-me
hus bedai [ditto]
i, my mi
Indian (an) i-nene
Iguana giti
iron (knife) lea
jawbone (human) ang-bo-de
ornament.
jump (to) akwa-tokwö-be
kick (to) ön-i-tekwöö-be
kiss (to)? (smell) nyööyöö-be
knee m-ola-ge (my k.)
kneel ön-o-lakwöö-be
laugh (to) ööge-ma-be
leaf be-be (to be flat)
lack gi-tome-be
lie down (to) ng-aini-ye (you l. d.)
lip ön-gume
lizard [sp.] köö-ge [koichai]
man ön-i-si-le (married m.)
mangrove tun-da-ge (tun-tree)
mangrove fruit kwea
marry (to) ön-ya-be
mat (sleeping) emai
micturate ö-chökö-be
moon chëlo-me [chilo-me]
mouse ala-ge
much liwa-nga

murder (to) ölölaj-jöö-be
nail m-obeda-nga (my n.)
navel gaai
nauhtius-shell (enp) ön-i-kwa-le [ön-o°]
navel ön-a-agito
neck m-a-ngitoke (my n.)
nose chi-kwe [ditto]
ornament (of shavings) ön-i-nyaiboi
outrigger kööyö kwibo-le
paddle i-bedu-ge
pandanus fruit taai [tai]
path ba-le
peel iče-e
pig gangwi
pinch kwi
prick ön-i-gini-be [gi-gine°]
pot (cooking) ön-i-tokwö-be
quick, be! bükhu (kal-e, its case)
red ochre [ditto]
red wax ing-köö l
resin gujö-ge
rope alame
sand kwengane
scar Eine [ditto]
scratch (to) jwichwi
rub (to) kwöö-la-ge
run (to) eb-ele-be
saline [ön] akwe-bele-be
saliva [akwak-beta°]
salt ina-kwe-nga
sand inje
scar belai
scar ön-i-bare
shampoo (to) akwe-öö-be
shark ön-i-öö-be
sharp kada
sharp gi-sahe
sharpen (to) töökwe-be
shave ön-o-tale-be
shell tosandwi
shoo (arrow) gal-be [ditto]
sing (to) gö-gaba Ba [nyö°]
sit (to) ön-nantökö-be
snow [santoka°]
skin gangwi (peel)
sky bengö-ge (what is flat)
sleep (to) ome-ka-be
### Record of the Languages of Savages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Small</th>
<th>Bhai</th>
<th>Thorn</th>
<th>Tundankie</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Smoke</td>
<td>On-o-taboi</td>
<td>Threat</td>
<td>U-agito</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Snake</td>
<td>Tomogi</td>
<td>Throw</td>
<td>Waikwo-be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Snake (sea)</td>
<td>Tebu-le</td>
<td>Thunder</td>
<td>Olu-ge (&quot;God&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sneeze</td>
<td>E-chi-be</td>
<td>Tip toe (to be on)</td>
<td>On-u-jagui-o-be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sore (a)</td>
<td>On-i-bai [ditto]</td>
<td>Tongue</td>
<td>Alan-da-ngae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spill (to)</td>
<td>Gi-bu-be</td>
<td>Tooth</td>
<td>M-a-kwe (my t.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spine</td>
<td>On-a-saka-kwoi</td>
<td>Torch</td>
<td>To-kwe [ti-kwe]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spitting</td>
<td>On-a-kwa-nge [on-akwi?]</td>
<td>Tray (for food)</td>
<td>Toba-ge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sprinkle (to)</td>
<td>On-a-nadi-be</td>
<td>Tumble (to)</td>
<td>I-teka-be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Squeak (to)</td>
<td>Gi-lako-be</td>
<td>Turtle</td>
<td>Nadela-nge [ditto], Takhwatoai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Squeeze (to)</td>
<td>On-ego-be</td>
<td>Turtle eggs</td>
<td>Kwagane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stand</td>
<td>Doka-be</td>
<td>Tusk (pig)</td>
<td>A-kwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stomach</td>
<td>On-a-saga-nge</td>
<td>Umbrella (leaf)</td>
<td>O-modu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stone</td>
<td>Taiyi</td>
<td>Untie (to)</td>
<td>I-teu-be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stool (to)</td>
<td>On-i-yu-be</td>
<td>Vomit (to)</td>
<td>O-bulbo-be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stretch (to)</td>
<td>On-a-kwambwe-be</td>
<td>Walk</td>
<td>Bulbo-be [bulbo-be]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stretch (to s. oneself)</td>
<td>Gi-gi-o-be</td>
<td>Water</td>
<td>I-ng [ditto]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strike (to)</td>
<td>Kwoke-be</td>
<td>Wax (white bees)</td>
<td>Chilene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>String (to)</td>
<td>E-be</td>
<td>Weep (to)</td>
<td>Wana-be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stroke (to)</td>
<td>On-a-sce-be</td>
<td>Whetstone</td>
<td>Tijio-be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sun</td>
<td>Eke [ditto]</td>
<td>Whisk (for flies)</td>
<td>Oni-a-lang-o-be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surf</td>
<td>Balame</td>
<td>Whistling</td>
<td>White</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swallow (a)</td>
<td>Tugede-le</td>
<td>White (to)</td>
<td>Tonkute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweep (to)</td>
<td>Tote-be</td>
<td>Wife</td>
<td>Oni-aule</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swim (to)</td>
<td>Kwane-be</td>
<td>Wind</td>
<td>Totote [ditto]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take away (to)</td>
<td>Ge-aikingkoe-be</td>
<td>Wound</td>
<td>Oni-ba-le [i-bai]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take hold (to)</td>
<td>Ge-ng-e-be</td>
<td>Yawn (to)</td>
<td>On-a-lang-o-be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tattoo (to)</td>
<td>Nge-ui-kwone-be [you t.]</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>On-a-laije</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tear (to)</td>
<td>I-dokwo-be</td>
<td>Testicle</td>
<td>Oni-i-kwo-gi [ditto]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

II. — Bone's Vocabulary.

*Portman's variants in square brackets.*

- Adze (small, for canoes) gan-kwe
- Ant (large, red-tree) lau-lau
- Arm       | On-i-bi-le | Burn | Duleji-be |
- Arise     | Dobinkate-be | Burn (oneself) | On-o-mama-me |
- Arrive    | Gi-gu-be | Buttock | On-eena-boi |
- Awake (to) | Gi-tanj-i-be [loga-be] | Call (to) | On-a-kuchu-be |
- Bad       | I-bi-te | [On-gi-yo-be: On-a-i-waba-be] |
- Bath      | On-a-kwamunule | Carry | Yeote-be |
- Bee       | Gu-ki | Catch (to) | Gi-bogula-be |
- Bird      | No-kai | Chew | On-i-lokwa-be |
- Black     | I-kiu [be] | Chilk | O-chile |
- Blind     | Nebobene | Climb (to) | O-tuke-be |
- Bottle    | Bota-le | Close (to be) | Gal-chebe-be |
- Breast, to support the women | Oni-wetaka-be | Cloth | Kwelabo |
- Bring back | Ga-tiko-be: che-be | Cohabit (to) | Ga-le-be [go-tol-be] |
- Brow      | Ejala | Collect, heap up (to) | Gi-mbu-be |
- Bundle (palm-leaf) | Nang-bi | Cook (to) | Gi-wolai-be |
- Coral     | Taie | Crab (large, edible) | Kaga |
creep (to) | ön-a-lakachyö-be
cry (to) | wanna-be
cut (oneself) | akite-be
cut (iron) | ugitake-be
cut (with a knife) | gi-ji-be
cut (with an adze) | gö-ete-be
dance (a) | wanda-nge
day | ekuce
deep | öma
dirty | ga-bitima
dog (generic term) | i-kita: wöme
dog (female) | echinge-ge
dog (male) | takwado
dress (to) | tóikute-be
drift (to) | gi-buko-be
[dry] | unkata ?
dull | ngi-kuno
eat (to) | ön-i-kwawo-be
egg | [ön-i-lokwale-be] (jine) sisi
empty out (to)25 | gi-bu-be
fern (sp.) | tikwanchute-le
fetch (to) | alemai-je
fill | wótangle-be
few | giwe
fin | gi-bole
finger | ön-o-boda-nge [some]
finished! (I have no more!) | ön-a-ngele
fire-brand | gi-dakwe
firewood | name
flame (to flame up of fire) | boloji-be
flower | totibuli
forehead | ejala
forenoon | ekoome
fry (to) | gi-ga-be
full (of the belly) | i-bó-dia
give (to) | ebóisaka-be
-go (to) | [ön-i-töte-be]
hammer | kuaila-je
head | ön-ota-be
headache | o-dulada
hide (to) | ön-a-kwe-be
hold (to) | ge-nge-be
hook (large, iron) | ada
honeycomb | lai
hot (to be) | o-bentelenene-be
hurt (to) | ön-ega-be
iron (or any metal) | take
knife | chule [lea]
knife-handle | chule-yan-kwe
leaf | tomoji
lift (to) | ga-ntakwa-be
light (lamp) | mone
limp (to be) | ga-ji-be
little | ö-kiwea
liver | gi
lizard (flycatcher) | ketekte-le
lost (to be) | lognakonji-be
man | gae-le [ön-agi-le, married m.]
month | ön-a-ngume
mosquito | kwina-nge
mushroom | kwatiwaw-ge
night | o-tebelebaan
orchid (sp.) | tomotui
pack (a bundle, to) | gi-kwe-be
pain | ön-a-ngtöwe
perspiration | ön-o-tage-le
pigeon (imperial) | umu-ge
colonial pigeon
plantain | tuñtu
present (to) | chagola; yaulola
rain | gi-bone-be
recover (lost article, to) | beja [gjö:nges]
recovery (from illness) | gi-gangula
red | i-jodo
return (come back, to) | ön-i-katakö-be
rub (to) | ön-kweta-be
run away (to) | alemake-be
row (paddle, to) | ö-glanj-be
scar | ge-ki-ngë [ön-i-banes]
screw pine | mane
cracks | ga-teba-be
shallow | i-kata
sharp | ngi-gi-lektu [gi-echara]
shave (to) | kwédale-be [ön-o-tale-be]
shell | tenje [todandwii]
sick | o-dula
silent (to be) | kwemantambei
skate (fish) | dugadode
skin | gati [gangwi, peel]
small | mintainene: giwe [bsai]
smear (the body, to) | ön-a-kwawen-be
smoke (to) | nanto-be
speak (to) | gi-lekawinka-be
spear | gi-takwatewe

---
25 But see "collect, heap up."
star  kóia-kóia  tickle (to)  ön-a-ngedede-be
sear  gi-ngulú-be  to-morrow  ekajetu
sting (of a mosquito, to)  ön-i-bulukú-be  tongue (bamboo, to use)  wako-be
sting (of a bee, to)  ön-a-e-be  tortoise-shell  c-dati
stone  kwil [taiyi]  turn over (to)  jule-be
stop (to)  kwála-kaji-be  understand!  ön-i-lokalema!
stout  ön-i-deume
sunrise (to)  (eke)²³ gi-bete-be  wash (to)  gi-kwantai-be
sunset (to)  (eke)²³ gi-otukūtii-bi-be  wax (black bees')  tiibii
sweep (to)  gati-be [tote-be]  white  òkala
take away (to)  i-do-be [ge-akingkó-be]  whistle  gwana [ön-i-ang-a-le]
tall  midokwanene  wood  tada-nge
throw  toko-be [waikuwí-be]  yam  kalu
tick  nana-ge  yellow  gi-kita

APPENDIX C.

The Andamanese Tribal Names according to the Aka-Béa Language.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Full.</th>
<th>Abbreviated.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Áká-Cháriá-(da)</td>
<td>Chariar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Áká-Kóre-(da)</td>
<td>Kora</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Áká-Tábo-(da)</td>
<td>Tabo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Áká-Yëre-(da) (also Áká-Járo-da)</td>
<td>Yere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oko-Júwai-(da)</td>
<td>Juwai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Áká-Kól-(da)</td>
<td>Kol</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Below is given a table of the names given to themselves and each other by the five South Andaman Tribes or Bojingji Group, traditionally sprung from one tribe. It brings out the following facts:—in each language of the Group the prefixes and suffixes differ much and the roots remain practically the same throughout for the same sense. These facts strongly indicate one fundamental tongue for this group of languages.

Table of the names for themselves and each other used by the five South Andaman tribes or Bojingji group.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fresh-water</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Bea</td>
<td>Áká-Béa-da</td>
<td>Akat-Bea</td>
<td>O-Bea-da</td>
<td>O-Bea-che</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opposite-side</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Balawa</td>
<td>Áká-Balawa-da</td>
<td>Akat-Bale</td>
<td>O-Pole-da</td>
<td>O-Pole-che</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Our language</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Bojigayab</td>
<td>Áká-Bojigayab-da</td>
<td>Akat-Bojigayab-da</td>
<td>O-Puchik-war-da</td>
<td>O-Puchik-war-che</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patterns cut on bows</td>
<td>Juwai</td>
<td>Áká-Juwai-da</td>
<td>Akat-Juwai-da</td>
<td>O-Juwai-da</td>
<td>O-Juwai-che</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bitter or salt taste</td>
<td>Kol</td>
<td>Áká-Kol-da</td>
<td>Akat-Kol</td>
<td>O-Kol-da</td>
<td>O-Kol-che</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

So too Yëre, Jera or Járo for the Áká-Yëre Tribe means a (sort of) "canoe" in all the languages and Ònge means "a man" on its own language.

²³ eke means the sun.

(To be continued.)
MISCELLANEA.

SURVIVAL OF OLD ANGLO-INDIAN COMMERCIAL TERMS.

BY SIR R. C. TEMPLE.

Any one who has had occasion to struggle with such a book as Stevens' New and Complete Guide to the East India Trade, 1775, or with Anglo-Indian terms occurring in the old Company's Factory Records and similar documents will appreciate the value of settling precisely what is meant by Anglo-Indian commercial terms. There is a chance of doing this in certain instances by an examination of the Indian commercial newspapers of to-day, as many more of the old terms have survived in commerce than would at first appear possible to the outside public.

Here are a few taken from a Supplement to Capital, published in Calcutta in 1903.

Surviving Anglo-Indian Terms.

Coir. Oldest quotation in Yule, 1510.

"Coir fibre. Demand has somewhat improved."

Dal; dal. Oldest quotation in Yule, 1673.

"Dal or split peas. Demand for all kinds is slack... Masuri dal and Khati Masuri... Oridh or kolye dal... gram dal... greangepas dal... ahar dal... khasari dal... khasari or mutta."

Gingerly. Oldest quotation in Yule, 1726.

"Jinjeli, sesamum or tilseed oil. Prices continue very high owing to light supply."


"Australian Gunny Market, bags and bagging."

Gram. Oldest quotation in Yule, 1702.

"Gram supplies have overtaken deliveries."

Golah. Oldest quotation in Yule, 1785.

"Salt. The market continues steady and the sales during the week are as follows: ex ships... ex golahs...

Madapollam (piece-goods). Oldest quotation in Yule, 1673: see Bowrey's Countries round the Bay of Bengal (1669-1679), p. 100, n. 1.

"Grey Madapollam."


"Myrabollams... There has been no life in the trade... for export to the Australian Colonies for some Squirrel nuts."

Shells. Oldest quotation in Yule (s. v. Lac), c. 1343.

"There is a fair enquiry for ready parcels... Button lac, a small business is passing... garnet... there is nothing to report... There is very little movement... 300 cases button arrived last week in free condition for the American market."

Tincal. Oldest quotation in Yule, 1525.

"The article is selling... superior Cossipore is reaching."

Weights.

Maund. Oldest quotation in Yule, 1610.

[This very old word and its variants at the present day are well worth comparing with the old books.]

"The Indian Maund is 82 lbs.: the Factory Maund is 75 lbs. 10 oz. 11 dwt.: the Bazar Maund is 82 lbs. 2 oz. 3 dwt.: 1 cwt., i. e. 112 lbs., equals Bazar 1 mrd. 14 seex 8 p. chittacka."

Modern Terms.

Kerosine Oil. "Indian named brands... Mango, Ram, Sumatra, Rangoon."

Rice. "Commercial terms for Bengal Rice: table, white Patna, Brushed Seeta, Seeta, gross Seeta, chunchulla, khus or B. T., cleaned gross, prime Patna, gross Patna."

Names for Boiled or Brown Rice: "Boiled Patna, ballam, nagra, monngi, zaree, kazla, kuttuck."

Sugar. Names for Indian sugar: "Cane, Benares, Shomsara, Dumma, Vally Gour, Bobarah, Akhahar, Goburdanga and Jadurhat."

Names for refined sugar: "Cossipore, Cossipore Grossey, Madras and Aret granulated, China granulated, Penang, Mauritius."

Tea. Names for Indian tea: "Assam, Cachar, Sylhet, Darjeeling, Dooars, Terai."
HINDUISM IN THE HIMALAYAS.

BY H. A. ROSE, I.C.S.

(Concluded from Vol. XXXVI. p. 43.)

IV. — The Legend of Mahâsû Déo tâ.

Mahâsû, doubtless a corruption of Mahâ-Siva, is the god who gives his name to the Mahâsû Hill near Simla and other places in the Simla hills. In the legend that follows he appears in quadruple form as four brothers, just as Bûnâ Sur had four sons.33

When Krishna disappeared at the end of the Dwâpar Yag, the Pâñjâvas followed him. On their road to Badrî-kâsharam they crossed the Tons, and Râjâ Yudhishthir, struck with the beauty of the place, ordered Bishvâ Karmâ to build a temple there. Here the Pâñjâvas, with Draupadî, halted 9 days. They named the place Hanol, and thence journeyed by the Gangotri and Jamnotri ravines, through Kedâr, to Badrî Nâth, where they disappeared, and the Kali Yug began.

At its commencement demons wandered over the Uttarâ Khanda, devouring the people and plundering towns and villages. The greatest of the demons was Kirmâr, who had Beshî, Sengi, and a host of minor demons under him at Maindarth, on the Tons, whence they ravaged towns and villages, until the people sought refuge in cliffs, caves, and ravines. The demons devoured everyone who came in their way. Once the seven sons of Hûnâ Brâhma, who practised penance in the Deoban forest, went to bathe in the Tons river and encountered Kirmâr, who devoured them all.

As they did not return for some time, their mother set out in search for them, but when she reached the river without getting any clue to her sons, she sat down on its bank and began to weep bitterly. Meanwhile, Kirmâr, passing by, was struck with her beauty and asked why she wept. Kirtakâ turned to him and said her seven sons had gone to bathe in the river and had not returned home. Hearing this, Kirmâr said, “I am fascinated by thy beauty. If thou wilt accede to my heart’s desire, I will extinguish the fire of my heart and will be grateful to thee and try to help thee in this difficulty. I am a brave man, descended from Râwan. I have won the kingdom of these hills through the strength of my own arm.”

The chaste wife was terrified at these words and they increased her grief. In her distress she began to pray, saying, “O Lord, the giver of all boons, everything rests with thee.”

Dohâ (couplet).

Puttâ dûkh dukhid bhâit.
Par-bâl abald âj,
Sattâ ko sat jdt hai:
Râkho, Ishwar, lâj.

I was distressed at the loss of my sons.
To-day I am a woman in another’s power,
A chaste woman whose chastity is like to be lost:
O God, keep my chastity!

After this she took her way home, and by the power of God the demon’s sight was affected, so that Kirtakâ became invisible to him as he passed. She then told the story to her husband, saying with clasped hands that Durga Dévi would be pleased with her devotion and destroy the demons, for she alone was endowed with the power of averting such evil. The demons had corrupted religion, outraged chastity, and taken men’s lives.

On hearing this, her husband said they would go and worship Hûk-koṭî Ishwâr Mâtâ. So Hûnâ went to the goddess with his wife. He first offered her flowers, and then prayed to Hûk-šwâr Durga with the eight hands. While he prayed he unsheathed a dagger.

33 Temple’s Legends of the Panjab, III., pp. 364 et seqq.
and was about to cut off his own head with it, when the goddess revealed her spirit to him, caught his hand and said, "I am greatly pleased with thy devotion. Go to the mountains of Kashmir, pray to God, and all thy desires will be fulfilled. Shiv-ji will be pleased and will fulfil thy desires. Go there cheerfully and there will be no obstacle in thy way."

Obeying the order of the goddess, Hūna went at once, and in a few days reached his destination. After his departure, he gave up eating grain and lived on vegetables. He also gave up clothes, using the bark of trees for his dress. He spent most of his time in worship, sometimes standing on one toe. When Shiv-ji was pleased with him, the spirit of the four-armed image addressed him, saying, "I am greatly pleased with thee: ask me any boon, which thou desirest."

On hearing these words from the god Siva, Hūna clasped his hands and said, "O Siva thou hast power to kill the demons. Thou hast power to repel all enemies and to remove all difficulties. I pray and worship the Gangea, the saviour of the creatures of the three worlds, which looks most beautiful as it rests on thy head. There are no words to describe thy glory. The beauty of thy face, which is so brilliant with the serpents hanging round thy neck, beggars all description. I am highly indebted to the goddess of Hāt-koti, at whose feet I bow my head, and by whose favour I and my wife are so fortunate as to see thee in the Kali Yug."

Uttar Khand meh rākshas bahé, manukho kē kartā dūhr;
Kul muluk bākhdī kṣīdā, dūhrī hogāti uṣār.
Tum hi Rudar, tum hi Bishnū Nand Govāl,
Dukh kūd sur sāvītā ko; māro rākshas tat-kāl.
Sāt puttar mujhī, dās ko nakhāne gāye jāb parbhāt:
Jāb phē ṣaṃjā dās Tēnu ke jinko Kīrmar kājā chādā.

The demons who dwell in the Northern Region are preying upon the people. They have laid waste the country and the people have fled.
Thou only art Rudar (Siva); thou alone art Bishnū Nand Govāl. The sages and devotees are in distress; kill the demons at once.
Early in the morning the seven sons of me thy slave went to bathe.
When they reached the banks of the River Tēnu, Kīrmar ate them at once.

The god Siva was pleased at these words and said, "O Rikhi, the people of the Kali Yug being devoid of religion have lost all strength. I admire thy sincere love and true faith, especially as thou didst not lose heart in worshipping me. Hence all thy desires shall be fulfilled and I have granted thee the boon asked for. Be not anxious, for all the devils will be killed in a few days."

Dohā (couplet).
Bidā kīyo jāb Bīpra ko, diṣā kāshat, phūl, chīrg.
Śakti rūp pahiē paragāt gai, Maindārath ke ṇag.
Ghar jīdo Bīpra dīpe, rākho mujhī par ṇēk.
Śakti rūp ke aṅg se, ho-gāyē deb anēk,
Paragāt aṅg aṅg debā, rām rām aṅg bīr,
Istrī sāhit bidā kīyo, 'rāko maṇ mēn dūhr.'

When (the god) bade the Brāhmaṇ farewell he gave him rice, flowers, and a lamp.
A Śakti (goddess) first appeared in the garden at Maindārath.
Go home, Brāhmaṇ, and place reliance on me.
Countless divinities arose from the body of the Śakti.
Gods appeared from her body, and heroes from her every hair.
She dismissed him with his wife saying: 'keep patience in thy heart.'

38 Explained to mean 'the son of Nand, i.e., Kṛṣṇā.
When the god gave Hūnā Rikhī leave to go, he gave him rice, a vessel containing flower and a lamp, and said, "O Rishi, go home and keep thy confidence in me. A Saktī (goddess) will first appear in the garden at Mainārāth. Numerous demons will come out of her thimble, and every hair of her body will send forth a hero. Do not lose courage, but go home with thy wife. Keep the garland of flowers, the rice, and the lamp which I have given thee concealed beneath the pipāl tree which stands in the garden behind thy house, and perform the customary daily worship of all these. Light this lamp and offer me flowers and incense on the amavās of Bhādoī and thereafter worship me with a sincere heart. Also perform a jāgarāṇa on that date for one day and night. By so doing, thou wilt, on the third day, observe a Saktī emerge from the ground with a fountain. Flames will then be visible all around. From her forehead and other limbs will spring gods, who will be named after the member from which they were born. The four gods, called the Nāg Chauṭh or Mahāsū, will appear on the 4th of the light half of Bhādoī. Those who appear on the following day, i.e., the 5th, will be called Kiyānī and Banārī. Moreover, many distinguished above the rest by their courage will spring from the Saktī's hair. They will kill the demons and give great happiness to the people. They will fix their capital at Haqool, which was founded by the Pāṃḍavas."

When this boon was granted to Hūnā Rikhī, he walked round the god and paid him obeisance. After this he went his way homewards and the god disappeared.

After many days the Rikhī reached home with his wife, and acting on the god’s directions carefully placed the lamp, flowers, and rice on the prescribed spot. On the amavās of Bhādoī he worshipped and lighted the lamp. On the third day a fountain sprung up, wherein the Saktī appeared.

Chaupāl.

Bhāmī sē upnī Mātī Deo ḍāṛī.
Thān Deo Mātī ko Kongō rē Pārī.

Mother Deo Lāṛī appeared from the earth.
The temple of Deo Mata (was named) the Bāṛī of Kongō.

Ṭū ḍī yag, yagī, ṭū ḍī yag mātī.
Dē, Mātī, bochan dē pāṁḍēs mē ṯātī.

Thou only art devotion and the law, thou art the mother of the age.
O Mother, give us thy promise to lead us on the (right) path.

Māṭē bātē Mātī rē agni rē gēṭhē.
Bōḍhī rāṭī Mahāsū hot sūraṛ jē bhēṛē.

On the Mother's head burnt a fire of faggots.
Mahāsū was born with luster like the rays of the sun.

Chāḍī sē māṛē Chakkar chāṛī,
Janaṛī Chhāḍīṛī, Māṭī rē ıāṛī.

Placing her hand round her breast,
The Mother brought forth her son, Chhāḍī.

Māṭī Deo Lāṛī nē ḍhē kīṛē kharī.
Pāḥoh Pābhāṛī dōṛo ḍhē dō jharī.

Mother Deo Lāṛī raised both her hands.
Bīshūk and Pābāṛī sprang from her two hands.

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27 Jāgara (from Samākrit jāgara) means keeping awake the whole night in devotion.
28 By Mahāsū, because it was close to his own temple.
29 Bīshūk is also called Chāḍīṛī, i.e., "the goer," the serpent.
Chauth meh upne Mahāsū chār.
Pancharā hū ṭithī di ḍe Deo Kiyālū Bandū.
The four Mahāsūs were born on the fourth.40
On the fifth were created the gods Kiyālū and Bandū.41
Shēr Kāliā Kyālū hoe Loṭhē re ṭeṣṭōr.
Romō hō ṭo ṭomō de nau lākh bir.
Shēr Kāliā and Kiyālū became the ministers of Bothā.42
Nine lākh of heroes sprang from every hair.
Ḥāth jorē Hunā gayā pāire pē jāt:—
'Sab manuch liē, Mālkū, rākhāsē khāt.'
Hunā fell at her feet with clasped hands:—
'All mankind has been devoured by the demons, O Mistress.'
Ḥāth bandē pāir shēr lūyā jānū:—
'Maindrārath Tālo ḍā Kirmār ḍāno.'
With clasped hands and feet he placed his head on her knees:—
'Kirmār, the demon, (dwells) in the Maindrārath Lake.'
Kāthā hōi saind Maindrārath ke bēg.
Chāṛ bhāī Mahāku khūṛi re ḍā.
The armies were arrayed in the garden of Maindrārath.
The four Mahāsū brothers were like the fire.43
Hunā jāisē rīkhī ṭati bintī lāt:—
Iśi ko kāran chāṛ Mahāsū ātī.
Hunā the Bishi made a great prayer:—
'The four Mahāsūs for this purpose have come.'
Sabḥī jābū debē nē bintī lāt:—
'Kyā deusē agū Deo Lāṛī Māṭī?'
All the gods made a prayer (saying:—)
'What are the orders of the goddess Deo Lāṛī Māṭī?'
Jāb di agū Śṛt Devī Māṭī:—
'Kirmār Keshī rākhās ko tum ḍō gēhā.'
Then Śṛt Devī Māṭī gave orders:—
'You must kill the demons Kirmār and Keshī.'

**Chambola.**

Rājā Rīkh-cholīyā lāyō tero nāw.
Rājān ko rāj nāw tero nāw.
Thy name is King of Rīkh-cholīyā.
Thy name is king of kings.
Kungā kanūrī, Rājā, guḍā ko ḍhōp,
Chāṛ Bhdī Mahāsū Narain ko rūp.
Rājān ko rāj nāw tero nāw.
With saffron, musk and fragrant resin and incense, Raja.
The four Mahāsū brothers are Narain incarnate.
Thy name is king of kings.

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40 Of the light half of Bhādōn.
41 That is to say, two of the four Mahāsūs were created on the 4th and two on the 5th of the light half of Bhādōn.
42 Mahāsū.
43 Of a cow-dung cake.
HATHA SHAHKH CHAKKAR GA\' SAMP KO H\'AR,
CH\'AR BH\'ATI MAH\'ASHI BUDDAR AVODAR;
DHEKH-UDH\'ATI RAJAN KO RAJ NAW TERO NAW.

With conch and quoit in their hands and serpents round their necks,
The four brothers Mah\'ash\'i are Buddh\'i\'s incarnate,
In spite of all disguise, thy name is king of kings.
HATHA SHAHKH, CHAKKAR, GJ\'AT, TISH\'AL,
NACH LAYO PAR\'I RO, BARKA\'I HO\'I PHAL,
DHEKH-UDH\'ATI RAJ\'AT LIYO TERO NAW.
RAJAN KO RAJ NAW TERO NAW.

Conch, quoit, mace and trident in hand,
Dance of fairies and rain of flowers,
In spite of all disguise kingly is thy name.
Thy name is king of kings.
ULIA\'AT RAJ\'AT BHM\'AL\'AT KO LAYO.
KASHMIR\'AT CHOR\'I RAJ\'AT MAIND\'AR\'AT AY.
RAJAN KO RAJ NAW TERO NAW.

Uliva\'a's grandson and Raj\'a Bhima\'la\'a's son has been born.
The Raj\'a left Kashm\'ir and came to Main\'d\'ar\'a.
Thy name is king of kings.

Doh\'a (couplet).
Thara ait ke nahta jante, hila param ap\'ar.
Bhagat hit dharme tum kei bidh seth ko ac\'ar.
None knoweth thy infinity, thy glory is infinite.
Thou dost take many shapes in order to do good.
Binta sun rikhi ki, paran hu\'a atyant.
Hukam diya\'a saintapati\'a ko mano aur turant.

Hearing the prayer, great was the joy of the saints.
They gave the order to the leaders 'slay the demons forthwith.'
Agya p\'at, Mah\'asa\'i ki mu\'agar liyo h\'at.
Mah\'asa\'i rath par Chal\'a\'a baistha nau lak\'h saine saath.
Receiving the orders, the Mah\'asa\'i took bludgeons in their hands.
Chal\'a\'a sat in his great war chariot at the head of nine lak\'has of men.
Pirtham yudh hu\'a Main\'d\'ar\'ath maen, saine m\'ari ap\'ar.
Aise Shih Shankar bha\'e jo santan pr\'an adh\'ar.
Battle was first joined at Main\'d\'ar\'ath and armies were slain.
It was Shiv Shankar who thus came to save his disciples.

When the whole army of the r\'ukhsh\'asan had been killed, Ki\'umar beat a retreat and came to Majhog, the abode of Singl the demon. There they collected their scattered forces, intending to give battle afresh.

Doh\'a (couplet).
Jab Majhog me\'n devat pah\'ash\'e an,
Singl m\'aro jab daist, hua yudh ghams\'an.
When the dev\'atas reached Majhog,
They killed Singl the demon and a desperate battle was fought.

\"I. e., Siva.\"
On hearing of the slaying of Sing' Rákshas by Sher Kuli, and that most of his men were slain, Kirmar fled to Kinâr Khañjâl, a village on the river bank, but was pursued by the dûlûs. When he was about to hide in a ravine of Mount Khañjâl, he was overtaken by Châlî Châlî Mahâsû, who rode on a throne of flowers borne by two soldiers.

Dôhâ (couplet in Pahârî).

Khánjâl jâne khé pâvad thâ thdo,
Dûlûs khiñî thó Khañjâl râ lâ.

He took refuge under a rock in the village of Khañjâl,
Intending to smite with his sword his opponent.

When Sî Châlîâ65 killed the demon, a large force of other gods reached him.

Dôhâ (couplet in Pahârî).

Sûkh lârâv dothâ kharîâ66 khângâdî,
Ghâdî lâwâ67 râkshas lâi lâi bûzâdî.

All the gods attacked with their swords
And cut the demons to pieces.

After killing the demon Kirmar, all the gods threw flowers over S. i Châlî and paid homage to him.

Dôhâ (couplet).

Aîi Kori Yag méh Kirmar kiyô rûj.
Sauî mahîmdâ ko dukh diyo dait samûdî.

Kirmar ruled the world in the beginning of the Kall Yag.
The demon brotherhood caused great trouble to the saints and the men of God.

Sab dovan kð do hái Mahâsû harto.
Kirmar dî mûrî, dî kiyô mahi-khár.

The lord Mahâsû is the god of all gods,
Killing the great Kirmar, he has lightened the burden of the World.

Yak charîr Mahâdev ká chit dê suné jo koj,
Sadd rahe sukh sampâid aur mukti phal koj.

He who listens to this story of Mahâdev with a sincere heart,
Will always remain happy and attain the fruit of salvation.

After killing Kirmar, all the gods encamped in a field near Khañjâl, and the place came to be called Dev-kâ-khátal. It still forms the jîyâ of Dev Banâr. The place in Khañjâl, where Kirmar met his death, still retains the marks of his sword on a rock. Travellers and passers-by worship this stone by offering flowers, and also express gratitude to Mahâsû.

Next morning at daybreak Hûnâ Rikhi came to Mahâsû with clasped hands and expressed joy at Kirmar's death. He further begged that the demon, Keshî, who had made Hanol his abode and was destroying its people should be killed, adding that the place was a delightful one, as it had a fine temple, that the rippling waves of the river by which it lay added beauty to its scenery, that it was a place of sanctity and would be better under his rule than under the demon's, and that it was therefore right that the demon should be killed.

Hearing this the god marched his army in that direction, and on the march they passed Salnâ Patti, a village in Râwingarh, near which lived another demon in a tank, receiving its water from the Pabar. When the flower-throne of Mahâsû reached this spot he saw a demon dancing in the tank and making a noise. Sî Nafrî Ji said to Mahâsû: — “This is a fearsome sight.” When Mahâsû heard the Umâ Shankari's words he knew by the might of his knowledge that this was the demon spoken of by the rikhî. He stopped his throne and

65 From bhâs-nd, to break, in Pahârî.
66 I. e., Mahâsû.
67 Lit., 'raising high.'
destroyed the demon on the spot by muttering some charms, which had such power that even to this day the river does not make any sound as it flows. Hence the place is called Nashudi.

Dōhā.

Bājā jari-bharthā deotē rē bājā,
Bothā Rājā Mahāsū Hanolā kē bīrdāj.

Jari-bharth, the music of the gods, was played,
When Bothā, Rājā and Mahāsū left for Hanol.'

Mahārāj Mahāsū Chālīā Pahāsū,
Hanolā dēkhāro bāhutē mano dē kāsū.
Mahārāj Mahāsū, Chālīā and Pahāsū,
The gods laughed greatly in their hearts on seeing Hanol.

Chhoṭā chhoṭā bāhutē deo;
Sri Bothā Mahāsū deote rē deo.
There are many minor gods;
But Sri-Bōhā Mahāsū is the god of gods.

When Sri Mahāsū reached Hanol with his army, he asked Hūnā Rikhl if it was the resort of Keshti the demon. The latter humbly replied that it was, but he added that the demon sometimes haunted the Masmor mountains, and had perhaps gone in that direction and that preparations for his destruction should be made at once. Upon this all the gods held a council and sent Sri Chālīā with Sher Kalīā, Kōllā, and others to the mountains of Masmor to kill Keshti. Under these orders Sri Chālīā seated himself on a throne studded with pearls, and with the other warrior-gods set out in search of the demon. This song of praise was sung:

'Teri Hanolā, Rājā, phūlā ki bārī,
Chār dhāi Mahāsū Mātā Deo Lārī.
Rājā ko rāj nāw tero nāw.
Bhēsh-dhārī Rājā ji,
Rājā, Rājā nāwē parjā nāwē.'

'Rājā, thou hast a garden of flowers in thy Hanol,
The abode of the four Mahāsūs and their mother.
Thy name is king of kings.
In spite of all disguise thou art Lord,
The queen, the king and his subjects bow down to thee.'

Potīt.

Khaṇḍāliē dākā nāmī chār,
Lē chalo pārī nāi ukhē Masmōr.
Rājā ko rāj nāw tero nāw.
Kāshmirī Rājā dēnd kēthi? Bhimlā ki ēr.

Thieves and famed robbers of Khaṇḍāliē,
Bear ye my palanquin up to Masmor.
Thy name is king of kings.
Whither is the king of Kashmir gone? He is gone towards Bhimla.

Kalīās Kashmir chhōrā nējasthē Māinārāt̄hā dyād.
Rājā ko rāj nāw tero nāw.
Thon hast left Kalīās and Kashmir and came to Mainārāth.
Thy name is king of kings!

When Sri Chālīā's throne reached the hill with his bandmen playing music, the demon Keshti witnessed his arrival, and thought him to be the same who had killed his lord Kirmār, and had come there for the same purpose. So he made ready for battle and said, "It is not
right to fly." Thinking thus, he took a huge mace and spear to attack the god. When about to shatter the god in pieces with his mace, the god's glory was manifested and the demon's hand hung motionless. Śri Chāḷīṣā ordered Ṣher Kaliyā to kill the demon at once. This order was instantly obeyed. The people of the place were exceedingly glad at this good news, and there was much throwing of flowers over Mahāśā.

Verse.

Khusī hucé ādami pahārā ré śārī:—
'Kārē seē khoaumāntī kūṭh ré mērē.'

All the hill people rejoiced:—
'Accept as thy revenue the offerings made out of our (share of the) produce.'

'Kār dé khoaumāntī pārē Hanole lāhē,
Sāhī bhūreī de bhāshē déo Bharāhī lē buleūē.'

'We will work and send tribute in our turn to Hanol,
And will bring the god for worship to Bharāhī every twelve years.'

'Sāhī kahıē, Mahāśuva, mulk tihārē,
Sāh dé sematī ré kābū ré kārdū.'

'O Mahāśū, we say this land is thine for ever,
And we will give thee each year every kind of grain in due season.'

'Dhūt, kar, rākshas, parē, chḥal,
Kār dé khoaumāntī sādī re bāhī purjāī bhāhārī.
Achīhdār dī aur karē rākshāh hāhārī.'

'Protect us from the evil-spirits, demons, ogres and goblins,
And we will give thee tribute and ever remain thy subjects.
Give us prosperity and grant us protection.'

After killing the demon, Śri Chāḷīṣā Mahāśā seated himself on his throne and came with his forces to Hanol in great state. He brought with him all the offerings in gold and silver, as well as a gold kaddī taken from the demons.

On reaching the place he recounted the death of Keshi to Bothā Mahāśā, saying:— "All the demons have been killed by thy favour, and all the troubles removed. Accept these offerings which I have brought and send them to thy treasury."

Hearing this, Bothā Mahāśā said: "O Śri Chāḷīṣā, go with all these heroes to the places which I name and divide the country among them, so that they may rule there, and guard the people against all calamities. The people of these lands will worship thee as thy subjects and be dependent on thee. Every person will offer thee silver, gold, brass or copper on the attainment of his desires. Wherever thou mayst go, the inhabitants will worship thee, performing a jāgrā on the Nāg-chanth and Nāg-panchmi days, which fall each year in Bhādoi. They will be amply rewarded for these annual fairs." And he added: "Thou shalt be worshiped like myself, and be highly esteemed throughout my kingdom, but thou wilt have to pay the mālīkānī dues for each place to the other gods. When a grand jāgrā is performed, thou wilt be invited to present offerings to me."

Lājī tāl mardāng saṅkh bhājī ghatātē,
Subhī Śri Mahāśā jī ne dehaū ko rāj dīno bāntī.
The cymbal, the mardāng and the cymbals were sounded and bells were rung.

When Śri Mahāśā divided his kingdom among his minor gods.

Rāj sabhī dīto ko ṣarum bāntī,
Rājdhānī Pabānī deha Deban rā dandād.
He divided his State to the gods thus,

Giving the territory of Mount Deban to Pabān.
Hinduism in the Himalayas.

To Bāshuk he gave the whole of the Bāwar territory with the part of Bilo on this side of Sāthi. To Pabālī he also gave the country of Shāthi which is on the bank of the Pātwāl. To Kālū and Banār he gave Kālū and Kōtā also.

And Bōthā and Chālīḍā Mahāsū became rulers of the whole of the hill tract.

The people do not know how to worship Mahāśū

'Sub richā den i Hurū Rikhi khe Veda rī bādī,
'Isi bidhā kār mere dekte rī pājan kārdī.'

The hymns of the Vedā were dictated to Hunā Rikhi:

'Perform my worship according to them.'

'Sub guve dekte apne satānao khe jādi,
Veda rī richā den i pājana lādi.
All the gods went to their own capitals.
The Vedica hymns should be used in worship,
'Shrī Mahāsū ke edh san dekte gae āti,
Is Khānd Utta me₁ de te māta kārdi.'
All the gods who had came with Mahāsū.

Are worshipped in this Northern Region.

Nōtār Pokho chhory jā manāshwar Mahādeo.
Hanol me₁ Bōthā Mahāsū jā san dekan ke āto.

Nōtār and Pokhū remain, Mahadev the god of the burning places.

Bōthā Mahāsū is the god of gods in Hanol.

Chūr me₁ Chārunshwar wahi Mahāsū hai āto.
Deeh chhory deshoreh Dūm dīti Bhīndrā deo.

That same Mahāsū as Chūrīshwar is the god of the Chūr Peak.
Dūm, Bhīndrā and others are in charge of the other parts of the plain country.

Nāraṅ, Raddar, Dhuālū, Ghorjū dekte gage Bāshakrō rī nāāi.
Hākoṭhī me₁ Māvā Hājēshwar aur pahār pahār me₁ Kālīt.

The gods Nāraṅ, Raddar, Dhuālū and Ghorjū were sent towards the valley of Bashahr.
Mother Hājēshwārī was in Hākoṭhī and on every hill was Kālīt.

Subhān ki pājan Bāhī hūt 'jai jai' kārd.
Kirmar dūt mār ke āndān bhāyā vannār.

All worship the Brothers and give them [the cry of] 'victory.'
The world became very happy at the death of Kirmar and the other demons.

Dēsh hucā muluk, Shri Chālīḍā, tumhārd.
Hanol kē bhējnā kāto rā kārd.
Shrī Chālīḍā, all this country is thine.
Thy servants give thee tribute in Hanol.

Thus was a separate tract assigned to each, and they were sent each to his own territory. Hunā Rikhi was loaded with blessings in money. After this, Mahāsū disappeared and an image of him with four arms appeared of its own accord. It is worshipped to this day.

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23 This is the meaning as explained by the descendant of Kāverḍ. Lit., the translation appears to be to Pabālī he gave Bel on the day of the full moon, and so it is (now) called Bel Pāshā.
24 That is, in regard to the worship of this god.
25 In Garhwal.
Sab gayé dehde épé épé asthán,
Jab Bôhá hué Shi Shí Mahású ji antar-ağyán.
All the gods went to their own places,
And then Bôhá Sri Mahású disappeared.
Kyálá Baná; dindá urdo,
Kíti ri serí 'dá párúrá thádo.
Kyálá and Basár flew away,
And took possession of the fields of Kúti.52

The following story is connected with these two places. The capital of the two gods is Pujárli, a village at the foot of the Bûrgä Hill, beyond the Pabar stream.

When all the gods had gone to their own places, all the land was regarded as the kingdom of Mahású, and his capital was Hanol. It is now believed that if any irregularity occurs in this territory, the gods in charge of it and the people are called upon to explain the reason. The people of this country believe Mahású to have such power that if a person who has lost anything worships the god with sincere heart, he will undoubtedly achieve his desire.

Dohá (couplet).

Lîlâ iskî bârân sokké koi. kaun?
Adi debar ke dev hâi, Mahású kahâvâ jaum.
Who can praise him?
He is the chief god of all gods, and is called Mahású.
Jo jan din-hu-kor unho dhyâvâ,
Wah omt savay man-bîndsht phal pâwâ.
He who remembers him with humble mind,
Shall at last have all his desires fulfilled,
Aîe bhu yah Bûdâr avatár,
Jin târâ sabal sansâr.
So (great) is the incarnation of Rudar,53
That all the world is delivered from transmigration.
Wahí Shîb Shañkar avatár,
Jin-kê mûyâ ne bûndhâ sansâr.
He is Shiv Shankar incarnate,
And the whole world is enthralled by his illusion.
Aîe hâi wah Shîb Shañkar ñanâdâ,
Jin-ke simras se kâhí har phaândâ.
Such is Shiv Shankar ever pleased.
Who remembers him passes safely through the whole maze,54
Jin-nâ is-meñ shàâkâ uñhâ,
Wah narañ hî meñ hai Shambhâ né pôt.
He who has doubts as to these things
Is doomed to hell by Shambhu.
Wah Shîb Shañkar aântarýamî,
Jin-kê dhyâvât sur nar guñâ.
He is Shiv Shañkar, the heart-searcher,
On whom meditate the heroes and the sages.

52 Kúti is a place in Râvkârâh, near the Bûrgä Mountains.
53 Bûrâ.
54 Or we may read Har phaándâ and translate: 'By remembrance of him (mankind) may be delivered from the maze of Har (Shiv).'
Yah Shambha jagat sukh dad,
Jan-kha par kha nahi pait.
He is Shambhu and gives blessings to the world
And no one can fathom his doings.

Dhara, Sharva, Rudra, Pashu-pati, Girisha, Maha, mahan,
Jin ke guanu-ved ko gawai Veda Purana.

He is Bhaav, Sharva, Rudra, Pashu-pati, Girisha, Mahesa, the great one,
Whose virtue is sung in the Vedas and Puranas.

Aise bho avah Mahdsu sukh-adhyat,
Jal thal meh jo rahas samayat.
Mahdsu comforts every man
And his glory pervades both sea and land.

Kha baraun ud sakhi unk prabhuudat,
Dramha, Visisnu Sradh ait nahi pait.

We lack words to tell his greatness,

Brahma, Vishnu, and even Sardha could not know his reality.

Tin lok ke nath hai ait nahi kachhu pait,
Brahma, Vishnu, Sradh, hri-gayo man-madh.

He is the king of the three worlds and is infinite.

Even the gods Brahma, Vishnu and Sardha could not stand before him.


dhat jor-ke Brahma, Vishnu, khati Sradha met;—
Tin lok meh jate bhoav par kine nahi pait.

Brahma, Vishnu, and Mother Sardha stood with clasped hands before him:—

We have been round the three worlds, but could find no end (to his glory).

Hrd man-kar thakat bhoav par nahi jab pait,
Dhat jor-kar thatt bhoav nahi-pad ait nati.

When they could find no end to his glory,

They came before him with clasped hands and bowed heads.

Sita nawati ke nath pad ke kini bhakti puldr;—
Tum deban ke deb ho tidal param apdr.

They bowed their heads to the god and praised him aloud;—

Thou art the god of all gods and wonderous is thy glory.

Hai chaandre-chhara madandksh-shul pani kar jais.
Tin lok ke harti harti deban deb Maheds.

Thou art Mahasu, the creator and destroyer of the three worlds.

Jahd tahat bhaav Mahdsu aitar-dhyot,
Tab se unki astuti karat Hanola Sthita.

From the time that Mahasu disappeared,

He began to be praised in the Hanol Temple.

Wah sathan hai Uttar Khapati maht.
Nadhi kindre Tons ke mahtir band tahat.

His place is in the Northern Region.

His temple is built on the bank of the river Tons.

When all the gods went to their own places, the other gods agreed to pay tribute to Hanol according to the directions of Mahasu. They also agreed to pay majilkan dues on the birthday of Mahasadat to the inhabitants.
A REPORT ON THE PANJAB HILL TRIBES.\(^1\)

*From the Native point of view.*

**BY MIAN DUBGA SINGH.**

*(Communicated by H. A. Rose.)*

**I. — Tribes.**

1. A detailed account of the present tribes is given under paragraph 36 below. The original division was as follows:

   (1) **Sub-divisions into castes according to the Hindu or Muhammadan Scriptures.**

   (2) **Minor sub-divisions named after some great ancestor:** e.g., there are two principal sections of the Brähmans, *viz.*, Shukal and Krishan. Similarly, the Râjpûts are divided into the Sûraj and Chandar Banûl (Solar and Lunar) Dynasties.

   The Brähmans are divided according to their occupations, while Râjpûts are divided according to their descent.

2. Formerly there were four main tribes among the Hindus, and the same number among the Muhammadans, but they have been multiplied by difference of occupation. Hindus were originally divided into Brähmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Sûdras, and Muhammadans into Shaikhs, Sayyids, Mughals and Pathânns. Nowadays these main sections are divided into many other sub-sections.

**II. — Tribal Designations.**

3. The fixed designations of the tribes are known among themselves as well as to outsiders.

4. \((a)\) Modern researches have brought to light many facts which were unknown before or were misunderstood. Not only the fact that all the tribes came from the same stock has been proved, but also that they had a common language; Central Asia and the neighbourhood of Kailas (Himâlayas) being the common home of the Aryas. According to the belief of the Hindus, the Aryas were the followers of the *Vêdâs*, and each and every action of theirs was guided by the *Vêdâs*, as they believed them to be sacred and of divine origin. The *Purânas*, the *Vêdâs*, and other historical books show that the Himâlayan region was populated from ancient times, but the religion and race of the inhabitants of those days cannot be ascertained. However, an observation of ancient ruins proves that these people were idolaters and believers in the *Vêdâs*. In support of this the following facts may be mentioned: — (1) Broken images are found in the mountain caves and old buildings, (2) The *worshippers of the mountain gods follow the ritual of the Vêdâs*. They recite the Vedic hymns, and teach them to their children orally, as they have no sacred books. As the hill-language was not that of the *Vêdâs*, these hymns have undergone changes, and have never been corrected by a literate man, yet on close examination they are found to be real Vedic hymns.

\((b)\) The Brähmans in winter go to the high peaks to worship the goddess Kâlî and recite hymns from the *Atharva Vêda*. This shows that this country was populated at the time when

\(^1\) [Evidently consisting of answers to a series of ethnological questions set as a guide. — Ed.]
the Vādas ruled supreme in India. The people learnt them by heart, and the same practice is continued to this day. There is also mention of these treatises in the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata. It seems that there was not much caste distinction in those days. The only distinction among the Brāhmans, the Rājpūts, and the Kanaits was that they did not intermarry. Their food and customs were much the same. The few Kshatriyas and Brāhmans had come from the plains and settled here. The Kanaits are said to be the aborigines of the hill-tracts, and were independent, brave, and given to marauding. They raided one another’s villages. Small huts and caves served as their habitations. They slept much during the day and held agriculture in light esteem, while at night they committed dacoities. Every party in a village had its own head, known as the movanna (leader), who used to get his share of the plunder and a small tribute as his ḫaq-i-sarādī. The whole mountainous country was divided in this way; the first quality of land being given to the gods as rulers, and the next to the movannds. The ruins of the houses of the movannds are to be found still. They are big castle-like buildings.

(c) As regards the agriculture of that time, the kharī and rubū crops were cut at one time. The produce was scanty on account of excess of rain and snow. The people of the villages went armed for seed-sowing, owing to the fear of enemies. People, when going on business from one place to another, went armed in bodies of fifteen to twenty men. The women took part in agriculture and had much liberty. The Kshatriyas, who came up from the plains, were respected by the people on account of their skill in the arts of civilisation, and lands were granted to the Brāhmans, who accompanied the Kshatriyas as priests. The Kshatriyas, by their tact and skill, got the upperhand and, driving away or destroying the movannds, took possession of their property. Thus the Kshatriyas became the masters of the whole country.

(d) There is no reliable source of information as to the time when and the place whence the Kshatriyas first came. But the tradition is that, at the time of the wholesale massacre of the Kshatriyas by Balaram of Bharām, they left their country and settled in the hills. Many of them changed their caste and became Brāhmans, Banias, etc. Some of their women were kept by the Brāhmans and their children became known as the Khatrias. The men who had saved their lives by changing their castes were named Rājpūts or Chhatris. This is proved by the fact that the gōti (sub-division of a caste) of the Chhattar of the hills is similar to that of the Brāhmans, and Brāhmans of the same brotherhood are found up to the present time and have social relations with them. In short, the Brāhmans came with the Kshatriyas as priests from various places in the south.

The Rājpūts came from different localities, such as Bengal, Rājpūtānā, Central India, etc., etc.

The Vaiśyas, consisting of Suds, Banias, etc., came from the plains, and are very few in number.

The Sudras, such as the Kanaits, who, as above said, are considered to be the aborigines of this part of the country, are said to have obtained their name by the following legend. When the Brāhmans and Rājpūts came from different parts of India and settled in the hills and took possession of the movannds, they saw that the rites and customs of the villagers were not in accordance with the Scriptures; that there was only one caste; that religious ceremonies were not performed; that neither marriage nor funeral ceremonies were observed; and that all the ancient Hindu customs had been forgotten. So they called the high castes among the indigenous tribes by the name of Kanait, which really represents Kunti, i.e., those who violate the law. Gradually they were acknowledged as high castes, and spread over all the hilly tracts. The castes inferior to them are considered low castes.

5. All the tribes, except the Brāhmans, the Kshatriyas, and the Vaiśyas consider themselves to be the aborigines of the hills, and call themselves Kālm (ancient inhabitants).
III. — History of Migrations.

6. The following table will show when a tribe or its sub-division migrated to the hills and the history of such migration:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Original Caste</th>
<th>Present Name of the Caste</th>
<th>Real Home</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Brähman</td>
<td>Gañų</td>
<td>Gañų (Bengal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Sārsut</td>
<td>The Deccan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Bhardwāj</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Kanōj</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Kān Kōbj</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Balrāmi</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Bhāţ</td>
<td>Bengal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Brähmans are generally divided into Shukal and Krishan. The Shukal Brähmans are considered the superior. They do not cultivate land with their own hands, and devote most of their time to worship and prayer, performing the rites of marriage or death according to the Hindu Scriptures. They take alms only when offered at marriages, but not those given at deaths. They do not take any alms given for the sake of the dead. The Krishan Brähmans are those who accept the alms offered at the time of death, and those offered to propitiate evil stars, such as Rahu and Sani. The Shukal and Krishan Brähmans do not intermarry, and the rest of their rites are not alike. A Krishan Brähman can eat the food prepared by a Shukal Brähman, but the Shukal Brähman does not even drink water which has been touched by a Krishan Brähman.

It is said that the Balrāmi Brähmans were the first to come and settle in the hills. In reality the Balrāmi and Sārsut Brähmans are one and the same. The Balrāmis are so called, because those living near the temples founded by Balrāmji state that they were set there by Balrāmji himself. They also worship Balrāmji as their god, and are quite a distinct tribe nowadays. They consider themselves to be of the highest caste. They mix with the Sārsut and the Gañų Brähmans.

The Gañų, Bhardwājs, the Kān Kōbjas and the Bhāţas have social relations with one another. But they do not take into their brotherhood any man who has been excommunicated on religious grounds. They came to the hills in company with the Rājpūtas who migrated from Bengal. It is said that a part of Bengal was called Gañų, therefore the Brähmans of that place were known by the name of Gañų, and to-day they are to be found in every part of India. The Gañų family of the Brähmans came after the fall of the Rajas of Bengal.

The Sārsuts lived, in the beginning, on the banks of the Indus and the Saraswati. They migrated from there and settled in the hills. The name Sārsut is derived from the Saraswati.

Coming to the hills the Rājpūtas became the Thākurs, while the Rānas, the Rajas and Brähmans became their priests. History tells us that Shahabuddin Ghori conquered Delhi and appointed his slave Kutbuddin as Viceroy there. One of his officers, named Bakhtīar Khilji, attacked Bengal and usurped the country from the Rājpūtas. At that time many Brähmans and Rājas fled to Prag, now called Allahabad, and thence went to different places.

*This probably represents a division into Śāivas and Vaishnavas.—Ed.*
Table of the Sections of the Hill Rājpūts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Kshatriyas or Rājpūts.</td>
<td>Pranar or Pawār</td>
<td>Ujjain</td>
<td>1267, Bikanir.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Chohān</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Solānghi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Prahar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Gaur</td>
<td>Bengal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Gyaρ</td>
<td>Gya</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Katāl</td>
<td>Nāhān</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Vishāl</td>
<td>Ujjain</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Bhardwaj</td>
<td>Kauchananagar (Deccan).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Mabhālī</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Lohākri</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Pangliānī</td>
<td>Marwār, etc. Different districts.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Trōndī</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Ghiānī</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Nirāl</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Thākur</td>
<td>Marwār</td>
<td>300 years ago.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Rāna</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Pathānīā</td>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Padwāl</td>
<td>Mālwā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Kshatriya</td>
<td>Descended from Paras Rām.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The name Kshatriya was applied to the crowned rulers of a country or territory. They were quarrelsome, given to robbery and well versed in the art of war. They were brave, courageous and kind. Their sons, other than the heir-apparent, were known as Rājpūts, or the sons of rulers. Nowadays this word is applied to all the Kshatriyas. In fact, the Rājpūts are next in rank to the Kshatriyas, but these words are used interchangeably. The Kshatriyas are divided into two main sections: (1) the Sūraj Bansi; (2) the Chandar Bansi. Brahmā had two sons, Dachhā and Uttar, and these were the ancestors of these two tribes. Dachhā was the father of the Sun, from whom came the Sūraj Bansi; and Uttar was the father of the Moon, from whom the Chandar Bansi descended. The capital of the Solar dynasty was Allahabad. Every Rājpūt, of whatever tribe, caste or sect, is ultimately descended from either the Solar or the Lunar dynasty, and the above table clearly shows the manner of their immigration.
It is said that the dhākurs or moovandes, who were previously settled in the hills, were also Rājput, but their customs are quite different from those of the Rājput. It is further said that when Rāja Śāki Singha, who flourished some 2352 years ago (= 450 B.C.), introduced Buddhism, it began to spread from this direction, so that this religion is still found in Kanāwar, Tibet, Lāhault, etc. Much confusion has taken place among the Rājput for this very reason. The history of no tribe is trustworthy, nor can its genealogy be correctly traced. It is said that at the time of the great war of the Mahābhrata the Rājput were the rulers of the hill territories. There is mention of the ancestors of the Rājas of this region in the Bhagavat Gītd and the Mahābhrata.

The Rawats and Rāthis also come under the heading Rājput. These people plough and cultivate land with their own hands. Their rites at marriage or death are not according to the Scriptures.

Sārtirnas are persons born of a Rājput father and Kanai or some other low caste mother. The Rājput do not intermarry with them, nor eat food prepared by them.

Table of the Sections of the Hill Vaiyāyas.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>......</td>
<td>Būhrā...</td>
<td>Pōona, Sattāra (Deccan).</td>
<td>......</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>......</td>
<td>Baniā...</td>
<td>Plains</td>
<td>......</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>......</td>
<td>Sūd...</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>......</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>......</td>
<td>Bhābra...</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>......</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

They are not the original inhabitants of the hill region, but came from the plains and settled there. Therefore nothing certain can be known of their history or genealogy. But the history of the Kāṅgrā District shows that the Būhrās came, in the beginning, with the Rāja of Kāṅgrā from Pōona and Sattāra in the Deccan, and gradually spread to other places. In the Hill States they were put in charge of the store-houses and godowns.

It is said that Rāja Nirandal Chandar died and left behind him a widow, who was with child. The widow, fearing lest she might suffer at the hands of her husband's heirs, went to her parents in the Deccan. While on the way she gave birth to Rāja Shēr Chand, and taking him with her reached her paternal home at Pōona. When the boy, who was brought up by his grandfather, became of age and learnt that Kāṅgrā was his inheritance, he determined to conquer his kingdom. He took an army of his grandfather's subjects with him, attacked Kāṅgrā, subdued those who occupied the throne, and succeeded to his paternal kingdom. Diwan Rāp Lāl Būhrā, who was sent with the Rāja by his grandfather, was made the Minister. Then gradually some persons of the family of the Minister came and settled in Kāṅgrā. Some of them went to Rūpar. Then they went to other parts of the country for trade. These people knew Urdu, Hindi, and Nāgarī, and so they were respected everywhere and were honourably entertained.

The following is stated to be the origin of the Sūds: — A man of low caste owed some money to a Baniā. They settled their account after some years. The principal amount was paid by the debtor, but he would not consent to pay the interest, and the Baniā would not forego the interest. The debtor, instead of paying the interest, agreed to give his wife to the creditor. The children of this woman and the Baniā became known as Sūd (interest). In the course of time the Sūds began to intermarry with the high castes. Now they are considered of high caste like the Baniās, etc.

The Baniās are generally divided into (1) the Aggarwāls and (2) the Sarhogīs. The Sarhogīs are Jains. The Aggarwāls are considered of high caste. They totally abstain from meat.

2 [A recollection of Sakyamuni = Buddha. — Ed.]
Table of the Sections of the Hill Sudras.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Original Caste</th>
<th>Present Name of the Caste</th>
<th>Real Home</th>
<th>Time of Coming</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>High Sudras</td>
<td>Kanait</td>
<td>Aborigines</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Goldsmith</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Jat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Barber</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Gardener</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Milkman</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Potter</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Mason</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Low Sudras</td>
<td>Washerman</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Die Sinker</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Badi (carpenter)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Ironsmith</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Thithara or Harera</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Turri, Dhagi or Dhadi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Chanal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Koli (minstrel)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Shepherd or herdaman</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Sweeper</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Shoemaker or cobbler</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Rawar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Weaver</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Something has already been mentioned about these tribes. The first eight sub-divisions were Raipts or Brahmans, but they settled in such turbulent territories that they could not peaceably perform their religious ceremonies. Kanaita get their name from this cause, for, as already stated, the word Kanait means violator of the law. When the Brahmans came and saw the ceremonies of Kanaita, they gave the tribe the nickname, which has led to the formation of a distinct sect of Kanaita. The other castes took their names from the profession they adopted.

We learn from old histories that the aborigines of India were Bhils, Gonds, Mnis, Kolas and Joars, who were found near Nagpur. They did not know Sanskrit, and their language was quite different from it. Their religion, too, differed from that of the Hindus. When the people of other countries occupied their territory, they fled to the forests and hills. Enquiry shows that they had no caste distinctions. They did not believe in contamination by touch. They used meat and wine, while
superior Hindus abhor these things. They kept in their houses the dead body of a person for several days after death. They offered alms two or three days after death, and these constituted all their funeral ceremonies. They never cleaned their houses and were impure. Some of them worshipped a god, while others worshipped a goddess. Every village had temples. They were ignorant and unclean. They were idolaters, and none of their customs were in accordance with the Hindu Scriptures. On examination of old books, and on taking photographs of the inscriptions on stones and examining them, it is found that the characters used therein are neither like those of the Sanskrit nor of any other language; for example, the letters of the inscriptions on the image of a goddess at Hāt, on the big stone at Datta Nagar, on the big stone at Sohanpur near Hāt, and at Jhonjan Deora in Shāngin. These facts show that these people belonged to the pre-Sanskrit period. They became civilised gradually with the spread of Sanskrit.

Table of the Sections of the Hill Mendicants.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Hindu Faqirs</td>
<td>Bairagi</td>
<td>Plains</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Mendicants</td>
<td>Sanyasi</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Jogi</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Udasi</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These people came up from the plains and established themselves in the hills as monks of the temples. They seem to have come specially from Kurukshetra and Hardwar. Some of the mendicants adopted family life, and others remained as they were and lived by begging their bread.

As for Muhammadans only Sheikhs came up from Bāsi, Būpar, and Khāra. The reason of their migration is said to be, that originally they were Hindus, but the king who ruled at that time converted them to Muhammadanism by force. Some members of a family remained Hindus, while others turned Muhammadans. The converts gave up their share of the property in favour of their brothers, and they themselves came and settled in the hill country. They lived by trade. Their settlement in the hills does not seem to be older than twenty-two or twenty-four generations.

IV. — Tribal Head-Quarters.

7. The tribes have no common head-quarters. Every tribe has its own head-quarters in its own village, which is called by the name thāri or chaurī.

8. Some tribes declare themselves to be the aborigines. Some say that they came from the Deccan, Bengal, Ujjain, Gyā, Nāban, Sirnum, Poona, Satāra, Mārwār, Delhi and Mālwā, as has been fully shown in the above tables.

9. Because it is very long since the tribes came to the hills, they do not go on pilgrimage to their original homes. Every tribe or sect has appointed a place of pilgrimage in some village situated close to its own.

10. All tribes have in their respective villages cremation grounds, where they burn their dead. If a man of one tribe dies in the village of another, or near his own village, his corpse is brought to the village to which he belonged and is cremated at the place where his forefathers were cremated. In this way corpses are brought even from a distance of two or four days' journey. The crematoria of some tribes are near the banks of the Sutlej, Khud Giri or Payar.
V. — Genealogical Tables.

11. The genealogical tables of the Brāhmans and the Kshatriyas remain with the family priests, and generally they trace only so many generations as are necessary to be known for the performance of ceremonies on occasions of death or marriage. The genealogical tables of the great Rājas and Rānas are kept in the State offices. When the Purūhitas (priests) of Ganges (Hardwār), Kurukshētra, Bhāu and Gōdāwari come into the hills, they prepare the genealogical tables of their disciples, and having written these tables down in their books, take them away.

Table showing the Names of the Conventional Ancestors of some of the Hill Tribes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name of Tribe</th>
<th>Names of Ancestors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Brāhman or Bhūt</td>
<td>Bhardwāj, Gantam, Atri, Balrām, etc., famous Rāja (saint).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Chhattrī or Rājpūt</td>
<td>Ram Chandar, Krishna, Purū, Birāt Rāja, Bhimchand Rāja, Man Dāhta, Bikrama Jit and Bhoj, Raja Jagdeva, Sālāhan and Raja Karan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Khatrī</td>
<td>Sukh Datta, etc., famous Rājas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Kayastha</td>
<td>Bhoj and Koria, etc., famous Rājas. The people of this section are not found in the hills, therefore no mention of them has been made above.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Baniā, Sūd, Bōhra, etc.</td>
<td>No tradition about these worthy of mention.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Kānait</td>
<td>Born of the intermarriage of the Brāhman and the Rājpūtas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Jat</td>
<td>Unknown.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Goldsmith</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Barber</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Gardener, milkman, potter, and mason.</td>
<td>Bāwa Rām Singh Kūkā, who was a carpenter by caste.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Bādi or carpenter</td>
<td>Kabir and Rām Dās, noted saints, are considered to be the forefathers of these.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Other low castes, e.g., Koli, Rāhil (shepherd), shoemaker and cobbler.</td>
<td>Baju Bāvra and Tān Sēn, famous musicians.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Tūri, Dīaki, Dhādi</td>
<td>Ramānand and Nimānand, well-known saints.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Bairāgī</td>
<td>Unknown.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Sanyāsī</td>
<td>Görak Nath, Machandar Nath, Jālandhar Nath, noted Jōgis.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Jōgi</td>
<td>Nānāk, Rām Dās, Amar Dās, Gōbind Singh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Udāsi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nothing is known about the other tribes, nor is any story or tradition concerning them available.

13. No tribe has got any genealogical table to enable one to trace the descent from the ancestors. The Rājas and Rānas have their genealogical tables, which I have not been able to get, and hence no account of them can be given.

* [The answer to Question 12 seems to have been omitted. — Ed.]
14. The Brāhmans, the Rājpūts and the Baniis consider the Kanaitis to be an offshoot of the higher castes. All the tribes, as explained above, except the Śudras, consisting of Kanaitis, came from the plains and settled in this part of the country.

15. Neither marriage nor death ceremonies among the Kanaitis are performed according to the rules laid down by the Hindu Scriptures, but are according to the customs formerly prevailing in the country. Saints, Brāhmans, Rājpūts and Baniis do not eat the food prepared by the Kanaitis, who are not privileged to worship after the methods of the Hindu Scriptures.

VI. — Monuments.

16. Neither tomb nor monument belonging to any tribe is to be found. Each tribe has its own crematorium. A person belonging to one tribe cannot burn his dead in the crematorium of another. Likewise the high and low castes have separate idols and springs of water. The men of low castes cannot take water from the idols or springs belonging to those of high castes. The habitats of the population are also arranged according to the divisions of castes, i.e., Rājpūts live in one part of the village, while Brāhmans occupy another part. The low castes live at some distance from the village, for the reason that the high castes may not come in contact with the smell and smoke of the kitchens of the low castes.

17. Something about the migration of these tribes can be ascertained from the names of some towns. No history of their migration can be traced by means of the inscriptions on stones.

VII. — Caste Marriages.

18—20. As regards marriage, there is, nowadays, no distinction of caste. However, people of the same caste can marry among themselves, but the high castes do not marry with the low castes. A detailed account of the marriages of all tribes is given below under paragraph 36.

VIII. — Totemism.

21. It is not the prevailing custom among the people not to eat the flesh of an animal, whose name is like that of any person. However, some persons do not eat fish and pork, for the reason that incarnations of the deity had taken the form of a fish and a pig. But this is held only by some people, and is not accepted by any tribe or sect as a whole.

22. No tribe of the hills has given up the use of any arm or instrument merely for the reason of its name being after the name of some ancestor of theirs, nor for any other reason.

23. The high castes — such as the Brāhmans, the Rājpūts, and the Baniis — worship the pipal and the banyan trees, and do not burn their wood. All these tribes have two forms of religion: (1) Vaishnavas or Dakshmāras; (2) Saivas or Saktis or Vāmārags. Those professing the first form of religion do not eat any of these articles: meat, onions, garlic, turnips, radishes, cones and mushrooms; or drink wine. Those of the second section eat all these things, but not eggs, domestic fowls, crows, peacocks and other animals forbidden by the Scriptures.

IX. — Peculiarities of Tribal Names.

24. Different tribes have different names, and no two sections have like names. However, the names of sub-sections of Kanaitis are like those of the Brāhmans or Kshatriyas, and the reason of this is that they are held to be an offshoot of the Brāhmans and the Kshatriyas.

25. Some of the low castes have named some of their sub-sections after the name of the high caste which they have been serving.

26. The last four sections of the Dāshais — i.e., Gonds, Thēga, Mādhans, Darkolis, etc. — were considered, for a long time after their migration to the hills, to be low castes, like the Kanaitis. They did not put on the sacred thread, nor did they perform death ceremonies. Gradually they mixed with the Rājpūts, and began to give their daughters in marriage to wealthy Rājpūts. Afterwards the Rājpūts also consented to marry their daughters to them.
The history of the migration of Jār Gārūs and Jār Katāls is very much the same. In reality they were Brāhmans, and Brāhmans of their brotherhood are still to be found. But they gave up the Brahmanical functions and, adopting the marriage and death ceremonies of the Rājpūts, have mixed with them. For example: — Kot Khāl, Kaumārsain, Karāngia, Delta, Kauht, Jībal, Ranvin Sairi, Trōch and Khāsh were full of the low castes of Kanaits, but now they have adopted the ceremonies of the superior Kanaits.

The Sārsut and the Gāur Brāhmans formerly did not intermarry, but now they do so.

X. — Public Assemblies.

27. There is no assembly of lawyers or rulers appointed by the people. Whenever any religious or secular dispute arises, all the people concerned come to the temple of their god and hold a meeting there. The members of the panchāyat (council) are the custodians and the worshippers of the deity's temple, and they summon, through the priest, all the followers of the god. Respectable and rich folk of every village come and give their decision in the matter under dispute. If the parties are satisfied with the decision of the panchāyat, the matter ends there and then. Otherwise a party not agreeing with the decision is asked to refer the matter to a law court, and the panchāyat serve as witnesses. This panchāyat deals only with religious points and has no concern with legal matters.

28. The same assembly is called by the name of Dām or Khumāli.

29. The priests and custodians of the temple of the deity are generally the members of the council. The office of these members is hereditary. They belong to the priest and Kanait class and are inferior to the Brāhmans.

XI. — Deities.

30. Generally the hill people worship separate deities and are their disciples. In every pargānd (group of villages) the people of some villages have a god of their own, and have his temple made in a village situated at convenient distances from the habitations of the followers of the god. Some five to seven families of priests live in this village. They enjoy a free lease of land, as remuneration for their services in the temple. Every one of the disciples of the god, at the time of harvest, gives 10 to 12 seers of grain to the priests. The priests, in addition to the service of the god, also perform, in accordance with the requirements of the time, other religious or secular business.

31. Overseers are appointed to look after the temple and the priests. This office is also hereditary. They are called kārdārs, māhāts or waāsirs. A portion of the income of the temple is given to them as their remuneration.

XII. — Constitution and Duties of Assemblies.

32. If any social, religious or secular quarrel arises, the complainant informs the priest about this. The priest, with the consent of the overseer, imparts verbal orders to all the people. He goes from village to village, and tells the people that in such and such a temple on such and such a day a panchāyat (committee) will be held to decide such and such matters, that all the people should attend it, and that those who do not do so will be punished by the deity. If the business be a very urgent one, the words dādīt, tēk and dāl are pronounced, on hearing which the people leave their engagements, however urgent they may be, and go to attend the council at once. Otherwise every one is fined one rupee. This fine, in a territory under British Government, is given in the temple fund, but in a Native State to the Rāja or Rānā of that place. The priest's method of proclamation is to call aloud to the men of the village, and ask them to present themselves at a certain place on a certain day. People necessarily obey this call, and present themselves at the place and on the date required.

33. The office of the chairman is a permanent one. Men of certain families are selected for this office, and the selection rests with the council.
34. The members, as mentioned above, are called kârdârs, wazîrs or méhtâs.

35. If the hereditary chairman be a minor, he is represented by a grown-up man belonging to his brotherhood. If a fit person is not to be found in the brotherhood, then the council appoints a guardian.

XIII. — Trade.

39. The chief articles of commerce are opium, potatoes, wool, borax, fur, woollen cloth, stone, goats, and horses. A detailed account is given below.

Kôt Khăi is the greatest centre of the opium trade. People buy this article from the surrounding territories, and sell it, according to the law, at Kôt Khăi. All the license-holding Kanaîts go to the neighbourhood to buy opium. Any action against the law is discussed and decided among themselves. The buyers of opium are of two sorts: (1) The license-holders who, like great merchants, buy opium from their agents. These merchants send to their agents, in the month of Kârtik or Maghar, as much money as the agents ask for. The agents in return supply their masters, in the month of Hûr, with opium at five rupees per seer, no matter what the market rate of opium may be: (2) License-holders who buy opium directly. They buy it at the rate agreed upon by the parties. The same is the case with potatoes. The rest of the trade is with Tibet, and this trade cannot be carried on by a single person. There are three passes into Tibet: the first through Busâtir, the second through Gârâwal, and a third through Sûltân-pûr in Kûlû. People go for trade in caravans of hundreds of armed men, for the passage is infested with robbers, and for this reason a small number of men cannot safely travel. The traders going by these three paths have, each, a distinct part of the country set apart for trade. One cannot trade in the territory belonging to the other. Any one doing so is arrested. Some men of each of these three territories are appointed as the members of the council in Tibet. Some four or five Tibetans, too, take part in it. All the cases of theft and civil and criminal suits are decided by it. Half the punishment is borne by the Tibetans and half by the members of the council belonging to the country of the culprit. Besides this, the parties to a case are required to feed the council. This food is named charrad. The members have full authority, and they can decide even murder cases. The money realized from fines is appropriated by themselves. A nominal sum of one or two rupees is paid to the Râja. All commercial contracts are made by the merchants among themselves, and there is no particular rule about this. Different measures suited to different opportunities are adopted.

The merchants of Busâtir are divided into four groups: Takpains, Gâvâs, Shâwâls and Râîgrâvia. They are named after the names of their pargânda (districts). If a person belonging to one group joins or trades with another group, then the members of his group punish him as well as the group who admitted him without the consent of his party.

The rates of all commodities are fixed by an assembly of all the merchants, and tables of rates are prepared by them. Any one who charges a rate higher or lower than the common rate is considered guilty of disloyalty to the assembly. Commodities cannot be sold before a fixed time. The rate of every article is determined by the merchants and the producers of that article after some days' consideration.

XIV. — Artisans.

Badis or Carpenters. — They build houses and make ploughs and other implements of cultivation. The wages for building houses are not fixed, but depend upon the labourers and their employers. They make implements of cultivation and give them, every season, to the land-owners, free of charge. They get food from the land-owners. They also get some grain at the harvest time. This grain is named shâhîd.

Ironsmithe. — They also, like the carpenters, serve the land-owners.

Shoe-makers and Cobblers. — The hides of the dead kine, oxen or buffaloes are given to the cobblers, who make shoes for the land-owners of half the hide; the other half being kept by the shoemaker as his remuneration. They also get some grain at harvest time.
Shopohors. — One or two of them live in every village. They graze the cattle of the villagers. They get from every house in the village one or two cakes daily, either in the morning or in the evening. They also make agricultural utensils of bamboo, which they give to the land-owners free of charge. They get some land rent-free from the common land of the village, and also some grain at harvest time.

Barbors. — They shave the land-owners for nothing. They get grain at the time of harvest. This also is termed shikótá.

Goldsmiths. — They also serve the land-owners without charging any wages, and get as their remuneration some grain at harvest time.

Târis. — They mostly beat a drum when a corpse is carried out to the cremation ground. They get some wages in proportion to the wealth of the dead. They are also given some grain at the time of harvest.

Jâgîs. — They were originally mendicants, but now they have become householders. They burn their dead, and for every corpse get four annas in money, together with a plate of brass or kâsî (spelter) and a woollen or cotton cloth. They also get some grain at the time of harvest.

XV. — Marriage Customs.

Table of Intermarriage Rules.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Caste</th>
<th>Principal Sub-divisions</th>
<th>Sub-divisions that can intermarry</th>
<th>Got (sub-section)</th>
<th>Sub-divisions that cannot intermarry</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Brâhman.</td>
<td>Shukal and Krihan.</td>
<td>Gau̇ng, Sarsût ...</td>
<td>Atri, Bhâshîst, Bhardwâj, Kâshâyp.</td>
<td>Kananjî, Bhat, Kan Kojî, Methul, Darâvar, Agni Hoti, Balrâmî, Mahât B r â h m a n, Acharî, Bhat, Dakaut, Shaûâûrî, Chautî, Pâpach or Pâpûj, Nâmîtî, Pûndy, Pujârî,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Kânâît ...</td>
<td>Kâhâsh, Rahu, Karun, KhanÂri, Ch a n d e l, Chohân, Dogri, Mehta, Dadarwâl, Behrâl, Pabwâl, Jâd, Lâma.</td>
<td>Badobi, Chohân, Kashâyp.</td>
<td>The whole of the hilly tracts are full of Kânâîts, who have many sub-divisions. Every village has two or three minor divisions of them, therefore a detail cannot be given.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

37. All tribes and sects can marry among themselves. But the high castes — such as Kshatriyas, Brâhmans, Râjputs, Sûsâs, Bôhrâs, Baniâs, Kânâîts, Gollsmiths, Barbers, Kâhâsh, Kârûn, Râhus, Khanârâ, Jâs, Lâmas — cannot marry with persons belonging to their sub-section. This is called here khol. The khol does not extend over more than twelve generations. Sûtak pâtak is also taken into consideration only up to seven generations. No sûtak pâtak exists among those families who have no connection with one another within seven generations. Families which are connected even by the twelfth generation do not intermarry, but those who have no such connection can do so.
The low castes, such as Kōlis, shepherds, etc., have different rules. They do not intermarry in families which are connected even in the fourth generation. They marry with their maternal uncles’ daughters.

The high castes hold to the following rules:—

1. They do not intermarry with families connected with theirs even by the seventh generation.
2. They do not intermarry with families connected with that of their maternal grandfather even by the third or fourth generation.
3. They do not marry with girls of lower families than their own.
4. They do not marry daughters of the father’s or grandfather’s sisters.

38. A detail of the relations with whom intermarriage is prohibited has been given above.

39. In addition to the facts already mentioned, the following circumstances are considered unfavourable for marriage. The society is not bound to obey any fixed rules, but the following things about the girls are considered defects at the time of the marriage: small neck, blue eyes, white or black spots on body, leprosy, syphilis, consumption, etc., which are chronic diseases; evil names, such as Nāgan, Jōgni, Kānl, etc.; being born of diseased parents; not having either known parents or own brothers.

XVI. — Marriage Rites and Rules.

40. Marriage must be celebrated according to the rules laid down by some religion. A man belonging to one form of religion cannot marry, either according to the Scriptures, or according to the customs of the country, a woman belonging to another.

41. Some tribes of different castes do indeed intermarry, but the high castes do not do so. As for example, goldsmiths and barbers marry the daughters of Kanaits, but they do not give their daughters in marriage to Kanaits. Kanaits marry the daughters of Khāsh and Kārun, and also give their daughters in marriage to the latter. This custom does not prevail among other tribes.

42. Such marriages are not conducted according to the Hindu Scriptures, but they are customary marriages known as the karōwa.

43. The Rajpūts marry the daughters of people of castes lower than theirs. In the same way the men of high castes marry the daughters of men of low castes. The children born of such marriages are considered inferior to those born of religiously lawful marriages.

44. The high and low tribes are distinguished by caste. The men of high castes marry the daughters of men of low castes. The children thus born are considered inferior to others and are called sartōpā. The men of low castes cannot marry the daughters of men belonging to high castes.

45. When the bride comes to the house of the bridegroom, then, if the marriage is being celebrated in accordance with the Scriptures, the husband and wife play a gambling match. Afterwards cooked food is brought and laid before the pair. The husband feeds the wife, and out of the same plate the wife feeds the husband. The bride also pays some money to the Brāhmaṇa and to the sister of the bridegroom. If the husband already has another wife, then the new wife interviews the old one with great pomp and show. This interview is named ‘shaking hands.’ It is said that the old wife, together with some other women who are singing songs, comes from one side, and the new wife and her husband, together with some other women, come from the other side. The women of both parties sit at the place appointed for interview. At this place also a ceremony called mukh dikī (showing the face) is performed by the women of both parties.

46. Every man marries, according to his capacity, as many wives as he pleases, as there is no limit of number in this respect.
47. If a man marries more than one wife, then, as long as no son is born, the first wife is considered the chief or head Râni, but when a son is born the wife giving birth to the son is considered the chief Râni. She rules supreme in all the household business. The servants consider her their only master, and the husband as well as other members of the family respect her.

48. Poor men keep all their wives in the same house, while rich men set apart separate rooms for every wife.

49. Licentious people keep girls, too. Among the high families it is necessary to employ maid-servants; for no man can enter the houses where the parâd system is observed, and therefore maid-servants have to perform all the household duties.

XVII. — Divorce and Remarriage.

50. Except the Brâhmans and the Râjputs, among whom the karâdât (irregular marriage) not prevails, the women of all other tribes, such as Sûds, Baniâs and Bôhrâs, can marry more than one man. The parents of the woman pay to her husband the expenses of the marriage and get her divorced. After this the woman can marry whomsoever she likes.

51. Men set up illegal connections with women, and thus directly choose wives. Generally women of loose character marry more than one husband. The well-conducted women stick to one only.

XVIII. — Polyandry.

52. It is a custom among the Sûdras, such as Kânaits, that the eldest of four or five brothers marries a wife according to the customs of the country. The wife thus married is told that all the brothers shall treat her as their common wife, and the wife also agrees to this and takes every one of them as her husband. Thus the woman is considered the common wife of all, provided the husbands are own brothers.

XIX. — Prostitution.

53. The women of high families have no freedom before marriage, and their parents look after them. It is a common saying that women have three guardians, i.e., parents in early age, husband in youth, and sons in old age. The women of low castes remain free before marriage.

54. Only Târis, and no other tribe, offer their daughters for prostitution.

55. If any girl turns out of loose character before marriage, her parents do not accept any least in return for their daughter. In the first place, girls cannot become immodest, and even if any one becomes so, she is checked from doing so as far as possible. The matter is kept quite secret, for it leads to the disrepute of the husband as well of the parents.

XX. — General Marriage Customs.

56. The girls are married only when they are above nine years of age.

57. Early marriage cannot be cancelled, whether either of the parties be of age or not. When the religious ceremony is once performed, it becomes, without any regard for sexual intercourse, irrevocable.

58. In high castes, husbands are chosen entirely by the parents of the girls. In low castes, like the Sûdras, the mother of the girl asks her opinion also in the matter of the choice of her husband. The parents of a girl send their barber or Brâhman in search of a husband for the girl, and these men propose betrothals. In other tribes, either the parents of the girl themselves or their relatives choose the husband for the girl.

59. Among the Brâhmans and the Râjputs generally, the barbers and the priests serve as mediums in marriages, for that is their profession. These men generally deceive the people. They take bribes from one party as their brokerage. But nowadays people do not invest them with full powers of betrothal, and make enquiries to satisfy themselves.

60. If the girl be a minor, then consent of the guardian and own brothers of the girl is necessary to make the contract valid and to ensure marriage. But if the parties be of age, then their consent alone is sufficient. Under either of the circumstances, the calling together of the
brotherhood and making them witnesses, as it were, is very essential. The object of the distribution of red thread and sweetmeat at the time of the confirmation of the marriage contract is only to make witnesses of those persons who get the red thread and the sweetmeat.

61. Neither the bride nor the bridegroom is allowed to make a choice of the other. They cannot even see each other before their marriage. However, among the Sudras, like Kavita, etc., there is no such restriction, and they can make a choice before marriage.

62. (a) If the bridegroom be of a caste higher than that of the bride's parents, then they pay to him bhatta (money to make up the deficiency of the caste), and the sum of this money is determined by the parties. Also money must be paid in cases when an inferior man wants to marry his daughter to a superior man, e.g., if a Rana wants to marry his daughter to the son of the Raja.

(b) The bridegroom buys the bride in the way indicated above; but it has now become a custom that, if the girl's father is a poor man, he sells his daughter. Generally this custom prevails among the Kavita, but now it is gaining ground among the Rajputa and Brhamans also.

63. There are no rules to fix this price. If the bridegroom likes to take bhatta, it will be fixed according to the capacity of the bride's parents. If the parents of the girl want to pay the bhatta, it will be in proportion to the rank of the bridegroom's parents. Among the Kavita, Kollas and shepherds, the girls of Kavita are valued at Rs. 60, and those of Kollas or shepherds at Rs. 40. This price is termed dhor.

64. The price of neither sort can be appropriated by the bride or the bridegroom, but their parents spend this money in marriage expenses.

65. If a formal marriage is once performed it cannot be cancelled. However, among the Muhammadans, marriages can be set aside.

66. The marriage cannot be set aside if either party lose any organ. But customary marriages can be cancelled at the option of the parties. Muhammadans can cancel their marriages.

67. No woman can be set at liberty to re-marry only on account of any of her omissions or commissions. The man does not cohabit with his regularly married wife if she proves to be of loose character, but has to maintain her throughout her life. She can either remain in her husband's house or go to her parents. The Muhammadans divorce a woman of bad character.

68. The system of divorce does not prevail among the Hindus. Muhammadans can divorce their wives on certain conditions, such as impotency of the husband or suspicious character of the wife.

69. The Muhammadans use the talak-i-bain (irreversible divorce). The husband can divorce the wife without any fault on her part. This divorce becomes valid, when it is proved that the parties quarrelled at least thrice. It is necessary that the divorce be repeated after every month. The husband has the power, either directly or indirectly, to revoke the divorce. If talak-i-bain be pronounced thrice, the parties so separated cannot re-marry without the woman going through the formality of marrying another man and being divorced from him. But if the divorce be pronounced only once or twice, this condition is not necessary for re-marriage. If the husband at the time of his death divorces his wife and dies before the expiration of his iddat (period of probation of 4 months and 10 days, to see if the woman is eceinte), the wife is entitled to her husband's inheritance. It is natural for a woman to wait so long before her second marriage. Also, if the husband abstains from sexual intercourse for 4 months with the wife, this fact is also considered as an irrevocable divorce.

70. There are two kinds of marriages among the Hindus — the legal and the illegal. A formally married wife cannot be divorced, nor can she re-marry. The customary wife is free. She can leave one husband and marry another. It is a popular saying that the women of the hills never become widows — i.e., if one husband dies they marry another. Among Muhammadans, all women re-marry.

XXI. — Inheritance.

71. In the hills the right of children is considered per stirpes and not per capita. The rights of children born of a formal marriage are superior to those of the children born of a customary marriage. The children whose father and mother are of different castes are called sartori.
Their rights are inferior to those of the children born of customary marriages. They are given money and immovable property, just sufficient to support them. The children born of criminal connection between a man and a woman are called jhāṭā or jhātū, and they live as servants of the family, or are given one or two fields and moveable property worth twenty or thirty rupees.

72. If a man has got two sons by a formal wife, two sons by a customary wife, two sons by a customary wife belonging to a low family, and two sons by a wife of another caste or religion, then the sons of the formal wife have the main right to their paternal inheritance, but they give some portion of it to other sons of their father — i.e., one-half of the property left by the father will be retained by the legitimate sons, while the other half will be given to the rest of his sons. The shares of the latter are determined by the members of the brotherhood. The greater portion of the father's property is given to the legitimate sons, and the others are given maintenance as the village council directs, for there is no special law about this. At some places the legitimate children get two-thirds of the whole property of their father, while the natural sons get only one-third.

73. The legitimate sons follow their father's religion or faith. The natural sons are termed sūrīṣṭ, and now they have become a separate caste. But gradually this caste is being turned into the caste of its forefathers, for it organises relations with the pure caste.

74. There is a great difference between legitimate and illegitimate sons (i.e., sons by wives formally and customarily married). They cannot intermarry, nor do the former eat food prepared by the latter. Among the Kanaitis there is no restriction as to eating and drinking. Such restrictions are observed only among the Rājpūts, the Brāhmans, the Sādās, the Bōhrās and Baniās.

75. After seven or, at the most, twelve generations, one family loses sight of the fact of being descended from the same forefathers as another family.

76. The paternal caste can be lowered only by contracting some irreligious or illegal connections. By no other means can this be effected.

XXII. — Tribal Details.

77. It has been already stated that the Brāhmans are divided into two main sub-divisions, i.e., Gaur and Sārṣut, and from these the minor sub-divisions — such as Kanaujī, Bhārat, Kan Koubja, Mēthā, Dārāwār, Agul Hotrī, Balāmī Mahābrāhmaṇ, Acharāj, Dakaunt, Shalāvāri, Chautīl, Pāṇḍ or Pānchn, Nāṁti, Pāṇḍē and Pūjāri (priests) — have descended.

The following sub-divisions claim their descent from Rājpūts, the Brāhmans and the Banīās — Kanait, Rāhu, Kārun, Khāsh, Khānāri, Chandēl, Chohān, Dūrā, Mehtā, Dadarwāl, Pabarwāl, Jāl, Lāma, Goldsmith, Barber, Potter, Bairagi, Sanyāsī, Udāśā and Jōgi.

The following state that their ancestors were Rājpūts and Brāhmans: — Kōlīs, Shepherds, Washermen, Dye-sinkers, Tūrīa, Carpenter, Ironsmiths, Bhārāchās, Cobblers, Shoemakers, Sweepers.

78. The ancient Brāhmans lived near the Indus and the Saraswatī and the surrounding territories. The Gaurs and the Sārṣuts were their descendants who first came to the hills. As this happened in very remote and ancient times, so they forgot their origin and became known by the name of the place where they went and settled. Those who took their abode in Kānā became known as the Kanaujīs, and those at Cawnpore were called Kan Koubja. Hence it is that those Brāhmans who are now found in the hills are held to be descendants of the two main Brāhman divisions.

The Rājpūts, Brāhmans and Sādās say that the Kanaitis are the most numerous of all the tribes. All men belonging to any religion, who adopted the karēvāl (customary marriage) and gave up the religious and national customs, were known as Kanaitis. They were sub-divided according to the professions which they adopted. For instance, one who undertook to make gold ornaments was called goldsmith, and so on.

The tradition about the Kōlīs is that a Kanait father had two sons by two wives. The sons quarrelled as to who had the superior right. At last it was decided that the one who should plough the field earliest in the morning should get the superior right. So, next morning, one of the brothers—
went to plough the field, while the other began to plough the lowest floor of his house, but the place was too narrow to be ploughed. At last, being annoyed, he cut off one of the feet of his bullock. His brother, seeing this, turned him out of his home, for acting against religion. The Köléa, the shepherds, the shoemakers, the weavers and the boatmen are his descendants.

XXIII. — Widow Marriage.

80. The widows of all tribes, except those of the Brähmans, Rājпутs, Sūdás, Banias and Bohras, can re-marry. This custom prevails even among Rājпутs, who do not follow the rules which are observed by the high castes.

81. Widow marriage is not allowed by the Scriptures, for the marriage ceremonies can be performed but once. As the proverb goes : the lion produces a whelp by a single intercourse with the lioness, so the true man acts upon what he says. The banana tree, if once planted, always yields fruit; a woman, once married, cannot be re-married: and rich men do not give up their prejudices.

82. The younger brother can marry the widow of the elder brother, but not vice versa, except among Kásaita.

83. The widows of low castes can re-marry either a man of their own caste or one of another caste.

XXIV. — Inheritance after re-marriage of widows.

84. If a widow re-marries, her children by the first husband are not to be supported by the husband’s brother, whether the children be male or female.

85. If the widow marries a man of a caste different from hers, her husband’s property is inherited in the following way:

(a) The widow is entitled to no share of her husband’s property if she re-marries.

(b) The children by the first husband are entitled to inherit the property of their father and their shares are determined by custom.

(c) The husband’s brother cannot inherit any portion of the property of the deceased. He is entitled only to his father’s property.

86. If the widow marries her husband’s brother, then the following rules about inheritance are observed:

(a) The widow cannot claim the property of her first husband.

(b) A person by marrying his brother’s widow becomes disenfranchised to his brother’s property.

(c) The children by the first husband inherit the property of their father, and their shares are determined by custom.

(d) The children by the second husband have no right to claim the property of the first husband. They inherit their father’s property.

87. The sons of a widow by her husband’s brother are not called the sons of her first husband, but those of the second. The children born in the lifetime of the first husband, or within ten months of his death, are considered his sons.

XXV. — Household Customs.

Pregnancy and Childbirth.

88. No ceremonies are performed during pregnancy.

89. The woman assumes one of two postures at child-birth:

(a) She kneels on the ground. The midwife remains behind her, and, fixing her knees behind the lying-in woman, holds both of her shoulders by her hands.

(b) The woman prostrates herself on the ground. The midwife keeps to her left side. Other women take hold of the head, hands and legs of the lying-in woman.

90. The midwife serves in the room of the lying-in woman. After child-birth, persons who are rich, or belong to high families, employ nurses. The wife of a poor man is attended by his parents only.

*No answer was apparently given to Question 79. — Ed.*
Different ceremonies are performed at the birth of a child. Poor men prepare good food and distribute it among the Bráhmans and people of their own brotherhood. On the third day after the birth of the child the family celebrate the first feast. The priest comes and prepares the horoscope of the child. Sugar and sweetmeats are distributed among friends. Singing and dancing parties are given and guns are fired. The second feast comes after seven days, the third after nine, and the fourth after eleven days. The lying-in woman is kept, at the time of child-birth, in the lowest story of the house. After the fourth feast the woman takes the child in her lap. Music is played and songs are sung, and thus the mother, together with some other women, in the first place, worships the sun, and then the gate of the house. Afterwards the household gods is worshipped, and some alms are paid to the Bráhmans. Among all the women present, presents and sweetmeats are distributed. People of the surrounding territories come with their guns and fire them. They are given some money or sugar. They present some green grass to the father of the child as a good omen. They call this grass dod (turf). The four feasts are celebrated only at the birth of a son, and this ceremony is named gaunitká. After eleven days, when the last gaunitká has been performed, the mother goes and live in the upper flats of the house. Havan (sacrifice) is also performed. At the birth of a girl no ceremony, except that of good food, is performed, nor is there any special rule about this. As long as the last gaunitká is not performed, nobody either eats food or drinks water from the house of the person where the child was born, except his relatives and people of low castes. This period is termed sáuk (impure state). The Bráhmans are purified after ten days; the Kshatriyas after twelve days; Banás, Böhás and Sáds after fifteen days, and other castes after one month.

92. If the father is a poor man, then he stops his business for three days, because his relatives, friends and men of the brotherhood come to congratulate him. He has to present to them, according to his capacity, some money, sugar or cloth. In wealthy families, feasts and distribution of alms extend over all the eleven days. All the poor men, Bráhmans, merchants, priests and barbers get alms and rewards. Green turf is presented and presents are given. Dances and other entertainments take place. At the birth of a girl the father stops his business for one day, or at the most three days. Generally on such occasions only food is distributed, and alms and rewards are not given.

93. There is no reason, except the one mentioned above, for stopping business.

94. No special rule or ceremony is necessary to be observed at the birth of twins.

XXVI. — Adoption.

95. There is no particular rule for adoption. Generally the custom in the hills is that the adopter calls to his house the boy whom he wants to adopt and paints his forehead with sandal paste. A contract is made according to the conditions agreed upon. Then they go to the temple of the god and break the diag (a piece of wood, to signify truth of purpose) there, and make a solemn vow before the god that if they do not carry out the contract, then the god may punish them. Some remuneration is given to the priest and overseer of the temple, and this is called bishiti. Then the boy becomes bound to serve his adopter as his father. The adopter gives every authority to the boy as his son. One rupee is offered to the god.

96. Until the contract has been reduced to writing, or the diag has been broken at the temple of the god, the adoption is considered invalid.

97. The validity of the adoption depends upon the performance of this ceremony alone.

98. No custom, other than those given above, prevails in the hill tracts. There is no restriction of age for adoption. However, it is necessary that the adoptee be of the same blood as the adopter.

XXVII. — Puberty.

99. A ceremony is performed to mark the beginning of puberty, which is termed dias'két. Alms are distributed and Bráhmans are fed. In the hills this custom is observed by very few people, except the high caste Kshatriyas.

100. The period of puberty is marked among the Hindus by wearing the sacred thread, and among the Muhammadans by circumcision. Both these ceremonies are performed at a time when the boy has gained enough wisdom and sense to distinguish between right and wrong, and good and bad.
101. Betrothals are of two kinds:—

(a) Baroni is that which is according to the Hindu Scriptures. The parents of the boy and those of the girl propose the betrothal, and the priest appoints a day for carrying it out. On this date the boy's father sends the priest and barber with some ornaments and clothes, which the girl puts on. Some money is given to the barber, the priest, the nurse and the Brâhmin as their reward. A feast like the one given at the time of marriage is given, and a music band attends. The servants of both parties get rewards. Then the girl's parents send clothes and ornaments for the boy.

(b) Sagâi or sóta. In this case, a few ornaments or, if these be not available, one or more rupees are sent by the father of the boy to the girl through the priest or some elation. In order that the betrothal be considered permanent, the man carrying the ornaments takes his food in the house of the girl's parents. No other ceremony is celebrated, nor any rewards are given. Nothing is sent by the girl for the boy.

102. In the Besoni Ceremony, in order to ensure betrothal, the wearing of ornaments and clothes and painting the forehead with sandal paste and distribution of rewards are necessary. In the Sagai Ceremony, the taking of food by the messenger and handing over of money or ornaments to the girl's parents is essential.

103. However, the continuance of betrothal depends upon the option of parties.

104. Betrothal can be made after or before the parties are five years of age.

105. The consent of parents is essential for betrothal. If the woman be of age, then her parents also are consulted. If the father be dead, the permission of the elder brother or the guardian is taken. If there be no guardian, then the own brothers and near relatives are the persons whose consent is necessary.

103. If the betrothal is cancelled, one party pays the expenses incurred by the other. A list is prepared of all the articles exchanged at betrothal.

107. Marriages are of three kinds:—

(a) Bâd-lagan. — The bridegroom, wearing a bridal chaplet or wreath on his head, goes to the house of the bride with music and attendants. The girl's parents give two or four feasts according to their capacity. The bhadnâwar (marriage service) is recited. After the bâd-lagan (matrimonial ceremony) the party is dismissed. The bridegroom comes back to his house and gives a feast, and the marriage festivities continue for a day or two. Prizes are given to the house of the bride. The bride pays some money to the men who accompanied the bridegroom to the house of the former and vice versa. The rewards and prizes are given according to the capacity of the parties, and there is no fixed rule for this. The recital of the bhadnâwar is essential in such marriages.

(b) Jhâjra or Gâdar. — One or two men representing the bridegroom go to the house of the bride, where one person from every family in the village is present. They are given either a dinner or a supper by the bridegroom. The priest, the barber, the musician and other menials of the village are given four annas each, or at the most one rupee each, as their remuneration. The bride is brought to the bridegroom's house. Ganâsh is worshipped, and this is essential.

(c) Badrani. — The bridegroom sends a woman to fetch the bride. One or two women come with the bride also. Ganâsh is not worshipped nor any prizes given.

108. In the case of the Bâd-lagan the recital of bhadnâwar is necessary, in the case of the Jhâjra the worship of Ganâsh, and in the case of the Gâdar nothing.

109. There is no custom of seizing the bride forcibly. Two or three days after the carriage, if the wife be of age, the ceremony of union known as the pusan samnit karam (the union of man and woman) is performed. The priest appoints an auspicious date for this purpose. On that date one common bedding is laid for the pair. The husband, according to his capacity, gives some
money or ornaments to the wife on this first intercourse, which is called the nārvu khuldi (remuneration for untying the girdle). The women distribute some sweets among themselves.

If a man forcibly seizes a woman and brings her to his house, this is called hār (abduction) and is considered an illegal marriage.

110. No such custom as the marriage of the bride with a god prevails.

XXX. — Death.

111. The dead of all the tribes are cremated, except those of the Muhammadans, the Bairāgis, the Udāsīs, the Sanyāsīs and the Jāgīs, whose dead are buried.

112. The Muhammadans place their dead, at the time of burial, in a lying position; the Bairāgi, etc., in a sitting posture.

113. The Hindu corpse is kept in a coffin, having its upper side open, and fine cloths are put upon it. A funeral pile of wood is prepared, and the coffin containing the corpse is placed upon it, and then it is set on fire. When all the corpse is reduced to ashes, these ashes are either thrown into the kād (a deep valley), or are sent over to Hardwār to be washed away by the Ganges.

114. Different tribes have different ways of disposing of their dead:

(a) The Muhammadans wash the corpse before it is buried. Then it is taken to the burial ground on a chāpdi (couch) or in a box. Then a grave is dug. Their priest chants some words according to their faith, and the corpse is laid into the grave and the pit is filled with earth. Some men put in some salt also, in order to hasten the dissolution of the corpse. A stone is placed on the mouth of the grave, and it is covered by a sheet of white cloth. A fakir (mendicant) lives there to take care of the grave, and after some days the sheet, the chāpdi and some money are given to him.

(b) The corpse of a Brāhman, Rajpūt, Bāniā, Sūd or Bōhrā is well washed. Then it is enclosed in a shroud of gauze or muslin and is placed in a painted coffin open at one end. Shawls and other silken cloths cover the dead body. The coffin is then placed in the court of the house and music is played. Thousands of people gather together, as it to a fair. They come in white robes to mourn for the dead. Musicians walk before the coffin, and all the relatives and other men, who come together for mourning, follow the coffin to the cremation ground, where the Jāgī prepares a pile of wool two or three cubits wide and four or five cubits long. There, a cow with a calf is given to the Jāgī or to the Mahābrāhman. Then the corpse is placed upon the pile, and funeral cakes, together with some alms, are offered in the name of the dead. Then one of the relatives strikes the head of the corpse with a stick, and this is called kāpāt kirā.

The Achārāj (man officiating at the funeral ceremonies) is paid some money. Then the pile is lighted. All the musicians and Achārās present are paid some money. Grain, fruits and pieces of money are thrown over the corpse throughout the passage from the home to the crematory. All these expenses are fixed according to the capacity of the dead.

(c) Among other tribes, the corpse is washed. The musicians are sent for, who play on instruments for one or two days. In some places the corpse is kept at home for two to three days. Then the coffin is taken out with the band playing before it. All the men who have come for mourning accompany the coffin to the cremation ground. They throw as much grain, fruits and pieces of money as they can afford over the corpse on their way from home to the cremation ground. Then having placed the corpse on the funeral pile, they take off all the costly coverings and burn, with the corpses, the ordinary ones. The musicians are paid their wages. The kāpāt kirā is not performed. Funeral cakes are not offered as in the case (b). The ashes are thrown into the valley. The well-to-do people carry the bones to Hardwār.

115. There are three different methods of propitiating the dead:

(a) If the deceased died a natural death, the Brāhmanas, Rajpūts, Bāniās, Sūd and Bōhrās put a lamp in the room where the deceased breathed his last, and keep it burning throughout day and night for ten days, taking care for it to burn continually. An earthen pitcher full of water is placed at the door with a hole in the bottom, from which water trickles. Every evening the son, or other
relative of the deceased, offers the funeral cake. The priest sits near the lamp and reads a kathā (a text) from the Nātakā and Garuḍ Purāṇas. After ten days the lamp and the pitcher are thrown into the valley, and the reading of a kathā is also stopped. Then spīndi kāram (a ceremony to unite the dead with his ancestors) is performed, and after that the vikhāt saṁdāḥ is performed. The Achāraṇ is given ornaments, clothes and food. All the Brāhmans present are given some alms and cows, and horses are also given to them. After a fortnight or more a goat is killed, and all the relations are called together and fed with meat and rice. The father of the wife of deceased person’s son supplies all the requisite material at this time, and gives clothing to his daughter and son-in-law. All presents are fed for two or three days by the family of the deceased. After this a śrādāḥ (offering of funeral cakes to the dead) is performed every month. After six months a great sacrifice is performed, and cows, ornaments and clothes are given to the Brāhmans in the name of the dead. In the same way annual and quadrannual sacrifices are performed; after which only an annual śrādāḥ is observed. The bones of the dead are sent to Hardwār. Rice balls are offered at Bhāna and Kurukshetra, too.

(b) There is no particular custom to be observed at the death of a childless man. All the ceremonies of śrādāḥ and the sacrifices mentioned above are performed in this case, too, with the ordinary expenses.

(e) In the case of a violent death, it is necessary to offer funeral cakes in the name of the dead at Hardwār, Bhāna and Kurukshetra. Some persons perform the Nārāṇi Bali Shṛādāḥ — i.e., funeral cakes are offered for forty days instead of ten.

(d) Among the other tribes, having or not having of children by the deceased is of no importance. Much stress is laid upon music. Poor men call in a small band, while rich men employ a large band of musicians. Funeral cakes are offered on the third day after death. The ten kārtas (ceremonies) are not performed. The goat is either not killed, or the heir of the deceased kills the goat any time after three days, and the mourning ceremonies then come to an end. Funeral cakes are offered at Hardwār, but this has been introduced only very lately. Monthly śrādāḥs are not performed, but śrādāḥs are performed after six months, one year and four years. Ornaments and clothing are given to the Brāhmans. The son of the sister of the deceased is given some alms and ornaments, instead of the Achāraṇ (the man officiating in funeral ceremonies).

(e) Among Muhammadans, after forty days a feast is given to all the brotherhood. No other ceremony is performed.

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

THE FRENCH ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIÉTÉ D’ANGKOR.

By the Franco-Siamese treaty of 23rd March 1907, we learn that France has acquired the provinces of Battambang, Siemrapp and Siŏphon. These new provinces include the most magnificent group of architectural monuments in Asia, which are now added to those previously possessed by France in Cambodia and Annam. Among the numerous edifices that bear witness to the splendour of the ancient Indo-Chinese civilization are the wonderful temples of Angkor, — rivalting the greatest architectural marvels of the world.

As repository of these treasures France has not been slow in recognising the duty of carefully preserving them, and, indeed, after existing for a millennium exposed to the ravages of time, a tropical climate and its vegetation, they are in need of careful conservation. French archaeologists will avoid the evils of restorations but, though local revenues cannot assume the full burden of the expenditure required for so large an undertaking, they are resolved that it shall not be said that Angkor long suffered from French national indifference. They have therefore formed the ‘Société d’Angkor’ for the preservation of the remains. It consists of over fifty founders — French archaeologists, professors, scholars and others interested in Indo-China and the preservation from destruction of the relics of its glorious past.
THE AGE OF THE TAMIL JIVAKACHINTAMANI.

BY T. S. KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI (TANJORE).

The religious works of the Jainas made their appearance first in Sanskrit, and then, assuming the garb of the Indian vernaculars, spread through the country. The Tamil Jivakachintamani is probably one of such. Having been adapted into Tamil, it is looked upon even during the present day as a standard Tamil classic. The works that deal with the story of Jivaka are four in number, viz. — (1) the Gadyachintamani by Vaddhisimha, (2) the Kshattrachuddamani by the same author, (3) the Jivakadharam by Harichandra. These three are in Sanskrit. Another work is said to have been composed by Harichandra and called the Jivakadharmayaka, which is believed to treat of the life of Jivaka. No manuscript of it has been traced so far, and I therefore doubt if it ever existed. Consequently, it may at present be assumed that the fourth extant work dealing with the life of Jivaka is (4) the Tamil Jivakachintamani. We shall now proceed to examine if this poem is an original work, or if it is merely an adaptation of some earlier epic.

Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Saminatha Aiyar, in his edition of a portion of the Jivakachintamani, published in 1899, observes: “The Sanskrit works Kshattrachuddamani and Gadyachintamani by Vaddhisimha, and Jivakadharam and Jivakadharmayaka by Harichandra deal with the story of Jivaka. This story is related in the Mahapura, which contains the stories of the sixty-three Sadhacharnas. The bilingual Sri pura, which gives an account of the twenty-four tirthankaras, also refers to the life of Jivaka in the story of Sri-Vardhamana. On comparing the first three poems with the Jivakachintamani, I was struck with the resemblances between the two, and thought that in each of the former could be found several passages containing the sentiments and ideas expressed in some of the verses of the latter. I naturally began to suspect if the Sanskrit poems had been composed on the model of the Jivakachintamani. But on closer examination it was found that this supposition was untenable, because all the Sanskrit names introduced into the Gadyachintamani Kshattrachuddamani, and Harichandra Jivakadharmayaka are found in the Tamil work. Many corrupt Sanskrit and Prakrit words and many coincidences of thought and sentiment were at the same time traceable. I, accordingly, concluded that the Jivakachintamani was not an original work like the Tamil Silappadigaram. The former bears a closer resemblance to the Gadyachintamani than to the other two Sanskrit poems, while the story as found in the Jivakachintamani is different from the account given in the Sri pura. It is thus clear that Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Saminatha Aiyar is of opinion that the Tamil Jivakachintamani is not an original work, but that it is, greatly indebted to the Sanskrit Gadyachintamani. A few of the parallel passages are extracted below and serve to illustrate my remark.

(1) “Updf-purushayira-k一对-car-utukuyuru-pum-allam
  gand-urav-uttarav-amru kṣātvāvā pum-āvāgī
gand-urav-uttarav-amru kṣātvāvā pum-āvāgī
  viga-doja nivanda khyil vinavar-magal-chenāl
  ven-dalai paynra kṣātvāvā vilāng-ilai tamiyal-śān.”

Jivakachintamani, Nāmamal-ilambagam.

"श्रीपां न आत्मानं श्रवनं: शुभारं दुर यमकुलभित्तिः
पदयदुरुपमेया श्रीकृष्णपुरुषिकरणम् ॥"

Kshattrachuddamani, 1st lambaka—85.
The idea in the above two quotations is the same:— "That lady who might be compared to the goddess Lakshmi became lonely and helpless as if she meant to show to the world which had only heard it explained from books that sin cannot be exhausted but by the inevitable working out of its evil results."

(2) "Solliyi nañmaiyë-illë-ohehuññagës-s-vvudambu nhig-
y-ell-olë-ëttëvañ-agï-ppiãkkumër-sëna vëppë
koll-ulaiy-agattë-ëttë-udë-kkûr-irum piradai-gutta
vë-ellaiyil šem-boñ-sëgï-sëri-niram perrad-sëghë."

Jivakachintâmanî, Guñamâlayãr-ilambagam.

"वस्म्भुवःजनि वल्लोधमहो मन्वस्व शर्कितः ||
कालवर्ष दह कल्याणं काप्पे शक्तिः: ||""

Kṣattrachâdâmanî, 4th lambaka, ślo. 4.

Here again the idea is the same:— "By the power of mantra, this dog became the king of Yakshas. Is not iron changed into gold by almagam in the process of alchemy? This is even so."

(3) "Vëna-nirçâttugil-inañgànañ vlîndu mās-sëgi nigrà
vë-q-nirçâ-udërin-dannsaiy-s-udërit-s-âlojjkal-sâmânê
paq-nirçâ-kkîlajiyàr tam-bäsaiyîn-r-piirâna pávañ-
gan-nirçâ-mnlayiyàr tân-galviyàr-kajjkal-sâmà."

Jivakachintâmanî, Këmâsâriyar-ilambagam.

"मन्युत्तीर्णवी संसारसमृद्धि न परिश्रावी ।
रक्तम मृत्यु न हि रक्तम मृत्यु भूष्टति ||""

Kṣattrachâdâmanî, lamba 6, ślo. 10.

Once again the same idea is given:— "The misery of this worldly life which grows up by attachment can never be cut off by attachment again. A cloth stained with blood can never be cleansed by blood."

It will be seen from the above extracts that the expressions vary only as much as might be expected from the difference of idiom between Sanskrit and Tamil. The ideas are exactly the same. What is compressed in two lines of verse in Sanskrit is expanded into four lines of Tamil. There is no other difference. Similar passages may also be quoted from the Gadyachintâmanî.

The Sanskrit poems which treat of the story of Jivaka are based on the Jaina purãnas. And this fact is attested to by the authors of the former. For instance, Vâdhvashâsinha says in the preambler to his Gadyachintâmanî:—

नितिन्यायै बन्धनं नाध्यात्म
मृत्यु मं महात्म हि प्रयात्मुष्कर्तान
आङ्कश्रेणिवयुज्ययोजनगोऽ
शास्त्रं मण्डितवलोकदिनसमावतः ||

"The string by its association with flowers is accepted by the head. Even so then shall my humble words showing the joys of this world and the world hereafter be acceptable by their association with the holy purãsa which recites the life of Jivaka."
As the subject-matter is the same in the Kubratrahuddamaṇi, there was no need for the author, Vādībhāsimha, to refer pointedly to the fact of the poem being based on the purāṇas. In the Tamil Jivakachintamani the author, Tiruttakkadava, says:—

\[\text{Muganti-piranda paraṣattādu kaṅgamuttu-maṇi ti varakkuṇum-en, ydr-avai nikkukiri-ped-r-annirat-en wh-pažuddiyuhi golabāvayē ponniravallē pporadhi vih pugudum-enbār.}\]

The commentator Nachchiniṅkarikiyiar explains the words ponniravallē pporadhi, 'ideas that do not partake of falsehood,' as follows: "The majority of those that think they can obtain liberation through the true words of the purāṇa will certainly never despise the poet's words, however distasteful and insipid they may be, as they are only the medium by which the ideas of the purāṇa are conveyed. This the poet was convinced of and hence his boldness in writing thus." It is then clear that, at the time of the commentator Nachchiniṅkarikiyiar, Tiruttakkadava was believed to have based his Jivakachintamani on the Jaina purāṇas. As Tiruttakkadava does not refer either to the Gadyacchintamani or to the Kubratrahuddamaṇi, it remains doubtful if they were really anterior to the Jivakachintamani. At any rate there seems to be no doubt that the latter was written after the purāṇas. And according to Jaina tradition, the original story of Jivaka is found in the Mahāpurāṇa, while the bilingual Śrīpurāṇa is admittedly of later date.

We have now to ascertain the date of the Mahāapurāṇa. The author who began the composition of the work is Jinasenacārya, disciple of Viraśenacārya. The former wrote the Harivahaka-Purāṇa in Saka-Saṁvat 705 (A.D. 783) and became the preceptor, it is said, of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Amoghavarsa I, whose accession took place in A.D. 813. The Pāvitrānuyadaya was written during the same reign by the same author at the request of a co-disciple, named Vinayasenacārya, for a poetical work celebrating Pārvanātha-Tīrthaṅkara. In composing this work Jinasenacārya chose to honour the Sanskrit poet and dramatist Kālidāsa in an ingenious way. He wove each line of verse of the poem Meghasandikē into his own ṣūkas. The last line of each of the latter is identical with that of one of the verses of the former. Not even a line of the Meghasandikē has been omitted. Neither has he at the same time sacrificed his own thoughts or his subject in thus trying to honour the lines of Kālidāsa's poem. Jinasenacārya, who began the Mahāpurāṇa, did not live to complete it. The work was taken up by his disciple Guṇabhadrachārya and finished. The portion of the Mahāpurāṇa which was composed by the former is called the Pāvitrāpurāṇa, while the composition of the latter is known as the Uttaraipurāṇa, and contains the story of Jivaka. It may therefore be supposed that the Sanskrit poems mentioned above, as well as the Tamil Jivakachintamani, are based on the Mahāpurāṇa, composed by Jinasenacārya and his disciple Guṇabhadrachārya. The date of the Mahāpurāṇa would then be the upper limit of that of the Jivakachintamani. Luckily, we have no difficulty in fixing the former, because the subjoined prākṣasti of the Uttaraipurāṇa tells us that it was written during the time of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Akālavarsa and in the Saka year 820, corresponding to A.D. 897. The very day on which the work was finished may be fixed with the help of the astronomical details furnished in the following passage:—

\[
\text{कैशा \text{महापुराण संस्कृत पारसुमति सिद्धिग्रहणां} ।
\text{स्वयं ब्रह्म परसुप्रभु एवं स्वरूप च निर्मल विशिष्ट तु \text{नमु} \text{सुकुमार}}।
\text{तत्त्वज्ञानक वदति वे कृत्य विजय गंधरव}।
\text{श्रीप्रतिष्ठित तु \text{निरंतर} विद्वा विद्वान वहित्व}।
\text{श्रीप्रतिष्ठित तु \text{विद्वान} विद्वान वहित्व}।
\text{श्रीप्रतिष्ठित तु \text{विद्वान} विद्वान वहित्व}।
\text{श्रीप्रतिष्ठित तु \text{विद्वान} विद्वान वहित्व}।
\text{श्रीप्रतिष्ठित तु \text{विद्वान} विद्वान वहित्व}।
\text{श्रीप्रतिष्ठित तु \text{विद्वान} विद्वान वहित्व}।
\text{श्रीप्रतिष्ठित तु \text{विद्वान} विद्वान वहित्व}।
\text{श्रीप्रतिष्ठित तु \text{विद्वान} विद्वान वहित्व}।
\text{श्रीप्रतिष्ठित तु \text{विद्वान} विद्वान वहित्व}।
\text{श्रीप्रतिष्ठित तु \text{विद्वान} विद्वान वहित्व}।
\text{श्रीप्रतिष्ठित तु \text{विद्वान} विद्वान वहित्व}।
\text{श्रीप्रतिष्ठित तु \text{विद्वान} विद्वान वहित्व}।
\text{श्रीप्रतिष्ठित तु \text{विद्वान} विद्वान वहित्व}।
\text{श्रीप्रतिष्ठित तु \text{विद्वान} विद्वान वहित्व}।
\text{श्रीप्रतिष्ठित तु \text{विद्वान} विद्वान वहित्व}।
\text{श्रीप्रतिष्ठित तु \text{विद्वान} विद्वान वहित्व}।
\text{श्रीप्रतिष्ठित तु \text{विद्वान} विद्वान वहित्व}।
\text{श्रीप्रतिष्ठित तु \text{विद्वान} विद्वान वहित्व}।
\text{श्रीप्रतिष्ठित तु \text{विद्वान} विद्वान वहित्व}।
\text{श्रीप्रतिष्ठित तु \text{विद्वान} विद्वान वहित्व}।
\text{श्रीप्रतिष्ठित तु \text{विद्वान} विद्वान वहित्व}।
\text{श्रीप्रतिष्ठित तु \text{विद्वान} विद्वान वहित्व}।
\text{श्रीप्रतिष्ठित तु \text{विद्वान} विद्वान वहित्व}।
\text{श्रीप्रतिष्ठित तु \text{विद्वान} विद्वान वहित्व}।
\text{श्रीप्रतिष्ठित तु \text{विद्वान} विद्वान वहित्व}।
\text{श्रीप्रतिष्ठित तु \text{विद्वान} विद्वान वहित्व}।
\text{श्रीप्रतिष्ठित तु \text{विद्वान} विद्वान वहित्व}।
\text{श्रीप्रतिष्ठित तु \text{विद्वान} विद्वान वहित्व}।
\text{श्रीप्रतिष्ठित तु \text{विद्वान} विद्वान वहित्व}।
\text{श्रीप्रतिष्ठित तु \text{विद्वान} विद्वान वहित्व}।
\text{श्रीप्रतिष्ठित तु \text{विद्वान} विद्वान वहित्व}।
\text{श्रीप्रतिष्ठित तु \text{विद्वान} विद्वान वहित्व}।
\text{श्रीप्रति...}
Before proceeding to fix the lower limit of the date of the Tamil Jirakachintāmaṇi, I take advantage of this opportunity to refer to another Tamil work composed by a Jainā preceptor. This is the versified Tamil lexicon Śūjāmaṇīnīgandu, compiled by Maṇḍalapuruṣa, the disciple of Guṇahādra. In the body of the lexicon, Maṇḍalapuruṣa gives a clue as to his date when he mentions Kūruṭṭīnārāya (Krīṣṇaīya) as having made unbounded gifts (kōdai-madam). By Kūruṭṭīnārāya the Vijayanagara king Krīṣṇaīya cannot be meant, because Maṇḍalapuruṣa claims Guṇahādra for his preceptor. By the Tamil expression kōdai-madam the author evidently refers to the biruda Akālavarsa of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king, Krīṣṇa II. It thus appears that both Guṇahādra and his disciple Maṇḍalapuruṣa were protégés of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king, Akālavarsa-Krīṣṇa II, whose dates range from A. D. 888 to 911-12. The Tamil lexicon Śūjāmaṇīnīgandu was therefore compiled roughly in the third quarter of the 9th century A. D.

Returning to the lower limit of the date of the Jirakachintāmaṇi we find that the Saiva teacher Umācīrtiśadvāraya, who flourished at the beginning of the 14th century, refers to the work in his Tirutt offenderpurāṇavallāṇa. In describing the circumstances which led to the composition of the Tamil Periyapurāṇam by the Chōḷa minister Sēkkilār, Umācārya tells us that the Chōḷa king Anapāya, the patron of Sēkkilār, was devoting his time to the study of the Jirakachintāmaṇi. Sēkkilār exhorted his patron to study the lives of the Saiva devotees and not waste his time over the Jirakachintāmaṇi, which was based on fiction, and by the study of which no merit would accrue to him. Subsequently, Sēkkilār composed the Tamil Periyapurāṇam at the instance of the Chōḷa king. This Anapāya-Chōḷa is otherwise known as Rājendra-Chōḷaēva alias Kūḷottunga-Chōḷa I, or Śuṅgandavirā-Chōḷa. Archeological experts say that his time was between 1070 to 1118 A.D. here is no mention of Jirakachintāmaṇi in any work prior to the time of the Periyapurāṇam. And as I have already pointed out, that the former must have come into existence only after the 9th century, it may be concluded that Tiruttakkadēvar's Jirakachintāmaṇi was composed during the period ranging from the beginning of the 10th to the second half of the 11th century A. D.

1 It is not clear on what grounds Mr. Koppuswami Sastri identifies Anapāya with Kūḷottunga I. But as he is not the first to make this identification, it is necessary to state the case as it actually stands. So far as it is known at present there is only one inscription which mentions the Chōḷa king Anapāya. It is engraved on one of the walls of the Tyāgaīrāja temple at Tiruvānai in the Tanjore district, and is dated during the reign of a Kūḷottunga, who, to judge from the alphabet employed in the inscription, cannot be Kūḷottunga I. Even on purely literary grounds the identification of Anapāya with Kūḷottunga I. seems to be untenable. The author of the Tamil Periyapurāṇam, who was a protégé of the Chōḷa king Anapāya, must have lived a pretty long time after Nambi-Aṉḍar Nambi, who arranged the Saiva Tamil scriptures (Tirumurē). The Tiruvellasarpud, which forms a part of these scriptures, has a hymn on the Gangadurgachālēvērā temple, built evidently by the Chōḷa king Gangadurpa-Chōḷa or Rājendra-Chōḷa I, the maternal grandfather of Kūḷottunga I. It is thus apparent that Nambi-Aṉḍar Nambi must have lived some time after Rājendra-Chōḷa I. If Anapāya had been the grandson of Rājendra-Chōḷa I, it is not easy to believe that the work accomplished by Nambi could have been forgotten so soon, especially as the circumstances under which he discovered the sacred scriptures were almost miraculous. King Anapāya was altogether ignorant of Nambi and his work, and had practically lapsed into the Jains creed. The interval between Rājendra-Chōḷa I and Kūḷottunga I is hardly 50 years, and the meritorious work of Nambi, accomplished during the earlier portion of this interval under such exceptional conditions, could not have been completely forgotten towards the close of the interval. It seems to me therefore that the identification of Anapāya with Kūḷottunga I. is untenable on epigraphical as well as literary grounds. — V. V.
A REPORT ON THE PANJAB HILL TRIBES.

From the Native point of view.

BY MIAN DURGA SINGH.

(Communicated by H. A. Rose.)

(Continued from p. 284.)

XXXI. — Purification Ceremonies.

The Brahmans are purified in ten days, the Kshatriyas in twelve days, the Vaiśyas, i. e., Baniās, Suds and Bhrās, in fifteen days, and all other tribes in one month. People neither eat nor drink in the house in which some one has died, during the period of impurity. But when the heirs of the deceased eat either meat or asafetida, they are considered purified, even if it be done within the period of impurity and then people do not object to eating food prepared by them.

The Kshatriyas and Baniās, etc., get their heads shaved at the death of a relation. — But this is not a general custom: for to shave the head it is necessary that the written permission of the Rāja or the Rānā be obtained beforehand.

116. The shrādha are of two kinds: —

(a) Those performed in the name of the deceased. A detailed account of such shrādha has been already given.

(b) Those which are performed in the pita pākṣ (the dark half of the lunar month) in the month of Bhadon (about September). In this month all tribes, except the menials, perform shrādha. Some persons perform shrādha during the whole of the fortnight. Others perform only one shrādha, in the name of all their dead, on the amānas day (the last day of the lunar month). Every kind of food is cooked for the shrādha; fruits are put upon the table. The Brahmans are called on the eve of the shrādha to feast at a certain person's house, all arriving in the morning. The owner of the house calls the family priest and offers funeral cakes. Sacrifice is also performed. After this he washes the feet of all the Brahmans, offers them sandal and flowers, and feeds them. In the end, money is given to the Brahmans and they are dismissed. The family priest gets more than all the others.

117. The Brahmans work as the priest in funeral ceremonies and also chants the hymns.

118. All the tribes in the hills have Brahmans to officiate in their funeral ceremonies. The nephew also receives some gifts.

119. The method of purification has been stated above. It is done by killing a goat and eating asafetida.

120-121. Either in the case of death or birth, it is after the prescribed periods that purification is regained. During that period, provided the heirs of the deceased do not use meat or asafetida, the impurity continues.

122. On the day appointed for eating asafetida or killing the goat, all the relations and the Brahmans are called together, and all of them are required to eat asafetida, while Brahmans are also fed. The Brahmans chant some hymns over a mixture of milk, Ganges water, and cow's urine (called the paniḥ gāvīḍ) and makes the heirs of the deceased take some of this mixture, and thus purification is effected.
XXXII.—Religion.

Sects.

123. The Hindus are divided into three sects, Saivas, Vaishnavas, and Saktas, worshippers of Sakti, the Female Principle.

The Saivas worship Siva. They are the disciples of the Sanyasis or Udasis mendicants. Some of them use meat and wine, while others do not.

The Vaishnavas are the followers of the Bairagiis. Generally they do not use meat and wine. The majority of the Brahmins belong to this sect.

The Saktas have as their teachers the Jogiis, the Sanyasis, and the Udasiis. They worship all sorts of deities. The use of meat and wine at the time of worship is considered good. They sacrifice goats to the goddess Kali. There is a separate god to every village or every four or five villages. Some of this sect go to Jawala Mukhi to worship in the temple there.

Only Sotkhas are found among the Muhammadan sects. They believe in the Laksh Datta Saint (the giver of millions). They do not follow any of the rules of the Hindu religion, but act according to their own laws.

124. The existing religion has been the religion of the people of this country from ancient times, and the three sects have always observed the rules of their own order.

125. It has been already stated that in ancient times the people followed the Vedic religion, until it was supplanted by Buddhism. After the decline of Buddhism the former religion revived and is still flourishing.

126. Ordinarily, Hindus follow one of the three forms of belief above mentioned. Some people here and there follow the dictates of their conscience and believe in other gods and teachers. But these are very few.

127. Some persons worship tombs and Pire (saints) also.

The Gods of the Hill Tracts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>The Name of God</th>
<th>The Name of the Village or Seat of God</th>
<th>Territory</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Dèvi or Durgā, Kiyaři...</td>
<td>Kôt Khāi and Kôtgurū</td>
<td>Lèvi is worshipped throughout the hills.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Chatur Mukh, Mailon</td>
<td>Kôtgurū</td>
<td>All the people believe in the god of Kôtgurū. He is also worshipped in Kanethi and Bēk in all the small villages.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Dumi...</td>
<td>Dantthlā</td>
<td>Worshiped only by the natives of Dantthlā.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Dumi...</td>
<td>Pumblāh</td>
<td>The god of this one village only.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Dumi...</td>
<td>Shamthlā</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Dumi...</td>
<td>Dālan...</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Marichh...</td>
<td>Kēpū...</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Worshipped in Kēpu, Gharāl, and Nanjā.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Dēva Kirti...</td>
<td>Kirti...</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Worshipped in Kirti, Bhandān, and Shāwāt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Bhōtēshar...</td>
<td>Bhōthi...</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Worshipped in Bhōthi, Bagāhār, and by the agriculturists of Mahōrī.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Baindhrā...</td>
<td>Dévrī...</td>
<td>Kôt Khāi*</td>
<td>The god of the Majoghīr and Thakariāghīr territories.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>The Name of God</td>
<td>The Name of the Village or Seat of God</td>
<td>Territory</td>
<td>Notes</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Chambê</td>
<td>Bréôu</td>
<td>Kôt Khâi</td>
<td>The god of the agriculturists of Brêôu and Auri.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Dum</td>
<td>Neâra</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>The god of this one village only.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Mahâ Déva</td>
<td>Pêrag</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>The god of half Chhê Bist.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Nâg</td>
<td>Chathlâ</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>The god of Chathlâ and Pungrish.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Kâli Tûnâ</td>
<td>Rakht Chambê Kûpar.</td>
<td>.......</td>
<td>Worshipped throughout Kôt Khâi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Sharavan Nâg</td>
<td>Sheshan</td>
<td>Kôt Khâi</td>
<td>Worshipped in Gajdhâr in the Kôt Khâi Tahsil and in Shêô in Darkôtî.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Bâindrâ Tanâli</td>
<td>Khâri and Pi- darâ.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Worshipped only in these two villages.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Nandharâri</td>
<td>Punâri</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>The patron of Chêwar, Gajdhâr, Chehr, Shalâwar, Darkôtî State and half Chhê Bist.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Mahâ Déva</td>
<td>Dalsâr</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>The god of Dalsâr only.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Nandan</td>
<td>Devri</td>
<td>Kânehtî State.</td>
<td>God of all Kânehtî, except Sadôch.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Dêvî Êd Shaktî</td>
<td>Kachêr</td>
<td>Kumhârseñ State.</td>
<td>The goddess of the whole territory, but there are other minor village gods.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Mahâ Déva</td>
<td>Kôtâ Madhâtî</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Worshipped in all Kumhârseñ, but there are other minor gods of villages.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Magneechar</td>
<td>Kôt â</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>The god of the Sêî territory.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Dum</td>
<td>Sarmalâ</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>The god of the Obâdêsh territory.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Nâg</td>
<td>Ghûndâ ê</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>The god of Ghûndê and Chadyâná in the Kôt Khâi Tahsil.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Bâindrâ</td>
<td>Dûm</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>The god of one village only.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Dum</td>
<td>Himri</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>The god of the Chagâon territory.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Nâg</td>
<td>Bâgi</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>The god of the Chajîlî territory.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Bhima Kâli</td>
<td>Sarâhan</td>
<td>Busâhî State.</td>
<td>The goddess of the territory of Busâhîr. There are other minor gods under her.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Mahâsû</td>
<td>Shêôkal</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>The god of agriculturists of Shêôkal only.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Mahâsû</td>
<td>Chapâri</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>The god of the agriculturists of Balâr in the Râwin State, Chapâri and Lohârkôtî.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Mahâsû</td>
<td>Gavâs ê</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>The god of the rest of the State.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Panch Nâg</td>
<td>Janglêkê, Dêvid, Tangnû, Pê-khê, and Gö-sakvâri.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Has a temple in each of these five villages.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>The Name of God.</td>
<td>The Name of the Village or Seat of God.</td>
<td>Territory.</td>
<td>Notes.</td>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Chasrálu</td>
<td>Gësakvârî</td>
<td>Busâhir State...</td>
<td>The god of two or three villages only.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Godârû or Pûbâsî</td>
<td>Dâswâñî</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>The god of the Dâswâñî territory.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Godârû or Pûbâsî</td>
<td>Khâniârâ</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>The god of Khâniârâ territory.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Déva Sheldêsh.</td>
<td>Shëldêsh</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>The god of the Lareôt and Shëladêsh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Nîg ...</td>
<td>Khâbal</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>The god of the Khâbal territory.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Pûbâsî</td>
<td>Rôhal</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>The god of Rôhal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Nârâin</td>
<td>Jâbal</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>The god of the Jôgaû territory.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Mahî Déva</td>
<td>Pôjâli</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>The rural god of Pôjâli and Bêtiânî.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Déva ...</td>
<td>Jakhrôtî</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>The god of Jakhnôtî.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>Khantû</td>
<td>Dëvi Dhâr and Ranôl.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>The god of the Sâri of Râjgarh territory.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>Bakrlû</td>
<td>Dalgàon and Rôphû.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>The god of the Spêl territory.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>Baindrâ</td>
<td>Bachhôncht</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>The god of half the Mandalgarh territory.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>Mêshar</td>
<td>Pôjâril</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>The god of the other half of Mandalgarh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>Nîg ...</td>
<td>Pôjârli...</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>The gods of the Nâvar territory.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>Lôdar</td>
<td>Pôjârli...</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>Nârâinû</td>
<td>Nârâin</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>Dhôlû</td>
<td>Karâsû</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>The god of Ghôrl Karâsû in the Nâvar territory.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>Shâlû</td>
<td>Mëlthî</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>The god of the Nâvar territory.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>Nâgëshar</td>
<td>Jhaçag</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>The god of the Pandra Saû territory.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>Dévi Durgâ</td>
<td>Shîl...</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Worshipped by the agriculturists of Shîl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>Mahâsû</td>
<td>Mandhôl</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Worshipped by the natives of Mandôl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>Khârânû</td>
<td>Khârânhan</td>
<td>Busâhir State...</td>
<td>The god of the Rék and Sâmât territories.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>Palthân</td>
<td>Shôlî...</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>The god of the Mastgarh and Alat territories.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>Khanâsî</td>
<td>Barkal</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>The rural god of the Barkal territories.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>Khanâsî</td>
<td>Mahbûlî</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>The god of the Sê ô territory.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>The Name of the Village or Seat of God</td>
<td>Territory</td>
<td>Notes</td>
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<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>Kālēḍā</td>
<td>Kālēḍā</td>
<td>Būbāhir State...</td>
<td>The god of the villages of Kālēḍā and Phēḷā.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>Chātar Khand</td>
<td>Bṛāndī</td>
<td>Do...</td>
<td>} The gods of the Kānehñīn territory.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>Mangḷēshar</td>
<td>Dwārā...</td>
<td>Do...</td>
<td>}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>Lāchhī Nārāīn</td>
<td>Kūmāśū</td>
<td>Do...</td>
<td>The gods of the Shalāṭī territory.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>Khantū</td>
<td>Majhāḷī</td>
<td>Do...</td>
<td>}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>Dēva Kōkhlī</td>
<td>Dārkāḷī</td>
<td>Do...</td>
<td>The gods of the Bārī Ghrīwāḷā and Kāshā.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>Lāchhī Nārāīn</td>
<td>Pāt...</td>
<td>Do...</td>
<td>}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>Dēvījaṭī</td>
<td>Munūsh</td>
<td>Do...</td>
<td>}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>Kangḷēshar</td>
<td>Dōṭēṭhī</td>
<td>Do...</td>
<td>The god of the Hōchhi territory, and Majhāḷī and Chākā villages.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>Nāg</td>
<td>Kīm...</td>
<td>Do...</td>
<td>The god of Kīm village.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>Chhāṛī Gudṛī</td>
<td>Karēṛī</td>
<td>Do...</td>
<td>The god of one village only.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>Jakh</td>
<td>Rāchōṛī</td>
<td>Do...</td>
<td>The god of four or five villages.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>Gāsō Dēṛ</td>
<td>Gāsō...</td>
<td>Do...</td>
<td>The god of one village only.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73</td>
<td>Bāshēṛū</td>
<td>Bāshēṛā</td>
<td>Do...</td>
<td>The god of Tīm Kōṭhī, but universally worshipped.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>Nārāīn</td>
<td>Kinū...</td>
<td>Do...</td>
<td>The god of the Ōhē Bīśī territory.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>Lāchhī Nārāīn</td>
<td>Manjheḷī</td>
<td>Do...</td>
<td>The god of the Nau Bīśī territory.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76</td>
<td>Jhāngrū</td>
<td>Manjgāṇōḥ</td>
<td>Do...</td>
<td>The god of the Panjgōṇī territory.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77</td>
<td>Nāg</td>
<td>Navārū</td>
<td>Do...</td>
<td>The god of the Pat Sō territory.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>Nāg</td>
<td>Bāri...</td>
<td>Do...</td>
<td>The god of the Bāri territory.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79</td>
<td>Dēvī</td>
<td>Tārāṇḍā</td>
<td>Do...</td>
<td>The god of the farmers of the Tārāṇḍā territory.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>Mahēśhwar</td>
<td>Sōṅgṛā</td>
<td>Do...</td>
<td>The gods of the farmers of the Sōṅgṛā territory.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>Okhā</td>
<td>Nachāṛ</td>
<td>Do...</td>
<td>The goddess of the Nachāṛ territory.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82</td>
<td>Durgā</td>
<td>Kambā...</td>
<td>Do...</td>
<td>The goddess of the Ḍōpī Kamba territory.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83</td>
<td>Mahā Rudr</td>
<td>Kiṅō</td>
<td>Do...</td>
<td>The god of the Khiṅnītchā territory.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td>Nāg</td>
<td>Barāndā</td>
<td>Do...</td>
<td>The god of the Jagōṛī territory.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td>Jal</td>
<td>Sarpārā</td>
<td>Do...</td>
<td>The god of the Kāo Bīḷ territory.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86</td>
<td>Nāg</td>
<td>Barūḥā</td>
<td>Do...</td>
<td>The god of the Kīḷbā territory.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87</td>
<td>Mahēśhwar</td>
<td>Bhabbā</td>
<td>Do...</td>
<td>The god of the Bhabbā territory.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88</td>
<td>Mahēśhwar</td>
<td>Chagāṇōḥ</td>
<td>Do...</td>
<td>The god of the Chagāṇōḥ territory.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>The Name of God</td>
<td>The Name of the Village or Seat of God</td>
<td>Territory</td>
<td>Notes</td>
</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>89</td>
<td>Badri Nath</td>
<td>Kāmru</td>
<td>Busāhir State</td>
<td>The god of the Tukpā territory.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td>Chandikū</td>
<td>Kōthi...</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>The god of the farmers of Shōa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91</td>
<td>Thākur Dwārā</td>
<td>Naising</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>The god of the farmers of Naising village only.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92</td>
<td>Raighū Nathji</td>
<td>Sarāhan</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Worshipped throughout the country.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93</td>
<td>Narshaṛhī</td>
<td>Rāmpur</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94</td>
<td>Balrāmji</td>
<td>Lārsa, Dansa, Shīṅgla, Shāneri.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Worshipped in four villages only.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95</td>
<td>Bālrāmji</td>
<td>Nīrat</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Worshipped in Nīratnāgar only.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96</td>
<td>Bālrāmji</td>
<td>Nandā and Torsa.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Worshipped in Nandā, Tōrsā, Cheōnī, Gōmān, Daṅōlī.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97</td>
<td>The tombs of Mansāgir and Dhānagir.</td>
<td>Ghōrnā</td>
<td>Balsan State</td>
<td>Worshipped by the people of all the territory; there are separate rural gods in every village also.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98</td>
<td>Dévti Mansā</td>
<td>Ghōrnā</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99</td>
<td>Kadāsān</td>
<td>Dēotī</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>The god of the farmers of the Dhārtī, Dēotī and Nālī pargānd.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>Rāi Rē Mōlē</td>
<td>Kadārān</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>The god of the Kadārān, Shihgī, and Dhār territories.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101</td>
<td>Chēōit</td>
<td>Shēlēa</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>The gods of the Shēltā territory.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>102</td>
<td>Chitrā</td>
<td>Chāndhāi</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>103</td>
<td>Nāg</td>
<td>Pal</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>The gods of the Shalghōn territory.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>104</td>
<td>Mahēshwār</td>
<td>Mahēsuśī</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Worshipped in Mārī and Drāunk pargānd.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>105</td>
<td>Kadāsān</td>
<td>Tālī</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>The god of the Parli Phātti territory.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>106</td>
<td>Bagēshar</td>
<td>Bagēshar</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Worshipped in Shākh, Kātá, and Bagēshar of Balsan, and in the adjacent Nāhan villages.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>107</td>
<td>Nāg</td>
<td>Kathōri</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>The god of Kathōri village only.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>108</td>
<td>Gōn</td>
<td>Bakrārī</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>The god of the Kālāśi territory.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>109</td>
<td>Nainōh</td>
<td>Dévti</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>The god of the Parāli territory.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110</td>
<td>Banār</td>
<td>Shārēchēl</td>
<td>Keōnthal State</td>
<td>The god of all Bāwīn territory.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111</td>
<td>Mahāsū</td>
<td>Hanōli</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>112</td>
<td>Nigahū</td>
<td>Jáli</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>The rural god of Agē Pōnār.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>113</td>
<td>Nigahū</td>
<td>Jāli</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>114</td>
<td>Banēshar</td>
<td>Chōhag</td>
<td>Pōnār, Keōnthal State.</td>
<td>The rural god of Pichōhā Pōnār.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>115</td>
<td>Nāg</td>
<td>Shēdāri</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>The god of the Bhājjī, Sāngri, Busāhir, and Kūlā.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>116</td>
<td>Nāg</td>
<td>Shāhri</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>The Name of God</td>
<td>The Name of the Village or Seat of God</td>
<td>Territory</td>
<td>Notes</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>116</td>
<td>Bānō</td>
<td>Banār</td>
<td>।</td>
<td>Worshipped in the Banār territory only.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>117</td>
<td>Marīchhi</td>
<td>Savān</td>
<td>।</td>
<td>Worshipped in the Sawān territory only.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>118</td>
<td>Grēhan</td>
<td>Đēōti</td>
<td>Ghōnd State</td>
<td>The god of the Shīlī territory.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>119</td>
<td>Shīlgur</td>
<td>Ghūnd</td>
<td>।</td>
<td>The god of the Prāḷa territory.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120</td>
<td>Thākur Dwārā</td>
<td>Ghūnd</td>
<td>।</td>
<td>The god of farmers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>121</td>
<td>Bānthiā</td>
<td>Chīkbur</td>
<td>Thēōg</td>
<td>। do. ।</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>122</td>
<td>Bānthiā</td>
<td>Janōg</td>
<td>।</td>
<td>। do. do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>123</td>
<td>Jimprū</td>
<td>Padrēg</td>
<td>।</td>
<td>। do. do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>124</td>
<td>Mahāsū</td>
<td>Gajjērī</td>
<td>।</td>
<td>। do. do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>125</td>
<td>Banār</td>
<td>Shānchhī</td>
<td>Jūbāl State</td>
<td>The god of the Barār territory in the Jūbāl State, and of the Rāṇā of Jūbāl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>126</td>
<td>Mahāsū</td>
<td>Hānēl</td>
<td>।</td>
<td>The god of all the Jūbāl State.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>127</td>
<td>Shrigul or Bijat</td>
<td>Sarāhan</td>
<td>।</td>
<td>The god of the Bis Sō territory.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>128</td>
<td>Rāthī kā Banār</td>
<td>Barāhāl</td>
<td>।</td>
<td>The god of the Barāhāl village only.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>129</td>
<td>Santōpiā</td>
<td>Dhūr</td>
<td>।</td>
<td>The god of Dhūr village only.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>130</td>
<td>Shārīi</td>
<td>Shārī</td>
<td>।</td>
<td>The god of four villages.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>131</td>
<td>Dēvī</td>
<td>Jūbāl</td>
<td>।</td>
<td>The goddess of the Barār territory, and of the Rāṇā.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>132</td>
<td>Dēvī</td>
<td>Hātkotī</td>
<td>Raśin, Jūbāl, and Būsāhīr States</td>
<td>The goddess of the territories round Jūbāl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>133</td>
<td>Rihāṭtnā</td>
<td>Thēōg</td>
<td>Jūbāl State</td>
<td>The god of the Jakhōlī territory.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>134</td>
<td>Gōnā</td>
<td>Bōdhtnā</td>
<td>।</td>
<td>। do. ।</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>135</td>
<td>Dēvī Jogrāsan</td>
<td>Pōjarī</td>
<td>।</td>
<td>The rural god of the Pēōathra territory.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>136</td>
<td>Kanērā</td>
<td>Pōjarī</td>
<td>।</td>
<td>The rural god of the Shaṅk territory.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>137</td>
<td>Dēvī Dunundi</td>
<td>Dḥābās</td>
<td>।</td>
<td>The rural god of the Hamāl territory.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>138</td>
<td>Dum</td>
<td>Bhōt</td>
<td>।</td>
<td>The rural god of the Jakhōlī territory.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>139</td>
<td>Mahāsū</td>
<td>Pōryā</td>
<td>Tharōch State</td>
<td>The gods of all the territories of Tharōch and Sangīrī.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>140</td>
<td>Mahāshwar</td>
<td>Maḥhrān</td>
<td>।</td>
<td>। do. ।</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>141</td>
<td>Mahāsū</td>
<td>Hanōl</td>
<td>।</td>
<td>। do. do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>142</td>
<td>Thān</td>
<td>Sawān</td>
<td>Sangīrī State</td>
<td>। do. do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>143</td>
<td>Tawānāi</td>
<td>Barāgāōn</td>
<td>।</td>
<td>Worshipped in Maghīdhār territory.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

128. (1) A Sanyāśi mendicant, named Ilāchigir, came to Balsan and Thāng States. The Chiefs of both the States became his disciples, for he knew jīv (spiritual science) very well. After his death, a tomb was raised over his ashes, and this tomb is now worshipped. The real seat of the saint is Thūr in Sirmūr State, and the Chiefs and subjects of both the States pay visits to this place also.

(2) The gods of the hills are of two kinds: — Female, i.e., Dēvrī (goddesses); male, i.e., Dēvatās (gods). The image of a goddess is always complete. In the case of a god, his head or bust only is represented.

(3) The accounts of their origin and attributes vary. The gods are generally of one type, though they bear different names. The modes of worship are the same, and their images alike. Some goddesses are represented with four arms, some with two, some with eight, twelve, or even sixteen. Some are made to sit upon a dead body; some are shown as riding a lion. There are many other images in a temple, besides those of the god and the goddess, bearing different names, such as Shibjī, Shambhūjī, Gan’sh, Indar, Rājan, etc.

XXXIV. — Forms of Worship.

(4) The priests worship the gods twice a day. In the morning the priest provides some sandal, rice, purified butter for the lamp, flowers, dāho (scent), and some sweets or fruits for the god. First of all, the god is washed with fresh water, and then his image is wiped with a clean cloth; sandal is pasted upon the forehead and some rice also. A garland of flowers is thrown round his neck. A lamp is lighted, drums are beaten, and bells are rung. The priest offers incense and chants hymns. Then sweets or fruits are placed before the image. After this all the worshippers offer their presents. The priest paints their foreheads with sandal, and prays to the god to fulfill their desires. Then the chōlā (disciple) of the god goes into a trance and foretells success or failure to the pilgrim, offers him rice, and gives him directions in answer to his questions. In the evening only the lamp is lighted, incense and food being offered; after which the god or goddess retires. This is called āḍita.

(5) All kinds of presents are offered. Some men present gold and silver ornaments, clothes, money, grain, fruits, and purified butter, etc. A goat is killed. One loin of the goat is given to the person offering it; the remainder is distributed among the priests. Two or four annas in cash are given to the priest for each goat. In the temple of the goddess, presents are offered in the months of Chēt and Asōj. In addition to this, one can offer presents, if one likes, on a Tuesday, the day of the full moon, and the fourteenth, eighth or ninth day of the moon. Presents can be offered to a god at any time; but to do so on the first day of the month, or in Baisakh, Bhadon or Magh, is considered best.

(6) The presents offered to a god or goddess are collected in the treasury and are spent in charity. The men in charge of the temple, such as the priest, the monk and the musician, are paid small sums by the pilgrims, the least sum being six pies. The pilgrims can pay them as much as they like.

XXXV. — Ghosts and Spirits.

129. Bhūts (ghosts), partis (fairies), chadṛs and manṛds are believed in by children and women.

130. Stones are not worshipped in any way, except that people make images of stone and hang them round their necks.

131-132. No.6

133. Nil.6

134. The Vāṃ Mrāgis, who worship the genital organs, are not to be found in this territory.

* [Obviously answers to questions. — Ed.]
XXXVI. — Initiation Ceremonies.

135. (a) To admit a person to any religious order, the brotherhood of the village assembles in the temple of its god. After discussing the question, they send for the man who is to be admitted. A Brāhmaṇ is called to that place by permission of the Chief. He chants some hymns on the panch gārd (a mixture of milk, honey, cow's urine, water of the Ganges, and clarified butter) and makes the candidate for admission drink it. A feast is given to all the brotherhood, and the excommunicated can join in the feast. Then he goes to the god and presents offerings. This is allowed to reclaim those who have been excommunicated by the brotherhood owing to some mistake. Apostates who voluntarily give up the Hindu religion and become converts to any other religion cannot be reclaimed.

(b) Generally it is necessary to wear the sacred thread in order to join the Hindu religion. But the Sūdras, as already mentioned, do not wear it. They are considered members of the religion if they obey the ordinary rules, even if they do not wear the sacred thread.

XXXVII. — High Class Hindu Sects.

136. High class Hindus are divided into two sections — (1) Saivas, who worship the god Siva; (2) Saktas, who worship Siva, the goddess, and other gods. Those belonging to the first sect regard the sacrifice of goats and drinking of wine as sins. Those belonging to the second consider both to be virtuous. Enquiry shows that the latter abound in the hills, while the former are very few, not more than two per thousand.

XXXVIII. — Brāhmaṇ Sects.

137. Brāhmaṇs are divided into two kinds: — (a) Pandits or Pādhās, i. e., Shukal; and (b) Achāraj, Bhāṭ or Dakaut, i. e., Kishan.

The Shukal Brāhmaṇs accept the alms offered on happy occasions — such as the birth of a child, a marriage, or some other festival. They also chant hymns, or officiate in the worship of gods at such times. Every tribe has a separate Brāhmaṇ of this kind.

The Achāraj receives alms offered at funeral ceremonies. On these occasions the reading of the kathā and the chanting of hymns is done by the Shukal Brāhmaṇ, i. e., the priest. The alms are given to the Achāraj.

The Bhāṭs are given alms only at marriages. They are inferior to the Brāhmaṇs, but superior to the Achāraj.

Alms offered to propitiate evil stars, such as Rāhu, Ketu, Sani, are given to the Pandās or Dakauts. They also receive tulā dān (alms in the form of grain, metals, etc., equal in weight to the weight of the man offering them). The hymns are recited by the Shukal Brāhmaṇ. Only the alms are given to the Dakauts.

The Brāhmaṇs of all the tribes, except those of the Cobbler, Kööl, Shepherds, Musicians and Sweepers, do all the work mentioned above and take alms.

The Shukal Brāhmaṇs do not eat food prepared by the Kishan Brāhmaṇs.

XXXIX. — Priests.

139. Only Brāhmaṇs act as priests.
140. No priest is to be found who performs ceremonies not pertaining to any particular god.
141. Every tribe has its own priests. None but Brāhmaṇs can serve as priests.
142. Each family has a priest.
143. The priest knows all the business that he has to perform in the house of his disciple. He is not bound to keep brahmachari (celibacy) to the prescribed age, nor is he under any restrictions as regards profession. It is necessary for him to know the rules for giving or receiving alms at the times of death, marriage, birth, or any other festival.
XL. — Places of Worship.

144. In some places there are separate buildings set apart for worship, while in others there are not.

145. The temples have their doors either to the north or east or on all sides.

146. A temple is either a śivaṭḍā or a thākur-dwārā or a dēvi-dwārā.

147. A śivaṭḍā contains the images of Śivaji, Rāma, Ganēśha, Hanumān and Bhairoṇ. A thākur-dwārā those of Śivaji, Rāma, Lakshman, Krishnā, Bālām, Gopālji, and Hanumān. A dēvi-dwārā the images of Dēvi, Kāli, Lōṅkar, and a lion.

148. The god of the temple is worshipped thrice every day, in the morning, noon and evening, but in some places this worship is performed only twice. Offerings are made. The Brāhmaṇa is fed at particular festivals and ḫawān (sacrifice) is performed.

149. Some ceremonies are performed openly, and some secretly. The latter are called narōl pūjā, and are performed on the occasion of particular festivals only and not every day.

XLII. — Sacrifices.

150. (1) Goats and sheep are sacrificed to all the gods.
(2) Goats are sacrificed in the name of the Dēvi or Kāli.
(3) Sheep are sacrificed in the name of Bhairoṇ, Lōṅkar, and Narsinh.
(4) Buffaloes are sacrificed to the younger Lōṅkar.
(5) Fowls, pigs, fish, and lizards are offered to the lesser Kāli.

151. Generally the family priest officiates at the time of the sacrifice, but one can sacrifice without the aid of the priest as well. The sacrifice is offered to the god who is the patron of the offerer.

152. The sacrifice is performed at the temple.

153. If the sacrifice be of a goat or sheep, one loin is given to the person who offered it, and the remainder is distributed among the monks, gods, and the priests. Sometimes the sacrificial animal is buried. In some places the head and liver of the sacrificed goat are kept by the priests and monks, and the remainder is given back to the offerer.

The sacrifice of the other animals are offered by the Kāls, Cobblers or Shepherds.

154. Sometimes, instead of a living creature, an imitation of it in flour or silver are offered, or the living beast, without being sacrificed, is let loose in the temple of the god. The animal remains in the forest, and the custodians of the temple look after it. When fat it is sold, and the money thus realised is added to the god’s treasure. If the image offered be of silver, it is stored in the treasury. If of flour, it is cooked in oil or clarified butter, and is eaten by the priests.

155. The worshippers do not offer any part of their body as sacrifice.

XLIII. — Human Sacrifice.

156. It is said that in ancient times men, women, and children were offered as sacrifice to the Dēvi or Kāli. Men were sacrificed to Lōṅkar also.

157. It is said that men had their heads cut off as offerings to Jawālā Mukhi, Kāli, Bhima Kāli and Bhairoṇ Bhr, etc., and put into the sacrificial fire. Many men cut out their tongues and offered them to the goddess.

A sacrifice of the nature of human sacrifice is, however, still performed in the hills every forty or fifty years, and is called Bhundā. A man of the Bōḍā Tribe of Kūḷū and Gāḍhwal is sent for. From ancient times such men have been kept as priests in the places where this sacrifice is performed. They are treated like the ordinary priests, and are given an
annual pension out of the temple fund. When the time of the sacrifice has been fixed, the Bêdâ is sent for three months before the date. He comes with his family and gathers hemp, with which a big rope, four or five hundred yards long, is prepared. All the men accompanying the Bêdâ are sumptuously fed, and one of them who willingly offers himself is chosen for the sacrifice. He is given plenty of wine, meat, milk, etc. The sacrificial fire is kept burning for three months in the temple of the god. On the appointed day, saints, Brâhmañas, and gods of the neighbourhood are sent for, and all are provided with food.

The Bêdâ is brought to the temple in the morning and placed near the sacrificial fire. He is then worshipped and sacrificed, like a goat, in the name of the god. A rope that is prepared by the man himself is tied to two poles, and then the man is thrown over this rope. Some die, while others escape alive. In the latter case he is given eighty-four rupees in cash, garments and ornaments from the god’s treasury. He has authority to ask for anything he likes from the pilgrims, who are bound to give it to him. This is a very critical time, and much care is taken in British territories. It is however held that the man’s death or otherwise is under divine control. Some places where the rope is bound to poles are flat, while others are valleys between two rocks.

158. The men to be sacrificed, like the priests, are certain men fixed upon and are sacrificed in turn. A quarrel, as among the priests, arises if one offers himself in the place of another.

159. Open human sacrifice is now quite obsolete.

**List of Bhûndâ Sacrificial Spots.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name of God</th>
<th>The Place of Sacrifice</th>
<th>Territory</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Bashêrû</td>
<td>Bashêrû</td>
<td>Busâhir State</td>
<td>A good place, but very distant.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Kanglêshwar</td>
<td>Devthî</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>An ordinary place.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Lachmi Nârâin</td>
<td>Manjûbhâîl</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Devi and Balrâm</td>
<td>Shinglâ</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Shanêrî</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Lars.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Dans.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Datârâ a n d Nagar</td>
<td>Balrâm.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Sûraî a n d Nirat</td>
<td>Balrâm.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Kharânû</td>
<td>Kharâhan</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>A difficult place, steep on both sides.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Pâlthân</td>
<td>Shôlî</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do. do. do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Bakrâlû</td>
<td>Dalgâîn</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do. do. do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Bhtma Kált</td>
<td>Sarâhan</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do. do. do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Thâfî</td>
<td>Bîhlî</td>
<td>Jâbal State</td>
<td>Do. do. do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Dévi</td>
<td>Nirmand</td>
<td>Kûlû</td>
<td>Do. do. do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Month (English)</td>
<td>Month (Indian)</td>
<td>Notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Lohri</td>
<td>Middle of January</td>
<td>Pōh and the 1st day of Māgh</td>
<td>Food prepared and alms given to the Brāhmans.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Khāttālā Ekādashi</td>
<td>End of January</td>
<td>Māgh</td>
<td>Fasts are observed and sesame is offered as alms.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Basant Panchami</td>
<td>Early in February</td>
<td>Phāgun</td>
<td>Dances are performed. The New-year is celebrated.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Shiv Rātri</td>
<td>February or March</td>
<td>Phāgun</td>
<td>A fast is observed in the name of Siva: food is prepared, and a goat sacrificed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>New-year's Day</td>
<td>March</td>
<td>1st of Chēt</td>
<td>The Brāhmans foretell the events of the year to the Kshatriyas, and receive some money as a gift.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Höli</td>
<td>March</td>
<td>Phāgun</td>
<td>People throw coloured water on one another. Dances are performed, shows are held, and feasts given.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Chētār Chaudas</td>
<td>April</td>
<td>Chēt</td>
<td>A proper day for making offerings to gods. The <em>thākura dvarḍa</em> are the scenes of great festivities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Nārātṛé</td>
<td>March or April</td>
<td>Chēt</td>
<td>Fasts are observed in honour of the Dēvi (goddess), and goats and wine are offered to her.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Baisākhī</td>
<td>April</td>
<td>1st of Baisākh</td>
<td>Gift are given to Brāhmans. Fairs are held for a fortnight.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Nirjālā Ekādashi</td>
<td>May</td>
<td>Jēt</td>
<td>People observe a fast. Sherbet is given gratis to the people to drink.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Dēb Sani Ekādashi</td>
<td>June or July</td>
<td>Hār</td>
<td>Alms are given and fasts observed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Biās Pūjā</td>
<td>June or July</td>
<td>Hār</td>
<td>Do. Do. Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Narsingh Chaudas</td>
<td>March</td>
<td>Chēt</td>
<td>Presents are offered in the <em>thākura dvarḍa</em>. Image of Narsing is displayed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Rām Nauml</td>
<td>March</td>
<td>Chēt</td>
<td>Do. and the Rām Līlā is performed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Sāonī</td>
<td>15th July</td>
<td>1st Sāwan</td>
<td>People eat food. Garlands of flowers are put round the necks of the cattle.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Rākhṛt</td>
<td>August</td>
<td>Sāwan or Bhādēh</td>
<td>The Brāhmans make arm-rings of thread and tie them to peoples' wrists, and get money as a reward.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Janam Ashtami</td>
<td>August</td>
<td>End of Sāwan or beginning of Bhādēh</td>
<td>People fast, and feed the Brāhman next day.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Month (English)</td>
<td>Month (Indian)</td>
<td>Notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
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<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Kishun Gharī Mūvas</td>
<td>August</td>
<td>End of Sāwan or beginning of Bhīdōn</td>
<td>Farmers worship their land on the second day after amāras (last day of the lunar month) and sacrifice a goat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Nāg Panchami</td>
<td>August or September</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>People worship their gods and offer sacrifices to them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Anant Chandas</td>
<td>September</td>
<td>Beginning of Asōj</td>
<td>Anant is worshipped, and gifts are given to the Brāhmans.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Pitra Pākh Amāwas</td>
<td>September</td>
<td>Asōj</td>
<td>Brāhmans are given gifts in the name of the dead forefathers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Nōrāstrē</td>
<td>October</td>
<td>Asōj</td>
<td>The goddess is worshipped, sacrifices are offered, and masquerade shows are held.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Dasāhrā</td>
<td>October</td>
<td>Asōj</td>
<td>The end of the Nōrātēs. At the Dasāhrā festival gifts are awarded to the poor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Chṛēwal</td>
<td>August</td>
<td>1st of Bhādōn</td>
<td>God of clay are made and worshipped. Lights are shown to the gods every evening.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Sāēr</td>
<td>September</td>
<td>1st of Asōj</td>
<td>The barbers show mirrors to rich men, who give them rewards.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Dīwāll</td>
<td>October</td>
<td>Kāṭik</td>
<td>Every village and every house is illuminated. Rich food is cooked and distributed amongst relatives.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Karnvāll</td>
<td>October</td>
<td>Kāṭik</td>
<td>Celebrated in thākur dwārās only.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Gōpā Ashtamāl</td>
<td>October</td>
<td>Kāṭik</td>
<td>Fasts are observed, and gifts are given to the Brāhmans.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Panch Bhishmī Ekādāshi</td>
<td>November</td>
<td>Māghar</td>
<td>Fasts are observed, and gifts are given to the Brāhmans.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Panch Bhishmī Puranmāshi</td>
<td>November</td>
<td>Māghar</td>
<td>Goats are sacrificed throughout the country. Goats reared during the summer are sacrificed at this time.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Sankrānt</td>
<td>December</td>
<td>1st Pōh</td>
<td>The people fast on every puramāshi (full moon) and give alms to the Brāhmans.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Sataya Nārāin</td>
<td>December</td>
<td>Pōh</td>
<td>This festival returns after long intervals. Fasts are observed, and charity bestowed on the Brāhmans.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Somāvatī Amāvas</td>
<td>December</td>
<td>Pōh</td>
<td>Fasts are observed in the name of Siva, and there is also feasting.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Pandrū</td>
<td>December</td>
<td>Pōh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Kharāin</td>
<td>January</td>
<td>Māgh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Some Details of the Festivals.

A brief account of every festival has been given in the table above. Some details are now given.

1. Lohri khichri (a kind of food) is prepared and is distributed among relatives. The people play with balls in every village or in the temple of the god. The saints and Brâhmans are given rice, pulse, and money. Some people perform oblations in their homes. The priests worship the doors of their customers.

2. Basant Panchami. — This festival is celebrated in the court of the Chief only. The tûrâs (musicians) sing and play upon instruments and get rewards. The people sprinkle coloured water over one another. Some men and women wear yellow scarves, but it is not a general custom.

3. Shiv Râtri. — Fasting is observed during the day. In the night an image of Siva is made of clay. A coloured square is prepared, and the god is placed in the middle of it. Cakes are placed on all sides round the square. The god is worshipped throughout the night. Songs are sung, and music played. A goat is sacrificed. In the morning the god is thrown into water. The cakes are given to a Brâhman, and distributed amongst the brotherhood.

4. New-year’s Day. — On the first of Chêt, tûrâs (musicians) sing and play upon instruments, and receive gifts. The Brâhmans foretell the events of the year and get rewards. The tûrâs go from village to village and entertain people throughout the month of Chêt.

5. Hûl is celebrated in the Chief’s court only. Coloured water is sprinkled and songs are sung. All the men taking part in the Hûl are entertained with a feast.

6. Nârâtrâ. — The goddess is worshipped and sacrifices are offered to her.

7. Baisakhi. — On the 1st day of the month the priest worships the gates of his customers, who give him, according to their capacity, grain and money. During the whole of the month sacrifices are offered to the god on different dates. The people practise archery at a fair.

8. Sankrânt Sâwan (first day of the month Sâwan). — Wreaths of flowers are thrown round the necks of quadrupeds. Rich foods are prepared and distributed among the family and relations and guests. Fairs are held throughout the month in the temples of gods. All the people of the neighbourhood gather at the fairs, and dance and sing during the day. In the evening they go to feast at home or at their relatives’ houses.

9. Nâg Panchami. — In some places fairs are held at the temples of gods. The people keep awake the whole night, and hill songs are sung and instruments are played upon. In the morning all the people present are fed. The fair at this time is called Jâgrâ or Bhadrâjî.

10. Nârâtrâ. — The goddess is worshipped. Masquerades are held in the night. Music is played, and in some places is called bâtrî or kavâltî. The next day is the Daâhrâ. A man impersonating Râma Chandar drives in a chariot and conquers Lankâ.

11. Shârî or Sâr. — Each man makes an image of clay, puts flowers on it, and places it before his house. Rich food is prepared on the first day of the month. In the evening illuminations are made all round the image, and it is worshipped.

12. Diwâlî. — Every person illuminates his house. Food is prepared and distributed among relatives. The people amuse themselves with gambling. A heap of wood is kept burning all night, and all the villagers gather round it and abuse the natives of adjoining villages, who in return abuse them. The people remain awake during the night and sing the songs of Diwâlî, like the kathâ (recitation). A song is fixed for this festival.
Men and women of every tribe attend the fairs at this time, except women who observe the *pardah* system. Persons of all ages are among the spectators.

162. The dates for all the festivals are fixed, except the Somavat Amavas and Satya Narain.

163. No festival is celebrated to commemorate any season.

164. Food is given to the Brahmans in the name of the dead on the date corresponding to the death of the deceased, and this is termed *tithi shraddha*. This is done by a few persons and is not a general custom.

165. All the Hindu festivals are celebrated by the people generally. However, some of the festivals pertaining to *thakur dwaarats*, as mentioned in the above table, are celebrated by some persons, while others do not observe them.

166. The Hindus do not observe the festivals of the Saragiis.

167. There is no festival where boys and girls desirous of marriage meet and select their consorts.

168. Among certain classes the festival of Karva Chauth is considered to be for the wife and husband only.

169. Wine is used in the fairs held on Baisakhi, Siofri, and Holi festivals.

**XLV. — Objects of Worship.**

170. There are no ghosts or spirits who are considered to have any connection with sticks. However, the sticks, lances, and bugles of a god are honoured like the god himself.

171. The silver sticks, lances, bugles, and bells of a god are thought sacred. It is also believed that these things possess supernatural powers.

172. Wood and stone are worshipped, for they are considered to be the abodes of gods.

**XLVI. — Animism, Spirit Worship.**

173. The people believe in spirits living in rivers, hills, trees, ruins, and in clean and unclean places.

(a) Yama (god of death) is supposed to live in rivers.

(b) *Dolis*, brooks and springs are supposed to be the abodes of *jal paris* (*water nymphs*) and *matris*.

(c) *Kal* is supposed to live in hills.

(d) Spirits of all kinds are supposed to live on trees.

(e) *Banshir* spirits live in ruins of old buildings, or valleys or mountains.

(f) Vicious spirits live in dirty places, and virtuous spirits or gods in clean and pure localities.

174. A detailed account of the worship of ghosts is given below. If a person is laid up with some disease and does not improve with medicine, a Brahman is called and is asked to exorcise the disease. He indicates the kind of ghost, if any, with which the man is possessed. The following are the signs of possession by ghosts:

(1) The patient seems comparatively comfortable during the day, but as the night advances, his restlessness increases. He gains composure with the passing of night and coming of day.
(2) The pulse of the patient beats like that of a healthy person. Now he becomes faint and again comes to his senses. Sometimes he speaks, while at others weeps and cries.

(3) The more medicine is administered, the more the disease increases. Sometimes he is cured without the use of medicine. The patient feels nausea, depression, and palpitation of the heart.

When these signs and the opinion of the Bráhman concurs, the guardians of the patient make the following arrangements for the propitiation of the ghost:

(a) The water nymphs or Mātris are supposed to have female forms. They are of two kinds:—Virtuous or superior, and vicious or inferior. Means for propitiating virtuous nymphs are these: Fruits and flowers are offered to them, a small palaquin is made of bamboo and covered with cloths of five colours, the Bráhman makes a cake, recites some hymns, and places the palaquin before the patient, and puts the fruits and flowers in it. The patient is made to worship a lamp and the palaquin, after which it is placed at a crossing. To propitiate an evil or vicious nymph, a goat, or a sheep, or a pig or a hen is offered as sacrifice. The remaining methods of adoration are like those mentioned above.

(b) Propitiation of the god of death is performed thus:—Some beasts, as hens, pigs, or sheep are brought. A cake of seven kinds of grain is cooked. Five or six lamps are lighted and placed upon this cake, together with some pieces of stone. All this is placed before the patient. The Bráhman chants a hymn on every stone and puts it upon the cake. The stones are either 5, or 7 or 11 in number, always representing odd numbers. When this is done all these things, together with the beasts, are taken to the cremation-grounds, where the Bráhman sacrifices the animals and takes them away.

(c) Káll is worshipped with the sacrifice of a goat, flowers, fruits, wheaten bread, and lamps, in the same way as a Mātri.

(d) Ghosts and nahshirás are propitiated by sacrifices of goats in some places, and by dust or gravel in others. In the same manner evil ghosts are propitiated by the sacrifice of a boar, or hen, or dust only.

175. Dās or demons are the ghosts connected with fields. It is a well-known fact that an estimate is made of the produce of the fields. If the crops of a certain season yield produce less than the estimated one, the difference is thought to be appropriated by the dāj.

176. Most men perform the Kunjhāin pūjā instead of sacrifices.

177. Kunjhāin is ordinarily offered to Káll, a pari (fairy), or a mātri. A certain portion of the forest or hill is set aside for this purpose. Even if the forest is cut down, yet the portion consecrated to the god is preserved for his worship. None of the trees in this portion is cut, nor are any leaves or boughs broken.

178. Monkeys, elephants, cows, oxen, and snakes are worshipped as gods.

(1) A monkey or an ape is considered as a representation of Hanúmān. Large cakes, grain, and gram are offered to them.

(2) An elephant is taken as a representation of the god Gañéśā, and is worshipped on such festivals as Gañéśā Chauth, etc.

(3) Cows are of two kinds, vit., kām dhēnā and kapāl, and both of them are adored as gods. Cows having a tongue or a hoof on their backs are also worshipped.

(4) An ox or nād is worshipped instead of Śiva.

(5) Snakes are worshipped as the nād dāud (snake-god).
XLVII. — Ancestor Worship.

179. Prayers and sacrifices are offered to the spirits in the name of the dead.

180. No ceremony deserves mention.

181. No sacred animal, nor any plant, nor any other thing, is worshipped in the name of any ancestor.

182. The heirs of the deceased offer alms in the name of the dead while performing kirya karm or śrādhlḥ (funeral ceremonies) under the impression that all this goes to the spirit of the dead.

183. The things placed with a corpse are disposed of in the following manner:—

(1) All that is put in the mouth of the dead, as panch rātan (five gems), is burnt with it.

(2) The ornaments are, in the case of poor men, taken back, and in the case of rich men, sent to Hardwār, or given to the Achāraj (man officiating at funeral ceremonies).

(3) Clothes of small value are burnt with the corpse or buried with it. Costly clothes are taken back by poor people, but sent to Hardwār or given to the Achāraj by rich men.

(4) Edible things are generally given to the Achāraj.

184. Living persons fear the spirits of the dead.

185. If the soul of a dead person is seen in a dream by any one, and it troubles him, the deceased is considered to be the cause of this. A Brāhman is asked to offer prayers for the salvation of the dead. A charm is written and tied to the neck or arm of the person dreaming about the dead.

186. The spirit of the deceased is considered to haunt his house for eleven days after death. The following matters are taken into consideration as regards other haunts:—

(1) The spirit that has become united to the universal spirit does not return.

(2) The spirit which, on account of his sins, has not obtained salvation, always haunts here and there, finds rest nowhere, and is not pleased with any place. So spirits of the second sort haunt all places, like graveyards and cemeteries. Their forms are very fearful and they have no flesh on their bodies. They are said to be of fabulous sizes.

187. The forms of ghosts lead us to the conclusion that they were great sinners in their lives, or died a sudden death — such as by poison, or by falling down, or by suicide — and have not obtained salvation. There are different interpretations of these facts; but it is of no use to give their details, for it is impossible to find out the truth in this way.

188. The Brāhmans expel ghosts by charms and magic. The person possessed by a ghost is made to inhale the smoke produced by burning wheat, chillies, the flesh of a tiger, and pork. If the ghost is not dispelled by these means, then the method mentioned in para. 174 is applied.

189. The kinds of ghosts have been given in para. 174.

190. Fifteen days are consecrated to the deceased ancestors in Bhādōn or Asōj. This period is called pītri pāksa (ancestor's fortnight), and at this time Brāhmans are fed and given alms in the name of ancestors. This is called śrādhlḥ.

191. It is necessary to perform the śrādhlḥ of a man at Gyā, and that of a woman at Gódvāri. For instance, if the parents of a person die, then he will perform the śrādhlḥ of his father at Gyā and that of his mother at Gódvāri.

* [Or, at some place recognised as a substitute. — Ed.]
XLVIII. — Animal Worship.

192. No tribe nor any subdivision of a tribe is named after the name of an animal, a tree, or an arm or instrument.

193. The Hindus honour such objects, for they take them to be sacred according to their Scriptures. They abstain from killing, cutting, burning, or eating any male or female cattle, elephant, monkey, snakes, crows, garur (a large heron), peacocks, cat, or dog, or any pipal tree, or banian tree.

194. Hanumān is represented as a monkey; Ganesh is represented as an elephant. The images of the animals mentioned above are kept by the people for worship. Besides these the people make images of all gods and adore them.

195. Every custom is handed down from ancient times. There is no special tradition about this. Idol worshippers have a strong faith in images.

XLIX. — Tree Worship.

196. Women particularly worship the pipal and banian trees. They also worship the tulasī (a shrub); and the sensitive plant.

197. The pipal is worshipped on the occasion of a marriage or any other like happy occasion. Also the tulasī plant is worshipped. Girls can be named after the tulasī, but there is no such rule for the names of boys.

Superstitions.

I. — Omens from Animals.

198. A detail of ill-omens is given below:

(1) If a cow, buffalo, goat, or sheep give birth to a young one during the period extending from the 26th of Baisakh to 8th Jēth, this young one, with its mother, is given away to the Brahman, or it is sold. To keep it is considered unlucky.

(2) The same rule applies to cattle bringing forth their young in Bhadon or Māgh.

(3) Cattle producing young in Ėth under the influence of the star Mūl are subject to the same rule.

(4) The animal that howls at night, or seems grumbling like an unhealthy individual, is either given away in charity or is sold.

(5) If small spots appear on the skin of a buffalo, it is sold.

(6) Cows or goats yielding blood instead of milk are sold.

(7) Cows or goats that drink their own milk are sold.

(8) An animal that kills or devours its own young is sold.

II. — Omens from Domestic Utensils.

(1) It is forbidden to eat out of a broken vessel of white brass.

(2) The vessels of clay or white brass are used by the members of one class only. They become polluted if used by members of another caste.

(3) A vessel is considered unclean unless it is cleaned with dust and water.

(4) The cooking vessels are liable to impurity more quickly than the utensils for water.

(5) The people do not allow the members of a caste, different from theirs, to use their copper and white brass metals. Other vessels are free from such restrictions.
LII. — Omens from Houses.

(1) The place where a crow caws at night and a jackal howls at day, becomes unfit for habitation. This is considered to be the forecast of somebody dying there.

(2) The sitting of an owl, a pheasant, or a vulture on the roof of a house is considered ominous. If this happens, a goat is sacrificed at once.

(3) The crawling of a snake in the upper floor of the house is considered to portend evil. If one appears, it is expelled by pulling down the roof and not through the door. Something is also given in charity.

(4) Cracking sounds in the roof or furniture of a house are unlucky.

(5) If in a house the sound of a stranger, or of a member of the family, is heard, and after enquiry it is found that there was no such man there, but the sound was only an unnatural one, the house is thought to be unfortunate.

(6) The appearance of moisture in the walls of a house without any rain, is thought ominous.

(7) The following are ill-omens for a house: — The subjection of the inmates to constant whimsical thoughts, excessive sleep, poverty, constant dreams, expenses greater than income, perpetual illness.

(8) The going out of a fire suddenly at the time of cooking food.

(9) Decrease in charity, prayers and worship, and increase in sin, portend misfortune.

LIII. — Omens from the Roads.

To lay a road along one's habitation is prohibited.

LIV. — Omens from Movements of the Body.

(1) The trembling of any limb, in a healthy state of the person, is of evil import.

(2) Unusual silence or too much talk, sickly heart and whimsical thoughts, foreshadow coming evil. Also evil dreams; sneezing of a person in front or on the left; a succession of calamities; spitting; a snake, a lizard, a jackal or an ass touching the body; the perching of a crow on the head or the fall of a crow's droppings on the body; the appearance of drops of blood on a cloth when the cause cannot be found out; biting by a dog or cat; burning by fire; cloth being damaged by mice.

LV. — Lucky and Unlucky Stars.

199. Every one has two ṛḍḥiś (stars of fate), i.e., birth ṛḍḥi and name ṛḍḥi. If an evil star comes near this ṛḍḥiš at a distance of 4, 8 or 12 stages, the man under its influence has to propitiate it, and considers himself unlucky.

The images or likenesses of stars are not buried.

LVI. — Omens from the Rivers.

200. If the following omens occur to a man crossing a river, he will stop for an hour and then cross it: — Sneezing, tumbling, confronting an ass or a snake going to the right, confronting a bareheaded man or a man bringing wood, a bridegroom going to a marriage, one being asked as to where he is going, appearing to the left or in front of a partridge, a crow, a pheasant, a deer, a jackal or a heron, a widow.

If one comes across some of these omens successively in crossing a river or a road, he returns and does not proceed.
LVII. — Sumptuary Customs.

201. Kolis, cobblers, weavers, washermen, barbers, târs (musicians), ironsmiths, bharâdas, and shepherds do not wear gold and gems, nor do they wear shawls, chugâs, sarbanidâ (dresses), gulbadian and kimkhdb (silken cloth). In addition to these tribes, the Kanaits do not wear gold arm-rings, bardgar, sarabhdhâ, amirash and diamonds (ornaments), and cloths of kimkhdb. But nowadays this custom is being disregarded.

No tribes, except Brâhmans, Rajpûts and Baniâs can take their food in silver vessels.

There is no custom as regards planting and eating of herbs or plants.

LVIII. — Naming Customs.

202. Some plants have names like those of some of the tribes, but there is no tradition about them worth mentioning.

203. Children ordinarily have two names: birth name and ordinary name. The former is used in performing religious ceremonies, and no one except the priest knows this name. The latter is used in ordinary business and is known to all. An opprobrious name is given to a boy whose elder brother died before his birth, e.g., Gandû, Badû, etc., in order that he may live. Holes are made in his nose and ears like the women.

204. The above applies both to boys and girls.

205. In ordinary matters, parents swear by their children and vice versa. They touch their bodies. In legal matters, a man is made to swear by the god that he believes in. The man who takes an oath in the temple of a god, touches the image of the god, or throws a stone towards the temple, or picks up the money or disputed objects before the god. Some oaths are performed by touching a cow or lifting upon one's head the water of the Ganges.

206. The truth or falsity of a man who takes an ordeal is determined in this way — that if he suffers any loss or injury, then he is considered false; and if he prospers, then he is true. In ancient times cases were tried by making the culprit dive in water, by putting the hand in hot oil, or by giving poison to a goat.

The party who was willing to take an oath was taken to a tank or a khâd (valley) full of water and was made to dive. If he was true, then he came back to the surface and won the case; otherwise he was considered false and, being pronounced guilty, suffered punishment.

Ten or fifteen seers of oil were boiled in an iron cauldron, and when it was foaming a copper piece was dropped in it. The man ready to take oath was then asked to pick up this piece. If his hand was burnt, he was considered false, and lost the case. If, on the other hand, he received no injury, he won the suit.

A flat piece of iron was made red hot, and the tongue of the swearing person was branded with it. The burning of the tongue showed the falsity of the swearer, while its safety proved him true in his cause.

The parties to a dispute used to bring two goats alike in all respects. The goats were given equal quantities of poison. The party whose goat was affected with poison before the other's was considered to be in the right and won the case.

All these three customs are now out of use in British territories.

207. All quarrels are decided by the oaths stated above.
LIX. — Magic and Charms.

208. Magic is practised by magicians only, and there are no witches.

209. This practice is no concern of the priest, nor has he any enmity with the magicians. In some places even the priests act as magicians; and in others, other men do so. In short, any one who learns this science can become a magician.

210. The magician's business is to foretell by means of figures. He always remains at home. He goes to the house of a person who calls him, and there he either makes a charm or dispels one. Generally, the people look upon him with respect.

211. The man who remains dirty and unclean, and does not worship gods, but devotes his whole attention to the worship of evil spirits, and does not take a bath, is taken to be as a magician.

212. The people generally believe that the attendance of a magician means either the calling of ghosts to disclose some secret or to make a person receive some gain or injury.

LX. — Possession and Exorcism.

213. It is believed that people become possessed of ghosts. In order to cure a possessed person, he is made to inhale the smoke of chillies. If the ghost does not leave him, a Brāhman or a magician is called in, who, according to his own science, makes charms as mentioned above.

214. Possession by a ghost is considered evil. Spirits are generally under the control of low persons, such as Köls, cobblers, shepherds, ironsmiths, etc., as well as under that of Brāhmans. A ghost imposed by a low person is thought to be unholy, while that by a person of high caste is holy.

LXII. — Dreams.

215. Dreams dreamt in good health and on a clear night can portend good or evil, can tell about the past, and foretell the future.

216. A learned Brāhman is called to interpret a dream, and is told all about it. If the dream seems, according to the rules of the books, evil, the Brāhman makes the man who dreamt it give some charity, but there is no need of charity in the case of a good dream.

217. If a dead person is seen in a dream, and conversation is held with him, then the dream is considered to be one relating to the communication with spirits. Other dreams are good or bad omens.

LXIII. — Spirit Propitiation.

218. To propitiate spirits, Brāhmans are made to recite panchak śānti hymns (hymns to propitiate), and alms are given. Brāhmans or magicians make charms and tie them to the necks of the possessed persons.

LXIV. — The Evil Eye.

219. People believe in the effects of the evil eye and are much afraid of it. They consider it worse than magic.

220. Some men have so much power in their eyes, that if anything be eaten in their sight, it is soon vomited. No particular reason given for this is worth mentioning.
221. The effects of the evil eye are done away with by charms, or by performing the business out of the sight of the man suspected to possess it. A portion of something brought from without is put in the house fire. The effect of the evil eye upon an animal is neutralized by throwing some dust over it.

LXV. — Charms.

222. Magicians perform charms upon a person by means of things belonging to that person, or by things that were a portion of his body: —

(1) Nails or hair cut from his body, or the dust over which he has trodden.

(2) Driving a nail in a tree bearing the same name as the person intended to be injured, will wound that person.

(3) Warming the water of a spring of the same name as the victim on a fire, will make him to suffer from heat.

(4) Making an image of a person and wounding it with a nail in his name.

(5) Making an image of a person and either burying or burning it.

(6) Putting the flesh of a corpse, or some pepper or mustard, in the name of the victim, on a sacrificial fire.

All these things are done in order that their effect may fall upon the victim.

223. Special care is taken to destroy nails or hair when cut. Every man has two names, and the reason of this is that the magicians may not know the birth name.

LXVI. — Fortune-telling.

224. A magician or a jātaka (astrologer) foretells and foresees future events.

225. The following are the methods of prophesying and foreseeing: —

(1) The astrologer has three dice. He throws them and, making estimates by means of the letters of the alphabet, interprets good or evil results.

(2) The disciple or dd, who is well known as a magician, concentrates his attention for a few minutes, and answers any questions put to him as to the good or bad end of the enquirer.

(3) Some oil is poured on a plate of white brass, and a lighted lamp is placed on this plate at night. The medium fixes his eyes, for a few minutes, upon this lamp, after which he goes into a trance, and in this state he foretells future events.

(4) Questions are put to the medium in the evening, and he answers them the next morning. It is supposed that he receives information at night from some god.

(5) Sometimes the medium takes some oil or gh (purified butter) in his hands and rubs them for a few minutes, and then answers questions. Some interpret answers by making the questioner name any fruit or flower.

Answers to most of the questions about the past or present are correct, but to those about future are very seldom correct. Magicians and charmee belong to the Brähman, Jôgl, shoemaker, Koll, minstrel, smith, and Bâdi classes.

LXVII. — Illness is Spirit-caused.

226. Illness is generally attributed to ghosts.

227. If a man is suffering from a disease which cannot be diagnosed by physicians, or if it increases with the use of medicine, or if it abates in the day and increases in the night, then it is thought to be a case of possession, and is referred to a Brähman or disciple (dd). He throws dice or goes into a trance, and thus tells what sort of spirit is possessing the patient. The patient is treated in the manner suggested by the medium. Generally the medium cures him by adoration and other such means.
Social Restrictions.

LXVIII. — Abstention from Foods.

228. The Hindus abstain from taking the meat of a cow, an ox, a buffalo (male and female), a dog, a cat, an ass, a horse, a mule, a camel, a crow, a jackal, a heron, a peacock, a mouse, a serpent, a lizard, a tortoise, and a sheep. They do not use garlic, onion, turnip, radish, carrot, and mushroom among the vegetables. But these customs are observed by some of the people and not by all.

229. All persons do not abstain from the use of things already mentioned, but only high caste men and Brahmans, such as Rájpúts, Baniás, Súds, and Bóhrás, do so. Others, such as Kanaits, smiths, minstrels, Bárías, barbers, and goldsmiths, do not care for the above restrictions. All the tribes, except shoemakers, Káls, shepherds, and Nigals, abstain from the above-mentioned meats, but not necessarily from the vegetables.

230. It is a religious restriction not to take these things.

231. People abstain from these only on account of religious restrictions. Otherwise there is no reason for giving them up.

LXIX. — Tribal Descent.

232. No tribe is considered to have been descended from any plant or animal. However the púpal tree, the banian tree, and the túlasi plant are thought to have divine powers.

233. No reasonable explanation can be given of the tribal names.

LXX. — Customs on Eating, etc.

234. The customs of the people as regards eating, touching, speaking, seeing, and pronouncing names are given below:

Brahmans, Rájpúts, Bóhrás, Baniás, Súds, and Kshatriyas. — There are some sections who do not take unfried food prepared by any person not belonging to their own section. There is no restriction regarding touching, seeing, speaking, and pronouncing names. They do not drink even water touched by a low Bráhman, such as the Krishan.

Kanaits and other sects neither eat food prepared by a person not belonging to their own sect, nor do they drink water touched by such a man. There is no restriction as regards touch.

235. The restriction of touch is according to caste. For instance, men of high castes do not touch those of low castes. The restrictions of eating and drinking are according to the subdivisions even of the same sect.

236. High-caste people look down upon low-caste men. They hate the men who eat flesh of cows or buffaloes. However, this custom prevails among the low castes only.

LXXI. — Restrictions as to Women.

237. Infants and women cannot enter into temples unless they are purified by means of baths, etc. A woman whose husband is alive is not allowed to worship the god Siva, nor can she worship Blr Bhairón or Handmán nor Káll. Widows worship Siva.
238. The father of the husband of a woman has no scruples against using the things of her father, but her father cannot take anything from his son-in-law. He will not even drink water from the village where his daughter is married. But this custom prevails only among those tribes whose marriages are performed according to religious tenets. There is no such restriction for those whose marriages are not thus performed.

239. The reason of the above restrictions seems to be this — that as the father makes a vow to forsake everything that he gives as dower to his daughter, and it is not permissible to appropriate anything that has been once given up, so he does not even take meals at his son-in-law’s house; for everything in the house of the latter is affected by the things given by the former. For the same reasons, a jijmda (disciple) of a Brähman cannot take food in the house of that Brähman.

LXXII. — Pronouncing Names and Words.

240. The names of elder relatives are not pronounced out of respect for them. The younger relative does not pronounce the name of the elder, but the elder can call the younger by name. For instance, a son does not pronounce the name of his father, mother-in-law, or elder brother, out of regard for them, and considers them more sacred than others.

241. There is no fear of magic or charm. The name is not pronounced only out of respect.

242. Many men do not pronounce, in the course of a conversation, the name of the chief or of a deceased person. The chief is mentioned by his title, and the deceased by his relationship.

243. Words or subjects denoting contempt, licentiousness, drinking, etc., are not spoken in the presence of a chief, or elder, or respectable person.

LXXXIII. — Courtesy Titles.

244. The following are the titles used by different castes. An inferior person will call a superior one by his customary title. Men of equal rank can call each other by name:


Titles of Bápúts: — Rájá, Mahárájá, Ráñó, Maháráná, Thákur, Kaúwar, Mián, Ráthi, Rangár, Rává, Dád, Sártrá.

Titles of Bánás: — Sháh, Sét.

Titles of Kanaits: — Mukhá, Wázír, Méhta, Mehr, Négi, Párá.

Other tribes have ordinary titles according to their professions, and they need not be dwelt upon.

An inferior person will address a superior one with the following words: — Pandítá, Jóshía, Mahárájá, Rájá, Sáhib, Ráná Sáhib, Sháhí, Mukhíyájí, and so on.

LXXXIV. — Agricultural Superstitions.

245. (1) It is prohibited to plough land on the amás (last day of moon), ekdaśha (eleventh day of moon), or any other important festival. If at the time of ploughing, a snake be killed by the ploughshare, it is forbidden to go on ploughing without purifying it.

At the time of seed sowning the following matters are regarded as necessary: — (a) That the sower be under the good influence of the moon; (b) That there be no evil mákšáttar (star), tithí (date) or jóg (combination of stars); (c) That the day be neither Tuesday nor Saturday.
(2). The following things are regarded as necessary, both at the time of sowing and of harvest: —

The people generally are very careful of panjak jóg, Tuesday; Saturday; amas puranmāshā (full moon) and shankrānt at the time of seed sowing and harvesting; but they do not care for evil stars and jōgs. If it rains a day or two after seed sowing it is considered ominous. The same is thought of rain at harvest, or of excessive rain at the time of planting a corn-field or one or two days after it, or of rain on the night of janamastami or puranmāshā in Ĥār or amās in Bhādōn.

Ordinarily, land is ploughed twice, but good farmers plough it thrice, i.e., first in lines parallel to the length of the field; secondly, crosswise from one corner to the other; and thirdly, also crosswise from the third corner to the fourth. The advantage of this is that the soil which remains unturned by the first ploughing is turned by the second, and thus the whole of the field is uniformly made fit for the crops to grow.

A long post is fixed in the field and a bone, or the skin of some animal, is hoisted on this post as a scare crow. Beasts being afraid of it, do not come near and injure the crops. It is also believed to be a safeguard against ghosts or the evil eye.

246. Feasts are given to the Brāhmans at the time of digging a well, or a water-channel, or harvest. When a well or a water-channel is ready, the Brāhman is made to offer prayers, and after this they are used for watering purposes. When the harvest has commenced a big wheaten loaf is brought to the field and distributed among all the men present, or a goat is sacrificed and taken home. When corn is separated from the chaff it is collected in a large heap and worshipped, and a portion of it is set aside for the go. The scrapings are stored in bags or boxes. The people do not use fresh corn without feeding a Brāhman with it. Also some grain is devoted to the deceased ancestors, with which Brāhmans are fed. At the end of the year — i.e., at the end of the kharif season, when all the crops have been garnered — the people of the village bring their god from his temple with great ēlaut and worship him and sacrifice to him a goat. All the persons accompanying the god and saints and mendicants are fed. Generally this entertainment is given by several villages from the month of Bhidōn to Mahāgh, and is called bhadrinā, kalan, jāyā, panill pehā or maĝhōjī.

247. Sowing for the rabi crops begins in Astō and ends in Pōh, and that for the kharif continues from Chēt to Ĥār. The reaping of crops begins in Baisākh and ends in Ĥār for the rabi, and that for the kharif begins in Astō and ends in Maghar. Sowing and reaping not done at the proper time is defective, and excess or want of rain on both these occasions is harmful.

248. There are no special gods for special seasons.

249. No tribe has any particular god, nor is caste of any importance in becoming a disciple. People can worship any god they choose.

LXXV. — Food and Drink.

250. A detail is given below of the use, or otherwise, of wine, bêf, the flesh of a monkey, pork, cloven-hoofed or uncloven-hoofed animals' flesh, fowls, fish with or without scales, shark, snake, mice, and other insects, and food of which another person has been eating.
Ved Pathi Brāhmans or those living in plains, Bhāṛās, Baniās, Khshatriyas, and Bairāgi mendicants neither eat nor touch any of these articles.

Brāhmans of the hills, Rājpūts, Sūdas, Brāhrās, Kanaits, goldsmiths, Jats, barbers, gardeners, milkmen, potters, masons, washermen, dyers, carpenters, smiths, Thathēra or Bharērās, minstrels or Tūrs, or Dākis, and Dhādis, if Saivas or Saktaks, eat the flesh of animals and use wine; if Vaishnavas, they do not.

The Saivas use the following: — Wine of all sorts; flesh of goats, either male or female; flesh of male sheep; pork; flesh of wild fowl; fish of every kind. There is no rule for the use or otherwise, of the flesh of animals with cloven or unclawen hoofs. Some men eat the flesh of cloven hoofed animals, and others do not. The same is the case with animals with cloven hoof and wild birds. The flesh of the peacock, crow, kāṃsakarī, heron, and kite, etc., is not used.

The Chanāls, Kōlās, minstrels, shepherds, sweepers, cobbler, sailors or boatmen, and weavers use beef; the flesh of buffaloes, pork, flesh of cloven-hoofed and unclawen-hoofed animals, except those mentioned above; and the flesh of a snake, jackal, or a mouse.

No tribe eats anything of which a person of another tribe has been eating. Also men of the same tribe do not use food left after eating by another person. If a person of low caste be in the service of a person of high caste, then he can eat the food left by his master. A wife can use the food left by her husband, and children can use food left by their parents or elder brothers.

251. Some men do not take meat in the rains. They do not use cold things in winter, and warm things in summer.

252. It is forbidden by religion to take meat in the rains. In other seasons some things are not used in order to preserve health.

253. Widows and small children do not use meat. There is no difference between men and women, minors and adults, poor and rich, in taking or rejecting other foods.

254. None but the Chanāls and low castes use the flesh of monkeys, elephants, cows, oxen, herons, etc., for they are regarded as belonging to the gods.

LXXXVI. — Dining Customs.

255. Among the Hindus none but Kayasthās eat together. Every adult person eats on a separate table. Minor boys and girls can take food with their parents, but only as long as they are six or seven years old.

256. Men and women do not eat together among the Hindus.

257. After the food is ready, a little of everything cooked is set apart for the god, and some of it is consigned to the fire of the hearth. Then it is laid before all the men. Every man puts aside, from his own plate, some portion for a cow, and a little is given to the crows and dogs. Some is put in the fire, and the rest is eaten.

258. There is no peculiarity concerning eating and drinking, except that it is an ancient custom.
LXXVII. — Stimulants and Medicines.

259. Stimulants and medicines are indifferently used. Some men do not use medicines prepared by a doctor who is of a low caste. Medicines, containing anything the use of which is prohibited by religion, are not used. No particular custom deserves mention.

260. People use wine at the time of the Holi or on any other happy occasion.

261. Wine is often used as a preventive of epidemics, like cholera, etc.

262. Drinking and use of other stimulants is regarded in the following manner by people:

(1) Excessive drinking is badly thought of, if it produces lowness of spirits and brain fever. If it is used in small quantities, so as not to bring on excitement, or not to retard the ordinary course of business, then it is considered no harm to drink.

(2) The use of charas and ganja (intoxicating hemp drugs) is considered wicked.

(3) Use of opium to prevent some bodily disease or infirmity is not thought badly of, but otherwise it is looked down upon.

(4) To smoke chandu (a hemp drug) is considered wrong.

(5) The use of bhang (a light hemp drug) in summer as a cooling draught is thought good.

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

THE SEASONS OF GIRDHAR SADHU.

By the Poetess Saneeri Sakhi.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Girdhar, banâl bajt; Shâm, terî Awâz sunkar main dauri.</td>
<td>Girdhar, thy lute sounded; Shâm, hearing the sound I hastened to thee.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rimjhim rimjhim mehâ barseh tat: Jamnâ par lagî jhart.</td>
<td>Heavily, heavily fell the rain: I hastened to the Jamnâ.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pahlâ mahînâ Asârî lagiyâ; merî dîl ho rahâ bborangi.</td>
<td>I.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pañčîs, joihî sabhî bajh liye; bajh liye râmtâ jhojî.</td>
<td>The first month June has come; my heart is in a turmoil.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girdhar, banâl bajî, &amp;c.</td>
<td>Priests, astrologers, all have I consulted; I have consulted the wandering jogi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dârâ mahînâ Sâwan lagiyâ; haryâlî ho rahî jangal mën.</td>
<td>II.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dam dam par yâd karân; thî jhurwät apne mahsân mën.</td>
<td>The second month July has come; the grass is green in the woodlands.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girdhar, banâl bajî, &amp;c.</td>
<td>Every moment I recall them; there was suffering in my palace.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhâdeo mahînâ it ghan garje, dhamak tarîn, chhatýân larzen.</td>
<td>III.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wâ, Man Mohan, kâthori mere dîl kâ, dard kol nahi hî bõjhî.</td>
<td>In the third month August the clouds thunder, and the lightning falls and the heart grieves.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girdhar, banâl bajî, &amp;c.</td>
<td>Alas, Man Mohan, fascinator of my heart, no one considers my pain.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Girdhar, thy lute sounded, &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
IV.
Asoj । lāgi rahi, Sakhi । ri; ājhu । nā aye Har । Krishnā.
Tulsi । ki mālā leke hāth men, Rām Rām rātā । rātnā.
Girdhar, banaś baji, &c.

V.
Kātik karm-bhāg mere chūke nāhín mile Nand ke । lālā.
Mukat । ki lātak mere man bas ga! । ri Mohan- । mālā!
Girdhar, banaś baji, &c.

VI.
Manghur māṅ bharī nākak se, sab zēwar merā । sone kā.
Ajhun । na । ae. । Kin barnā? । Barā andēshā hai । pl ka.
Girdhar, banaś baji, &c.

VII.
Poh pīyā mad māti dōlen, jūn Sāwan ki hai । bijnī.
Palpal । bars parā; pal bite; jūn bite, jūn jān । sahāye.
Girdhar, banaś baji, &c.

VIII.
Moh mahinā man merā aēkā: Har darshan ki hūn । pīyāsī.
Afrāt apnā sir morī; ajhun । na । ae Birj-bāsī.
Girdhar, banaś baji, &c.

IX.
Phāgan phāg khel Man Mohan; 'abir, gulāl, uđe । roll;
Kersar rang ki kich bahi hai; lipat jhapat khelen । Holi.
Girdhar, banaś baji, &c.

X.
Chet mahinā at mohe chintā lagī; bhāl ghar nā । sōjhe.
Prān pati pīyārē, Man Mohan, bilā darshan kof । na pāchhe.
Girdhar, banaś baji, &c.

XI.
Baisakh mahinā sab sakhl milkar, Dewal pūjan । men jātī.
Shām mile to sab dukh bichhen, utal ho mērī । chhātī
girdhar, banaś baji, &c.

XII.
Jēth mahinā tapēn deotā bhēch Puhār Kushāvartī, । Sanvīr Sakhi । par kirpā kījī; ān milēn Mathrā- । bāsī.
Girdhar, banaś baji, &c.

IV.
September has commenced, O Sakhi; Har । Krishnā has not yet come.
I take my tūli garland in my hand to repeat the । name of Rām again and again.
Girdhar, thy lute sounded, &c.

V.
In October my heart grieves that I have not met । the son of Nand.
The brilliancy of his crown has filled my heart;
Oh the Mohan necklace!
Girdhar, thy lute sounded, &c.

VI.
In November I have braided my hair, and put on । all my golden jewels.
Yet he comes not. Who has deceived him?
Great is the anxiety in my heart.
Girdhar, thy lute sounded, &c.

VII.
In December my love is filled with pride, like the । lightening of July.
The separation of a year has passed; I suffer the । separation; as I suffer, so my life passes.
Girdhar, thy lute sounded, &c.

VIII.
In January my heart is in love; I am athirst । for a sight of Har.
The spring is set; yet the dweller in Brij comes । not.
Girdhar, thy lute sounded, &c.

IX.
In February Man Mohan has come to play; 'abir, । 'gulāl and rollī are used;
Saffron has fallen lavishly; leaping and dancing । they play at the Holī.
Girdhar, thy lute sounded, &c.

X.
In March my heart is grieved; pleasure comes । not to my house.
The master of my life, Man Mohan, has not । asked to see me.
Girdhar, thy lute sounded, &c.

XI.
In April all my companions go together to the । Diwālī festival.
If I meet Shām, all my trouble is eased and peace । enters my breast.
Girdhar, thy lute sounded, &c.

XII.
In May the gods do penance on Kushāvartī Hill.
Do Sanvīr Sakhi a favour that she may meet the । dweller in Mathrā.
Girdhar, thy lute sounded, &c.

1 The red powder thrown by the people on one another at the Holī.
2 A mixture of rice, turmeric and alum with acid used to paint the forehead.
3 Saffron ambergris.
A PLAN FOR A UNIFORM SCIENTIFIC RECORD OF THE
LANGUAGES OF SAVAGES.

Applied to the Languages of the Andamanese and Nicobarese.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE.

(Continued from p. 251.)

III. 35

THE THEORY OF UNIVERSAL GRAMMAR APPLIED
TO THE NICOBARESE LANGUAGE.

Prefatory Remarks.

The Nicobarese speak one Language in six Dialects so different as to be mutually unintelligible to the ear. These six Dialects are, from North to South, Car Nicobar, Chowra, Teressa, Central, Southern, and Som Peh (vide Map attached).

The chief place of European residence has always been Nancowry Harbour, where the Central Dialect is spoken and hence that Dialect is by very far the best known. Therefore, except where otherwise specially stated, all examples and all vernacular words quoted are taken from that Dialect. Diacritical marks have not been used, except where unavoidable.

The works of Prof. Kuhn, Grünwedel, Vaughan Stevens, and Peter W. Schmidt were not available to me while writing this Grammar.

I. — GENERAL DESCRIPTION.

a. — History of the Study.

The Nicobarese Language in the Central Dialect has been long since studied. Vocabularies, collections of sentences, and partial Grammars of this Dialect have been made at intervals by various missionaries and others from 1711 onwards — the two Jesuit Fathers Faure and Bonnet in 1711; Surgeon Fontana of the Austrian vessel Josef und Therésia in 1778 (published 1795); G. Hamilton in 1801; the Danish missionary Rosen in 1831–4; Fathers Chabord and Plaisant (in Teressa) in 1845; Fathers Babe and Lacrampe in 1846; Dr. Rink in the Danish vessel Galathea in 1846; the Austrian Novara Expedition in 1857 (published in 1862), with additions by de Roepstorff and others under Colonel H. Man; Maurer in 1867; Mr. A. C. Man in 1869; comparative statement by V. Ball of all information up to 1869; Mr. E. H. Man in 1871 onwards; F. A. de Roepstorff in 1876 onwards; Dr. Svoboda of the Austrian Aurora Expedition, 1886 (published 1892).

Ten Vocabularies and a translation into the Central Dialect of 27 Chapters of the Gospel of St. Matthew were made by the Danish Moravian missionaries (Herrnhuter) in 1768—87. These are still preserved in manuscript at Herrnhut, and were partially embodied in de Roepstorff's posthumous Dictionary of the Nancowry (Central) Dialect, 1884; a capital book with valuable appendices, requiring, however, retransliteration for English readers.

b. — Man's Enquiries into the Central Dialect.

But the latest and best attempt to reproduce this Dialect is Mr. E. H. Man's Dictionary of the Central Nicobarese Language, 1889. This contains also a brief and valuable attempt at the Grammar and a Comparative Vocabulary of all the Dialects. The system of transcription adopted is the very competent one of the late Mr. A. J. Ellis. Mr. Man had the advantage of all the labours of his predecessors, together with a much longer residence in the islands than any of them and better means of locomotion. To these he has added the accuracy and care which distinguish all his work. In this Article, therefore, his book has been followed for the facts of the language and the forms of its words, and all the examples given in it are culled from the great number of sentences he has recorded. For the mode of presentation I am, however, responsible, as Mr. Man attempted in his Grammar to explain the language exclusively from the current English view of Grammar, rather than to present its character as a scientific study.

The other Dialects only find a place in Mr. Man's studies and are still but little known, no one with sufficient scholarly equipment or inclination having ever resided on any of the islands for the time necessary to study them to the extent that has been possible at Nancowry.

35 Largely reprinted with additions and many corrections from Chapter IV, Part II, of the Census Report: India, 1901, Vol. III.
c. — Philological Value.

The Nicobarese speak one language, whose affinities are with the Indo-Chinese Languages, as represented nowadays by the Mon Language of Pegu and Annam and the Khmer Language of Cambodia amongst civilised peoples and by a number of uncivilised tribes in the Malay Peninsula and Indo-China. It has affinities also with the speech of the tribes in the Peninsula, who are generally classed as “wild Malays” (Orang-utan and Orang-bukit), so far as that speech has come under the old influence of the Indo-Chinese Languages. The Nicobarese language is thus of considerable value philologically, as preserving, on account of isolation and small admixture with foreign tongues for many centuries, the probable true basis for the philology of the Languages of the Indo-Chinese Family.

d. — Dialects.

The language is spoken by 6,300 people in six Dialects, which have now become so differentiated in details as to be mutually unintelligible, and to be practically, so far as actual colloquial speech is concerned, six different languages. These dialects are limited in range by the islands in which they are spoken —

2. Chowra (population 522).
3. Teressa with Bompoka (population 762).
4. Central — Camorta, Nancowry, Trinckut, Katbhal (population 1,693).
5. Southern — Great Nicobar Coast and Kondul, Little Nicobar and Pulo Milo (population 192).

e. — Mutual Unintelligibility.

Although it can be proved that the Nicobarese Language is fundamentally one tongue, yet the hopeless unintelligibility of the dialect of one Island to the ear of the people of another may be shown by the following example:

Car Nicobar.

\[ \text{em paiak\text{\text{"u}}} \text{ dra ch\text{\text{"i}}} \text{m kd t\text{\text{"o}}} \text{rik} \]

\[ \text{don't afraid not I eat man} \]

Central.

\[ \text{wot m\text{\text{"e}}} \text{ pak\text{\text{"o}}} \text{ chit obus\text{\text{"e}}} \text{ ten p\text{\text{"a}}} \text{y\text{\text{"a}}} \]

\[ \text{don't you afraid I-not eat to man} \]

Sense of Both.

Don't be afraid! I don't eat men! (I am not a cannibal).

f. — Foreign Influence.

In spite of the aptitude of the people for picking up such foreign tongues as they hear spoken, quite a few foreign words have been adopted into their speech. Examples are —

**From Portuguese.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Nicobarese</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Nicobarese</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>boot</td>
<td>shapata</td>
<td>cask</td>
<td>pipa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>book, paper</td>
<td>labar</td>
<td>elephant</td>
<td>liffanta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hat</td>
<td>shapoo</td>
<td>rupee</td>
<td>rupia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>copper money</td>
<td>Sasta Maria</td>
<td>shaman, sorcerer</td>
<td>pater</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;God&quot;</td>
<td>Dease, Ros</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>salt</td>
<td>shal, sal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**From Hindustani.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Nicobarese</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cup</td>
<td>mongko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buffalo</td>
<td>kao</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cat</td>
<td>koching</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[28] The \text{\text{"i}}} \text{wipot} \text{p\text{\text{"e}}} \text{t, p\text{\text{"e}}} \text{t being the Sanskrit \text{\text{"b}}} \text{d\text{\text{"a}}} \text{ through some Indo-Chinese form.}
Only a century ago Portuguese was the trade language of the islands, with a sprinkling of Danish, German, and English. Malay and Chinese were both so before the Portuguese day, and now English, Burmese, and Hindustani are well understood. Indeed, the nature of the trade at any given island can be tested by the foreign languages best understood there. E.g., on Car Nicobar, Burmese is best understood, and then English and Hindustani; Malay and the other Nicobarese dialects not much. On Chowra, Hindustani, Tamil, Malay, and English are spoken to a limited extent, and there is a trading knowledge of the other Nicobarese dialects, except Shom Peñ. On Teressa, Malay, Burmese, and English are the languages, with the dialects of Chowra and the Central Group. In the Central Group they talk Hindustani, Malay, English, Chinese, and a little Burmese, with the dialects of the South and Teressa. In the Southern Group they talk Malay, Hindustani, Chinese, and English, with the Central Dialect.

The women know only their own dialect, and are dumb before all strangers. And here, as elsewhere among polyglot peoples, natives of different islands sometimes have to converse in a mutually known foreign tongue (e.g., Hindustani, Burmese, Malay, or English), when unable to comprehend each other's dialects.

g.—Effect of Tabu on the Language.

There is a custom of tabu, which in the Nicobars, as elsewhere when it is in vogue, has seriously affected the language at different places, at least temporarily. Any person may adopt any word, however essential and common, in the language as his or her personal name, and when he or she dies it is tabooed for a generation, for fear of summoning the ghost. In the interval a synonym has to be adopted and sometimes sticks, but that this is not very often the case is shown by a comparison of the Vocabularies published or made in 1711, 1787, 1876, and 1889, which prove that the language possesses a stability that is remarkable in the circumstances of its being unwritten and therefore purely colloquial, spoken by communities with few opportunities of meeting, and subject to the changing action of tabu.

h.—Method of Speech.

The Nicobarese speech is slurred and indistinct, but there is no abnormal dependence on tone accent, or gesture to make the meaning clear. The dialects are, as might be expected, rich in specialised words for actions and concrete ideas, but poor in generic and abstract terms.

i.—A Highly Developed Analytical Language.

Nicobarese is a very highly developed Analytical Language, with a strong resemblance in grammatical structure to English. It bears every sign of a very long continuous growth, both of syntax and etymology, and is clearly the outcome of a strong intelligence constantly applied to its development. Considering that it is unwritten and but little affected by foreign tongues, and so has not had extraneous assistance in its growth, it is a remarkable product of the human mind. There is no difference in the development of the different dialects. That of the wild Shom Peñ is as "advanced" in its structure as the speech of the trading Car Nicobarese.

j.—Nature of Growth.

The growth of the language has been so complicated, and so many principles of speech have been partially adopted in building it up, that nothing is readily discoverable regarding it. The subject and predicate are not at once perceptible to the grammarian, nor are principal and subordinate sentences. The sentences, too, cannot at once be analysed correctly, nor can the roots of the words without great care be separated from the overgrowth. Neither syntax nor etymology are easy, and correct speech is very far from being easily attained.

k.—Order of the Words.

Grammatically the point to bear in mind is the order of the words, which is practically the English order, especially as functional inflexion is absent. to help the speaker to intelligibility, and there is nothing in the form of the words to show their class, whether nouns, verbs, adjectives, and so on. Prepositions, conjunctions, auxiliaries, adverbs, and the "particles" of speech are freely used, and so are elliptical sentences. Compound words and phrases, consisting of two or more words just thrown together and used as one word are unusually common, and the languages show their Far Eastern proclivities by an extended use of "numeral co-efficients."
1. — Difficult Etymology.

The great difficulty in the language lies in the etymology. Words are built up of roots and stems, to which are added prefixes, infixes, and suffixes, both to mark the classes of connected words and to differentiate connected words when of the same class, i.e., to show which of two connected words is a verb and which a noun, and to mark the difference in the sense of two connected nouns, and so on. But this differentiation is always hazily defined by the forms thus arrived at, and the presence of a particular classifying affix does not necessarily define the class to which the word belongs. So also the special differentiating affixes do not always mark differentiation.

Again the affixes are attached by mere agglutination, in forms which have undergone phonetic change, and by actual inflexion. Their presence, too, not unfrequently causes phonetic change in, and inflexion of, the roots or stems themselves.

The chief peculiarity of the language lies in a series of "suffixes of direction," indicating the direction (North, South, East, West, above, down, below, or at the landing-place) in which action, condition, or movement takes place. But even suffixes so highly specialised as these are not by any means only attached to words, the sense of which they can and do affect in this way.

It is just possible that "North = up there; South = down there; West = below; East = in towards" have reference to the original migrations of the people, because the general direction of a migration, still in steady progress, of half-civilised tribes of considerable mental development on the Northern Barmese frontiers is North to South regularly. But this point would require proof.

It is thus that only by a deep and prolonged study of the language, one can learn to recognise a root, or to perceive the sense or use of an affix, and only by a prolonged practice could one hope to speak or understand it correctly in all its phases. Nicobarese is, in this sense, indeed a difficult language.

m. — Specimens of the Speech.

The following sample sentences in the Central Dialect will sufficiently exhibit the manner of Nicobarese speech.

The abbreviation c.i.r. = connector of intimate relation, a point to be explained later on. By translating it "in respect of" the sense of the Nicobarese sentences in which it occurs becomes clear.

Sample Sentences in the Central Dialect.

1. 
   "ane inkat lamang ten chiua"
   that knife belong to I
   (that knife belongs to me).

2. 
   "inkat ia shong ot"
   knife c.i.r. sharp is
   (the knife is sharp).

3. 
   "bare one noang shaneh kwomhata ten chiua"
   both that thing spear give to I
   (give me both those spears).

4. 
   "steak postbare kemhong en an"
   sleep always noon c.i.r. he
   (he is always asleep at noon: the Nicobarese idiom is however really "noon (is) always asleep for him").

5. 
   "an chiuh harra halau lle kan de"
   he go see buy cloth wife own
   (he has gone to see about buying cloth for his wife).

6. 
   "leit sthau—chahd-lehore chia oal kaiyi de"
   did greet—face—paper (read aloud) I in road own
   (I read it aloud while I was travelling).
7. etch—chaya—dehara chúa tanang tu am
read—aloud I arrived c. i. r. he
(his child arrived while I was reading aloud).

8. harra ta chúa da ta ftiowa tai
see c. i. r. elder-brother own c. i. r. beat by
chúa an kenyum leat chúa
father his child did cry
(his child cried on seeing its elder brother beaten by its father).

9. chúa ftiowa tai an ta òng òlhaki
I beat by he c. i. r. past-of-today morning
(I was beaten by him this morning).

10. peixe st iñ st ta ofe
some old cloth has c. i. r. they (more than two)
(they have some old cloth).

11. bato? yawang kamutoka kaka ta washe
how-many? persons dancers present c. i. r. last-night
(how may dancers were there last night?)

12. an hat boan men
he not child you
(his is not your child).

13. oal kopip men ta ngong
in box you c. i. r. nothing
(there is nothing in your box).

14. ane kanyut halau men lóngto-tén cht?
that coat buy you from who?
(from whom did you buy that coat?)

15. chúa oklagnitó an kágbó ta ìt chúa
I permit he live c. i. r. hut I
(I let him live in my hut).

16. chúa lóap kíchèl
I can swim
(I can swim).

17. línkèn cht lóap okagib taisa ta
to-day I-not can eat because sick
(I cannot eat to-day because I am sick).

n. — Bibliography.

Books.

1867. Maurer, Die Nikobaren (valuable Bibliography: English, Danish, and German,
1799—1763).
1870. Selections from the Records of the Government of India, No. LXXVII, Nicobar Islanders
(valuable Bibliography).
1875. De Roepstorff, Nicobar Vocabulary: Calcutta Government (valuable references
French, Danish, and German).
1884. De Roepstorff, Dictionary of the Nanowry Dialect: Calcutta (valuable references to
Danish works).
II. — GRAMMAR.

a. — The Theory of Universal Grammar.

I will now proceed to discuss the Nicobarese Language on the lines of the Theory of Universal Grammar already explained, using the Central Dialect for the purpose, and avoiding diacritical marks, except where necessary to the context. The familiar grammatical terms will be inserted in brackets beside the novel ones used, whenever necessary, in order to make statements clear in a familiar manner.

b. — Example of Sentences of One Word.

The Nicobarese, like all other peoples, can express a complete meaning or sentence by an integer or single word, or by a phrase representing a single word: but they do not use this form of speech to excess. Thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Central Dialect</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Central Dialect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>oh</td>
<td>ēyakare</td>
<td>lor</td>
<td>tochangtō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alas</td>
<td>ēyakare</td>
<td>there</td>
<td>hah-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oh</td>
<td>ē</td>
<td>what a pity</td>
<td>hōh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dear me</td>
<td>ē</td>
<td>go on</td>
<td>chial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ah</td>
<td>ē</td>
<td>no saying</td>
<td>aiyapa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ugh</td>
<td>ē-hū-hū-hūh</td>
<td>who knows</td>
<td>aiyachū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hush</td>
<td>ē-hū-hū-hūh</td>
<td>what's that?</td>
<td>kashi?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tut</td>
<td>ē-ēn-ēn-ēn</td>
<td>thingummy (doubt)</td>
<td>chinda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pooh</td>
<td>ēh</td>
<td>thingembob (doubt)</td>
<td>chündanda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hurrah,</td>
<td>ē-hā-hā</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bravo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

o. — Subject and Predicate.

Nicobarese sentences, when of more than one word, are usually, but not always, clearly divided into subject and predicate, as can be seen from an examination of the sample sentences above given. Thus:

P = predicate ; S = subject. The numbers below refer to the sample sentences.

1. ane (S) inaot (S) lamang (P) ten (P) chua (P).
2. inaot (S) ta (S) shong (S) ot (P).
3. ane (P) ane (P) noang (P) shanen (P) kwomhata (P) ten (P) chua (P) (Not expressed).
4. an (S) chua (P) harra (P) halau (P) loe (P) kan (P) de (P).
5. leat (P) etchna-chiaka-lebare (P phrase) chua (S) oal (P) kaiyi (P) de (P).
6. etchna-chiaka-lebare (P phrase) chua (S) tanang (P) ta (P) an (P).
7. chua-ta-chau-de-ta-finowa-tai-chia (S phrase) an (S) kenyum (S) leat (P) chim (P). (Here "hara — etc. — chia" is a phrase, "see (ing) elder-brother beaten by father," in the subject part of the sentence).
8. chua (S) finowa (P) tai (P) an (P) ta (P) ong (P) olhaki (P).
(10) paitšhe (S) [shi (S) le (S) ot (P) ta (P) ole (P)].
(11) katom (S) yuang (S) kamatoka (S) kakat (P) ta (P) wahe (P).
(12) an (S) hat (P) koan (P) me (P).
(14) aue (P) kanyut (P) halau (P) men (S) longten (P) chi (P).
(15) chua (S) oklakngato (P) an (P) kato (P) ta (P) nil (P) chua (P).
(16) chua (S) leap (P) kichal (P).
(17) linhen (P) chit (S) leap (P) okngok (P) taina (S) tu (P).

Two of the sample sentences present a peculiarity in expressing Subject and Predicate.

(4) itəek poatore kəmheng en an asleep always noon c. i. r. he

This can be properly and directly translated, "he is always asleep at noon"; but the Nicobarese idiom runs in English, "noon is always asleep for him," the predicator (verb) "is" being unexpressed. So that the sentence is properly divided thus — itəek (P) poatore (P) kəmheng (S) en (P) an (P).

(13) oal həyət ep me (P) ta ngəŋ in box you c. i. r. nothing

Here we have both Subject and Predicate in an elliptical form, and in English, though translateable at once as "there is nothing in your box," the sentence really runs "(the contents, not expressed) in your box (are, not expressed) as nothing." So that neither the subject nor the Predicator (verb) are expressed, but we have instead merely a phrase explaining the subject placed in apposition to another phrase illustrating the predicate. The sentence, in fact, as it stands, consists of an explicator (adjective) phrase, placed in apposition to an illustrator (adverb) phrase, and is divided elliptically thus — oal-hoptep-men (S) ta-ngəŋ (P).

d. — Principal and Subordinate Words.

The words in the sample sentences are also clearly, but not readily, divisible into principal and subordinate. Thus:

(1) aue (sub.) inaat (prin.) in the subject: lamang (prin.) ten-chua (sub.) in the predicate.
(2) inaat (prin.) ta-kəmheng (sub.) in the subject.
(3) all the words are sub. to kowomhata in the predicate.
(4) itəek poatore en-an are all sub. to a predicator (verb) unexpressed.
(5) loe kan de are all sub. to chua-harrajalau (prin.) in the predicate.
(6) leat (sub.) etcha-ahaka-lebare (prin.) oal-kaiyi (sub.)
(7) here are two separate sentences — the first has one word in each part, and in the second ta and an are sub. to lamang in the predicate. In full analysis the first sentence is an illustrator (adverb) phrase illustrating the predicator (verb) in the second.
(8) in the subjective part harra-ta-chau-de-to-finowa-tai-chia and an are sub. to kənym and so is leat to chim in the predicate.
(9) all the words in the predicate are sub. to a predicator (verb) unexpressed.
(10) paitšhe and shi are sub. to loe in the subject and ta-gef to ot in the predicate.
(11) katom-yuang are sub. to kamatoka in the subject and ta-wahe to kakat in the predicate.
(12) all the words in the predicate are sub. to a predicator (verb) unexpressed.
(13) in this sentence oal-hoptep-men are sub. to an indicator (noun) unexpressed in the subject and ta-ngəŋ to a predicator (verb) unexpressed in the predicate. The whole of the words actually expressed are thus subordinate.
(14) all the words in the predicate are sub. to halau.
(15) all the words in the predicate are sub. to oklakngato.
(16) leap is sub. to kichal in the predicate.
(17) here again are two sentences joined by taina, because. In the first linhen and leap are sub. to okngok in the predicate. In the second taina is sub. to chua (L) unexpressed in the subject, and tu to a predicator verb unexpressed in the predicate.
e. — Functions of Words.

The next stage in analysis is to examine the functions of the words used in the sample sentences, and for this purpose the following abbreviations will be used:

Abbreviations Used.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>int</th>
<th>integer.</th>
<th>intd</th>
<th>introducer.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>in</td>
<td>indicator.</td>
<td>r. c.</td>
<td>referent conjunctor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>explicator.</td>
<td>r. s.</td>
<td>referent substitute.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>predicator.</td>
<td>c. in.</td>
<td>complementary indicator.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ill</td>
<td>illustrator.</td>
<td>c. e.</td>
<td>complementary explicator.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>connector.</td>
<td>c. ill</td>
<td>complementary illustrator.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The sample sentences can then be further analysed thus —

(1) ane (e) inoat (in) lamang (p) ten (c) chua (r. s. as c. in).
(2) inoat (in) ta (c) — shong (e), the whole an e. phrase) ot (p).
(3) ane (e) aye (c. e.) noang (c. e.) sham (c. in) kwomhata (p) ten (c) — chua (r. s. as in), the whole an ill. phrase).
(4) itake (s) pootore (jill) kamheng (in) en (c) an (r. s. as in): itake-pootore-en-an- from an ill. phrase).
(5) an (r. s. as in) chuk (p) — harra (p) — halau (p), the whole a p. phrase)
(6) leat (p) — etoai (p) — chaha (c. in) — lahu (c. in), the whole a p. phrase)
(7) chua (r. s. as in) oal (c) — kaiyi (in) — de (e), the whole an e. phrase).
(8) harra (p) — ta (c) — chau (c. in) — de (c. e.) — ta (c) — fano (e) — tai (c)
(9) chia (in), the whole an e. clause) an (e) kenym (in) leat (p) — chin (p), the whole a p. phrase).
(10) chua (r. s. as in) fanoa (e) — tai (c) — an (r. s. as in), the whole an e. phrase)
(11) paito (c) — shi (e) los (in) ot (p) ta (c) — ofe (r. s. as in), the whole an ill. phrase).
(12) hat (e) kuan (c. in) men (e).
(13) oal (c) — koptep (in) — men (r. s. as c, the whole an e. phrase of subject unexpressed) ta (c) — ngong (in), the whole an ill. phrase of predicate unexpressed).
(14) ane (c. in) kanyut (c. in) halau (p) men (r. s. as in) longtoet (c) — chi (r. s., the whole an ill. phrase).
(15) chua (r. s. as in) oklahngato (p) an (r. s. as in) — kato (p), the whole c. in phrase) ta (c) — shi (in) — chua (r. s. as c, the whole an ill. phrase).
(16) chua (r. s. as in) lea (p) — kichal (p, the whole a p. phrase).
(17) lehem (ill.) chit (r. s. as in) lea (p) — obngok (p, the whole a p. phrase) taire (r. c. tu (c).

f. — Purpose of Sentence Indicated by the Position of the Components.

It will be seen that the purposes of the sentences thus analysed are as under —

(1) Affirmation — Nos. 1, 2, 15, 16, 17.
(2) Denial — Nos. 12, 13.
(3) Interrogation — Nos. 11, 14.
(4) Exhortation — No. 3.
(5) Information — Nos. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10.

The sample sentences cover, therefore, the whole range of all speech as regards purpose, and analysis shows that the Nicobarese rely on the position of the words in the sentence to indicate its purpose, that no special order is observed for differentiating any particular purpose, and that the position of the words is in their language of the greatest importance for the intelligibility of the sentences. That is, Nicobarese is a language that indicates purpose mainly by the position of the components of the sentences.
g. — Order of the Words in the Sentences.

Another analysis of the sample sentences will, therefore, now be made to show what the order of the words in Nicobarese sentences is.

I.

Subject precedes predicate, but for emphasis can follow it:

**Preceding:**

1. *ane-inoot* (S) *lamang-ten-chua* (P)
   and so always, except
3. *etchi-chaka-lebare* (P) *chua* (S) *tanang-ta-an* (P)

II.

Subject, predicate, complement (object).

1. *ane-inoot* (S) *lamang* (P) *ten-chua* (C).
2. But the order is reversed for emphasis.
   (14) *ane-banyut* (C) *halau* (P) *men* (S) *longoten-chi?* (P).

III.

Explicator (adjective) precedes indicator (noun); or follows it, usually with a connector (preposition), but also without a connector. Thus:

(a) **Preceding indicator (noun):**

1. *ane (e) inoot (in) lamang ten chua.
2. *anre (e) ane (e) noang (e) shanen (in) kwomkata ten chua.
3. *steak (e) poatore (ill.) kamkeng (in) en an.
4. *pasitha (e) shi (e) loe (in) ot ta ofe.
5. *harran ta chau (in) de (e, without c.) ta (c) finowa (e) tai chia an kenyum leat chim.

(b) **Following indicator (noun) with connector:**

2. *inoot (in) ta (c) shong (e) ot.
3. *harran ta chau (in) de (e, without c.) ta (c) finowa (e) tai chia an kenyum leat chim.

(c) **Following indicator without connector:**

5. *an chuk harra halau loe han (in) de (e).
6. *chua (in) finowa (e) tai an ta ong ozhaki.
7. *an (in) hat (e) koan (in) men (e).
8. *oal hoptep (in) men (e) ta nong.

(d) **Following indicator (noun) with and without connector:**

8. *harran ta chau (in) de (e, without c.) ta (c) finowa (e) tai chia an kenyum leat chim.

IV.

Illustrators (adverbs) usually follow, but sometimes precede, predications (verbs).

(a) **Follow:**

3. *anre anoo noang shanen kwomkata (p) ten-chua (ill. phrase).
4. *an chuk-harra-halau (p) loe han-de (ill. phrase).
5. *etchi-chaka-lebare-chua (ill. phrase) tanang-ta-an (p. phrase).
6. *pasitha shi loe ot (p) ta-ote (ill. phrase).
7. *kathom yang kamatoka kahat (p) ta-wae (ill. phrase).
8. *ane kanyut halau (p) men longoten-chi (ill. phrase).

(b) **Precede:**

17. *limen (ill.) shi lea-dongok (p.)

But illustrators (adverbs) follow explicators (adjectives).

4. *steak (e) poatore (ill.) kamkeng en an.
9. *chua-finowa-tai-an (e. phrase) ta-ong-ozhaki (ill. phrase).
13. *oal-hoptep-men (e. phrase) ta-nong (ill. phrase).
V.

Connectors (prepositions) precede the words they connect with preceding words.

(a) Connecting predicador (verb) with complement (object):

1. ane inoat lamang (p) ten (c) chu (C).
2. ane ane noang shan en kwoomaha (p) ten (c) chu (C).
3. harra (p) ta (c) chu (C) de ta finowa tai chu an kenyum leat chim.

(b) Connecting predicador (verb) with ilustrator (adverb):

4. iteh poaot koamheng en (o) an (r. s. for ill. phrase). (p. unexpressed).
5. chu finowa tai en ta (c) ong-olahki (ill. phrase).
6. stiehe ko loe ot (p) ta (c) ofe (r. s. for ill. phrase).
7. katem yuang kamakaha kohat (p) ta (c) wahe (ill).
8. oal hopet-men ta (c) ngung (in. as an ill. phrase): (here ill. is connected with p. unexpressed).
9. an kanyut halo (p) men longtole (c) ohi (r. s. for ill. phrase).
10. chu finowa an kato (p) ta (c) ni-chu (ill. phrase).

(c) Connecting ilustrador (pronum) with explicador (adjective):

2. inoat (in) ta (c) kong (c) ot.
3. leat-ea-ta-chaba-leba chu (in) oal (c) kai-ide (e. phrase).
4. harra ta chu-de (in) ta (c) finowa (e) tai chu an kenyum leat chim.
5. oal (c) hopet-men (e. phrase connected with in. unexpressed) ta ngung.

(d) Connecting explicador (adjective) with ilustrador (adverb):

6. harra ta chu de ta finowa (e) tai (c) chu (in) an kenyum leat chim.
7. chu finowa (e) tai (c) an (in) ta ong ohahi.

VI.

Referent conjonctors (conjunctions) commence a sentence connected with a previous one.

17. linneh chu leap oke hoped (first sentence) taina (r. c.) tu (second sentence).

VII.

Interrogatory Speech.

Introducers (adverbs) commence sentences.

kodi na itil?
when he here? (p. unexpressed).
(when will he be here?)

chi yò kaihian?
who wish pig-hunt?
(who is going to hunt pigs?)

chun othoan ongufieng on chu?
which tree cut-down c. i. r. I?

(church shall I cut down?)

chi làng an?
what name he?

(church name?)

chàang làng an?
what name it?

(what is its name?)
Questions are, however, usually asked by means of an interrogatory prefix, *ka, kd, kan* meaning "what?" attached to the subject of the sentence. In every such case the usual place of the subject is not changed. *E. g.*

*ła:* mén *kd-án?*
younger-brother you he?
(is he your younger-brother?)

*štата́re* *ka-*mén? *ta* lín-hén
return you? c. i. r. morning
(will you return this morning?)

*mên-gаyon* *ka-en-*kōn? mén
quite-well c. i. r. child? you
(is your child quite well?)

*md̀h* ka-*mén? hēng *shud* mén *Lṑng*
ever you-not? one time you Great Nicobar
(have you never once been to Great Nicobar?)

As in many languages, there is an interrogative introducer (adverb) *āh*, which expects an affirmative answer. *E. g.*

*āh? na ła:* mén
yes? he younger-brother you
(isn't he your younger-brother?)

*āh? mén* iteákla *ta* lín-hén
yes? you drowsy c. i. r. morning
(aren't you drowsy this morning?)

*āh? mén* hēng
yes? you one
(surely you got something?)

The following uses of *ka*, when prefixed to a word, show the system of the Nicobarese language well:

*meá* itú̀a *Lṑng* *ka-hańáh?*
you visit Great Nicobar no?
(will you visit Great Nicobar or not?)

*meá* hēu *ka-āh?* *ka-hańáh?*
you see yes? no?
(you saw it, didn't you?)

*āh?* *ka-mén?* yiang *en* chū̀a olyöl. *āh* *ka-hańáh?*
yes? you? with c. i. r. I say yes no?
(are you coming with me? say, "yes or no").

*ka-shti?* na *ka-āh?* ?7
fool? he yes?
(what a fool he is!)

*ka-shti?* me *ka-āh?*
fool? you yes?
(what a fool you are!)

*ka-shti?* cha *ka-āh?*
fool? I yes?
(what a fool I am!)

---

?7 These three sentences express impatience at anything carelessly done.
VIII.

Referent Substitutes (Pronouns).

Referent substitutes (pronouns) follow the place of their originals—

(1) ane inoot lamang ten chua (r. s. as in).
(4) tseal poatere kamheng en an (r. s. as ill. phrase).
(5) an (r. s. as in) chṵ harra halou loe kan de.
(8) an (r. s. as e.) kenyum leat chia.
(9) chua finowa tai an (r. s. as ill. phrase) ta ong olhoki.
(10) paithhe shi loe ot ta ofe (r. s. as ill. phrase).
(12) an (r. s. as in) kat koan men.
(13) oal hoptep men (r. s. as e.)
(15) chua okkakngato an (r. s. as in) kata ta ní chua (r. s. as e.)
(16) chua (r. s. as in) leap kicbak.
(17) linhen chit (r. s. as in) leap okngok tain tu.

The ordinary referent substitutes (pronouns) are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Referred to</th>
<th>Personal Pronouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>chúa</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meh</td>
<td>thou (you)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>an, na</td>
<td>he, she, it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heh, chaai</td>
<td>we-two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hō, chiōi</td>
<td>we</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chúa, meh, an are ordinarily inflected also to cha, me, ch. E.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Referred to</th>
<th>Personal Pronouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hendun</td>
<td>ta ch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>awake</td>
<td>c. i. r. he</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is further inflexion of all the "personal pronouns" with hat, not, in negative sentences. Thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Referred to</th>
<th>Negative &quot;Personal Pronouns&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>chit</td>
<td>I-not</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>met</td>
<td>thou-not</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>net (and hat)</td>
<td>he-not</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heh-hat</td>
<td>we-two-not (in full, to distinguish from the next)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>het</td>
<td>we-not</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inat</td>
<td>you-two-not (in full, to distinguish from the next)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ifēt</td>
<td>you-not</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>onat</td>
<td>they-two-not (in full, to distinguish from the next)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ofēt</td>
<td>they-not</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Inflexion of some of these words appears again in the questions used when startled. Thus:

chúa ? kane ? what ? that ? (what was that?) (kane ?= ka ? + ane)
chúa ? kifē ? what ? you ? (what was that?) (kifē ?= ka ? + ifē)

So, too, in greetings: et-chai-chakd (greet-face), greet; then (et-) chai-chakd-ka (greet-face-indeed), or (et-) chai-cha-rokat (greet-face-now). Then further—

met-chai ? how d’you do ? (met= meh + et)
ināt-chai ? how do you, you two ? (ināt= na + et)
ifēt-chai ? how d’you do, all of you ? (ifēt= ifē + et)

Another common inflexion of the same type may be noticed here, though it does not belong to this place: wōt, don’t, for wi-hat (do-not).
h. — Order of Connected Sentences.

Connected sentences are usually joined by referent conjunctors (conjunctions) and in such cases the principal sentence is followed by the subordinate.

(17) *linhen* obit leop okungók (principal sentence) taina (r. c.) tu (subordinate sentence).

*ata* mehn milah laok taina *chua* yó

*iteh* sleep (sub. sentence)

(go and play outside, because I want to sleep).

*patyók* hat dóh kafo ká *heh* minkósha

man not can dance (prin. sentence) when sing

kó-ha *solemn-chaunt* (sub. sentence).

(one cannot dance, when singing the solemn chant).

Referent substitutes (pronouns) are often, though not always, used in both of two consecutive sentences. Thus:

*ka*, who, which,

*ch*tchi, ya, whoever

*kae*, whatever

in the prin. sentence with *ch*na, the same, in the sub. sentence.

Except when thus used *ch*na should therefore be regarded as a referent conjuctor (conjunction).

i. — Expression of Connected Purposes.

But the tendency of the Nicobarese in indicating connected purposes by speech is to treat the subordinate sentence as an integral part of the principal, and to avoid breaking up speech into separate sentences connected by referent conjunctors (conjunctions). E. g.

(6) *leat* etchái-chaka-lebóre chua oal kaiyi de
did read-aloud I in road own

There are two connected purposes in the sentences of this statement: (1) "I read aloud," (2) "while I was travelling." But the Nicobarese treats them as one by turning the subordinate sentence *oal-kaiyi-de* into an explicator (adjective) phrase attached to the subject "chua, I."

(7) etchái-chaka-lebóre chua tanang *ta* an
read-aloud I arrive c. i. r. he

Here the two connected purposes of the statement are more apparent. The information is (1) "I was reading aloud," (2) "he arrived." But the Nicobarese has treated the subordinate sentence *etchái-chaka-lebóre chua* as an illustrator (adverb) phrase of the principal sentence *tanang ta an*.

(8) *hárta* ta chua de *ta* finawa tai chía
see c. i. r. elder-brother own c. i. r. beat by father

*an* kenyum *leat* chía
his child did cry

Here we have (1) "his child cried," (2) "on seeing its elder-brother beaten by its father." But the subordinate sentence *hárta ta chau de ta finawa tai chía* is treated by the Nicobarese as an explicator (adjective) phrase of the subject *an kenyum.*
j. — Expression of the Functions and Interrelation of Words.

It will have been observed that the Nicobarese express the interrelation of the components of their sentences by functional connectors (in their case prepositions), which form, therefore, an important part of their speech. Thus:

1. lamang ten chua
   belong to I

2. inaet ta shong ot
   knife c. i. r. sharp is

3. kwunhata ten chua
   give to I

4. steak kahmya en an
   asleep noon c. i. r. he (is)

5. leat etchai-chaka-lebare chua oal kaiyi de
   did read-aloud I in road own

6. harra ta chau de la finowa ta chia
   see c. i. r. elder-brother own c. i. r. beat by father

7. chua finowa tai an ta ong othaki
   I beat by he c. i. r. past-of-to-day morning

8. paiihe shi loe ot ta ose
   some old cloth possess c. i. r. they

9. how-many? persons dancers present c. i. r. last-night

10. oal hopetep men ta mong
    in box you c. i. r. nothing

11. ane konyu halau men longtoto chia
    that coat buy you from who

12. chua oklakngato an kato ta ni chua
    I permit he live c. i. r. but I

k. — Connectors (Prepositions).

The functional connectors (prepositions) and connector-phrases are necessarily numerous and their use quite simply expressed. The commonest are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CENTRAL DIALECT</th>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
<th>CENTRAL DIALECT</th>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ten, an, ta, tatai</td>
<td>to, at, on (object)</td>
<td>yó, en, at, kat</td>
<td>to (place)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tai</td>
<td>by</td>
<td>enyáh</td>
<td>at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>őal, őál</td>
<td>in</td>
<td>pat, taihit, hatyöl</td>
<td>after</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yól, yang, hokaio</td>
<td>with</td>
<td>hatyiang</td>
<td>} without</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lòngto, longtoto,</td>
<td>} from</td>
<td>kàe</td>
<td>concerning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngatai, yang,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lòngtota, chaká,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lamongtotai</td>
<td>}</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngashí</td>
<td>about, in relation</td>
<td>yóna-tá-kàe</td>
<td>} for, account of,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>henshát-kàe</td>
<td>to</td>
<td></td>
<td>} sake of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mongyùangüe</td>
<td>for, place of</td>
<td>hshangchük</td>
<td>among</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tanük</td>
<td>between</td>
<td>talashàk</td>
<td>along-side</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oyùhíta</td>
<td>beneath</td>
<td>haròh-tömàrre</td>
<td>except</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta-tangtatai,</td>
<td>till, until</td>
<td>tamang</td>
<td>as-far-as</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bnxangetaij</td>
<td>as-well-as</td>
<td>tamat</td>
<td>during</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>okàlhàre</td>
<td>across</td>
<td>yóbène</td>
<td>through (a solid)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A good example of their use is the following:

he took-away-south paddle from c. i. r. in canoe I

(he took away to the South the paddle out of (from inside of) my canoe).
1. — Connectors of Intimate Relation.

The only class of connectors (prepositions) that presents any difficulties is that of the connectors of intimate relation. These are *ta, en, pan* and may be translated "in respect of, as, as for, as to, regarding, as regards, with reference to, concerning, for" according to the context. They are used for connecting:

(1) indicator (noun) with its explicator (adjective).

- *indat ta shong òt*
  (the knife is sharp).
- *paiyũh ta urahatše dák*
  (many men came).
- *kenyũm tai an ta fiňowə*
  (the child was beaten by him).

(2) subject and its predicate.

- *yuchãh pan chũa go-home I*
  (I am going home).
- *paiše homkwũm en meĩ ten chũa some give thou to I (give me some).
- *oal hoptẽp meĩ ta ngong in box you nothing (there is nothing in your box).

(3) explicator (adjective) with its illustrator (adverb).

- *iteak kũmheŋ en an asleep noon he (noon is asleep for him, i.e., he sleeps at noon).
- *chũa fiňowə tai an ta ong I beat by he past-of-to-day morning (I was beaten by him this morning).
- *hat òt lẽe ta oal hoptẽp an not is cloth in box he (there is no cloth in his box).

(4) predicating (verb) and its complement (object).

- *harrə ta chũa dẽ se see elder-brother own (seeing the elder brother).
- *paišše eũt lẽe òt ta ofə some old cloth have they (they have some old cloth).
- *wĩ an eĩ ta linheũ make it to to-day (make it to-day).
- *chũt leŋp wĩ an eĩ I-not can make it to (I cannot make it).
The Nicobarese, however, have no idea of using connectors (conjunctions) merely for joining two words together. They cannot express "and" or "or" without a paraphrase. Thus:

- *āne ninā an—anāwa an homkowm*
- *that this it—anther he give*
  - (he gives this and that).
- *an dāk bōhakt halān en chūa*
- *he come morning no I*
  - (he will come in the morning: no: (then) I, i.e., he or I will come in the morning).

**n. — Order of the Words is the Essence of the Grammar.**

But the great point of the speech is the position of the words and that comes out clearly in the following instances from the sample sentences, where the words are simply thrown together.

- *an chūa harra halau lē kān de*
  - (he has gone to see about buying cloth for his wife).
- *an hat kōon meh*
  - (he not child you)
  - (he is not your child).
- *āne kānyūt halau meh lōngtēm chī?
  - that coat buy you from who?
  - (from whom did you buy that coat?)

It would be impossible to make such sentences intelligible, except by the order of the words. The same principle of simple collocation in a certain order is adopted in elliptical connected sentences.

- *ool hōptēp mēh ta ngong*
  - in box you c. i. r. nothing
  - (there is nothing in your box).

Simple collocation of words, in a fixed order, determining the functions and classes of each is very common in the language.

- *chīa kan chūa*
  - father wife I = my wife's father
- *kān chīa meh*
  - wife father you = your father's wife
- *dāk chāng chūa*
  - canoe own I = my own canoe
- *
- *hōptēp chāng chīa kān chūa*
  - box own father wife I
  - (my wife's father's own box).

**n. — Expression in Phrases.**

The habit just explained comes out strongly in the simple collocation of appropriate words to express the various phases of action or condition necessarily connected with predicators (verba). Thus:

**Table of "Auxiliaries" to "Verbs."**

- **oribata**
  - beat
- **wót ori** (wót for wē hat, do not)
  - don't beat
- **chīa ori**
  - I beat (I am beating)
- **chīa yángshítō ori**
  - I busy beat (I was beating)
- **chīa leśt yángshítō yangā ori**
  - I finish busy just-now beat (I had been beating)
- **chīa yangā ori**
  - I just-now beat (I have just beaten)
- **chīa leśt ori**
  - I finish beat (I have beaten, I did beat)
- **chīa ori leśtngare**
  - I beat entirely (I had beaten)
- **chīa yō ori**
  - I wish beat (I will beat)
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chüa enyäh ori
chüa alde ori
lák (and shök) chüa ori
chüa léap ori
chüa döh ori
döhta chüa ori
chüa kaiyáhtashe ori
haröh-ta-yande-chüa ori

I afterwards beat (I shall beat)
I just-now beat (I am about to beat)
let I beat (let me beat)
I can beat
I able beat (I may (perhaps) beat)
duty I beat (I must (ought to) beat)
I permit-from-some-one beat (I may, i.e., have the power to, beat)
expect-continue I beat (I might beat)

So with the really ellipsed form oris, beaten, where the predicator (verb) is unexpressed.

E. g.

chüa leät oria
chüa yö oria
chüa döh oria

I finish beaten (I was beaten)
I wish beaten (I shall be beaten)
I can beaten (I may be beaten)

and so on.

All this shows that the Nicobarese have no idea of "active" and "passive voices," the expression of the various natural phases of action and condition being merely with them a question of the collocation of certain conventional appropriate words.

o. — Numeral Coefficients.

The habit of collocating conventional words in phrases comes out in another important point in the Nicobarese language. There is, in common with all Far Eastern languages, but carried to a far greater extent than usual, a kind of explication (adjective) employed in Nicobarese, known to grammarians as the "numeral coefficients," attached with numerals to indicators (nouns), when the numerals themselves are used as explicatives (adjective). Thus, one cannot say in Nicobarese "one man," but one must say "one fruit man": i.e., one must not say hāng enkiña, but hāng yüang enkiña. The numeral coefficient is always collocated with the words to which it is attached between the numeral and the thing enumerated.

Table of Numeral Coefficients.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Car Nicobar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1) for human beings and spirit-scaring figures (karaau).</td>
<td>taka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yüang (fruit)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kōi (head)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tat, tat-yüang, tat-kōi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) for animate moving objects, eggs, parts of the body, domestic and other objects that are round.</td>
<td>mōng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nōang (cylinder)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) for fruit.</td>
<td>taka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nōang-yüang</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4) for flat objects, cooking-pots and fishing-nets.</td>
<td>tāk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tāk (wide)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5) for dwellings and buildings.</td>
<td>mōnti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hēn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6) for trees and long things.</td>
<td>mōd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chanang</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7) for ships and boats.</td>
<td>nōng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dan′i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8) for bamboos used for keeping shell-lime.</td>
<td>kōiha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hīnia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(9) for bunches of fruit, but for single pine-apples or papaya.</td>
<td>lamondha, tum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fōm (bunch)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(10) for bundles of pandanus-paste.</td>
<td>manoal, mokōha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Another set of numerical coefficients for "pair" is used in the same way.

estaal pair of coconuts, rupees, edible birds' nest.
tak pair of bamboos for shell-lime.
amok pair of cooking pots.

This principle is carried rather far in the following instances:
amok is also used for two pairs of bamboos for shell-lime.
oksetap is a set (4 to 5) of cooking pots.
moaan is a set of ten pieces of tortoise-shell.

Example—lo moaan oksetp, three sets of tortoise-shell, i.e., 30 pieces.

Numerical coefficients appear again in yet another way in the following instances:
tanai shud, five times, but

tanai kotatai five times (for hammering and hand work)
dh kochat two times (for jumping)
foon kongalx four times (for going)
lo koengs three times (for talking, singing)
foon koshtakxl four times (for eating, drinking, feeding)
issli koshiaha seven times (for washing, bathing)

p. — Elliptical Sentences.

Elliptical sentences are very common: the obvious predicate being usually unexpressed.
tise ak postor koamheng an e, noon (is) always asleep for him.
an hat koan me, he (is) not your child.

q. — Analytical Nature of the Language.

We can now perceive generally how the Nicobarese mind regards speech. A Nicobarese
has no idea of using variation in the external form of words to denote the functions of the sentences and the interrelation of the component words, but uses position and special additional words (connectors) for those purposes: nor does he use anything but position to indicate the functions of his words. He must consequently, to make himself intelligible, rely mainly on the order of his words, in the sentence, which thus becomes of the greatest importance to him. His language is, therefore, essentially a Syntactical Language of the analytical variety. Briefly it may be described as an Analytical Language.

r. — Order of Speech.

To the Nicobarese instinct the logical order of speech for all purposes is as follows:

(1) subject before predicate.
(2) subject, predicate, complement (object).
(3) explicator (adjective) before indicator (noun) or with connector (preposition) after indicator.
(4) illustrator (adverb) after predicative (verb) or explicator (adjective).
(5) connector (preposition) before the word it connects with another.
(6) referent conjunct (conjunction between connected sentences) and introducers (interrogative adverb) before everything.
(7) referent substitutes (pronouns) follow the position of their originals.
(8) the principal sentence precedes the subordinate.

The Nicobarese has to adhere strictly to this order, and can only vary it when the inherent qualities of the words used allows him to do so for emphasis or convenience; as when he makes the subject follow the predicate, explicator (adjective) follow indicatory (noun) without connector (preposition), illustrator (adverb) precedes predicative (verb) or explicator (adjective). He has very complicated methods, without using functional variation of form, of indicating the nature and class of his words, and these necessarily form the chief point for study in the language as regards the structure of its words.

s. — Classification of Words Depends Primarily on Position in the Sentence.

Primarily there is nothing in external form, which necessarily denotes the function or functions of a word in a sentence and, therefore, its class or its inherent qualities, i.e., its nature. Nor is there primarily anything in external form to show that a word has been transferred from one class to another. That is, properly the class of a word is known by its nature or by its position, and its transfer from one class to another is shown by its position.

I have said above "primarily" and "properly," because, like all speakers of highly developed languages, as analytical languages must necessarily be, the Nicobarese follow one principle of language chiefly and others in a minor degree. So, as will be seen later on, it is possible in many, though not in by any means all, cases to classify Nicobarese words by their form.

Examples of the effect of position on the class of a word.

lóa, "quick," explicator (adjective) is transferred to illustrator (adverb)
"quickly" by position.
mitā "false," to "falsehood."
chang, "own," predicative (verb) to "own," explicator (adjective).
hen, "time" to referent conjunct (when).
kapāgato, "remember" to "mindful."
pāngato, "forget" to "forgetful."
kōdōkō, "another" to "otherwise (differently)." kunatō, "noteful" to "early" illustrator (adverb).
hoi, "far" explicator (adjective) to "far" illustrator (adverb).

Words of the same form with totally different meanings according to class are known by position. Thus:

kāto as explicator (adjective) means "silent": as a predicative (verb) it means "dwell."
tautal as an indicatory (noun) means "pair": as a numeral explicator (adjective) or indicatory (noun) it means "six."
tā as an indicatory (noun) means "touch": as an explicator (adjective) it means "flat."
kōdē as an indicatory (noun) means "moon": as an referent conjunct it means "when."
yō means "if," "wish" (verb), "to," "thither" according to its position in the sentence, E. g.

(yō) meañ yō yō Pa
if you wish to Car Nicobar.
(if you wish to go to Car Nicobar).
t.—Phrases (Compound Words) Classed as Words.

Phrases (compound words) formed of several words thrown together without connectors are very common. They are treated in the sentence precisely as simple words.

Indicator Phrases (Compound Nouns).

heu-hatôm time-night, night-time.
paizôh-olchôa man-jungle, jungle-man.
kôi-henyûan head-hill, hill-top.

Explicator Phrases (Compound Adjectives).

karû-fâp big-side, corpulent.
yô-huyôie wish-drunk-make, intoxicate.

Predicative Phrases (Compound Verbs).

alde-shiang just-now-sweet, become sweet.

The use of such phrases (compound words) as single words is proved by the following examples:

I. Roots: rû, shade; kôi, head. Then

(1) ha-rû-ngare go into the shade
    pref. shade suff.

(2) ha-rû-kôi take shelter
    pref. shade head

(3) ha-rû-ya-kôi-re shade the head
    pref. shade suff. head suff.

In this case we have:

(1) root + pref. + suff. (simple word).
(2) root 1 + root 2 + pref. (compound word).
(3) root 1 + pref. + suff. = first word (+) root 2 + suff. = second word, the whole being a compound word. The third case shows clearly that the whole compound is looked upon as one word grammatically constructed.

II. Roots: tum (lost r.), tie; êdh, leg. Then

(1) tum-a-êdh tied by the leg (simple word)
    tie suff. + leg

(2) om-tum-êdh tie the legs (compound word)
    pref. tie + leg

III. Roots: tum (lost r.), tie; kodî, arm.

(1) tum-a-kodî tied by the arms, pinioned (simple word)
    tie suff. arm

(2) om-tum-kodî tie by the arms, pinion (compound word)
    pref. tie + arm

III.—ETYMOLOGY.

a.—Classification of Words Depends Primarily on Their Order in the Sentence.

It has been already noted that the Nicobarese relies mainly on the position and inherent qualities of his words, i.e., on their nature, for a complete expression of his meaning, and that there is nothing in the external form of the words which necessarily indicates their class, or

---

This root is seen again in such words as tohm-ti, tohm-môi, collect, gather: ha-tôm, assemble.
whether a word, as used in a sentence, belongs to its original class or has been transferred to another. That is, there is nothing to show that lěop, can, and wě, do, are predicators (verbs), or that osōhū, till, is a connector (preposition), or that dūe, canoe, and kōi, head, are indicators (nouns), except their actual meaning.

Again, there is nothing to show when the indicator (noun) chūa, I, is transferred to explicator (adjective) "my," or when lōo, quick, explicator (adjective) is transferred to illustrator (adverb) "quickly," or when leēit, did, predicator (verb) is transferred to illustrator (adverb) "already," except their position in the sentence.

b.—Classification of Words Depends Secondary on Form.

But, nevertheless, the Nicobarese have means of indicating the class to which a word has been transferred, or to which of two or more classes connected words in different classes belong, and of differentiating connected words belonging to the same class. They can thus make their speech clearer than would be possible, if they entirely trusted to the mere collocation of their words.

c.—Form Created by Radical Prefixes, Infixes, and Suffixes.

The Nicobarese manage to differentiate connected words by adding, in various complicated ways, affixes of all the three sorts,—prefixes, infixes, and suffixes,—to simple stems or roots. The affixes are, therefore, none of them functional, but are all radical, and the words consist of simple stems, or of compound stems (stems made up of a root or a simple stem plus radical affixes). The Nicobarese carry this principle through a great part, but not through all of their language, and have by its means built up a complicated but uncertain system of radical and derivative words, and have rendered their language a very difficult one to analyse and to speak, or to understand, correctly.

d.—Use of Radical Affixes: Agglutinated, Changed, and Inflected.

The radical affixes usually employed to indicate transfer of stems from one class to another, i. e., to create words of different classes connected with each other, those to which the affixes are added being necessarily "derivatives" of the others, are as follow. It will be seen, from what follows later, that they are added—

1. by mere agglutination, i. e., unchanged form:
2. by changed form:
3. by clipped form, i. e., by inflexion.

Table of Radical Affixes of Transfer.

(Mr. Man gives many more.)

Prefixes.
ka ha na ma men en op o la lan lok fuk

Infixes.
ma am an e

Suffixes.
a o yo yan la nga hat

e.—Use of the Radical Affixes of Transfer.

The following examples will exhibit the use of the radical affixes of transfer:

Abbreviations used in the following tables:
in. class for nouns (indicators) ill. class for adverbs (illustrators)
e. class for adjectives (explicators) c. class for prepositions (connectors)
p. class for verbs (predicators)
Radical Affixes of Transfer added by Agglutination.

**Prefixes.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>c. class</th>
<th>ha</th>
<th>in. class</th>
<th>men</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yōl (with)</td>
<td>to p. class</td>
<td>to e. class</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na</td>
<td>na-yōl (mix fluid)</td>
<td>men-kōn (having many children)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wā (blood)</td>
<td>na-wā (bleed)</td>
<td>la</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in. class</td>
<td>ma</td>
<td>in. class</td>
<td>la-ok (behind, following)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. class</td>
<td>to in. class</td>
<td>ok (back)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>huyōie (drunk)</td>
<td>ma-huyōie (drunkard)</td>
<td>in. class</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>en</td>
<td>to in. class</td>
<td>ill. class</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. class</td>
<td>en-pōya (seat)</td>
<td>yōl (together)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pōya (sit)</td>
<td>op</td>
<td>in. class</td>
<td>ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. class</td>
<td>to in. class</td>
<td>to in. class</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lōp (cover the shoulders)</td>
<td>op-lōp (shawl)</td>
<td>ka-yōl (friend)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in. class</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>in. class</td>
<td>lan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fōndg (window)</td>
<td>o-fōndg (to open)</td>
<td>to p. class</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. class</td>
<td>hen</td>
<td>in. class</td>
<td>lōk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taiyōa (to plait)</td>
<td>hen-taiyōa (basket)</td>
<td>to p. class</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lain (revolve)</td>
<td>hen-lain (wheel)</td>
<td>to p. class</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Suffixes.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>p. class</th>
<th>ma.</th>
<th>p. class</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pa-hōa (to fear)</td>
<td>to in. class, pa-ma-hōa (coward)</td>
<td>to e. class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>po-mōzn (to fight)</td>
<td>pa-ma-mōzn (warrior)</td>
<td>k-am-ān (having children)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pōn-dōp (die)</td>
<td>pa-ma-dōp (corpse)</td>
<td>ch-am-ōha (property)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. class</td>
<td>to in. class, ka-ma-rū (adult)</td>
<td>to e. class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka-rū (large)</td>
<td>ka-ma-rū (adult)</td>
<td>ch-am-ōha (property)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in. class</td>
<td>to e. class</td>
<td>ch-am-ōha (property)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pu-yōl (hair)</td>
<td>pa-ma-yōl (hairy)</td>
<td>ch-am-ōha (property)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in. class</td>
<td>to in. class</td>
<td>am</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dōk (come)</td>
<td>to in. class, d-am-dōk (guest)</td>
<td>t-dōk (to measure)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t-dōk (to measure)</td>
<td>t-am-dōk (fathom)</td>
<td>to in. class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ch-unōga (visit a jungle)</td>
<td>ch-am-unōga (a visitor of a jungle)</td>
<td>p. class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. class</td>
<td>to in. class</td>
<td>kt-dōk (to measure)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k-ońg (strong)</td>
<td>to in. class</td>
<td>w-tit (make-hut, build)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. class</td>
<td>to in. class</td>
<td>w-am-tit (frame-work of hut-roof)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sh-ta (to whistle)</td>
<td>ch-am-unōga (a visitor of a jungle)</td>
<td>to e. class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sh-ta (lift by a handle)</td>
<td>ch-am-ōha (property)</td>
<td>ch-am-unōga (a visitor of a jungle)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. class</td>
<td>to in. class</td>
<td>ch-am-ōha (property)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sh-an-tashe (old)</td>
<td>to in. class</td>
<td>ch-am-ōha (property)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Suffixes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>p. class</th>
<th>a</th>
<th>nga</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ngānąg (employ)</td>
<td>ngānąg-a (employed)</td>
<td>p. class to e. class dōk (can) dōk-nga (suitable)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. class</td>
<td>to in. class</td>
<td>in. class to p. class kaiyā (road) kaiyā-nga (go away)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>top (drink)</td>
<td>top-a (beverage)</td>
<td>(ol) chūa (jungle) chūa-nga (go into) (visit) a jungle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. class</td>
<td>to p. class</td>
<td>yan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>orēk (first)</td>
<td>orēk-a (begin)</td>
<td>in. class to e. class oyāu (cocoanut-tree) oyāu-yan (lonely)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. class</td>
<td>to e. class</td>
<td>hat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oti (beat)</td>
<td>oti-a (beaten)</td>
<td>e. class to in. class paich (small) paich-hat (a little)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in. class</td>
<td>to e. class</td>
<td>yo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭōp (side)</td>
<td>ṭōp-o (fat)</td>
<td>in. class to p. class dūe (canoe) dūe-yo (travel in a canoe)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. class</td>
<td>to e. class</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>la</td>
<td>stēak (sheep) stēak-la (sleepy)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. class</td>
<td>to in. class</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leit (finish)</td>
<td>leit-a (finish) (final memorial feast)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Radical Affixes of Transfer added in Changed Form.

Prefixes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>p. class</th>
<th>change of ma to mo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hūlu (see)</td>
<td>mo-hūlu (long-sighted)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in. class</td>
<td>to p. class hōd-wan (net fish)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wan (net)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>p. class</th>
<th>change of on to an</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p. class</td>
<td>to in. class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ol-) ola (speak) (in)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. class</td>
<td>change of on to in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ol-) ola (speak) (in)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. class</td>
<td>to in. class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ol-) ola (speak) (in)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Infixes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>p. class</th>
<th>change of am to om</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p. class</td>
<td>to in. class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p-em (drink) p-em-em (drunkard)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w-i (make) w-i-em (maker)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. class</td>
<td>change of an to on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. class</td>
<td>to in. class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chōngkōi (tall) chōngkōi (tall)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hōt (to chisel) hēt (a chisel)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in. class</td>
<td>change of an to in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in. class</td>
<td>to in. class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in. class</td>
<td>to in. class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in. class</td>
<td>to in. class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dātan (run) dātan (run)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shōm-yo (fill a sack) shōm-yo (fill a sack)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>p. class</th>
<th>change of a to wa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p. class</td>
<td>to in. class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hōlau (buy) hōlau-wa (a purchaser)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>p. class</th>
<th>change of a to ya</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p. class</td>
<td>to e. class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miyai (value) miyai-ya (costly)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Suffixes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>p. class</th>
<th>change of a to ha</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p. class</td>
<td>to in. class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dētan (run) dētan (run)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in. class</td>
<td>change of o to yo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in. class</td>
<td>to e. class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hōtai (weapon) hōtai-ya (armed)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in. class</td>
<td>to p. class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dāe (canoe) dāe-ya (travel in a canoe)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We have here a very interesting set of words to exhibit word-building: (ol)-chūa, jungle; chūa-nga, visit a jungle; chūa-nga, a jungle; chūa-nga, a visitor of a jungle.
Radical Affixes of Transfer added by Inflexion.

**Prefixes.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>p. class</th>
<th>in. class</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ha</td>
<td>to in. class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ounkûm (gift)</td>
<td>h-ounkûm (give)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma inflected to m</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>enlûana (exorcise)</th>
<th>m-ènlûana (exorcist)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>iûs (visit)</td>
<td>m-iûn (visitor)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>orû (first)</td>
<td>m-orû (first person)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>omûn (all, the whole)</td>
<td>n-omûna (flock, crowd)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

f. — Correlated Radical Affixes of Transfer.

The Nicobarese also indicate the classes, to which connected words derived from lost or obscure roots belong, by a system of correlated radical affixes of transfer.

**Prefixes.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>lost or obscure root</th>
<th>p. class</th>
<th>to in. class</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>heiû</td>
<td>ha-heiû (to hook up)</td>
<td>hen-heiû (hooked pole)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>het</td>
<td>ha-het (to strain)</td>
<td>hen-het (strainer)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ôiû</td>
<td>hu-ôiû (drunk)</td>
<td>hen-ôiû (drunkard)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shin</td>
<td>ka-shin (to prop)</td>
<td>ken-shin (a prop)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tûk</td>
<td>ka-tûka (to dance)</td>
<td>ken-tûka (a dance)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shûng</td>
<td>ka-shûng (to fish in slack water)</td>
<td>ken-shûng (a weir)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kûkû</td>
<td>tom-kûkû (pierce)</td>
<td>ten-kûkû (lancet)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sûalû</td>
<td>tom-sûalû (tie a pair of coconuts)</td>
<td>ta-sûal (a pair)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hûnû</td>
<td>kom-hûnû (to trap fish)</td>
<td>ken-hûnû (a trap)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A good instance of the use and force of correlated radical affixes of transfer is the following: — Obscure or lost root, taûnû: then taûn-ya, plaiting: en-taûn-ya, plaited: hen-taûn, basket: ha-taûn-ya-paiûdhû, crosswise.

Instructive examples of the effect of correlated affixes of transfer on the forms of connected words are the following, where a prefix has been added to the lost root of one of two connected words and an infix to the other. Thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>lost or obscure root</th>
<th>p. class (pref. used)</th>
<th>to in. class (inf. used)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dû</td>
<td>o-dû (beat with stick)</td>
<td>d-anû (cudgel)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kûshû</td>
<td>i-kûshû (sing)</td>
<td>k-anû-biûhe (song)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

That the lost root in the latter case is really kûshû in the last case is shown by momû-kûshû (maker-song), a singer.

g. — Inflexion of Affixes.

It is probable that there is more inflexion than at first appears in the existing forms of the radical prefixes. Thus in the case of the correlated radical prefixes —

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>hen may be taken to be ha + en</th>
<th>to be ta + om (for am)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ka + en</td>
<td>pa + an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ten</td>
<td>pa + en (for an)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

h. — Duplication of Affixes.

The existence of such inflexion would make one suspect the common existence of duplicated radical affixes, and that this is the case the following instances go to show: —

1. *en-lûana* (exorcise): *m-en-lûana* (exorcist). Here the root is *lûna* and the prefix *men* is certainly an inflected form of *ma + en*, two separate prefixes.

2. *kûnn* (child): *ka-m-an-lûana* (a generation). Here the root is *k-kûn*, and the inflexion *am-an* is certainly *am-an*, two separate inflexions.

3. *he-en-taûn* (basket): *m-en-taûna* (basketful). Here the root is *taûn* and the prefixes *hen* and *men* are certainly inflected forms of *ha + en* and *ma + en*, respectively.

There is also a prefix of transfer, *kala*, which seems certainly to be made up of *ka + la*.

Thus, *hûî* (far): *kala-hûîya* (sky).

---

39 Here seems to be a strong instance of the inflexion to which affixes can be subjected: *w*, make: *w-om-un* (maker, which also takes the form of *m-om-un* for *w*) or *w-[s]-om-un* ( *ma + w + om + s* ).
Duplication of suffixes is very common: e.,

Lapā~yan (well): lapā~yantō (glad), Dī (bulk): dī-ngareshe (all absent from anything, entirely wanting in): here the suffix is double (ngare + she) or more probably treble (ngare + re + she).

The proof will be seen in the following examples:

\[\begin{align*}
\text{set-ha} & \quad (\text{to take out}) & \text{owt-ha} & \quad (\text{to screw in}) \\
\text{kaichuat-ha} & \quad (\text{to dig up}) & \text{tuak-hai} & \quad (\text{to drag}) \\
\text{lenkdh-ha} & \quad (\text{to plant}) & \text{èp} & \quad (\text{to transplant}) \\
\text{lenkdh-nga} & \quad (\text{to plant}) & \text{èp} & \quad (\text{to transplant}) \\
\text{owt-hahat} & \quad (\text{to screw in}) & \text{tuak-haihê} & \quad (\text{to drag it}) \\
\text{kaichuat-hahat} & \quad (\text{dig it up}) & \text{tapai-haihê} & \quad (\text{spit it out}) \\
\text{lenkdh-hahat} & \quad (\text{plant}) & \text{èp-ha} & \quad (\text{transplant}) \\
\text{lenkdh-nga hahat} & \quad (\text{plant}) & \text{èp-} & \quad (\text{transplant})
\end{align*}\]

1. Connectors of Intimate Relation as Prefixes.

There must of course be a strong tendency in the connectors of intimate relation (prepositions), to become radical prefixes of transfer, and we accordingly find that in some cases they do so: e.,

Connectors of Intimate Relation as Radical Prefixes of Transfer.

\[\begin{align*}
\text{ta} & \quad \text{to in. class} \\
\text{kāpō} \quad (\text{die}) & \quad \text{ta-kāpō} \quad (\text{carcase}) \\
\text{pen} & \quad \text{to in. class} \\
\text{e.} & \quad \text{teyen} \quad (\text{white}) \\
\text{al} \quad (\text{black}) & \quad \text{pen-teyen} \quad (\text{white of the eye}) \\
\text{pen-} & \quad (\text{pupil of the eye})
\end{align*}\]


There is also a use of the duplicated prefix hen as an affix of transfer with predications (verbs), which is of grammatical interest, as showing that the Nicobarese do not separate in their minds predications (verbs), when they merely assert a fact regarding a subject, from indicators (nouns). They look upon them both as indicating, the first the idea about a thing, and the second the thing itself; and instinctively put the words for both in the same class, indicators (nouns). That is, the Nicobarese look upon "intransitive verbs" as "nouns" and in order to transfer them to the class of real, i. e., "transitive verbs," they add sometimes, but (in obedience to their instinct in such matters) not always, an affix of transfer, the prefix hen. Thus:

\[\begin{align*}
\text{ENGLISH} & \quad \text{INTRANSITIVE FORM} & \quad \text{TRANSITIVE FORM} \\
\text{break} & \quad \text{tōnga} & \quad \text{hen-tōnga} \\
\text{smash} & \quad \text{dānga} & \quad \text{hen-dānga} \\
\text{sink} & \quad \text{pangshe} & \quad \text{hen-pangshe}
\end{align*}\]

3. Expression of "Active" and "Passive."

An important set of correlated suffixes of transfer in daily use are worth noting apart. They are used to transfer explications (adjective) to predications (verbs) and have, naturally though erroneously, been taken to indicate the "passive and active voice."

The common explication (adjective) suffix of transfer is a: then very commonly

\[\begin{align*}
\text{stem} & \quad \text{e. class} & \quad \text{to p. class} \\
\text{hārōk (burn)} & \quad \text{hārōk-a (burnt)} & \quad \text{hārōk-hata (burn)} \\
\text{hārīl (shoot with gun)} & \quad \text{hārīl-a (shot)} & \quad \text{hārīl-hata (shoot)}
\end{align*}\]

That this is the correct way to view this point in Nicobarese Grammar can be shown thus:

\[\begin{align*}
(1) & \quad \text{ldk hā hārōk ten an} & \quad \text{ldk hē orī ten an} \\
& \quad \text{let we burn to it} & \quad \text{let we beat to it} \\
(2) & \quad \text{ldk an hārōka} & \quad \text{ldk an orī} \\
& \quad \text{let it burnt} & \quad \text{let it beaten} \\
(3) & \quad \text{hārōk hata}\text{ta e h} & \quad \text{ort hata}\text{ta e h} \\
& \quad \text{burn c. i. r. it} & \quad \text{beat c. i. r. it}
\end{align*}\]

\[\text{1 See below, p. "Groups of Words Bound an Idea," II.} \]

\[\text{2 Hata is omitted in the "imperative."} \]
Here we have in (1) the mere stems harōk, burn; ort, beat. In (2) we have the predicate (be) unexpressed. In (3) we have the subject (thou, you) unexpressed. There is no instinct whatever of an "active" or "passive voice." Of the suffixes, a is merely a suffix of transfer indicating the class (n.) to which the stems have been transferred from their original class (p.); and hata is really a suffix of differentiation, giving a definite turn to the original sense of the stem.

1. — Use of Radical Affixes of Differentiation.

The Nicobarese differentiate connected words of the same class and derived from the same root (original meaning) by radical affixes, precisely as they indicate transfer of words from class to class. There is no difference in form or method in the suffixes thus used. E.g.,

Radical Affixes of Differentiation for Connected Indicators (Nouns).

Prefixes.
hen-tain (basket) mahen-tainya (basketful) en-kōina (a male) men-kōina (a male of a given race)
wētare (goblet) ta-wētare (gobletful) mi-wēta (value) mōngko (cup)
yai (price) mo-mōngkōa (copious)

 infixes.
sh-āyo (sack) sh-am-āyōwa (sackful) k-ahō (moon) k-am-ahēnwā (lunation)

Combined Prefix and Infix.
p-ōmlō (bottle) tap-paš-ōmlō (bottleful)

For Connected Explicators (Adjectives).

Suffixes.
kēh (violent) kēh-tō (ill-tempered) kēh-ngayan (difficult)
lāpū (good) lāpū-yān (well) lāpū-yantō (glad)
hēang (one) hēang-ashe (alike) hēang-āyan (equal)
kāru (large) kāru-ngashe (extensive) kāru-ṣhe (abundant)
yūl (together) yūl-hasse (same kind) yūl-ṣhe (beside)
yūl-ten (accompanying)

m. — Working of Correlated Radical Affixes.

In the following instances one can see side by side the working of the correlated radical suffixes both of transfer and differentiation.32

(1) Lost or obscure root; tang (?) arrive.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Sense</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>e.</td>
<td>tang-ngashe</td>
<td>complete,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.</td>
<td>tang-tashe</td>
<td>accurate,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p.</td>
<td>tang-bat</td>
<td>arrive eastwards,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p.</td>
<td>tang-ngato</td>
<td>approve,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p.</td>
<td>tang-ngayan</td>
<td>satisfy (hunger, thirst)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) Lost or obscure root; yāh (?) attract.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Sense</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>e.</td>
<td>yāh-ngomat</td>
<td>pretty,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.</td>
<td>yāh-ngatō</td>
<td>happy,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.</td>
<td>yāh-ngayan</td>
<td>kind,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p.</td>
<td>yāh-ngashi</td>
<td>fond of (to be)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p.</td>
<td>hā-yāh-ngashi</td>
<td>love (family)(to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p.</td>
<td>hēn-yāh-ngashe</td>
<td>family love</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the last two instances it will be noticed that correlated prefixes of differentiation have been called in to make the sense clear in the usual way.

n. — In the "Comparative Degrees."

In working out his "comparative degrees" the Nicobarese exhibits the uses of the radical affixes in most of the ways above explained. He adds the suffix a and then sometimes the infix en or the prefix en and ong, and sometimes he uses correlated prefixes. This addition he effects by agglutination, change of form, or inflexion.

32 The mental process observable in these cases becomes quite clear from a reference to the Languages of the Torres Straits, as pointed out to me by Mr. Sydney Ray. Thus:

Palas (intransitive form pal) expresses the idea of separation, division into two parts, motion apart. Then
dan-pal (dan = eye, to open eye, be awake),
gud-pal (gud = mouth, to open flower, mouth),
poi-pal (poi = dust), to shake off,
galu-pal (gau = cold), to tremble,
gagel-pal (gagel = bow), to shoot,
indal-pal (indal, plural of i, word), to cause one to chatter,
kerk-e-pal (kerk = smarting sensation), to cause to smart.

The connection with the root idea in these cases is not always easy for a European to follow.
Table of the "Comparative Degrees."

(Suffix always a.)

Unchanged Form of Suffix.

Infix en.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Changed form</th>
<th>Unchanged Form of Suffix.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>changed form</td>
<td>eh-ong (high)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inflected</td>
<td>eh-op (good)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inflected</td>
<td>eh-ling (long)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inflected</td>
<td>eh-tang (sweet)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inflected</td>
<td>p-op (poor)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inflected</td>
<td>la-ngan (heavy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Changed Form of Suffix.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inflected</td>
<td>f-wi (thick)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inflected</td>
<td>pa-chan (cold)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prefixes en, ong.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inflected</td>
<td>en (near)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agglutinated</td>
<td>kong (strong)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Changed Form of Suffix.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Correlated Prefixes.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mi-ta (short)</td>
<td>en-ta (shorter)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The "superlative" does not come into the argument, as there is, strictly, no such "degree," the illustrator (adverb), ka, 'indeed,' following the "comparative" for the purpose. Thus:

chong (high) chongka (highest)

o. — In Expression of "Continuing Action."

So also in working out a plan for expressing "continuing action," the Nicobarreese employs the same method. He adds a suffix yande to the suffix a, and then proceeds as in the former case.

Continuing Action.

(Suffix always a + yande.)

Infix en.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inflected</th>
<th>Correlated Prefixes.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>t-op (drink)</td>
<td>en-teakayande (c. sleeping)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ok)-ng-lek (eat)</td>
<td>ken-lokayande (c. dancing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i)-k-meh (sing)</td>
<td>en-tayande (c. writing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ong)-sh-ongha (walk)</td>
<td>en-miakayande (c. raining)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

p. — In Expression of Naturally Connected Words.

So further in the case of expressing the depth of water, a matter of much consequence to a people constantly navigating canoes and boats along a coral-bound shore.

Water and canoes are measured by the arm-span, which is something over five feet, or roughly a fathom: hauk tamaka, one fathom. But for the more commonly used 2 to 10 fathoms there are expressions specially differentiated by means of the prefix or infix en and the suffix o (for a), attached on the principles noted in Appendix A in the case of the numerals.

Root.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Sense</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ah</td>
<td>two</td>
<td>2 fathoms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de</td>
<td>three</td>
<td>3 fathoms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fan</td>
<td>four</td>
<td>4 fathoms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t-anai</td>
<td>five</td>
<td>5 fathoms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t-afual</td>
<td>six</td>
<td>6 fathoms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>issat</td>
<td>seven</td>
<td>7 fathoms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>enfoan</td>
<td>eight</td>
<td>8 fathoms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sh-om</td>
<td>ten</td>
<td>10 fathoms</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Sudden emphasis on these terms is very often necessary in navigation, and further differentiation is effected by the attachment of the prefix ma or the infix am: e. g.,

m-enn-ay-o only 2 fathoms t-amen-fual-o only 6 fathoms
l-amen-oí-y-o only 3 fathoms m-en-shat-o only 7 fathoms
ma-henn-ónn-o only 4 fathoms m-enfoan-no only 8 fathoms
t-amen-e-y-o only 5 fathoms sh-aminn-am-o only 10 fathoms.

q.—In Expression of Groups of Words Round Ideas and Groups of Ideas Round Words.

The Nicobarese carry this plan of differentiating connected words of the same class by radical affixes very far, and manage by this means to create groups of words round one idea or set of ideas, or vice versa, groups of ideas round one word or set of words.

Groups of Words Round an Idea Differentiated by Radical Affixes.

I. Idea: "Same Sort."

(Prefixes or Infixes Employed.)

| Enkóīna | A male | M-enkóīna | A male of the same race |
| Enkánna | A female | M-enkánna | A female of the same race |
| Knyúm | Child | K-am-enyúm | Child of the same race |
| Páiyúh | A Nicobarese | P-en-yúh | A Nicobarese of the same community. |
| Páiyúh | A Nicobarese | P-en-yúh | Community. |
| Nótt | Pig | Men-nóta | Pig of the same village |
| Ám | Dog | Enm-áma | Dog of the same village |
| Chóng | Ship | Ch-inm-óng | Ship of the same rig |
| Mattai | Village | M-en-tai | Village of the same people |
| Kentočka | Dance | K-am-entoka | Dance of the same kind |
| Kanóśhe | Song | Ka-menn-óśhe | Song of the same kind |
| Kaling | Foreigner | Ka-ma-lenga | Foreigner of the same country |

This last word is an instance where a foreign word has been subjected to Nicobarese grammatical forms; for Kling, Kaling is an Indian word for the foreigners settled in the Malay countries, from Kalinga, the Northern coasts of Madras.

Example.

héang kamenm-ośhe ta krísha dā kamentóka ta
eone same kind-of-song c. i. r. sing two same kind-of-dance c. i. r.
katočka tai chiā vēhē
dance by I last-night

(one sort of song was sung and two dances of the same kind were danced by me last night).

II. Idea: "Complete Condition."

(Suffixes Employed.)

Root or Stem. | Connected Words. | Sense.
---|---|---
di (bulk) | di-re | all good (of a hut, goods)
di-ngasehe | di-shire | all bad (of a hut or goods)
di-ngare | di-ngareshe | all absent (of a quality, substance)
heang (one) | heang-lare | all good (contents of anything)
duät (length) | heang-ngare | all bad (contents of anything)
heang-leät (one-finished) | duät-shire | all (of a long object)
heang-leät-tare | the whole set |
Example.

linheá dingareshe mattai née hat òt toak ta taiā

to-day all-absent village this not is toddy c. i. r. fermented

(there is no fermented toddy at all in this village to-day).

Groups of Ideas Bound a Word Differentiated by Radical Affixes.

Word: la, a portion; then l-inn-a, less.

(Suffixes Employed.)

linnā-ngashe linnā-ngayan

linnā-hala less than (a height; a distance northwards):
linnā-hashe less than (a shortness; a distance westwards)
linnā-haïë more than (a nearness; a distance to landing-place)
linnā-hanga less than (a distance southwards)
linnā-hahat less than (a distance eastwards)

Examples.

an linnā-hala chinônga kói ten chūa
he less taller head o 1

(his is not so tall as I am).

an linnā-ngayan ongboñga ten men
he less stronger to you

(his is not so strong as you are).

r. — Differentiating Radical Suffixes of Direction.

When one comes to consider the suffixes of predicates (verbs), we find the principle of differentiating and grouping connected words by radical affixes carried to an extraordinary extent. Thus, there are sets of suffixes attached to roots or stems indicating motion, which give them a special force, though, when attached, as they frequently are, to other roots or stems, they have no particular force traceable now, whatever might have been possible once.

Differentiating Radical Suffixes of Direction attached to Roots and Stems Indicating Motion.

hala lare le la al northwards, upwards, out of.
hanga ngare nge nga ang southwards, from self.
hahat hare he hat ahat eastwards, inwards.
hashe shire she she aich westwards, downwards.
haïë fiire ñe ñe aiñ towards the landing place, outwards, away.
hata tare te ta at towards any direction on same lead, towards self.

As the differentiating radical suffixes of direction play an important part in Nicobaresshe speech, some examples are given here.

I. Root o, go.

go north o-le go up (ascend) o-le
go south o-nge
go east o-he
go west o-še go down (descend) o-še
go to landing place o-ñe
go anywhere o-te
II. Root af, go.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Direction</th>
<th>Root</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>go north</td>
<td>af-al</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go south</td>
<td>af-ang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go east</td>
<td>af-alat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go west</td>
<td>af-aich</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go to landing place</td>
<td>af-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go anywhere</td>
<td>af-ak</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

III. Root tang, arrive.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Direction</th>
<th>Root</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>arrive northwards</td>
<td>tang-la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arrive southwards</td>
<td>tang-nga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arrive eastwards</td>
<td>tang-hat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arrive westwards</td>
<td>tang-she</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arrive at landing place</td>
<td>tang-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arrive somewhere</td>
<td>tang-ta</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

IV. Root oid, hither.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Direction</th>
<th>Root</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hither northwards</td>
<td>oid-lare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hither southwards</td>
<td>oid-ngare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hither eastwards</td>
<td>oid-hare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hither westwards</td>
<td>oid-shire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hither to landing place</td>
<td>oid-shire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hither to anywhere</td>
<td>oid-tare</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

s. — Extreme Extension of the Use of the Radical Suffixes of Direction.

These suffixes explain a set of illustrators (adverbs) of direction, which are to be explained as consisting of a lost root nga+suffix of direction, e. g.,

Illustrators (Adverbs) of Direction.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Direction</th>
<th>Root</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nga-le</td>
<td>north, above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nga-nge</td>
<td>south down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nga-hae</td>
<td>east</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nga-ich</td>
<td>west, below</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nga-sha</td>
<td>to landing place</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example.

due | ngaine | chamang | cha?
(canoe at-landing-place | belong | who?)

Transferring these illustrators (adverbs) to indicators (nouns) by means of using the connector of intimate relation, ta, as a prefix, we get —

The Four Quarters.

Ta-ngale | North | Ta-ngange | South
Ta-ngae  | East  | Ta-nagahe | West

Transferred to yet another set of illustrators (adverbs), the sense of "ago" is conveyed to predicators (verbs) of motion in the same curious manner.

Illustrators (Adverbs) of Time Past.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Root</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ago (of movement, occurrence in the North)</td>
<td>hala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ago (of movement, occurrence in the South)</td>
<td>hanga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ago (of movement, occurrence in the East)</td>
<td>hat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ago (of movement, occurrence in the West)</td>
<td>hash</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ago (of returning)</td>
<td>hata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ago (of a death)</td>
<td>hashl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example.

tana | hanga | kamaheawa | an | kapi | die
(five months ago he died in the South).

---

24 Afal, afanch, like ile, èshe, mean also "go up," "go down" (a hill).
The interrogative prefix ka, kā, kan, has been already explained and when attached by
inflexion to ḍi, be, together with an inflected suffix of direction, it produces a curious and
common set of forms of question and answer.

Interrogatives of Direction.

Root ḍi, be, plus prefix ka for the question, plus suffix ta of "any direction" inflected
with suffix of definite direction.

- kō-dē?
- kō-lē?
- kō-ngē?

be?
be north? be up-
stairs?
be above?
be south? be below?

kō-hare?
be east?
be west? be
downstairs?
be at landing
place?

Examples.

Q. Kōlē ta anē ḍāk? Any water up there? up north? A. Kōlē. It is up there;
up north. A. Ngūlē. It is up here.
Q. Kōngē ta anē ḍāk? Any water down there? down south? A. Kōngē. It is down
there; down south. A. Nγāge. It is down here; down south.
Q. Kōhāre ta anē ḍāk? Any water to the east? A. Kōhāre. There to the east.
A. Ngūhāre. Here to the east.
Q. Kōlē ta anē ḍāk? Any water downstairs? to the west? A. Kōlē. There to the
west. A. Nγāshē (and nγāshē). It is down here to the west.
Q. Kōnđē ta anē ḍāk? Any water at the landing-place? A. Kōnđē. It is there at
the landing-place. A. Nγαīšē. Here at the landing-place.
Q. Be? man woman c. i. r. here A. Be.
(Q. Are there any men and women here? A. There are.)

In the above instance kakat is a case of a double prefix ka + ka + (6) t.

1. — Use of Terms for Parts of the Human Body as Supplementary Radical
   Suffixes of Differentiation.

Words relating to some parts of the body are used as supplementary radical suffixes both
of differentiation and transfer to indicate action or relation naturally referable to those parts.
Thus:

-tai (hand) refers to what is done by the hand or by force: -lāh (foot, leg), to movement
by the foot: -kōi (head), to anything relating to the head or top: -nāng (ear), to what can be
heard: -chakā (face), to what is done before one or in the presence: -ngē (voice), to speech:
-mat (surface, eye), and -ok (skin, back), to what is outside, on the surface. E. g.,

Supplementary Radical Suffixes Derived from the Parts of the Body.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Part</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tai (hand)</td>
<td>hoā (starve)-nga-tai</td>
<td>(make to starve)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lāh (foot)</td>
<td>ò (go)-nga-lāh</td>
<td>(to leave)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kōi (head)</td>
<td>kēnya (a leafl-) nga-kōi (head)</td>
<td>(to cover a pot)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nāng (ear)</td>
<td>hima (bequest)-nga-nāng</td>
<td>(advice)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chakā (face)</td>
<td>oreh (before)-chakā</td>
<td>(to advance)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngē (voice)</td>
<td>opγap (overhear)-nga-ngē</td>
<td>(to eavesdrop)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mat (surface)</td>
<td>ēttā (polish)-mat</td>
<td>(to wipe)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mat (eye)</td>
<td>ddē (water)-mat</td>
<td>(to wipe a tear)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ok (skin)</td>
<td>ēttāich (husk)-nga-ok</td>
<td>(to flay)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(To be continued.)

54 Kēniya is the name of the plant which produces the leaves used as the covering of pots for steaming pandanus
paste.
NOTES ON ANCIENT ADMINISTRATIVE TERMS AND TITLES
IN THE PUNJAB.

BY H. A. ROSE.

A study of the old designations of officials and administrative divisions in the Panjab would undoubtedly throw much light on the ancient system of administration. Unfortunately, the material for such a study is very scanty and is almost confined to the names and titles given incidentally in the copper-plate inscriptions of the Chambā State, some of which were published in the *Archaeological Report* for 1908. A full collection is being published by the Pañjāb Government in a separate volume.

The Chambā inscriptions allude to the “eighteen elements of the State,” but do not describe what these eighteen elements were. They would appear, indeed, to have been given a more or less conventional number, according to a theoretical system borrowed from the more powerful State of Kashmir, rather than a description of the indigenous organization of the State in actual force at any period. Besides these so-called eighteen elements, the inscriptions enumerate a horde of officials, whose functions are not described and are not known at all clearly from other sources. From three of the inscriptions a list of no less than thirty-five official, or quasi-official, titles is obtainable, as the following table, which is taken from three Chambā copper-plates of 960—1080 A. D., shows: —

### Official Titles in Chambā, circ. 1000 A. D.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plate II.</th>
<th>Plate IV.</th>
<th>Plate V.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Text</strong></td>
<td><strong>Text</strong></td>
<td><strong>Text</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. rājā.</td>
<td>1. rājā.</td>
<td>1. rājā.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. rānā (rājānaka).</td>
<td>2. rānā.</td>
<td>2. rānā.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. rājput (rājaputra).</td>
<td>3. rājāmatya.</td>
<td>3. rājpūta.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. rājāmatya, royal minister.</td>
<td>4. rājā-putra.</td>
<td>4. rājāmatya, royal councillor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. parikara-saṁnyuktaka-viniyuktaka: ? ‘those appointed and commissioned (out of the Rājā’s attendants).’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. rājasthāniya, chief justice.</td>
<td></td>
<td>5. brāhmāna.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. pramātar,? measurer.</td>
<td></td>
<td>6. kṣhatriya.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. sarobhanga.</td>
<td>7. vāsya.</td>
<td>7. vāsya.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. kumārāmātya, councillor of the prince.</td>
<td>8. südra.</td>
<td>8. südra.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. uparika.</td>
<td>9. rājasthāniya.</td>
<td>9. rājasthāniya.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. vishaya-pāti.</td>
<td>10. parikara-saṁnyuktakavi-niyuktaka: cf. No. 5 of Plate IV.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. nihelapati.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

1. It can hardly be more than a coincidence that the well-known Right-hand castes in Madras comprised eighteen sorts of people: cf. Nelson’s *Scientific Study of Hindu Law*, pp. 96, 99, and 190. And, according to Dubois (Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies, 6th Ed., p. 15), the Śūdras of Madras comprise eighteen chief sub-castes.

2. Rāwat (Guzarāti) and Rāut (Marāthi) = horse-soldier, trooper, also appear to be derived from rājaputra, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicorum*, III, p. 213.

3. A fiscal term, ? fr. Pr. upāra, may denote a tax levied on cultivators who have no proprietary rights in the soil: *C. I. I., III, 27*, etc.

4. Lord or governor of a vishaya, probably a sub-division of a délia or mandala: *C. I. I., p. 38*. 

---
12. kshatrapa (kshetrapa).
13. prântapâla, frontier guard.
14. hastâvaśovâra
balâvyâr(pr)atâka,
those occupied with
elephants, horses, camels,
and the forces.
15. dûta.¹
16. gamâgamika.
17. abhītvaramâna.
18. khasa.
19. kulika.
20. šaulkika.²
21. gaulmika, inspector of
colice, patrol.³
22. khaḍagarâksha.
23. tāra patika, bridge-
guard.
24. chhâtra-chhâtyâka, um-
brella-bearer.
25. veṭâkila, betel-carrier.
26. virâjâyâtrika, belonging to the expedi-
tionary force.
27. chauroddharaṇika, thief-
catcher.
28. daṇḍika, jailor.⁴
29. daṇḍavâsika, executioner.
30. bhogapati.⁵
31. viniyuktaka.
32. bhâgika, land-owners.⁶
33. bhogika, land-holders.
34. chûţa (modern chûta), head-
men of a pargana.
35. and svakâdaun their subor-
dinates and servants.
36. dûta.
37. gamâgamika.
38. abhītvaramâna.
39. khasa.
40. kulika.
41. šaulkika.
42. gaulmika.
43. khaḍagarâksha.
44. târa pati.
45. virâjâyâtrika.
46. chauroddharaṇika.
47. daṇḍika.
48. daṇḍavâsika.
49. brâhmaṇa.
50. kshatrya.
51. vî (vaiśya).
52. chûta (sûdra) and all
others that constitute
the eighteen (śãc) ele-
ments of the State,
and etc.

In Plate III (Arch. Report, 1903, pp. 257-258) are mentioned a mahâmâtya, or chief councillor
and a mahâkshapatîka or chief record-keeper, who do not appear in Plates II, IV, or V.

¹ Lis., 'a messenger': cf. Hindî dût, especially in dût-mâr, evil spirits, and also the messengers of Yâma, the

god of death. Is P. dâru, 'runner' or 'messenger', a doublet? For an interesting note on dâtâka (occasionally
² Cf. šulka, 'superintendent of tolls or customs': C. I. L. III, p. 239.
³ But cf. sulena, 'superintendent of woods and forests': C. I. L. III, 52.
⁴ Dândika; Lis., 'a punisher'; fr. dânga, fine or rod: C. I. L. I., III, p. 219. Dând is still used for 'fine.'
⁵ Bhaga, -ika, 'one who enjoys or possesses': C. I. L., III, 100; bhaga, 'enjoyment of shares,' p. 150.
⁶ Of the modern Balochi âhâya, and Paûjâbi âhâyaâd, 'wealthy.' âhâya is a territorial term, C. I. L. III,
p. 248.
Of all the designations given in the above list, only one, viz., châr, the Sanskrit chaça, survives, or can, at least, with any certainty be said to survive in the modern language of the State. Within quite recent times an entirely different set of names was in use, but these are now nearly obsolete in their turn and are being displaced even in popular use by designations borrowed from the British Revenue Codes.

But before describing the more modern or the present official titles it will be best to note the names of the old administrative divisions. The ancient administrative division or unit was the maṇḍala,¹¹ which corresponds to the more modern pargāṇa. Popular belief holds that Chambâ was once divided into or comprised 84¹² of these maṇḍalas, when it was larger than it is now. Even at annexation it contained 72 pargāṇas, since reduced by amalgamating the smaller pargāṇas to 52. Till recently the Bhâṭiyât or Bhâṭi wâzdrat contained 12 pargāṇas and was accordingly known as the Bārah Bhâṭiân. These pargāṇas are now grouped into 4 wâzdrats, corresponding to the tahâlis or sub-collectorate of a British District. The wâzdrats are, as the word itself indicates, of modern origin. It is perhaps worth noting that each pargāṇa contained a State granary (koṭhi) in which the revenue of the State, collected in kind, was stored, and in which the officials of the pargāṇa lived.¹³ As a rule there is only one koṭhi in each pargāṇa, but when the pargāṇa consists of two or more amalgamated smaller pargāṇas it possesses two or more koṭhis, each with its pâhri, hâlî, and jhâlîdr.

The officials at the capital were as follows: —

1. Wâzir, chief minister.
2. Thâre dâ maḥāṭ, chief financial minister.
3. Bakhâṣâ, who used to keep the military accounts and was responsible for the internal administration of the State forces.¹⁵
5. Thâre dâ kotâwâl, magistrate who performed miscellaneous duties and disposed of petty cases arising in the town.

For the outlying tracts special officials were appointed — wâzir for Pângi and Barmâr wâzdrats, and elsewhere a maḥāṭ and a kotâwâl for each pargāṇa. The two latter posts were held by men appointed in the capital, whence they transacted all the business of their charges. Not unnaturally these posts became all more or less sinecures.

The chief local officials varied in different parts of the State: —

In Chambâ and Chaurâh wâzdrats each pargāṇa was in charge of a châr, collector, a likhâshâdâr, clerk, and a kotâwâl, personal assistant called collectively kârâdâr or kâmâdâr. Of these —

¹¹ Maṇḍal, a. m. disk, circle, ring . . . region, country, district, province (extending 20, or, according to some, 40 yeojans in every direction); the country over which the 12 princes Chakravarti are supposed to have reigned.
¹² 84 is almost certainly a conventional or anapopissive number: cf. Panjab Notes and Queries, I, 1884, § 465, for the Tribal Collocations of 12 (Bârah), 22 (Balyâ), 52 (Bâwani), 84 (Chaurâ) and 85 (Pachâl) villages.
¹³ The koṭhis varied in size and appearance, but most of them were built on one plan: a square structure, 20 or 20 yards long on each side, consisting of rooms surrounding an open court-yard. The buildings are usually two or three storeys high and divided into rooms and dâlûnas or halls. There is a principal entrance, and in the court-yard a stair-case leading to the upper storeys. Some of the koṭhis are very ancient, several dating back even to the times of the Rânas whose rule preceded the foundation of the State itself.
¹⁴ Thâra, high place, where justice was administered. Hence thâreth, an attendant at the thâra, an official whose functions are not more fully defined.
¹⁵ For the functions of the Bakhâṣâ, see Irvine's Army of the Mughals in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1895, p. 539.
(i) The châr was the collector of revenue and the officer responsible for the internal management of the parganâs.  

(ii) The likhnâhârd kept the revenue accounts and did clerical work.

(iii) The bhâtâdâl carried out their orders and held under them a position analogous to that of the hârti dâ khatâdâl at the capital.

The other officials, who were all subordinate to the three kârdârs, were—

(iv) The jhotâd (from jhotâ, ‘an errand’), a messenger, who was under the immediate orders of the bhâtâdâl and carried out the kârdâr’s orders conveyed through him.

(v) Ugrâdâl, a tax-gatherer, who collected the revenue demand under the châr.

(vi) Jinda (from jins, ‘grain’ or goods, and ël, a store), a store-keeper, who was in charge of the storehouse of the parganâ.

(vii) Pâhâl (from pahr, watch), a record-keeper, who was in charge of the State’s kothí, records, and revenue, both in cash and kind.

(viii) Dhâlâd (from dhâla, a vessel), a cook, who cooked the kârdâr’s food and cleaned their utensils.

(ix) Hâli, a care-taker, who kept the kothí clean and looked after the storage and safekeeping of the grain.

(x) Kâgâdâr (from Persian kâhâs and âra, bringing), a letter-carrier.

(xi) Lâhabhâr, who supplied wood to the kothí.

(xii) Ghiârâ, who collected gâlt from those who paid their revenue in that commodity.

(xiii) Duddhârâ, who similarly collected milk.

In certain parganâs there used to be a high official called odhrâ, who was superior to the kârdârs, and had under him more than one parganâ.

In Barmaur, the ancient Brahmapura, all the above officials are known, but the ugrâdâl is called durbâl or drubâl, and although the jhotâd is not unknown, his duties are performed by a kothârû. There is also an official called ahrî below the durbâl, who collects milk. Neither the kothârû nor the ahrî are paid servants of the State, but they are allowed certain concessions and privileges in their wisârat. Formerly an official called patwâdâl had woollen blankets made for the Râjâ out of the wool collected as revenue.

In the Bhâtijât wisârat certain parganâs had an odhrâ over them and others an amîn. Both were superior in rank to the kârdârs. There the bhâtâdâl was called thârêth; the jhotâd, bhâtâdâl; the ugrâdâl, muqaddam; and the ahrî, jhiwar or fhar.

The remote wisârat of Pângt used to be under a waâir (who visited it every third year to collect the revenue), and under him was a pîlâd. Otherwise Pângt had all the officials except No. xiii, above described, the only difference being that the ugrâdâl was called muqaddam.

(To be continued.)

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16 Hence his charge (the parganâ) was also called châr. Some parganâs also have a chhota châr, whose jurisdiction is separate from that of the hâr châr.

17 It is possible, but hardly probable, that the bhâtâdâl is the bhata of the copper-plates.

18 Ugrâdâl, cf. Patîjât ugrâdâl, a collector or gatherer of tax. The ugrâdâl and jhotâd were appointed as occasion required.

19 Possibly from ahrî, beatings, the first milk of a cow after calving. If so, the word is practically synonymous with duddhârâ.

20 Probably from patî, blanket.

Achyutarkhyādhutadāyam of Śāri Rājānātha, with
a commentary by Pandit R. V. Rangasamachar
(Abhinava Bratta Bana), Part I, Cantos 1–6.

This beautifully printed little volume contains the first half of a hitherto unpublished Sanskrit
poem, accompanied by an excellent commentary
in the same language. The hero is king Achyuta
(A.D. 1530–49) of the second dynasty of Vijaya-
agar. On this prince a recent historian has
justly pronounced the verdict that he ‘‘was a
brave, and under him the Hindu empire began
to fall to pieces.’’ The author of the panegyric
poem of course represents him as a mighty, pious,
and warlike sovereign.

As in the Vijayanagara inscriptions, Achyuta is
stated to have belonged to the family of the
Tuluva kings (sarga III, verse 38), and his
pedigree is traced from the Moon to the mythical
king Turlva (I, vv. 5–18). To this race belonged
Vedemal (v. 23), whose son Shivara (v. 25)
had by Bukkamā two sons: Nrisimha (v. 27) or
Narasā (v. 28) and Vedemal II. The latter is not
mentioned in the Vijayanagara inscriptions.
The former took Manavalur from a Saka (i.e.,
Musalmān) chief (v. 29). As in the Vijayan-
agara inscriptions, he is reported to have dammed
up the Kaveri and to have stormed Seringapatam
(v. 30). He slew the Narsa king and took
Madhura (v. 31 f.). He captured Konnuraja
(v. 33), Vidyapuri (i.e., Vijayanagara) became
his capital (v. 39). His three favourite queens
were Tippamakā, Nāgamānē, and Obamakā
(v. 52). Tippamakā's son was Viranrishinsharaya,
Nāgamakā's Krishnarama (v. 53), and Obam-
ānē's Achyuta (V. 32), whose chief queen was
Varadahamakā (III, v. 15), the daughter of the
Nāgar king (v. 45).

Viranrishinsharaya (v. 17) was succeeded by
his brother Krishnarama, who took Konnakut and
other forts from the Gajapati king and set up a
pillar of victory at Putupētānārapura (?)(v. 18 f.).
Then Achyuta, the third of the brothers, was
anointed at Sāhādri (i.e., Tirupati, v. 23) and
entered Vidyānagar (v. 24). The kings of
Kalioga, Magadha, Saka, and Sinhala are rep-
resented as his servants (v. 46). His son Chinn-
ivankaśādri, who is mentioned as Vankaśādri
in the Vijayanagara inscriptions, was appointed
heir-apparent (v. 51 f.).

Once Achyuta's minister addressed his master in
private in the Venkatavilasa mahāpura (IV,
v. 46). He submitted that the Chola king had fled
from the Chērā kingdom, and that those two kings
deserved to be 'punished' (v. 56), while the
Pāṇḍya king, who had lost his throne, would
have to be 'protected' (v. 57). Thereupon the
king gives the necessary instructions to the
commander of his army (v. 58) and starts himself
on horseback (V, v. 1). His movements are
an effortless. He enters Chandragiri (v. 22),
ascends Sāhādri (v. 23), worships the god (v. 30),
and makes presents to him (v. 39–42). From
Vankaśādri he proceeds to Kālabasti (v. 44). At
Vishapakāshī (v. 47) he performs the tulāparā
sima ceremony in the Varadarāja temple (v. 49).
Then he traverses Arunāchala (i.e., Tiruvan-
āmalai, v. 51) to the Kaveri (v. 55) and visits
Vidyānagar (v. 57), whence he sends his (brother-
in-law) the Salaga prince to bring the Chola
king from the Chērā country (v. 54).

The Salaga prince marches vid Madhura to the
Tirumapam (VI, v. 1). He encamps there and
sends his general in advance to meet the enemy
(v. 13). Then follows the description of a battle,
which is opened by the Tiruvaati king (i.e., the
king of Travancore, v. 14), and in which the
army of the Kērā (v. 25) or Chērā (v. 29) is
defeated. The latter delivers the Chola king
Tiruvaati into the hands of the Salaga prince
(v. 29 f.), who pardons him, but places the
Pāṇḍya king over him (v. 31).

The published portion of the poem closes in the
middle of the description of a journey which
the king undertakes in order to worship the god
at Anantaśayana (Trivandrum, v. 32).

E. Hultesch.

Halle, 26th October, 1907.

1 Mr. B. Sowell’s Forgotten Empire, p. 155.

2 These two verses show that the author treated “the Chola king” and “the Travancore king” as synonyms.

On Tiruvanji see Mr. Venkayya’s Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1899–1900, p. 32.
A PLAN FOR A UNIFORM SCIENTIFIC RECORD OF THE LANGUAGES OF SAVAGES.

Applied to the Languages of the Andamanese and Nicobarese.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE.

(Concluded from p. 347.)

IV. — PHONOLOGY.

a. — Mode of Speech.

The Nicobarese speak in a deep monotonous tone and with open lips, thus adding to the many difficulties presented by their language by giving it an exceedingly indistinct sound. The pronunciation is guttural, nasal, cawled, and indeterminate: i.e., the Nicobarese speak slowly from the throat with the flat of the tongue and open lips. Final consonants are habitually slurred, especially labials, palatals, and gutturals. All this is the result of the habit of betel-chewing till the lips are parted, the teeth greatly encurtated and the gums distended, rendering the articulation of speech most imperfect.

b. — Mann's and de Röepstorff's Enquiries.

Mr. Mann was at very great pains to catch the real sound of Nicobarese words, and his reproduction of them on Mr. A. J. Ellis's scheme may be taken as being as near to complete accuracy as one is likely to arrive at. Mr. de Röepstorff, who was a Dane, used in 1876 his national system of representation, which has been followed by Danish and German writers, but is entirely unsuit to English readers. E.g., he writes j for y, and the usual Danish and German complications to represent ćh and j and so on. He had also the common Danish and German difficulty in distinguishing surds from sonants, which has made his transliterations puzzling.

c. — Reduction of the Speech to Writing.

There are a great number of vowel sounds in the language, which have been reproduced by Messrs. Mann and Ellis as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Central</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>yuñ-g (fruit)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ā</td>
<td>dāk (come)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ā casa (Ital.)</td>
<td>kākātōk (a month)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ā father</td>
<td>kān (wife)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ā fathom</td>
<td>lēk (finished)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ā bed, chaotic</td>
<td>heng (sun)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ē pair</td>
<td>lēṅg (name)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ī lód</td>
<td>kaling (foreigner)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ī police</td>
<td>wē (mako)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o insolent</td>
<td>koāl (arm)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ō pole</td>
<td>enliṅ (axe)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Almost every vowel is nasalised and the following are reproduced in the written form adopted:

Nasalised Vowels in the Central Dialect.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nasalised</th>
<th>Central</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>āh holiā (spinster)</td>
<td>ōn kēnhoāia (pocket)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ān miā (spear)</td>
<td>ōn bīh (fuel)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ān ān (two)</td>
<td>ōn mōhūyā (albumen)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ām koyāṅwa (guava)</td>
<td>uṅ chynā (sweet)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ēnh (near)</td>
<td>aṅ mīsāiṅā (cloud)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ēn amiā (rain)</td>
<td>aṅ āhānu (parboll)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>īn fīṅha (hoghead)</td>
<td>ōṅ omhoṅ (tobacco)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| ōṅ harōṅh (stink game) | 36 With untrilled r. 37 The name of the first month of the North-East monsoon.
The consonants do not require much explanation, but the following may be noticed: —

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Central.</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Central.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ch</td>
<td>chain</td>
<td>āchā (face)</td>
<td>āgā (nearly ripe)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hw</td>
<td>what (Scotch)</td>
<td>benhwāva (ashes)</td>
<td>ār (Eng. r)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ē</td>
<td>gayner (Fr.)</td>
<td>enkōōna (man)</td>
<td>ā she</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ng</td>
<td>singler</td>
<td>yangetare (follow)</td>
<td>shōhōng (south-west monsoon)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### d. — Stress.

Stress is on the root or stem, or on what is now thought by the Nicobarese to be so. These can to a great extent be separated out from the affixes by the stress. In stems of two syllables the stress is on the second syllable, unless the first contains a long vowel.

### V. — COMPARISON OF DIALECTS.

#### a. — Man's Enquiries.

Mr. Man gives a long list of words in the dialects, and when considering the currency of the people in Appendix A the comparative terms for the numerals and words connected with enumeration have also been given. From these last the deduction seemed to be clear, that the six dialects of the Nicobarese are variants of the same fundamental tongue. The same inference seems inevitable from the following examination of a selection of words from Mr. Man's Dictionary.

#### b. — Comparison of Words.

Roots will be separated out of the words by placing the affixes in italics. This separation of the roots is of course, at present, tentative, as roots can only be ascertained beyond doubt by a comparison with other connected languages in the Far East. The present attempt will, however, be useful to students.

The following abbreviations will be used in the accompanying tables:

- C. N. = Car Nicobar
- Ch. = Chowra
- T. = Teressa
- C. = Central
- S. = Southern
- S. P. = Shom Pei

#### Words in the Six Dialects Compared.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>C. N.</th>
<th>Ch.</th>
<th>T.</th>
<th>C.</th>
<th>S.</th>
<th>S. P.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bachelor</td>
<td>lāmāk</td>
<td>maśāl</td>
<td>māiyōh</td>
<td>ālān-</td>
<td>ālān-</td>
<td>ākāōt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maiden</td>
<td>ḍōla</td>
<td>āmāk</td>
<td>āmāk</td>
<td>(wihla)</td>
<td>(wihla)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>child</td>
<td>nīa</td>
<td>ḍān-kīnā</td>
<td>ken-yūm</td>
<td>ken-yūm</td>
<td>pin-īnū</td>
<td>akiū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>female</td>
<td>kīkāna</td>
<td>mōhōs</td>
<td>enkōōna</td>
<td>enkōōna</td>
<td>orūhā</td>
<td>aōdū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>male</td>
<td>kīkōōna</td>
<td>pāōhō</td>
<td>moaōh</td>
<td>enkōōna</td>
<td>otūhē</td>
<td>aōkōt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man</td>
<td>tāōk</td>
<td>pāśk</td>
<td>pai</td>
<td>paiyōk</td>
<td>pōk</td>
<td>aōkōt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- back (the) | ok       | ok       | ok         | ok         | tomnōt     | aōkōo     |
- blood     | mām      | pāhōōt   | vā         | wā         | wā         | dūb         |
- breast    | tāh      | tōh      | tōh        | toah       | toah       | tōa         |
- ear       | nāng     | nāng     | anang      | nāng       | nāng       | nāng         |
- finger    | kūntī    | kūnti    | mōktī      | kanetai    | kēwēt      | noai-ti     |
- hair      | kūya     | hōōk     | hōōk       | yōk        | yōk        | jū, jūs     |
- hand      | eltī      | nōi      | mōktī      | kanetai    | kēwēt      | noai-ti     |
### Record of the Languages of Savages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>C. N.</th>
<th>Cz.</th>
<th>T.</th>
<th>C.</th>
<th>S.</th>
<th>S. P.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>head</td>
<td>kue</td>
<td>koi</td>
<td>koi</td>
<td>koi</td>
<td>koi</td>
<td>koi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leg</td>
<td>karfan</td>
<td>laah</td>
<td>laah</td>
<td>laah</td>
<td>laah</td>
<td>lau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nose</td>
<td>elmenh</td>
<td>mooh</td>
<td>mooh</td>
<td>mooh</td>
<td>mooh</td>
<td>mahun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stomach</td>
<td>ellian</td>
<td>wiang</td>
<td>wiang</td>
<td>wiang</td>
<td>wiang</td>
<td>kuu, kaal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bird</td>
<td>chechsa</td>
<td>shichua</td>
<td>shichua</td>
<td>shichua</td>
<td>shichua</td>
<td>shichua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>canoe</td>
<td>ap</td>
<td>die</td>
<td>ron</td>
<td>dian</td>
<td>hanhot</td>
<td>don, hoo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coccoanut-tree</td>
<td>tabka</td>
<td>owena</td>
<td>owena</td>
<td>owena</td>
<td>gau</td>
<td>kalal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dog</td>
<td>am</td>
<td>om</td>
<td>om</td>
<td>om</td>
<td>am</td>
<td>am</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fire</td>
<td>tamuya</td>
<td>palo</td>
<td>heo</td>
<td>heo</td>
<td>hentohka</td>
<td>yop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fruit</td>
<td>rong</td>
<td>eang</td>
<td>ang</td>
<td>yuang</td>
<td>oag</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hat</td>
<td>pai</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>en, ni</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meat</td>
<td>alahah</td>
<td>ekha</td>
<td>ekho</td>
<td>ekho</td>
<td>ekho</td>
<td>ekho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moon</td>
<td>chiingeat</td>
<td>manesana</td>
<td>kaai</td>
<td>kaiho</td>
<td>kaiho</td>
<td>hawap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mame</td>
<td>mnaena</td>
<td>lanoa</td>
<td>lanoa</td>
<td>lanoa</td>
<td>lop</td>
<td>lop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North</td>
<td>laola</td>
<td>laol</td>
<td>laol</td>
<td>tangol</td>
<td>laol</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>north-wind</td>
<td>kofat-kapa</td>
<td>hahkapa</td>
<td>hahkapa</td>
<td>hahkapa</td>
<td>hahkapa</td>
<td>hahkapa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paddle</td>
<td>paiyuh</td>
<td>kahsl</td>
<td>kahsa</td>
<td>pusa</td>
<td>pusa</td>
<td>kaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pig</td>
<td>huan</td>
<td>noi</td>
<td>not</td>
<td>not</td>
<td>not</td>
<td>men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pig (wild)</td>
<td>huan-chuun</td>
<td>milah</td>
<td>chu-ku</td>
<td>chu-ku</td>
<td>chu-ku</td>
<td>liohau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>place</td>
<td>chuk</td>
<td>chuk</td>
<td>chuk</td>
<td>chuk</td>
<td>chuun</td>
<td>noong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>village</td>
<td>pamoon</td>
<td>pamun</td>
<td>matat</td>
<td>matat</td>
<td>matat</td>
<td>liohau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sea</td>
<td>may</td>
<td>shomarau</td>
<td>enlang</td>
<td>kamalo</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>heba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seed</td>
<td>kool</td>
<td>enshung</td>
<td>enshung</td>
<td>opop</td>
<td>opop</td>
<td>kepap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>storm</td>
<td>rashat</td>
<td>feh</td>
<td>hurastra</td>
<td>hurastra</td>
<td>orinsha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tabu</td>
<td>taloha</td>
<td>kal</td>
<td>yeoich</td>
<td>chi</td>
<td>yit</td>
<td>yiisi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to-morrow</td>
<td>hurich</td>
<td>tahako</td>
<td>horich</td>
<td>hak</td>
<td>hak</td>
<td>yabo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>year</td>
<td>somiyuhu</td>
<td>samiha</td>
<td>samesoh</td>
<td>shomeyuh</td>
<td>shiu</td>
<td>anhoi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yes</td>
<td>hah, hon an ah</td>
<td>ah</td>
<td>ah</td>
<td>ah</td>
<td>ha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| all     | rokhare | chihi | chihi | otom | hoh | kapoi |
| bad     | atlik | hatlu | hatlapa | hitalapa | nga-ko | wauahu |
| good    | lik | la | lapa | lapa | koh | duko |
| not     | ar, at | hat | hat | hat | nga | wu |
| hear    | hang | heng | heng | yang | hang | hang |
| see     | muk | hara | ha | harra | haka | ta |
| say     | ro | onyu | onyu | olyo | hahal | toot |
| steal   | olyo | malanga | kalohanga | kalohanga | paula |

| he      | ngoa | an | an | an, na | an | nhoh |
| I       | chiun | chiun | chiun | chiun | chiun |

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28 The first of the conjoined words signifies "wind."

29 The first syllable of the word means "not"; "bad" = "not good."
THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
<th>C. N.</th>
<th>Cn.</th>
<th>T.</th>
<th>C.</th>
<th>S.</th>
<th>S. P.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>we-two</td>
<td>hööl-chyi</td>
<td>chö-hän</td>
<td>hainh-ha</td>
<td>heh</td>
<td>hänna</td>
<td>a-mö</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we</td>
<td>höh</td>
<td>höh</td>
<td>höh</td>
<td>höi</td>
<td>füehöe-mö</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you-two</td>
<td>näc</td>
<td>inä</td>
<td>inä</td>
<td>räh</td>
<td>räk</td>
<td>räk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you</td>
<td>yia</td>
<td>chü</td>
<td>röe</td>
<td>röe</td>
<td>höe</td>
<td>höe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

C. — Comparison of Roots.

We can now compare the above words by roots, so far as these are at present apparent, which will sufficiently show the unity of origin of all the dialects, and should help to fix the identity of the general Nicobarese Language with that of the tongue of some definite group of speakers in the Far East.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Roots in the Six Dialects Compared.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ENGLISH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bachelor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maiden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>back (the)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>breast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>finger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stomach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>canoe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cocoanut-tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fruit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.-wind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paddle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pig (wild)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>storm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tabu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ENGLISH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to-morrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>say</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>steal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we-two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you-two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

VI. — COMPARATIVE PHILOLOGY.

a. — Comparison with the Indo-Chinese Languages.

I am able to compare some of the Nicobarese roots with those of corresponding sense in the Indo-Chinese Languages, civilised and uncivilised, — of which Mon (Pegan) and Khmer (Cambodian) form the civilised group, — and in the aboriginal dialects of the Malay Peninsula as contained in Mr. Otto Blagden's paper on the Early Indo-Chinese Influence in the Malay Peninsula.

b. — Elements of Uncertainty in the Comparison.

In making the comparison, the elements of uncertainty are these. In Nicobarese a root is nowadays surrounded and obscured by a long growth of affixes (prefixes, infixes, and suffixes) attached by agglutination, phonic change of form, inflexion and duplication, the effect of the affixes being often to induce phonic change in the root itself. So patience and a knowledge of the affixes and their effect is necessary to separate the root correctly from its surroundings. In the Far Eastern words treated by Mr. Blagden there is the uncertain element of misapprehension in the original reporters. However, Mr. Blagden put his words together with great care and personal knowledge, and my specimens are based on the exceedingly accurate reporting of Mr. Man: so that results may be looked on to be as accurate as is possible in the present stage of the inquiry.

Table of Comparative Roots and Words Relating to the Human Sexes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
<th>NICOBARESE.</th>
<th>MALAYAN ABORIGINAL.</th>
<th>INDO-CHEESE.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>father</td>
<td>tā (man), ofā (male)</td>
<td>ita (grandf.)</td>
<td>ta (grandf.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pā, pō, pai, ap (woman)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ak (man), ku, ika (man)</td>
<td>iku, ikun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kān (woman), kōn, kōn</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(male)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dōn</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>chi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>child</td>
<td>kōan, kūan, kōat</td>
<td>k'non, kenod</td>
<td>kon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kēn-yū</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(yn, male and female)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>son</td>
<td>kōān, kān (daughter)</td>
<td>kon</td>
<td>ken</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The mixing of the sexes in the roots of the terms for describing human beings is common to all languages (e.g., the modern English, "girl") and Mr. Man has supplied me with a valuable table of words denoting generically tribal and family connections and showing how they are differentiated sexually.

To these, in order to differentiate the male and female of each kind must be added, the appropriate words for the sexes as given above in the Table of Roots in the Six Dialects Compared.

### Table of Comparative Roots and Words

#### General Terms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Nicobarese</th>
<th>Malayan Aborigines</th>
<th>Indo-Chinese</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>back (the)</td>
<td>ok, kō (nō)</td>
<td>kiah, ki-ah</td>
<td>cha'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>breasts</td>
<td>tō</td>
<td>tuh</td>
<td>da</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ear</td>
<td>nāg</td>
<td>mat, mot</td>
<td>na (Burmese)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eye</td>
<td>māt, mat</td>
<td>mēit, mēt</td>
<td>mat, mot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>foot</td>
<td>chuk</td>
<td>jok, ink, yohk, diokn</td>
<td>jung, jung, jong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hair</td>
<td>lāh, drān</td>
<td>so', sak, sok, sogk, suk</td>
<td>sak, sok, souk, shok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hand</td>
<td>kū, jū</td>
<td>t'hi, the, tu</td>
<td>cho'n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(both = hand and finger)</td>
<td>noi (h. and f.)</td>
<td>tung, tong, tein</td>
<td>sang, sinh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>head</td>
<td>kōi</td>
<td>kōi, koe</td>
<td>young</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mouth</td>
<td>fāng</td>
<td>kui, kaya, kay</td>
<td>cheun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nose</td>
<td>fōs, wā</td>
<td>pang, ban</td>
<td>shok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mōb, mehb, moaṅh</td>
<td>hain, hein</td>
<td>tiok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mahūn</td>
<td>fōs, wā</td>
<td>ti</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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40 This word seems to combine in itself the roots kēn, male, yū, female.
42 Except to mā, kēn-yūm, and pīn-yūm.
43 Both fōs and wā denotes the hand and the finger.
44 In Nicobarese, however, this word is, I think, aōh, breath, soul, life, plus prefix, ma, mō.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Nicobarese</th>
<th>Malayang Aborigines</th>
<th>Indo-Chinese</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tongue</td>
<td>leták, liták</td>
<td>letik, litig, letig</td>
<td>lataik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mål</td>
<td>lentak, lentak, rentak</td>
<td>n'tak andat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bird</td>
<td>chechô, sichû, shichû</td>
<td>chim, chem, chep</td>
<td>chim, chiem, kiem, kachem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>egg</td>
<td>pœu</td>
<td>k'poh, kepoh</td>
<td>pong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kâe, huyâ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fish</td>
<td>kâa, kalô</td>
<td>ka, ka', kah</td>
<td>ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mosquito</td>
<td>misôka, mîhôya, pishûiah, mûâia</td>
<td>kemus</td>
<td>mus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wood</td>
<td>chîô, chôa</td>
<td>chue, chuk (tree)</td>
<td>chhu</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hûôô, hêp, hôap (jungle)</td>
<td>jehu</td>
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<td></td>
<td>oûî, wi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>stone</td>
<td>peû (jungle)</td>
<td>t'mu, g'mu</td>
<td>t'ma, th'ma, t'mo taman, tamao</td>
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<tr>
<td>hut</td>
<td>küb, hong, patu</td>
<td>deh, derk, dug</td>
<td>tong, doung, dong</td>
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<tr>
<td>sun</td>
<td>ngîs</td>
<td>tankat</td>
<td>t'agoa, th'ngay</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hêg, heng</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mû, wû</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>moon</td>
<td>kâhê, kalai</td>
<td>chhi, kachik, kichek, kachil, guchah, gochai, goche, gihe, biche</td>
<td>khe, kato kachai, mechi, kaosi</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>chi-ngaâ</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>ma-nêana</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>hawô</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>water</td>
<td>dák, râk</td>
<td>dak</td>
<td>daik, dak, tak, tuik, trak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dûî (river), pûi</td>
<td>deu, dau, diau</td>
<td>doi</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tähê (river)</td>
<td>do, d'hu</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>teu, bi-teu, ba-teau</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>bi-teu (river)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rain</td>
<td>amîûh</td>
<td>gema, kumeh</td>
<td>koma, ma</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kômra</td>
<td>gumar</td>
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<td></td>
<td>yau, káp</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>male</td>
<td>enkôîn, ikoîn</td>
<td>ongkon</td>
<td>angyuang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>enkân (female)</td>
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<tr>
<td>go</td>
<td>chûîh, chau, shô</td>
<td>cho'</td>
<td>cho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>chîh (come)</td>
<td>cheoh, ches</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>do, òwa</td>
<td>chup, chip, chiop, chiup</td>
<td>jib (come)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>chohok, jok</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ENGLISH</td>
<td>NICOBARESE</td>
<td>MALAYAN ABORIGINES</td>
<td>INDO-CHINESE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eat</td>
<td>shá</td>
<td>chi, cha, cha', chioh</td>
<td>cha, chha, si</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ká, kó</td>
<td>shacha, inchí, inchíh</td>
<td>nacha, nachí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ña, nga, ngó</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>púa, hám</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sleep</td>
<td>teak, tiak</td>
<td>teik, tiok</td>
<td>theak, tep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tag, taig</td>
<td>jetik, jetik, jetek</td>
<td>dek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>letik</td>
<td>takla</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngá, ngói</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>barríh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stand</td>
<td>shók, shiak, kóag</td>
<td>jóg</td>
<td>chho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>chól, 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cry</td>
<td>chim, chíam</td>
<td>j'm</td>
<td>jom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>puin, hía</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**APPENDIX A.**

**Nicobarese Beconing.**

**a. — System.**

Like most half-civilised people the Nicobarese have evolved an elaborate and clumsy method of enumeration, in their case [as in that of the Kafrs of Kafristan whose ūasúr (1,000) = 20 × 20 or 400] based on tallying by the score. And in order to project oneself into their minds and to grasp numbers as they present themselves to the Nicobarese, one has to set aside preconceived ideas on the subject dependent on the European decimal notation. The old English tally by the dozen and the gross (which still survives commercially mixed up in the higher figures with the general decimal system) for small articles made and sold in very large quantities, forms an almost exact parallel.

The Nicobarese have not much use for large numbers, except for their currency and export article of commerce, the coconut, and hence they have, except the Shem Pea, evolved two concurrent systems of enumeration, viz., one for ordinary objects, and one for coconuts.
In applying terms for numbers to objects and things they use special numeral co-efficients, as do all the Far Eastern races, the explanation of which will be found, ante, II (Grammar), s (Numeral co-efficients).

b. — The Numerals.

For ordinary objects the Nicobarese enumerate by a curiously isolated set of terms up to half a score (ten) by separate words — thus in all the dialects:—

**Comparative Table of Numerals.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. kahūk (heng⁴⁴)</td>
<td>hēang</td>
<td>hōang</td>
<td>hēang</td>
<td>hēng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. neāt</td>
<td>ān</td>
<td>ān</td>
<td>ān</td>
<td>ān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. lūe</td>
<td>lūe</td>
<td>lūe</td>
<td>lūe, lūe</td>
<td>lūe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. fān</td>
<td>fōon</td>
<td>fōon</td>
<td>fōan</td>
<td>fōat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. tāni</td>
<td>tāni</td>
<td>tāni</td>
<td>tāni</td>
<td>tāni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. tāfūal</td>
<td>tāfūal</td>
<td>tāfūal</td>
<td>tāfūal</td>
<td>tākōal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. sāt</td>
<td>ishāt</td>
<td>ishēat</td>
<td>ishēat</td>
<td>ishāt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. hāo-hare</td>
<td>enfān</td>
<td>enfān</td>
<td>enfān</td>
<td>enfān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. maichā-tare</td>
<td>kālāfān</td>
<td>rōe-hata</td>
<td>hēang-hata</td>
<td>hāch-hata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. sam</td>
<td>shōm</td>
<td>shōm</td>
<td>shōm</td>
<td>shōm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

After the half score and up to nineteen the enumeration is ten — one and so on for all the dialects, except Car Nicobar where they count one — ten and so on, using then sian for sam. Among the Shom Peñ, the inland tribe, who have no export commerce, there are no such special systems of enumeration as the other people have, but in addition to direct reckoning they count by pairs, a point of some interest as will be seen hereafter. Thus āu, two, becomes ta-du, a pair. Then 2 = hēng ta-du, one pair; 3 = hēng ta-du hēng, one pair one; 4 = āu ta-du, two pair, and so on. For numerals beyond ten the Shom Peñ have an expression for half-a-pair mahātukot, which again will be found later on to explain a point in the system of the other tribes, and count thus up to 19: hēng mahātukot teya, one half-pair (and) ten = 11, and so on.

When approaching the first or any score, all the dialects use a plan, in common with many other people, of counting "more reach a score." E. g., in the Central dialect lūe tare tangla hēang momchāma, 3 more reach one score = 17: da tare tangla fōan momchāma, 2 more reach four score = 78.

A score in all the dialects is named as follows:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>michāma⁴⁷</td>
<td>noong</td>
<td>momchāma</td>
<td>momchāma</td>
<td>momchāma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anai⁴⁸</td>
<td>tom</td>
<td>tom</td>
<td>inai</td>
<td>inai</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

And after the score the Central and Southern Groups have a term for half-a-score (dōktai), just as the Shom Peñ have, as we have seen, one for half-a-pair. Thus in these two dialects 30 is respectively hēang momchāma dōktai and hēng-momchāma-dōktai one score (and) half-a-score.

Between the scores the numerals otherwise run as above explained — "one score one" and so on.

---

⁴⁴ For cocoanuts and money.
⁴⁵ tāni, hand; then with infix an, t-an-t, t-an-an-fai; and with suffix tāi, tāi-fai.
⁴⁶ āu, two; fōan, fōon, four; then enfōan, enfōon, eight.
⁴⁷ Of general objects.
⁴⁸ Of cocoanuts and money.
The large figures 100 and so on are merely 5, 10, 15, 19 scores up to 400, which is a score-of-scores in all the dialects, except Shom Peñ which says heng-têo, i.e., one-têo, or score-of-scores, another point of importance in reckoning, as will be presently seen. For expressing score-of-scores the other dialects use the alternative term for the first score, also a point of interest later on, e.g., in Central dialect kêiginai monchitama, one score (of) scores.

The numeral we call 500 all the Nicobarese dialects call "one score (of scores and) five scores," except Shom Peñ which says "one-têo (score of scores) five (scores)." So 600 is in the Central and Southern dialects "one score (and a) half (score of) scores": in Shom Peñ it is "one têo (and) ten score": in Teressa it is "a score (and) ten (of) scores": in Chowra and Car Nicobar it is "a score (and) five pairs (of) scores." So also 700 in the Central and Southern dialects is "one score (and) half (score and) five (of) scores": in all the rest it is one score (and) fifteen scores." Beyond 600 the Shom Peñ and beyond 700 the other dialects, except Car Nicobar, do not ordinarily reckon. For 1,000 the Car Nicobarese say "two score (and) five pairs (of) scores": for 2,000 they say "five score scores." Beyond 2,000 they do not ordinarily have to reckon.

c. — Reckoning by Tally.

We are now in a position to reckon according to the Nicobarese fashion, supposing ourselves to tally as we go along.

Tally by the Score (1 to 20).

(All dialects) one, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine, ten.

(All dialects but Shom Peñ and Car Nicobar) ten-one, ten-two, ten-three, ten-four, ten-five, ten-six, ten-seven, ten-eight, ten-nine, or, sometimes, for 17, three-more-one-score, for 18, two-more-one-score, for 19, one-more-one-score. Tally.

(All dialects but Central and Southern) (20 to 40) score-one, score-two . . . one-more-two-score, two score. Tally.

Tally by Score of Scores (20 to 400).

(All dialects but Shom Peñ) one-score, two-score, three-score . . . one-more-one-score (of) scores, one-score (of) scores. Tally.

Further Tally by Score of Scores (500-700-2,000).

All dialects except Shom Peñ by varying expressions, meaning, one-score (and) five (of) scores, one-score (and) ten (of) scores, one-score and fifteen (of) scores . . . two score (and) five (of) scores . . . five score scores.

The Shom Peñ stop tallying altogether at 600: and the others, the Car Nicobarese excepted, at 700, and the Car Nicobarese themselves at 2,000, except for coconuts, for which there is a separate system.

Tally is usually kept by nicks with the thumb-nail on strips of cane or bamboo, and in Car Nicobar by notches cut in sets of five on a stick. Each nick or notch represents a score of whatever is being enumerated.

d. — Reckoning by the Score.

As regards the exceptions above noted. For tally up to a score, beyond ten, the Car Nicobarese say "one-ten" and so on, to nineteen. For even numbers the Shom Peñ use besides direct numerals, "one-pair, two-pair," etc.: and for odd numbers "one-pair-one," and so on: and beyond ten to nineteen they say "one-half-pair (and) ten," and so on.

For tally beyond a score the Central and Southern people use a term, dôktî, for "half-score" in the same way as the Shom Peñ use "half-pair." This word is of great interest, as it is a lost stem, meaning "(waning to) half," which can be shown to be the case by the term for
5,000 pairs in Car Nicobarese. drongte lāk, half lāk, i.e., half 10,000 pairs. Here lāk is borrowed from the Far Eastern lakṣa, lāk, 10,000 (one form of the Sanskrit lokesa, just as lāk for 100,000 is another in modern India), and drongte (dōktai) is not otherwise found in Car Nicobarese. This term drongte is applied also to the "half (waned) moon" while drongga means "waning."

It will have been noticed that there are alternative terms for "score": one old one, as shown by the Shom Peihn form, and one newer: the newer term being now used for "score" and the old one to tell or multiply it by the score. In going into the cocoanut-counting system these alternative terms will be found put to yet another use. Again, the Shom Peihn have a special term for score-of-scores, tēo: and can tally up to large figures by scores: one score, two scores, three scores, one more one tēo, one tēo. This idea, too, will be found to be of value when going into the system of counting cocoanuts.

Another subdivision of inter-island custom is to be noticed in Car Nicobar, where one is ordinarily kahōl, but for cocoanuts one is the universal heng.

Beyond the score-of-scores (400) the Nicobarese have so seldom to enumerate ordinary objects that their nomenclature for the numerals then becomes, though clear, uncertain, as will be seen from the different method by which the various islanders arrive at the same sum. At the same time the fact that the Shom Peihn stop at 600, the others, except the Car Nicobarese, at 700, and the Car Nicobarese themselves at 2,000, is not due to want of intelligence, but to want of practical use: just as we stop practically at a million and most people are uncertain as to whether a billion is 10 or 100 or 1,000 or even a million millions, and as beyond the billion the terms become academic.

**e. — The Small Numbers.**

As regards the smaller simple numbers, the terms for them have got quite away from any idea now of connection with the hand or multiplication of each other, though both can be seen after examination to be present. The word for hand, tais, in Nicobarese is a "lost root" and now only exists for parts of the hand, thus — ok-tai, back (of the) hand; oai-tai (in-hand) palm; kane-tai (stick-hand) and even tais, finger. So tanai is certainly a derivative of tais, formed with the differentiating infixa an, thus — tais, hand, fingers, t-an-ai, five. Next we find clear roots: d (du, a, d) two and j (kō) pair: whence in various forms, dà, two; jas, four (two pair); en-fōan, eight (twice two-pair). So in Shom Peihn three, six and nine (lue, longu, long) are clearly the inflected remains of some such connected multiples, and in the other dialects "six" is three pair; lue, three, (ta) jō-b, six, a pair of three (ta is a common radical prefix in the language). Tafoal (tāfoal, takōal, tahōl), which in that case is really a numerical coefficient, also means a pair in all the dialects except Shom Peihn, and is built up etymologically in the same way as the homonym for six quite legitimately, thus — tāfoal, prefix-root-suffix; while we see the root again in Shom Peihn in the (probably mixed) compound term for "half-a-pair" ma-halked (i) -two-pair. The term hāng-hata for nine is an elliptical phrase hāng hata (shōm), one less (ten), as will be seen later on.

**f. — Commercial Reckoning.**

Turning now to the second system—the Nicobarese method of reckoning cocoanuts for commerce and currency, and from cocoanuts money, which they do not possess themselves, carries them into large figures. It is still a tally system, adopted for commercial purposes by all except the Shom Peihn, from the system of tallying by the score.

Cocoanuts as currency are seldom used in small quantities and the Nicobarese get quickly to the score by counting the nuts in pairs—thus, one, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine pairs, one score. Tally.
The term used for "score" in this case is inai (tom), the alternative already noted, and not momchiama (pomchiama, michama, noong) as in the case of ordinary articles, momchiama being adopted, qud cocoanuts, for "score-of-scores."

It must be remembered that cocoanuts, except when stated in scores or multiples of scores, are always stated in pairs (taflu, taflu, tabuatu), the term for which is omitted in reckoning, unless it is necessary to express it for very small quantities, or in the case of odd numbers, when 3 becomes "one-pair-one, hāng-ta jual-hāng," and so on.

In tallying cocoanuts by the score, the various islands have set up different standards of tally, which are complicated and in many cases in alternative use. The number of standards in fact indicates the trade, where trade is briskest, the standards are most numerous. It may be noted that in counting cocoanuts "ten pair" may be substituted for "one score" in the lower tally everywhere, except in Chowra, where "one score" is used without an alternative.

g. Commercial Tally by the Score.

It is now necessary to use some abbreviations—C. = Central, S. = Southern, T. = Teressa, C. N. = Car Nicobar, and Ch. = Chowra.

The least developed method of tallying by the score is in C. and S., where there are only two standards, inai score (20) and momchiama score-of-scores (400). There the counting by the score is — one, two, three . . . score, one momchiama (score-of-scores); then one, two, three . . . up to any number of momchiama. This method is very awkward in the higher figures, thus—

- \[500 \times 1 \text{ momchiama } 5 \text{ (score) } [400 + b (20)]\]
- \[600 \times 1 \text{ and-a-half } (dōkta) ] (400 + 200)\]
- \[700 \times 1 \text{ and-a-half } 5 \text{ (score) } [400 + 200 + 5 (20)]\]
- \[1,000 \times 2 \text{ and-a-half } (2 \times 400) + 200\]
- \[3,000 \times 7 \text{ and-a-half } (7 \times 400) + 200\]
- \[10,000 \times 1 \text{ score } 5 \text{ momchiama } [20 + 5] \times 400\]
- \[20,000 \times 2 \text{ five pair momchiama } [10 + 5] \times 400\]
- \[100,000 \times 10 \text{ momchiama } [10 \times (20 + 5) \times 400]\]
- \[200,000 \times 1 \text{ of score (of) momchiama } [(20 + 5) \times 20 \times 400]\]

Car Nicobar adopts the score and score-of-scores (inai-momchiama) standard, but only alternatively and only as far as the higher of the two (400). T. and Ch. will talk about 11, etc., score, but as far as 15 score only.

h. Standards of Ten and One Hundred Score.

All these three islands, Car Nicobar, Teressa, and Chowra, have a third standard of ten score (200), which is in these dialects called

C. N. T. Ch.

'ong⁴⁰ nong là

Then alternatively Ch. and C. N. will reckon by the là or 'ong up to 15 score, and C. N. alternatively up to 20 score. Beyond the nong, T. always reckons by the nong thus⁴¹:

- \[200 \times 1 \text{ 'ong } (\text{nong, là})\]
- \[400 \times 2 \text{ 'ong } (\text{nong, là})\]
- \[500 \times 2 \text{ 'ong } (\text{nong, là})\]
- \[600 \times 3 \text{ 'ong } (\text{nong, là})\]
- \[700 \times 4 \text{ 'ong } (\text{nong, là})\]
- \[800 \times 5 \text{ 'ong } (\text{nong, là})\]
- \[900 \times 6 \text{ 'ong } (\text{nong, là})\]
- \[1,000 \times 7 \text{ 'ong } (\text{nong, là})\]
- \[1,100 \times 8 \text{ 'ong } (\text{nong, là})\]
- \[1,200 \times 9 \text{ 'ong } (\text{nong, là})\]
- \[1,300 \times 10 \text{ 'ong } (\text{nong, là})\]
- \[1,400 \times 11 \text{ 'ong } (\text{nong, là})\]
- \[1,500 \times 12 \text{ 'ong } (\text{nong, là})\]
- \[1,600 \times 13 \text{ 'ong } (\text{nong, là})\]
- \[1,700 \times 14 \text{ 'ong } (\text{nong, là})\]
- \[1,800 \times 15 \text{ 'ong } (\text{nong, là})\]

The standard of ten score (200) is carried by all the three islands C. N., T., Ch., up to 2,000, i.e., 10 'ong (nong, là), when alternatively a new standard of hundred score commences in C. N. called kaiše, in T. and Ch., mamila. Thus —

- \[2,000 \times 1 \text{ kaiše (mamila)}\]
- \[3,000 \times 1 \text{ kaiše (mamila)}\]

⁴⁰ Inflectionally (1) nong, (2) tông, (3) yông, (10) nong according to the terminal of the previous numeral.
⁴¹ Except in case of 300 which is 15 score.
1. — The Higher Numbers.

After this the islands break off on their own lines. Thus T. carries on the standard of ten score (mamila) for all the higher figures: 200,000 being in that dialect simply 5 score mamila \((5 \times 20 \times 2,000)\). C. N. and Ch. do so also as far as 100,000, which is in all the three dialects 2 score 5 pairs mamila (kaĩẽ) or \([2 \times 20 + 5 (2)] \times 2,000\); but Ch. alternatively commences a new standard at two mamila or two hundred score \((4,000)\) called metnētchya and carries that on to all figures. Thus for Ch. —

\[
\begin{align*}
20,000 & \text{ is alternatively 5 metnētchya } (5 \times 4,000) \\
100,000 & \text{ is 1 score 5 metnētchya } [(20 + 5) \times 4,000] \\
200,000 & \text{ is 2 score 10 metnētchya } [(40 + 10) \times 4,000]
\end{align*}
\]

At 10 kaĩẽ \((10 \times 2,000 = 20,000)\) C. N. commences a new alternative standard, lāk (borrowed from the Malay and Far Eastern lëka in 10,000\(^{61}\), meaning 10,000 pairs \((= 20,000)\) coconuts. This is carried on to all the high figures. Thus —

\[
\begin{align*}
20,000 & \text{ is 1 lāk} \\
100,000 & \text{ is 5 lāk} \\
200,000 & \text{ is 10 lāk}
\end{align*}
\]

By an interesting expression C. N. says driënte lāk, half lāk, for 10,000. This proves that dedktai, "and-a-half" (scores) of C. and S. really contains a lost root for "half." Also it is to be noticed that when C. and S. get into large figures they have borrowed the T. Ch. alternative term for score. Thus —

200,000 in C. and S. is hāang inai tanai tom momchiama, one score (and) five score (of)

score-of-scores \((20 + 5 \times 20 \times 20 \times 20)\).

j. — Coconut Reckoning Standards.

The following table will show briefly the standards for reckoning coconuts:

<p>| | | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>pair</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>all islands</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>tafũa (tařāl, takōal, tahol)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.</td>
<td>10 pairs or score</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>all islands</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>inai (tom)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.</td>
<td>1 score</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Ch. T., C. N.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>lā (nông, ŏng)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV.</td>
<td>score of scores</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>C., S., C. N.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>momchiama (pomchiama, michama)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.</td>
<td>10 ten-scores</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Ch., T., C. N.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>mamila (kaĩẽ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI.</td>
<td>score of ten-scores</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Ch.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>metnētchya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII.</td>
<td>10,000 pairs</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>C. N.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>lāk (borrowed trade term)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

C. N. and Ch. have thus six standards and Car Nicobar has the highest: T. has four standards: C. and S. have three. These standards exactly indicate the relative trading opportunity of the various islanders.

The Shom Peñ have no trade, but they can easily reckon up to 80,000, thus tewa inai tėo 10 score \((10 \times 20 \times 400 = 80,000)\). They have three standards — I, pair, 1 ta-iun, 2: II, score, 1 inai, 20: III, score of scores, 1 tėo 400. They do not, in fact, fall behind the other islanders in the capacity for grasping and reckoning in abstract figures.

\(^{61}\) Not from the Indian lāk, 100,000. Both lāk (10,000) and lāk (100,000) are from the same root as the Sanskrit lëka.
k. — Scales for reckoning Coconuts.
For European trade the table of scales would be as follows:—

I.
For all islands.
10 tafua or takóal or tahól (pair) make 1 inai or tom (score), (20)

II.
C., S., C. N.
10 tafaóal or tahól ... ... make 1 inai (20)
20 inai ... ... ... 1 momchiama or micháma (400)

III.
Ch., T., C. N.
10 tafaóal or takóal or tahól (pair) make 1 inai or tom (score), (20)
10 inai or tom (score) ... ... 1 là, nong, or 'ongan (200)
10 là, nong, or 'ongan ... ... 1 mamila (kaiñe) (2,000)

IV.
Ch.
10 takóal ... ... ... make 1 tom (20)
10 tom ... ... ... 1 là (200)
10 là ... ... ... 1 mamila (2,000)
2 mamila ... ... ... 1 metñetchya (4,000)

V.
C. N.
10 tahól ... ... ... make 1 inai (20)
10 inai ... ... ... 1 'ongan (200)
10 'ongan ... ... ... 1 kaiñe (2,000)
10 kaiñe ... ... ... 1 làk (20,000)

One can see, when put in this way, which is, of course, distinctly not Nicobarese, where trade has sharpened wits.

I. — Tallys.
In a Car Nicobar tally stick, kenrëta-kök, in my possession, unfortunately already dry-rotted in the notches, which are thus lost for the future, a running account of coconuts with a trader who has advanced rice for coconuts, is shown. The balance due on the rice was 2,000 coconuts, i.e., 10 'ongan or 1 kaiñe denoted by the 10 notches at A. The 10 notches at B represent the total sum 10 'ongan to be made up. The 6 notches at C denote that the owner has cleared 6 'ongan (1,200), the 4 notches at D that 4 'ongan (800) are still due.

Kenrëta-Kök.
I have another tally of beads on a string from Car Nicobar (kenrāta-ngijī) which shows that 26 michāma (400 x 26 = 10,400) of cocoanuts are due out of a sum and that 4 michāma (1,000) have been paid. The original debt was therefore 30 michāma, i.e., 12,000 cocoanuts, or as a Car Nicobarese would say, 6 kaihe or drongte lāk heng kaihe [half lāk (and) one kaihe].

Kenrāta-ngijī.

APPENDIX B.

a. — Reckoning of the Days of the Months.

Each “moon” is divided into phases and divisions in all the islands on the same system, except Car Nicobar, which has a differing one. There is for descriptive purposes a waxing and a waning moon; dividing the “moon” into halves. There are also a descriptive First Phase (Hāng Lā, one piece): Full Moon (whole or swollen moon); Last Phase (Kancāl, Boar’s tusk). For reckoning, the month is divided into 30 days and four phases — I (se), 1st to 10th (10 days); II (ydm), 11th to 20th (10 days); III (tatsāngā) 21st to 26th (5 days); IV, 26th to 30th (5 days). In the fourth phase the days are not counted, but separately named.

In Car Nicobar the following descriptive phases are recognised: — (a) First Phase (Kānel-hūm, Boar’s task); 2nd day; Second Phase (Tutlāal); 8th day (First Quarter): Third Phase (Chaut Chingeū, 14th day (Full Moon): Fourth Phase (Dronγte Chingeū), 22nd day (Last Quarter); and (b) Waxing moon, 1st to 10th (10 days): whole moon, 11th to 16th (6 days): waning moon, 17th to 26th (10 days): disappearing moon, 27th to 30th (4 days): total, 30 days. In Car Nicobar also the full moon, and the day before and the two days after, are all recognised by separate terms. For reckoning, the month is divided into 30 days and 3 phases: waxing moon, 1st to 16th (16 days): waning moon, 17th to 26th (10 days): disappearing moon, 27th to 30th (4 days): total, 30 days.

In reckoning the month the Car Nicobarese reckon straight through the waxing moon from 1 to 16 and simply say “kahol kchingeūt, one moon . . . tasfai stam chingeu, sixteen moon.” They then go straight through the waning moon from 1 to 10 and say “kahol drongna chingeūt, one waning moon,” and so on. Lastly they run through the disappearing moon from 1 to 4, “kahol sdmunya chingeūt, one disappearing moon,” etc. If intercalary days then ensue, they are all called iaia dy-chingeūt.

In the other islands the plan of counting the days is the same, but the method differs and is more complicated. They count 1 to 10 (se moon); thus “hāng se kāhē, one se moon . . . . shom se kāhē, ten se moon.” Then 1 to 9 (ydm, whole); thus “hāng ydm kāhē, one ydm moon . . . . hāng kata ydm kāhē, nine ydm moon.” But the 20th is “hāng
momchrama yám kāhē, one score yám moon," to finish the reckoning, because it now takes on a new phase. The 21st to 25th are reckoned backwards thus—

21st enfōan tatlānga 8 tatlānga.
22nd issāt " 7
23rd taftāl " 6
24th tanai " 5
25th fōan " 4

After this they reckon by separate names:

26th ongāwa
27th hinai
28th hinlain
29th manūt
30th kanat

Any following intercalary days are all called kanat.

b. — Explanation of Terms for Numerals.

There is a term for the 19th in the Central Group, which explains the curious form heāng-hata for nine. The ordinary term for the 19th day is heāng-hata ydm kāhē, nine ydm moon: but shōm heāng hata tom ydm, which is obviously "ten one less score ydm," is also used, because the 20th is heāng momchrama ydm kāhē, one score ydm moon. Hai means "not" and hata here is clearly "less" and so heāng-hata, nine, is an elliptic phase for heāng hata shōm, one less ten.

Another pair of expressions is drōnga chingēāt, waning moon, and drōngte chingēāt, half moon, which explains drōngte lāk, half lak (20,000), and dōtai “and-a-half (score).” Here is a “lost root” drōng, dōk, “lessen,” which when combined with (te, ta) tai “lost root” for “hand,” means “the lessened hand” or “half.”

The only other term which might be disputed is chāmānga chingēāt, ten moon, the word for ten in Car Nicobar being sam, but it is quite a legitimate extension for differentiation by infix and suffix, thus; ch-amāng-a (for s-am-am-a), or according to root forms, chang for sam.

c. — Calendar Tallies.

In a Car Nicobar Calendar (kornāta) in my possession the days are notched as follows to indicate a monsoon. It is in the form of a sword-blade.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Notches</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fourth</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fifth</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sixth</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seventh</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

197 days

or well over half the year, which would require readjustment during the next monsoon.

It will be observed that the notches are meant to go 10, 6, 10, 4 = 30.
That is, in this *kenrāta* the Car Nicobarese four phase system is taken in calendaring the months, i.e., the months are divided into waxing, full, waning, and disappearing moon.

When the notches fill one side of the *kenrāta*, they commence on the other, and are thus able to keep tally of time for a short while.

**Car Nicobar Calendar.**

*(Kenrāta.)*

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**Note.**

**Mr. de Röepstorff’s Calendar.**

In Mr. de Röepstorff’s posthumous *Dictionary of the Nancauery (Central) Dialect*, of 1884, is given a complete and most interesting Calendar, found among his papers, for the year 1883 day by day, but unfortunately there is something wrong about it. He has given Danāh-kapā and Kabā-chuįį as two separate solar months, whereas they are duplicate names for the closing month of the N.-E. Monsoon, and thus gives 13 and not 12 solar months to the year. He has also got the months Channi and Hammua in the reverse order. Further, his months work out thus for the solar year, giving an intercalary day each to (7) Hammua (May-June) and (9) Manākngapoah (August-September).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>1. 9th January to 7th February</th>
<th>30 days.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. 8th February to 8th March</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. 9th March to 6th April</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. 7th April to 6th May</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5. 7th May to 5th June</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6. 6th June to 3rd July</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7. 4th July to 3rd August</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8. 4th August to 31st August</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9. 1st September to 1st October</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10. 2nd October to 30th October</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11. 31st October to 29th November</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12. 30th November to 28th December</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13. 29th December to 8th January</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

365 days

This would have resulted in the Nicobarese full year of two monsoons being completed in 363 days, and this reckoning would have brought about a muddle in the ensuing year, 1884, which does not as matter of fact occur.

It is to be observed that the S.-W. Monsoon was taken in that year as commencing on 7th May and the N.-W. on 1st November, so that the S.-W. Monsoon half year lasted 177 days and the N.-W. about 188.

It is to be noted also that in Mr. de Röepstorff’s calendar the *She* days are 10, the *Yām* days 10, and the *Tatlinga* days 5 in each month, while the odd dark nights run thus: for 1 month none, for 1 month 3, for 6 months 4, for 3 months 5, for 2 months 6 in the month.
A REPORT ON THE PANJAB HILL TRIBES.

From the Native point of view.

BY MIAN DUEGA SINGH.

(Communicated by H. A. Rose.)

(Concluded from page 315.)

LXXVIII. — Social Customs.

293. Methods of salutation among different tribes are: —

(1) Brâhmins salute one another, as pairi pônd; namâdhur. They salute Râjputs with astirbâd, sri buchan, Râjâ kô sri Raghu Nâth sahât (God be with the Râja). Other tribes, except the low castes, with kalvân or astirbâd. Low tribes with "May you long live or flourish."

(2) Râjputs say to the Brâhmins, matthâ têknâ, pâlaç, pairi pônd (I fall at your feet); to others, except low castes, Râm Râm, and to low castes, "May you long live or flourish."

(3) Bôhrâs, Baniâs, Bhabrâs, Sûdas, Kâshâtriyas, say Râm Râm to one another, or bandagi or matthâ têknâ or pairi pônd; to Brâhmins, pâlaç, pairi pônd, or matthâ têknâ; to Râjputs, mahârâj jaiûd or jaiûd mahârâj or jaiûd.

(4) Kanaits, goldsmiths, Jats, barbers, gardeners, milkmen, potters, masons, say Râm Râm, dhâl, bandagi and jai Sitâ Râm; to Bôhrâs, as above, bandagi or Râm Râm; to Râjputs, mahârâj jaiûd or jaiûd or dhâl.

(5) Washermen, dye-sinkers, carpenters, smiths, Thâthâris, Dhaâls, Chandâls, Kôls, Rêhrs, sweepers, cobblers, bootmen, weavers, say to one another, Râm Râm or dhâl; dhâl or pairi pônd to Kanaits; dhâl or pairi pônd to Bôhrâs, etc.; mahârâj jaiûd or jaiûd, or jai, to Râjputs; and pairi pônd or matthâ têknâ to Brâhmins.

(6) The women of Brâhmins, Râjputs and Bôhrâs, etc., say matthâ têknâ or pairi pônd to one another. The women of Kanaits, etc., say dhâl or sût to one another, and those of low castes say dhâl to one another.

(7) The above-mentioned tribes say namâ Nârûsin (reverence be to God) to the Sânyâsi mendicants or make dandaâr (going round the person) to them, who in answer say Nârûsin. Bâirâgis are addressed with jai mahârâj dandaâr, who reply jai Râmji or jai Sitâ Râmji. Adès is said to a Jogl, who replies Ad purush (the First Cause). Adasias are made a dandaâr and they reply chiranji (long live).

294. Modes of salutation by relatives: —

(1) Brâhmins. A son, son-in-law, nephew, etc., says matthâ têknâ and pairi bandan, to a father, mother, maternal uncle and wife, maternal grandfather and grandmother, father-in-law and mother-in-law. Women say pairi bandan to their relatives. The elders in reply say chiranji to a man, and suhâtgan sanpati (may your husband live long) to a woman.

(2) Râjputs, Bhabrâs, Baniâs, etc. To the above-mentioned relations, if males, they say jaiûd or dhâl, and if females, pairi pônd or matthâ têknâ. The elders, in reply, say chiranji to a man, and suhâtgan sanpati to a woman.

(3) Kanaits. Younger males say dhâl, Râm Râm or bandagi to an elder relation, who in reply says "long live" or "flourish" chiranji. Women say sût, and receive in reply sudd, suhâtgan.

(4) Low castes. Both males and females, if the younger say dhâl to elders, who in reply say "be happy," or dhâl.

(5) Râjâs or Râmâs. Brâhmins say to a Râjâ or Râmâ asirbâd, sri Gopdi sahât or sri Raghunâth sahât (may God help you). Other tribes say jaiûd to them. They reply pâlaç to Brâhmins and Râm Râm to others, jai to Râjputs and "be happy" to low persons.
(6) Mīānas (Rājā’s younger sons).—Brāhmans say to a Mīān asīrbd or sīr bāchān; others say jāī, jaiddā, or dhdī. They reply pālag or matthā tākā to a Brāhman; Ṛm Ṛm, jāī, jaiddā or dhdī to the Rājputs; Ṛm Ṛm to others, and “be happy” to low persons.

(7) Banis.—They say bandāgī and Ṛm Ṛm to merchants. Brāhmans say asīrbd or sīr bāchān to them. Low persons say to them dhdī or paītī pāṇī.

(8) Nēgtās, Mehtās, Wazīrs, Mukhīs, etc., say bandāgī or sałān or Ṛm Ṛm.

(9) If a man belongs to any other tribe, then he is saluted with the words fixed for his tribe.

265. The methods of greeting among the members of a family, friends, relations, and strangers are given below:

(1) Members of a family.—The younger places his head on the feet of the elder, and then says jaiddā, dhdī, bandāgī, or Ṛm Ṛm, according to the fixed custom, with both the hands brought together. The elder places his hand on the back of the younger, accepts the salutation asks after his health, and places him near himself with a great show of love.

(2) Friends.—Friends shake hands. The younger in age or rank says bandāgī, jaiddā, dhdī or Ṛm Ṛm, after which the elder takes hold of the hand of the younger, accepts the salutation, asks after his health, and gives him a seat near himself.

(3) Relations.—The younger honours the elder, and puts his head on the feet of the latter. If the relation be that of an equal position, or if the introduction be effected through a near relative, then after paītī bandāgī they embrace each other, or say dhdī bandāgī, jāī, jaiddā, etc., to each other. The younger leaves his seat and offers it to the elder, and himself sits lower on the floor.

(4) Strangers.—Men prepare good food for their guests according to their capacity. If a guest comes to the house of a Chief, Rājā, or Navāh, then in addition to the least he gets presents, and even money, in proportion to the rank of the guest and host. Chiefs generally give presents to their neighbours and relations.

266. There are no special rules for salutation, greeting or address.

267. There is no particular rule about treatment of guests, women, old men, and invalids.

268. Relations and neighbours entertain one another mutually.

269. No special language is used. The guests are politely spoken to. The host, of whatever rank or capacity, will treat the guest respectfully. If the guest be one belonging to the family of the host’s wife, then he is ridiculed. Brothers-in-law call each other names and mimic one another. Their servants also will behave in the same way.

270. The brothers-in-law or men of their respective families make jokes with each other, and also abuse each other through mother, or daughter, or sister. They call one another a thief, a rogue, a cobbler, a shoemaker, sweeper, etc. But no one may assail the religion of another.

LXXIX. — Social Intercourse.

271. Customs of social intercourse among Kanait, goldsmiths, barber, potters, Jāts, gardeners, and masons:

(a) The Brāhmans can eat flour, rice or fried grain from the hands of the above-named clans. They have no scruple to use pūrā, bakhārī, and everything fried in oil or ghī that has been touched by the latter.

(b) The high castes do not use the food cooked only in water (not fried in oil, etc.) by these sects, but low castes do not observe such restrictions.

(c) Water touched by them is drunk by everybody.

(d) The people do not smoke the same pipe with them.

The high castes do not eat food touched by low castes, such as Khals, shepherds, cobblers, etc., nor do the former drink water touched by the latter, nor do they smoke the same pipe with them. The low castes can eat food prepared by anybody. But every tribe, even among themselves, have some restrictions concerning diet.
273. Members of all tribes can eat the food, whether fried or unfried, prepared by a Bráhman, but they do not smoke pipes together. Every tribe—nay, even every sub-division—has its own pipe. The same rule holds in the case of fried food. The people do not take fried food with persons not of their own blood, and this custom holds particularly among Bráhmans, Rájpúts, and Baniás.

LXXX. — Clothing and Ornaments.

273. (1) Garments generally differ in fashion, and a distinction between the Hindus and Muhammadans can be made so that the Hindus keep their buttons to the right, while the Muhammadans keep them to the left. Hindus do not use black cloth, except for trousers, but the Muhammadans use it freely. And the Hindus do not use blue cloth, while Muhammadans do. The Hindus do not shave their heads, while Muhammadans shave their heads clean. The Muhammadans cook big cakes and Hindus small ones.

The names of men’s garments are: Chóghájd, kurtá, kámis (shirt), sácér (vest), pújándá (drawers or trousers), suthán, sálár, gáchí, tópi (cap), fátáhi, kót (coat), chóyd, chádar (blanket or sheet), dosháld (shawl), turban, kamarbánd (belt).  

The names of women’s garments are: Dhótha, gáchí, dórá, chólti, tambá, suthán, lóyd, lóótá, ghóndi, chádar (blanket), kurtá sácér (vest), kámis (shirt), chólti (coat), chótagáld and kamarbánd (belt).

(2) The following are some of the ornaments for women: Kárd (arm-rings) of gold and silver, hágála (arm-rings) of gold and silver, ponáhi, marédrú, cháru (arm-rings), mónúdi, dórá, chandarmán, chák, kumbáli, monré, sétá, kámphpál, lámárés, chains for sédás or kámphpál or lámárés, jhóma, nach (nose-ring), budá, désar, pipal pátá, lóng, jhúá and thúá (?), kách and cháhtá, kánthá, jómáld, chandarmán har, dárd, dohr, chum bóli, indásén har, kénésrám dód, táriv, mólá, básábánd, tódr, pácébr, pécháld, chókháld, gúáhrá, hánót, jhánjár.

Ornaments for men are: Z’éga, chandarmán, gókhra, markí, dórá, bóli or kumbar; kántha, gold and silver; kára, gold or silver; mónúdi, gold or silver; táriv, mólá, and básábánd.

LXXXI. — Dancing and Singing.

274. The women of all the tribes, except those of the Bráhmans and Rájpúts, can dance. They dance among men in their villages at night. The women of Bráhmans and Rájpúts do not dance, except at marriages, when they also sing. The tórts (minstrels) are, by profession, dancers and singers.

LXXXII. — Table of Occupation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name of Tribe</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Kshatriyas or Rájpúts</td>
<td>Military service.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Bráhmans</td>
<td>Teachers of the Védas and Scriptures; receivers of gifts and alma.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Súdras</td>
<td>Merchants and agriculturists.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Baniás</td>
<td>Merchants.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Bóhrás</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Kánaits</td>
<td>Agriculturists; servants of Bráhmans and Rájpúts.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* [It is to be observed that one Portuguese word káru and one English word kór occur in these lists. — Ed.]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name of Tribe</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Khatria</td>
<td>Like Rajputs; merchants and servants.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Kayasthas</td>
<td>Clerks and merchants.</td>
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<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Goldsmiths</td>
<td>Makers of gold or silver ornaments.</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>Barbers</td>
<td>Shaving.</td>
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<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Potters</td>
<td>Make earthenware vessels; keep beasts of burden, such</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>as mules, camels, etc.</td>
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<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Washermen</td>
<td>Washing of clothes.</td>
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<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Chhimbas</td>
<td>Dyeing and washing of clothes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Carpenters</td>
<td>Build houses; carve wood and sculpture; and do all</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kinds of work in wood and stone.</td>
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<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Blacksmiths</td>
<td>Make instruments and vessels of iron.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Thathéra or Bharéra</td>
<td>Make instruments and vessels of brass, copper, and</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>spelter.</td>
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<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Turs, Dhâks, and Dhâdis</td>
<td>Play upon instruments, sing and dance.</td>
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<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Kolls or Dums</td>
<td>Agriculturists and menials to others.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Rêhrs or Nagâlûs</td>
<td>Do. and graze the farmers' cattle; shepherds.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Sweepers</td>
<td>Do. do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Cobbler and shoemakers</td>
<td>Do. make shoes and other things of leather.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Chanás</td>
<td>Do. and make bows and arrows.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Boatmen</td>
<td>Do. and help people in crossing rivers.</td>
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<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Weavers</td>
<td>Do. weave woollen cloth.</td>
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<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Bairâgis</td>
<td>Beggars.</td>
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<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Sanyâsis</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Udâsis</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Jégis</td>
<td>Do.</td>
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**LXXXIII. — Professions and Occupations.**

275. The Brâhmans, Rajputs, Kshatriyas, and Sûdas have adopted the profession of commerce and agriculture in modern times. The Brâhmans and Rajputs are also given to private service. No tribe, except in the case of individuals, sticks to its original occupation.

276. Different tribes have different occupations. No tribe sticks to one occupation as a whole. People earn their livelihood by different pursuits. The women of Brâhmans and Rajputs do no work, but make silk embroidery, sew clothes, knit socks, and so on.

277. No particular profession deserves mention.

278. There is nothing particular to say as to instruments.

279. The Tûris, Dhâks, and Dhâdis allow their women to practise prostitution, whether they be maids or married, and live upon their earnings.
280. The change of religion is necessarily accompanied with change of profession. The convert adopts the calling of his new religion.

281. Persons changing their profession do not necessarily change the name of their tribe, nor is their connection with it slackened, nor does it pervert their religion or sect. However, if a person adopts a profession forbidden by either the Hindu or Muhammadan religion, then his religion is degraded and he is excommunicated. For instance, a person whose food and water can be taken by Brāhmans and Rājpūts becomes, on adopting a low profession, degraded and is excommunicated.

LXXXIV. — Agriculture.

282. The conditions of land cultivation are:

1) Agriculturists are to be found in every tribe. However, the high castes of Brāhmans and Rājpūts do not cultivate the land themselves, but by their servants.

2) The Kānis and Kóls are the best cultivators. Their men and women live by cultivation. Cultivators are generally Kānis, Kóls, Rēhrs (shepherds), who are tenants-at-will. Generally the tenants are without rights of occupancy. Occupancy tenants are very few.

3) (a) Some tenants serve the landlords and do not pay any rent. They serve him daily.

(b) Some tenants pay rent in cash, together with mahān. Some pay in kind as much as half the produce.

(c) They pay, in addition to the fixed rent, expenses of deaths and marriages to the landlord. Also they serve him now and then. No portion of the chaff is given to the landlord. At the time of division of produce, in some places, a quantity equal to the seed is deducted and the remainder is divided into halves, while in other places the whole of the produce is divided.

(d) There are no wandering tenants in the hills.

(e) Daily wages are seldom paid. But when well-to-do people engage poor men on wages at the harvest time, they give to the latter 2½ seers of grain daily, i.e., cakes weighing one seer in the morning, as much in the evening, and half a seer of cakes at noon. Such labourers are called bahuīdr, and the wages are known as chāk. If the wages are to be paid in cash, three annas a day is given.

283. There is no tradition regarding the cultivators.

LXXXV. — Rights in the Land and its Products.

284. Following is the detail of the rights of a tribe in the land:

(a) No one has any right to have land on a rent less than that paid by his neighbours.

(b) Rēhrs and Kóls cultivate the common land of the village without paying any rent, and this is for their serving the shāmādī (community). Sometimes they graze cattle as remuneration for this.

(c) Every one gives some grain (the quantity is not fixed) at the time of harvest to the Brāhmans, the goldsmith, the barber, the Tūrī, the Kōll, the cobbler, the washerman, the smith, and the shepherd, who in return serve the landlords. The shepherd is also given some corn. Each of these can receive from each family not more than four maunds and not less than two seers. These people go from village to village at the time of harvest and collect corn from all the persons with whom they are connected.

285. There is no contract, but the customs are fixed. As the land is divided into portions, so is the bīrt (custom). If any person, who has been giving corn to one man for a long time, does not give it to him but to another man, a severe quarrel arises.
286. This they do not receive by right of superiority, but by right of service. Six monthly grants are fixed as remuneration for their services.

287. This is only the reward of service.

288. The Brâhmanns, barbers, Tûris, Kôlís, and Râhês have hereditary rights. Other menials can be dismissed or re-employed. This right is termed shikštâd.

LXXXVI. — Increase of Agriculture.

289. There is no reason to believe that the forefathers of the agriculturists were of the same caste or tribe as themselves. Neither can this be admitted nor denied. Only so much is certain that in ancient times agriculturists were very few.

290. No such marks are to be found in any tribe or caste as to show likeness between villages or villagers. Distinction between cultivators is necessary. It is not to be found among the followers of any other profession.

291. No tradition worthy of mention is available.

292. Agriculture is increasing day by day, and every tribe is taking to it. Even the Râjputs, Brâhmanns, goldsmiths and barbers, who shrank from cultivating land, have adopted agriculture and are trying hard to improve their lands.

293. Want is not the reason.

LXXXVII. — Pasture.

294. This is a general custom in the hills. The cultivable land situated near the village is either divided and cultivated or is possessed separately. In villages where pasture grounds to graze cattle are scarce the banjar (barren land) is neither divided nor cultivated, for the want of pasture injures the increasing value of land. But this custom is going out of use nowadays, for the agriculturists have been declared the owners of cultivable lands, while the Chief or the British Government owns the unculturable lands. However, the shulâldt (common land) is in possession of the villagers.

295. All the pasture lands of the hills belong to the Chief of the place. But the inhabitants of villages are privileged to graze their cattle in pastures situated within the boundary of their respective villages. None have such a right except the natives of the villages. If the Chief thinks any area to be more than sufficient for the purposes of pasturage, and wants to improve it, then he can give it to any one of the natives of the village for improvement on a fixed rent. The farmers can sell or mortgage the land which they own as the mahâls, but they cannot do so with the pasture lands, and can use them only for private purposes.

LXXXVIII. — Distribution of Land.

296. There is no arrangement for social communion of tribes. However, the subdivisions of a tribe have social intercourse with one another. No custom prevails as to the redistribution of a tribe or religion. The distribution already effected cannot be cancelled.

297. Portions of land are fixed for sowing particular grains for particular crops. For instance, wheat is sown for the rabi crops, and rice, etc., for the kharif, and a limited area of land is set aside for each crop.

LXXXIX. — Water.

298. Divisions of watering-places and habitations in a village are according to the tribes. High castes have their houses, watering-places, and cremation-grounds in one part of the village, and in the same manner every tribe or sub-division thereof has its separate places. Every tribe has also a fixed place in the village to be used at times of marriages and deaths. This partition of the villages by tribes is of long standing, but it has no concern with partition of land. The land is divided into fields.

299. The partition into fields affects all kinds of land, whether it be the individual property of any person or the common land of the village.
RUKMINI KALYANAM.

BY G. R. SUBRAMIAH PANTULU.

(An Episode in the Srimat Bhagavata from the text of Bambara Potnana.—The Telugu Poet.)

You have heard, my lords, how Parikshit, some time ago that under the commands of Brahma, Rivata bestowed the hand of his daughter Rivati on Balarama. Afterwards, Krishna married the sweet-scented Rukmini, an incarnation of Lakshmi and the daughter of Bhishmaka, after gaining a victory over Salva and others who came to aid Sisupala, as Garutmanas took possession of the nectar, overthrowing Indra in days of yore.

Then, Parikshit questioned Suka, the narrator of the story, to furnish him with a satisfactory explanation of the state of affairs which lead Krishna, who came to Bhishmaka's court on account of a swayamvara, to carry off Rukmini and marry her in the Vasanta form, after overpowering a host of powerful kings single-handed.

"Exalted Brahman, Suka, a person who hears the stories of Vishnu, the hearing of which is the best road to salvation, would not be satisfied even after certain stage is attained, as hearing them afresh imparts fresh pleasure to the hearer. As these stories appear fresh every time they are heard, kindly narrate to me the Rukmini Kalyanam, as my mind is at present bent upon hearing it. O sage, the words which narrate the characteristics of Vishnu are ornaments to the ears of the hearers, are pleasure-giving to the prana, are destroyers of sins committed in various lives and contain soul-stirring words."

After hearing these words from the king, Suka spoke thus: — "O Parikshit, there lived a king, Bhishmaka by name, ruler of Kundina in Vidarbha. He had five sons, of which the eldest, Rukmi by name, was a spotless person. The last and most beloved of the lot was a daughter Rukmini by name.

"The house of Bhishmaka glowed with the growth of his daughter Rukmini, as the western horizon glows with the rising of the moon. She, growing day by day, indulged herself in

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1 There are eight different sorts of marriage — (1) brahma, in which a girl of noble descent is married to one of the same order who is also a good Vedic scholar, after adorning the girl in the best jewels possible; (2) dasara, in which a girl adorned with the most fashionable and valuable jewels possible is married to a raja at the beginning of a yagna, as sacrifice, after worshipping him; (3) arama, in which a girl is married to one after accepting from him the gift of a cow for the propagation of dharma; (4) jagatpatrikam, in which a girl is given to a person after telling him that they should jointly propagate dharma; (5) rakshasa, where the girl is carried off by force without the consent of the girl's party; (6) gandharvam, where clandestine marriage is done by mutual consent; (7) samsara, where money is paid for the girl for marriage; and (8) kshatka, where a person marries a girl who is not able to maintain her virtue on account of administering to herself soporific drugs. There is yet another kind of marriage called siva, where the parents marry the two people after noticing strong signs of love in both.

2 The five excrementitious products: (1) Anavamala — where Satiyamala preponderates, although at times the thought of "I am Brahma" is presented to the mind to be soon forgotten. (2) Karmikamala — in which a person gives a deaf ear to the Vedantic teachings of his best guru. (3) Mayikamala — in which the thought about Brahma does not strike the mind at all. (4) Mayyama — where the mind is led to the performance of sinful deeds of whatever kind. (5) Titirnnakala — in which a person after knowing all about Prabrahma is led to the belief that there is something other than that Being and in consequence suffers eternal damnation and undergoes a series of rebirths.
performing make-belief marriages; in serving sweet-flavoured food to other girls of her own age, which pleased them very much; in the growth of creepers and flowers in the park adjacent; in rocking herself in golden cradles, in houses set with diamonds and other precious stones; in playing at ball very elegantly with other girls of her own age; in teaching parrots; in teaching methods of walking to peahens and slowness of pace to fresh-bloomed swans. The growth of Rukmini’s body varied with the growth of Krishna’s love towards her; her lotus-face varied with the lotus of Krishna’s mind; her breasts with Cupid’s finely-pointed darts varied with Krishna’s growth; her loins waved with the waving of Krishna’s patience; her braided tresses increased with the increase of Krishna’s love-chord towards her, so that her growth might keep pace with Krishna’s pleasures. Thus Rukmini, the sister of Rukmi, Rukmaratha, Rukubahu, Rukmakeśa and Rakmanesara, being in her teens, heard of the accomplishments of Sri-Krishna from the hosts who came to her house, and came to a resolution in her mind that Krishna would be the fittest man for her to take as her husband.

“Sri-Krishna, also after hearing of the beauty, intelligence, character, and general accomplishments of Rukmini, and being satisfied on every item, thought that she would be the fittest woman for him to take as his wife. While all his relatives were holding consultations with the wise about giving Rukmini in marriage to Krishna, the foolish Rukmi came to a different conclusion and wanted her to be given to Siśupāla. Rukmini, after having ascertained her brother’s intentions, sighed in heart, called in a confidential Brāhmaṇ and told him that her hot-headed brother had come to a firm resolve to give her in marriage to Siśupāla somehow, and that she wanted him to go to Dvāraka and inform Krishna of the affair. ‘Best of Brāhmans, as my father, too, cannot set aside the firm resolve of my brother, kindly go on this mission to Dvāraka, inform Krishna of the whole affair, and fetch him hither as soon as possible and thus baffle the endeavours of my brother.’

“The Brāhmaṇ, after hearing these and some other secret words, proceeded to Dvāraka, informed Krishna of his coming through the guards stationed outside, received Krishna’s orders, entered the palace, saw Krishna seated on a seat of gold, and blessed him to become a bridegroom. Whereupon Krishna, ever bent upon observing Vedic ritual, vacated his seat smiling, requested the Brāhmaṇ to sit on the same seat and worshipped him, as he is himself worshipped by the angels, fed him sumptuously, approached him most heartily and slowly, and with his hands, which wield sway over the whole world, pressed his legs and addressed him thus:

"Best of Brāhmans, I see you are always contented. Such a state is attained very happily. This dharma is acceptable to the elders. A Brāhmaṇ, however wealthy he may be, should be contented and happy and should not be arrayed by a feeling of pride. Whoever does not quit this svayathma, would have all his desires satisfied. Whoever is not content with the little that he gets would always be crushed, even though he gets Indra’s riches. Whoever is content with the little that he gets would be quite happy, even though he be a pauper. Therefore, I would prostrate before those who show signs of friendship to all beings, who are content with the little they get, who are patient, who are good and not proud. O intelligent and best of Brāhmans, I like that king, under whose sway all the people live comfortably, in whose kingdom you are, and by whom you are protected. Kindly let me know what induced you to enter this impenetrable island-home at this unusual hour. I promise to satisfy your desire and you may depend upon it.’

“Having heard these words from Krishna, the divine being in human form, the Brāhmaṇ replied thus:—‘Lord, there lives a king in Vidarbha, Bhishmaka by name. He has a daughter whose name is Rukmini. She, being intent on serving you, requests you to marry her, and has sent
some news to you through me which, if you be pleased to hear, I am ready to narrate in her own words:— O killer of Kansa, punisher of the vicious, plunderer of the wealth of beauty, robber of women’s hearts, Krishṇa, by hearing whose name all the tāpās (adhyatmikā, adhidaivaikā, adhibhaustikā) would vanish; by seeing whose frame, the eye would derive the pleasure of seeing every thing in the Universe; by always serving whom a man can attain eminence; by repeating whose name a man is freed from the trammels of samsār—to such a man is my mind united. You are the best witness to all this. Although the members of my sex feel generally shy of expressing such secrets, I, quitting aside all sense of shame, speak my heart before you, as the feeling of bhakti preponderates in me, for which I beg to be excused. Krishṇa, to your enemies as a lion to fattened elephants, the pleasure of the whole world, illuminated by family, education, beauty, age, wealth, health, strength, charity, bravery, and mercy— is there anyone among women that does not love you? Even Lakṣmī, the best among women, has loved you. Say, has this love emanated from me alone?

"Purushottama, you who have Lakṣmī in your breast, the proud Siśupāla, king of Chedī, intends to carry me off soon,—me who always thinks of you and you alone, as the fox desires the fool best adapted for the lion. The meanest of mortals knows not your wondrous valour. If, in my previous births, I had worshipped angels, Brāhmaṇs, gurūs, pāṇḍits, and others, and if I had given gifts to the entire satisfaction of Vaiṣṇava, Krishṇa would now carry me off and marry me after slaying in battle Siśupāla and other such meanest of kings. Krishṇa, who have in your navel the lotus which is the birthplace of Brahmā, you who are the best of purushas, you have no reason to find a pretext. If, to-morrow, you come with your armies and slay Jarasandha, Siśupāla, and others in battle and carry me off with your valour, I am ready to accompany you and marry you in the rākshasa form. Krishṇa, if you should think as to how best you can take me off from the palace,—for you will be labouring under the impression that in carrying me off you will be obliged to shed, unnecessarily, the blood of so many relatives, friends, and servants, who would offer resistance to you,—I have devised a measure, which I shall carefully suggest to you if you be pleased to hear. My people are accustomed to send the bride, previous to the marriage proper, to worship the tutelary deities outside the town. I shall be sent on this occasion outside the town to worship Purvaṅga according to custom, and that will be the most opportune moment when you can come and carry me off. Krishṇa, my protector, if you think I am not fit to receive your mercy, the receiving of which is the goal of the learned and the old by dispelling their ignorance, and if in consequence you do not choose to take me to wife, I shall assume at the least one hundred rebirths, perform evata in the meanwhile, always think about you and attain your mercy and then marry you. You may rest assured that this is truth and nothing but the truth. Do not, therefore, give a deaf ear to my entreaties but carry me off soon. My protector, the ears that do not hear your soothing words; the beautiful frame which cannot enjoy with you—the best of beings; the eyes that cannot see you that are beloved by the world at large; the tongue that cannot drink the nectar which emanates from your lips; the nose that cannot smell the fragrance of your beautiful bunch of flowers; the life that cannot serve you, the best type of mankind—all these are next to useless, even though they live. They should be considered as dead rather than living. All the jīvanarthas (seekers of wisdom), if they should live at all, should serve you and you alone and any other form of servitude is next to useless."

"The Brāhmaṇ, sent by Rukmīni, having fulfilled his mission to her entire satisfaction, told Krishṇa of her exceeding beauty, and wanted him to do the best he could under the circumstances and told him that she was the best object for his love. 'O Krishṇa, Rukmīni's feet are the best resorts for all tendrils; her thighs laugh at golden plantain trees; her hands are beautiful with a coating of redness; her neck is exceedingly beautiful, being turned a little and being as white as a conch. There is a suspicion whether she possesses a waist or not. Her breasts give pleasure to
the eye; her forehead laughs at the semi-circular moon; her braided tresses laugh at black wild bees; her sight resembles the finely-pointed darts of Cupid; her eye-brows resemble the branches of Cupid’s arrows; her words invigorate the mind; her face resembles the moon. Krishna, you are the best person fitted for her and she for you. All others are useless to both. I tell you, on my guré, you should be married. Why do you make unnecessary delays? Take all people by whom you wish to be accompanied and come with me to fetch Rukmini. Slay your enemies, do good to the world and obtain fame.’

“When Krishna heard all that the Brahman had said, he took hold of the Brahman’s hand, and, laughing, spoke to him thus:— ‘O Brahman, my thoughts are fully centred on Rukmini and that is why my nights are always sleepless. I knew already of Rukmini’s hindrance to this marriage. Therefore as fire is taken out by the contact of wood with wood, so shall I bring Rukmini after slaying the armies of my enemies. I shall immediately go to Vidarbha, enter Bhishmaka’s territory in a fitting manner and slay all my enemies who come across my path and tear open their bodies.’

‘Krishna ascertained from the Brahman the auspicious moment of Rukmini’s marriage and ascended with him the chariot drawn by four of his best horses harnessed to it by the charioteer under his own instructions, and reached Vidarbha in a single night. There Bhishmaka, king of Kundina, who could not set his son aside, had resolved to marry his daughter to Sišupāla and had made the necessary preparations for its performance. At this juncture the public streets, lanes, and thoroughfares of the city were swept and kept scrupulously clean, excellent sandalwood water was sprinkled in them, they were adorned with beautiful flowers of various kind; all houses were repaired and kept in good order, incense and camphor were burnt; all the men and women were in their best and appropriate attire, were adorned with beautiful flowers, the best jewels and excellent scents; drums and instruments of all sorts were beaten and played. Thus the whole city presented a gay and lively appearance. Then Mahārāja Bhishmaka first propitiated the pítris, fed the Brahmans, purified the city, had Rukmini bathed, adorned her with the best jewels and in the best attire possible, performed all observances in accordance with the strict injunctions of the Vedas, engaged Brāhma to chant the various mantras, and the purohit to perform navagraha homa and to give away gifts of sesamum seeds, cows, silver, gold, and cloths.

“At this juncture the proud Sišupāla came to the city with the object of marrying Rukmini, accompanied by various armies under his command, his innumerable relatives, friends, and others. Jarásandha, Dantavakra, Salva, Biduratha, Paundraka, Vasudeva, and other kings came to the firm resolution that they would defend Sišupāla against Krishna and Balarama and all their innumerable armies, relatives, and friends and drive them off the field, and overcome any objection to making Sišupāla marry Rukmini. Very many other rājás came to witness the marriage. Of these Sišupāla was lodged by Bhishmaka in the best lodgings possible, and when Balarama heard this, he went to the place with a host, all the while thinking that Krishna went there single-handed, and that very many kings were there to help Sišupāla, and that when the girl was to be brought, a fight would necessarily ensue and that at that juncture Krishna would need assistance.

“At that time when the host of rājás were approaching the town, Rukmini entertained grave doubts about Krishna’s coming thither. ‘To-morrow is the auspicious moment; the marriage is fast approaching; my mind is wavering as to why Krishna has not come as yet; whether Krishna has given a deaf ear to my news; why it is that the Brahman resembling the fire has not come here as yet; whether my attempts to marry Krishna are to be fulfilled or frustrated; whether Brāhma has thought otherwise’—such were the thoughts passing in the mind of Rukmini at this moment.
Whether the enlightened and best of Brâhmans did repair to Krishna or no; whether he was fatigued on the way or reached the place safely; whether he found fault with me for having given unnecessary trouble to the Brâhman or accepted my entreaty; whether the Almighty will help me in my undertakings or baffle my endeavours; whether my tutelary deity, Pârvati, will protect me or otherwise, and after all whether my fortune is favourable or the reverse. I am at a loss to know all this — such were the thoughts that she entertained at this moment. 'The Brâhman may not have gone to Dvârakâ and therefore Krishna has not been able to come here. There is no confidential person whom I could hereafter send to fetch Krishna thither. There is not an atom of justice to be got from my brother Rukmi. He intends to give me to Stûpâlâ, the staunchest enemy of my lover, Krishna. Even my Pârvati has lost her pity for me.' The above were her thoughts at that time.

"She would not communicate her thoughts even to her mother. Her face had turned very pale. She would not even smile, nor would she try to remove the wild bees which used to sit on her face, thinking it to be a lotus. She would not unwind the twisted pearl necklaces on her breast. She would ever be bent on eagerly looking at Krishna's arrival. She would weep, thinking she was not to be blessed by marrying Sri-Krishna; she would not braid her tresses; would not talk even to her favourite maids; she would not take food, nor drink water. She would not teach her pet parrot a song. She would not play on the lyre and would shun society as much as possible. As sorrow was great at her heart on account of Krishna not having come to marry her as yet, as he was in justice bound to do, Rukmini, — the lion-waisted, lotus-scented, mirror-faced, flower-bodied, lotus-eyed, swan-gaited, creeper-framed, the jewel of jewels, the flower of all women, with hands formed after the lotus, — would not daub her body with musk, would not bathe, would not see a looking-glass, nor wear flowers, nor resort to parks, nor tame swans, nor grow creepers, nor wear jewels, nor wear marks on the forehead, nor swim in water; she, being unable to bear the finely pointed darts of Cupid, would shiver at sweet soft winds, would be terrified at the noise of the wild bees, would be struck with horror at the song of nightingale, would be annoyed at the noise of parrots and run away from them, would not bear the heat of moonlight and would stand aloof from the shade of the sweet mango-tree. While thus eagerly waiting for the coming of Hari and looking carelessly at all other business, and being scorched by Cupid's arrows, there occurred a tremor of her left eye and left shoulder, which foreboded something good. Then the Brâhman, being sent by Sri-Krishna, arrived, when Rukmini went and stood before him with a glowing face and smiling, then the Brâhman told her: — 'O Rukmini, Sri-Krishna was exceedingly pleased at your good character, has given me immense wealth, has also himself arrived here. He is at present outside the town. He would marry you in the vârikâsa form, even though the whole host of angels and vârikâsas come and oppose him. You have this day reaped the fruit of your labours.' Afterwards Rukmini replied thus: — 'You have protected me by carrying my news to Krishna and bringing him here. I live by your mercy. There is in the whole world none other like you. I cannot repay the good you have done me except by a prostration before you.' Thus saying, she prostrated before him and dismissed him.

"Afterwards Bhâshamala, having heard of the arrival of Balarâma and Krishna at his daughter's marriage, went to meet them with beating of drums, received them kindly, presented them with cloths and ornaments, showed resting-places for their armies, friends, and relatives, showed hospitality to all the other kings as became each of them, and supplied them with all necessaries. Then the townsfolk, having heard of the arrival of Sri-Krishna at Rukmini's marriage, came and saw him and soliloquised thus: — 'This Krishna must be the fittest man for that Rukmini and she for him. Brâhmâ can be called intelligent only when such a pair are brought into unison with each other. What matters it if only by the good deeds that we have done in our previous births, Krishna becomes the husband of Rukmini after slaying all those who offer resistance to him in battle.'
“At this juncture, while the soldiers fully armed were accompanying the dancing-women and were advancing with offerings for the god, the Bráhman women wearing flowers, fruits, sandalwood, cloths, and jewels, were proceeding singing, while there was a tremendous noise caused by the beating of drums, the playing of different kinds of music, and while damsels were following, Rukmini, with the utmost feminine modesty, with ringlets falling on her forehead, proceeded from the palace to worship Párvati. While a host of people of various sorts were accompanying her, she was all the while thinking of Krishna in her mind, and went to the temple of Gaurí, washed her hands and feet, sipped water thrice, and with a pure heart approached and stood before her. Then the Bráhman women bathed Gaurí and Siva, applied sandalwood, worshipped them with flowers, offered various offerings which were brought for the purpose, and made Rukmini prostrate. Then Rukmini said: —

‘I fully believe in my mind the everlasting, time-honoured couple of Párvati and Mahéśvara. I pray you to bless me. You are the chiefest and oldest of all mothers. You are the ocean of mercy. Whoever conscientiously and firmly believes in you will not suffer. Kindly, therefore, have mercy on me and bless me that I may have Krishna as my husband.’

Rukmini then worshipped the Bráhman couples with púd-aupátrí, salted cakes, fruits, and sugar-canes, upon which they were exceedingly delighted and blessed Rukmini when she again prostrated before Párvati, and quitted the temple and came out. As a spark of lightning in the wintry sky, as the animal in the orbit of the moon, as the mañásini which appears on the scene when the curtain is drawn by Brahmá, as Lakáshmi who came out from the milky sky when it was churned by the angels and rákshasus, using Mount Manthara as the churning staff and Vasúki as the chord, glittering with the rays of the finest ornaments, Rukmini came out of the temple of Gaurí with the pace of the fattened swan that lives in the golden lotuses of Mánasasvaravála, with the waist which is troubled by the weight of her heavy breasts which resembled a pair of golden pots, with her diamond-ringed hands twisted round the hands of a maiden, with chins sparkling with the lustre of diamond ear-rings, with ringlets which cover the round forehead like fattened wild bees which encircle sweet-scented lotuses, with beautiful smiles which shed a lustre of moonlight at an unseasonable moment, with lips red as ruby which shed a ruddy lustre to the rows of teeth white as jasmine, with the upper garment resembling the flag of Cupid, with precious stones glittering in the gold belt as rainbow out of season, with sight resembling the glitter of arrows drawn by Cupid from his sheath which broke open the hearts of valorous kings, with measured step and slow eagerly waiting for the arrival of Krishna and attracting the hearts of all brave rájás. With ringlets black as wild bees, with face resembling the full moon, with the eyes of the hare with coral lips, with the voice of the nightingale, with feet soft as tendrils, with breasts resembling the frontal lobes of the fattened elephants, with sand-heaped buttocks, with the best elephant gait, with red lotus hands, with rose-scented body, with lion’s waist, Rukmini came and was seen by all the brave rájás, who were troubled in their hearts very much.

“Rukmini passed by the post of kings who were confused when the smiling look, indicative of feminine bashfulness, fell upon them. They lost their valour, nobility, and honour, lost their senses, let slip the weapons from their hands. They were not able to mount their elephants, horses, or chariots. They were so much bewildered that they leaned towards the ground. Rukmini removed the ringlets from the forehead with the nails of her left hand, and, looking askance at this host, saw Srí-Krishna, with face resembling the rays of the full moon, with waist resembling that of the lion, with eyes as broad as the lotus, with a beautiful chest, with body shining as a newly-formed cloud, with shoulders resembling the trunk of Airávata, with cloths of gold and best ornaments, and with neck turned like a couch. Rukmini saw this world-enchanter and was delighted with the beauty, age, character, nobility, valour, and glitter of Krishna, and being enraptured with love she intended to climb his chariot when he saw her and with the face of fattened elephant approached and lifted her up and placed her in his chariot, not caring a straw for the host of kings who were
viewing, as the lion carries off the piece of flesh lying amidst foxes. He then blew his conch and proceeded towards Dvārakā, while Balarāma and others were following him with their armies. Jarāsandha and others of his host were not able to brook this and questioned each other as to why they were seeing all this, so much perplexed. A crew of shepherds are robbing us of our honour and are carrying off the girl as the low animals rob the honour of the lion. When else can we show our valour if we cannot show it on this occasion? Are our bows and arrows fit to be thrown away into fire if we cannot use them now? Would the people of the world fail to laugh if we let slip this opportunity and let go the girl? Jarāsandha and others having thus reasoned with one another, became exceedingly angry, put on mail armours, bore arrows and bows, and began bragging to one another, and being joined by the charioteers, infantry, and cavalry, went in pursuit of the Jādava forces, telling them to stop. This increased their valour and they showered a volley of arrows on them when these were returned by a similar shower from the Jādava leaders.

"While the troops of the enemy showered a volley of arrows and encircled Krishṇa and his armies, Rukminī, with a look, indicative of extreme terror and shame, saw the face of Krishṇa, when he told her: 'My dear girl, you may in a moment witness Jādava warriors opposing the enemy and they will be very much troubled and would either run away or die.' Thus did Krishṇa console Rukminī when Balarāma and others of Jādava warriors showered a host of arrows, which resembled the heavy thunder and clouds that spread over the whole sky at the time of the deluge, over Jarāsandha and others, the enemy's camp presented an appearance of pieces of horses, chariots, and foot-soldiers, of head-servants mādhavats, charioteers and horsemen of powdered chest, hands, legs, of broken skulls, of extensive hair, of severed feet, knees, calves of the legs, of powdered teeth, of thrown-off ornaments and other similar ones worn by the brave at the battle-field, of the weepings of the valiant, of broken pieces of instruments of war, of umbrellas, of tattered armour, of dust raised to the skies caused by the trampling of horses, of motionless chariots, of the low cries of horses and elephants, of the sounds of battle-drums, of tattered host of kings, of rivers of flood, of the noises of devils, of foxes and other animals eating the flesh and drinking the blood of corpses, of she-devils feasting on skulls and flesh of carcasses.

Jārāsandha and others, the enemies of Krishṇa, being unable to bear his attack, turned their backs and fled, assembled at a certain spot, wept and soothed Siṣupāla, who was before them pale-faced and as one who lost his wife, emitting hot breath by asking him whether he is alive after being relieved from the hands of the enemy. Jārāsandha and others said to Siṣupāla: 'Man can live anywhere, provided there is life in the body. If a man lives, a wife will somehow come of her own accord. You are now alive and therefore a wife can be secured from somewhere. Do not, therefore, weep over this affair very often.' Jārāsandha again said to Siṣupāla, 'Siṣupāla, hear me. Man is not the agent of any deed. He would do a deed being held tight by the Almighty, as the puppet plays being led by the leading strings of the man in a pantomime. I invaded Mahāraj seventeen times, when my whole army was reduced to nothing by Krishṇa and I was captured by Balarāma, whereupon Krishṇa, out of mercy, released me. I again invaded Mahāraj the eighteenth time with twenty-three akṣahaukhinis, when I drove out my enemies, Krishṇa and Balarāma, and gained a complete victory. I neither felt sorrow over a defeat, nor joy over a victory. If we should enquire carefully into this day's proceedings we cannot vanquish Krishṇa, even though we join Siva and wage a war against him. Nor is this all. The whole world is pervaded by omnipotent time. As this was a good day for the Jādavas, they overcame us with the bravery of Krishṇa — us, whose valour is recognized in the three worlds. We, too, can gain victories over our enemy if fortune be in our favour. Weep not, therefore, for this trifile.'
"Jarasandha and others thus consoled Sisupala and went each his own way to his own country, Sisupala, too, went home with his armies. Then Rukmi, the brother of Rukmini, not agreeing to the carrying off of his sister by Krishna and not reconciling himself with the state of affairs, pursued him with an aksahauhin and spoke thus to his charioteer:— 'This shepherd boy has slighted me and carried off my sister Rukmini, as if he were a daring valiant soldier. He knows not my prowess and descent. I must chase him swiftly, drive on the chariot so as to overtake him. I will, with my glittering arrows, put him down and show my valor.' Having thus addressed the charioteers, Rukmi, not knowing Krishna's prowess, drove near him and said:— 'Stop a little, you butter-stealing shepherd boy. You shall very soon see your fate.' Having thus slighted him, he aimed three sharp arrows at him and spoke to him in a manner which irritated Krishna very much:— 'Thou shepherd, you are not our compeer to carry off our child. What dharma do you follow? What caste do you belong to? Of what family are you? Where were you born? Where brought up? What is your calling? What is your gdara? Who knows you? You have no sense of shame or honour. Wherever you come you assume a disguise and do not appear at all in your true colours before your enemies. Moreover, you are no king. You are not tied to the world. Therefore leave our child and depart, otherwise I will put down your pride in battle by steel-pointed arrows which appear as flames of fire at the time of pralaya.'

'Srila Krishna laughed at Rukmi, tore asunder his bow with one arrow, with six others his body, with eight others his chariot horses, with two more his charioteer, with three pointed once his banner, he broke another of his bows and arrows and reduced to pieces all his other weapons. Rukmi not being pleased at this state of affairs, descended from his chariot, held a knife in his hand and came upon Krishna once more, when the latter powdered his knife and armour. Then Krishna drew exceedingly angry at the conduct of Rukmi and drew his knife from his sheath and was about to cut off his head, when Rukmini interfered and fell upon her knees before Krishna and said:— 'Enlightened and honourable being, seat of mercy incarnate, angelic god, my brother, not knowing your omniscience and omnipresence, has committed a grievous fault, for which I intercede on his behalf and request you to excuse him. My preserver, I am not come here to say that my brother has committed no fault. Whatever may be the heinous nature of the crime he has committed, if you should kill him, my parents would weep over the death of their son and pine away instead of feeling glad at their being able to secure Vishnu as their son-in-law, and therefore you should excuse him.' Thus, with a shivering tone, in extreme terror, a convulsed frame, a great fallen countenance, dishevelled hair and ever-weeping eyes, Rukmini prayed to Krishna, when he desisted from murdering Rukmi and went back intent on punishing him differently. He then tied him to his chariot and shaved him in the most awkward way possible. Meanwhile, the Madava leaders drove the enemy's troops off the field and came near Krishna. Then Balarima, seeing the almost lifeless frame of Rukmi and being very much moved, untied the strings, liberated him, approached Krishna, and said:— 'O Krishna, it is not proper for you to shave the head and face of a relative like Rukmi. If a relative should come to battle knowingly or unknowingly, instead of telling him to go away, committing such a deed is more shameful than severing the head off the body. O Krishna, you make no difference between a friend and a foe. You neither show favour to one, nor disfavour to another. You treat all men equally. That you should now have thought otherwise and offered such a treatment to a relative is exceedingly bad in you.'

'He then turned round to Rukmini and said:— 'Blame not our Krishna for the deed he has committed. We should not think that one ought to protect another for the good he has done and punish him for the evil committed. This depends entirely on the karma of our previous existence.
Karmic law pervades through the whole universe. Therefore your brother has but suffered for the deed he has committed in a previous existence. We should not kill a relative, though he deserves death. To him a sense of shame should be more than death. When Brahmā created the four castes and defined the Varnaśrarna dharma of each, he said that it is but proper to kill any person in battle, be he a brother, father, or son. That is why kings in their thirst for dominion slay any person in battle, irrespective of the relationship they bear. Those kings who want to earn a reputation of being great, being desirous of dominion, wealth, sustenance, women or honour, and not for a moment thinking of the troubles they would endure in the other world, always drag other people to quarrel for one reason or another. O Rukmini, hear me. To the ignorant one that makes a difference between God and man, being surrounded by the mayd of Vishnu; to those that draw a distinction between sthūla, svaksha, and karana sārivas, and between jñanendrias and karmendrias, there exists a difference between friend, foe, and acquaintance. As the sun, moon, and stars appear in mirrors, waters, and precious stones, as the horizon presents various shapes in the waters of pools, ponds, lakes, wells, and rivers, so the all-pervading Universal Soul (God) appears differently to different living beings. This sthūla sārira, capable of undergoing life and death, assumes the form of the five elements and makes the jīva wander in this miserable sanadar and undergo life and death in utter ignorance. As the eye and the objects of vision appear bright when sun is shining, the jñanendrias and karmendrias follow their own calling when the soul is shining. As there is no relation between the sun and the objects of vision, so no relation exists between the soul and the body. As waxing and waning disturb only the fifteen phases of the moon and not the nectar-phased moon itself, so birth and death disturb the body and not the soul. As the sleeping person enjoys the appearances presented to him in a dream, so the person who has no knowledge of the soul thinks the transient pleasures of this world to be immortal. Therefore, think not that Krishṇa has put your brother to shame and that he has suffered from it. Put off, therefore, all sorrow from your heart. O Rukmini, put off all your sorrow which arises out of ignorance by your knowledge of self. It is not proper for you, who knows the self, to weep like the ignorant.'

"When Rukmini was thus taught by Balarama, she learnt fully of the soul and left off weeping. Rukmi, who was put to shame by Krishṇa, suffered like one under the pangs of death, sobbed in his fulness of heart over his disfigured frame and resolved that he would not enter Kundinanaagara, without defeating Krishṇa. He therefore stayed outside the town. Thus did Krishṇa take Rukmini to his abode after slaying all his enemies. Preparations for marriage were being made throughout the town. There were dances, songs, and the beating of drums. Men and women put on their best attire. Public thoroughfares became damp from the perspirations of the elephants of the kings who came to witness the marriage. Plantain and areca trees were tied at the front of every house. Camphor and incense were burnt. The walls, terraces, doorways, and pillars of every house, were beautifully adorned. Festoons and cloths, flowers, and precious stones were tied, and standards were raised everywhere.

"On this occasion Sṛ-Krishṇa married Rukmini (Lakshmi), a woman best adapted to his tastes, possessing an extreme sense of honour, capable of making others exceedingly rich, honored by her relatives, and in turn honouring them, of good character, capable of removing immense poverty, and wearing the best jewels and putting on the best clothes. By such a marriage Krishṇa obtained an everlasting fame. Then the townsfolk, wishing for their welfare, came to see the newly-married pair and gave them valuable offerings. The kings of the various kingdoms of the world were delighted and wondered at hearing of the marriage of Rukmini and Krishṇa. O Farīkṣhit, the people of the city were overjoyed to the happy union of Rukmini and Krishṇa."
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