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

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THE RELIGION OF THE IRANIAN PEOPLES.
BY THE LATE C. P. TIELE.
(Translated by G. K. Nariman.)
(Continued from Vol. XXXVII, p. 380.)

8. Mazda’s Satellites.

Along side of Mazda in the Gāthas stand a few heavenly beings, who co-operate with him. They are six in number, are closely allied to him, and latterly are placed, together with him, as the seven Amesha Spentas at the head of creation divine.

This term, Amesha Spentas, does not occur in the Gāthas proper, but in other Avestan writings. It has been conjectured that in the remoter period they were called Ahuras; but this has not been proved. Another question is whether, as known to the poets of the Gāthas, they formed a heptade at all. This has been asserted, regard being had to the seven Adityas of the Indians, and it has been opined that the worship of seven supreme existences, which we encounter in both the kindred races, at least in posterior times, demonstrates the existence of belief in the epoch, when they had a common habitat. The numeral seven as a sacred figure is assuredly old. We have already admitted as much, but did the Zarathushtrian reformers employ it from the first with reference to their divine spirits? This is doubtful, even of the Adityas; and their number is in no way fixed and certain. And I would certainly call it in as regards the spirits, which were latterly definitely named Amesha Spentas, for even in the younger Avesta occasionally more than seven are enumerated. One of the poets on one occasion has combined in a single strophe all those which subsequently were reckoned among them, and he has, at the same time, specially mentioned Spento Mainyush as one of them: — “Through Spento Mainyush and Vahishtem Mano, through words and deeds springing from Asha may Mazda-Khshathra-Armaiti Ahura give me Haurvatat and Amorat (health and immortality),” and there is no doubt that he meant it to be so. But properly speaking it is eight spirits that are here invoked, for Spento Mainyush is clearly distinguished from Mazda Ahura. Then again at least two of the spirits, health and immortality, here appear not as personal beings, but as celestial boons.

Further, Mazda Ahura is in the text united with Khshathra and Armaiti in a trinity, and finally, as we shall see, Ahura Mazda stood so high above all the rest in the oldest announcements, that the idea had not yet suggested itself of placing him on a level with them even as primus inter pares. If, therefore, the figure seven was a sacred one to the Eastern Aryans, the fact that the
Iranians at a subsequent period applied it to their Amesha Spentas and the Indans to their Adityas does not shon that originally there were seven of both classes of existences. Geush Urva, Geush Tashan, and Atar, the fire-god were also occasionally so named, and in a younger Gatisch writing we shall find still more personifications reckoned among them. It is possible that the strophe cited above furnished the Zarathushtrian theologians of the post-Gastic ages with a means to elevate the seven mentioned therein to a special category, the passage being turned into a proof of the new tenet. They found seven and not eight beings in it, because to them Spento Mainyush had long become identical with Mazda.

A peculiarly intimate relation subsists between Mazda, Vohumano, and Asha Vahishta. There is no question but that they play the principal rôle. All the three together are entitled the most beneficent, and the most benignant helpers of the human race. To them follow Kshathra and Armaiti. Further in the background appear Haurvatat and Ameratat. They are seen much less frequently as persons, the two last certainly not oftener than Srasha, who, like another female personification, Ashi, figures as the image of Kshathra and Vohumano. Let us first examine the special significance of each separately and then their general or common character and the relations in which they stand to Mazda.

Vohumano.

Vohumano literally means the "good spirit" or the "good mind." The poets knew this. They seldom employed the term as a fixed proper name; oftener they named the angel, Vahishteman mano, the "best mind." We may call him the personification of the righteous or pious mind, the frame of mind, veracious and pleasing in God's sight. In fact, he approaches nearest to what we understand by the Holy Ghost — Spento mainyus, indicating something different, though the term is mostly so interpreted. Hence the mention of his oracles, his doctrine and his wisdom. With Amaiti he brings Mazda's revelations to Zarathushtra. But reference is mostly made to his actions and his energy, by which he helps on the growth of Mazda's domination, so that we may even say that he actually gives the sovereignty to him.

As a person he is characterised above all by his right manly quality of virtus or haurvatat. He is the cherisher and heavenly representative of all beings, especially of men, and of the order of the pious on earth, who bear his device or mark (frastakhsa). I should not be surprised if he were the Manu transformed by speculation,— the first father of our race among the Eastern Aryans, perhaps also among the Old Aryans, who left behind but feeble traces in the Zarathushtrian dogma—a personified religious-ethical idea, consequently, superposed on an original national hero.

Asha.

Asha is common to the Zarathushtrian and the Vedic religions. It is the same word as the Vedic rta, being equally derived from the Aryan artha, and is not essentially different from it in signification. Only the Indians have not personified him, as the Iranians have. The concept is, therefore, an old one, originally non-Zarathushtrian, but adopted by it, as being very appropriate. Or better, it so dominated the original Aryan faith that it asserted itself in the religions sprung from it, how divergent soever they otherwise were.

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61 Yama 28, 9.
62 Yama 48, 9 and 28, 6. I derive Vahish from vap, to weave, and cot from vap, to throw.
63 Yama 48, 11, Yama 49, 5, Yama 43, 7, Yama 31, 10-11, Yama 43, 15, Yama 45, 4, Vahishman hreseyante manangho, the very active Vohumano. Yama 45, 8. Yama 30, 8. Yama 31, 6, Yama 51, 21, the Kshathreth created by Vohumano.
64 Yama 50, 8. 65 Vohumano. Yama 34, 3. 66 Vangheus haox thawt manangho. Yama 45, 9.
There can be little question regarding the significance of this personification and yet it is impossible to express it in one word. Some translate it as “purity”; others, following Plutarch, see “truth” in it. Neither of these is incorrect, but both are imperfect equivalents and to the last word we attach a different sense. The base-idea is that of being “fitted to” or “proper”, and thus it indicates “to establish or to consolidate.” Hence asha or ria is that which is befitting, coming, proper as well as what is determined, regulated, legitimate, righteous. Among the Indians, as well as the Iranians, the term is employed, in the first instance, with reference to sacrifice and the cult, and so we may probably translate it by “pious.” But it is by no means limited to piety. It comprehends all that we understand by “divine order of the world,” especially the moral order. It embraces all the duties of man in general and his obligations to the heavenly powers in particular.

As a rule we shall translate the substantive by “uprightness” or “order,” the adjective by “righteous” or “pious,” and also differently, where the sense requires it, but not without, at the same time, calling attention to the original word.

Asha then, or, as his full name runs, Asha Vahihta, is, as a personification of all that is dutiful and godfearing, the controller of divine laws and the prime factor or personage in the cult. The conduct of religious operations devolves on him. Longevity is attained by the practice of “Vohumano’s order,” which obviously is an allusion to the everyday cult. He is called the “order incarnate” — as at vus atshen.77 And when the seer asks: — “This I inquire of Thee, tell me aright, Ahura, how shall I pray with a prayer worthy of Thee?”, he follows it up by the supplication: — “May friendly succour be vouchsafed us through Asha, when he comes to us with the Good Mind (Vohu Mano).”68

No marvel that, as the representative of the sacrificial service to which the Aryan ascribes such terrible potency and such rich blessings, he is the most powerful foe of the Druks, who destroys his settlements. Her strength however does not avail her much against him. She will have to surrender herself into his hands and he will completely overthrow her, ere the renovation or the resurrection of the world.69

Finally, as such, he is connected with Aramaiti, who, as we shall see, is his complement with Haurvatat and Ameretat, who, as will also be shown, are represented by the two most important offerings, and above all with the fire, whose genius he himself becomes at a later stage.70

As the concept of Asha, so also was the worship of fire an heritage from the earlier times to the Zarathushtrian reformers, a bequest which they would not forego, but piously preserved. To the fire must be brought the offering of worship. It comes to the pious, strong in Asha and with the strength of Vohumano. It is hisegis against the wicked glance of the vindictive, and belongs to Mazda, who, with it and with his mind or spirit, supports Asha.71

Along with the worship of fire, has an old system of ordeal or divine judgment remained imbeded in the Mazdayasnian faith? At all events it has, according to the tradition. It is related that the celebrated Atarpad Mahresand subjected himself to a glorious ordeal of fire and vindicated the Zarathushtrian faith in the reign of Shahruhr II. Molten lead was poured on the chest, if it did no harm, it established the truth of the doctrine and the claim to apostleship. According to several exegetes, the Gathas refer to it in many places and the pioneers of the Zarathushtrian precepts are said to have put their antagonists to shame by successfully issuing out of trials by fire. Others are of the view that, in the passages in question, the last judgment is referred to when all will be purified by fire, the wicked suffering tortures and the good experiencing an agreeable

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68 Yasa 44, 15.
69 Yasa 30, 8. Ahura rules over those who deliver the Druks into the hands of Asha. In 31, 1, I translate gothis by settlements and not by “wesen” as does Gellner, for it is not clear to me what could be the meaning of “Wesen Ashas.”
70 Yasa 44, 10. Yasa 31, 6, mahtam yon xaurvatato ashaba amervatatasha. Yasa 31, 3 and Yasa 39, 8, where atsvatiha is one of the marred fires.
71 Yasa 43, 8; 43, 4; 40, 7, the mahal atsvaresha manajpha-xa-sha.
warmth. I am convinced, however, that this dogma is to be found only as a germ in the Gāthas. When they speak of a definite decisive division of two parties, or contending sections, they merely indicate the struggle between the Mazdaysians and the Daevas. The eschatological deduction is a later thought. It is possible that men were willing to decide the contest by an appeal to the test of fire, for there is the unmistakable mention of Mazda’s hot red fire, as well as of his spirit. It is also possible to construe this only as figurative language, employed by the poets, or at least to look upon it as we do on the encounter of Elijah and the prophets of Baal on Mount Carmel. In any case this barbarous animistic usage did not belong to the Zarathushtrian canon. It was a survival which was still tolerated.  

Khshathra.

Khshathra is at once the sovereignty of Mazda in the abstract and his empire, which is celestial as well as terrestrial. The things celestial are delineated in vivid colours. Even prior to the creation, this dominion belonged to Mazda Ahura, Asha and Aramaiti. It is indestructible. There is there reverence for perfection, and forgiveness of sins. There also live the supreme spirits. It is also known as Khshathram Vairum, the desirable dominion, the most advantageous portion, the best lot. The pious long for it, and as their reward for their prayers addressed to the Deity, they hope for a share in it to their eternal beatitude. On the earth it appears as the domination of the good spirit, from which his blessings emanate, in which, Asha with Aramaiti, i.e., the worship of God with active life (or as we would say prayer and work) flourish, and in which Mazda graciously promotes true life. If it is stated that Mazda created Asha out of or by himself, but that he had Khshathra brought to light by means of Vohumano, then we must think of the kingdom of heaven on earth, which is a production of the good spirit. How far are we still from that posterior doctrine, which makes of Khshathra Vairya a genius of metal, a god of riches?

Aramati.

Aramati, still so named by the poets of the Gāthas, and corrupted subsequently into Armaiti, is an old Eastern Aryan goddess, who was received from the first into the Zarathushtrian system, and occurs sometimes in the Veda. Here she is far from occupying the place of importance, which is assigned to rta. On the other hand, she plays an important rôle in the Avesta, and is scarcely less adored than Asha, with whom she is often conjoined. Pindar calls her the creator of wisdom and this she is, according to the tradition, as she also is the guardian spirit, or deity, of the earth. Strange as the union of these two may appear, it dates from a distant past and is to be met with equally among the Indians and the Iranians. Besides, it is by no means inexplicable, neither does it conflict with the signification of the name. Aramati indicates the solicitous, the good Mother Earth, who considers what is salutary for her children and is accordingly ever denominated the beneficent.

12 According to Goldner, and in his footsteps Jackson (Bavarian Beiträge, xiv, 15 ff., and “A Hymn of Zoroaster,” respectively), there is no reference to divine judgment or a decision in aurokhe 3 of Yasna 31. They construe rama in the dual or in the plural, occurring in Yasna 31; 18 in 47; 6 and in 51; 9 not as two rival or contending parties, but variously as “two helpers of Mazda,” as “the spirit and fire,” as “the fire and lead,” and as “Mithra and Baozum.” I am not satisfied with this explanation. Also Korn in a private communication is of opinion that rama can have no meaning, but the one given above. He assigns hereto Ash the narrow sense of oath, if not divine judgment, and that corresponds to the meaning of the word in the Ostejan, Armenian and Slav languages.

13 Yasna 51, 12 and 4, badeh aibheiaiai. Yasna 32, 3. 14 Yasna 51, 21; 30, 8; 38, 13, 14; 34, 3.

15 The οὐγονος σοφίας of Pindar corresponds to Neriouagh’s translation sumpurnamanna. He also explains her as πρεσβίτης, lord of the earth. As Spiegel observes (Iraniache Alerthumstunde, 11, 22), Sayana explains Rig Veda, vii, 36, 6 and 42, 3 by moomuh, the earth. This, however, is usually objected to, as incorrect. But it is better than Grassman’s translation “die andechtstoppa,” and the explanation of Dergesna, who would make of her a personification of prayer (Religion Vediquest, 1,220 satire and III, 243), in which there is only relative truth. Also Rig Veda, vii, 43, 6, brings her in connection with vira—mahein aramatin jagd devam—rajapistā; in Rig Veda, vii, 33, 8, she is invoked along with Pushan, the god of husbandmen, Bhaga, the god of fortune, and Purandhi, the disperser of superabundance, which is altogether in keeping with her character as a benevolent earth-goddess.
How the reformers were able to adopt this Aryan divinity into their system, while they rejected all the other popular gods becomes clear, as soon as we reflect that the fostering of agriculture went hand in hand with religion and constituted such an important part of their work of reform. She is therefore actually represented as the guardian deity of the husbandman. A daughter of Ahura Mazda, who belonged to Geush Tashan and lived with her in her divine company, was allowed by the Deity her choice as to whom she would take under her protection on earth, whether her protégé was to be a husbandman or a non-agriculturist. She elected the industrious tiller of the soil, the pious lord who advances the good Spirit, and consequently her followers, must, when the false and the true preachers come to them, always make investigations to find out on which side lies the Lie. Her activity, so runs another passage, is manifested in manual labour, in contradistinction to the expressions of Vohmamo, which are produced by the mouth and the tongue. With her comes the true sovereignty, which secures a good dwelling place, fosters tillage and thereby disables the blood-thirsty fiend. By means of wisdom, good words and deeds one becomes a beneficent follower of Aramati.

And finally this last significance of the ancient goddess explains why she has always been united with Asha, with whom she progresses together, whose creation and seat she is called, and how reference is made to her own asha, which one must study well in order to enter the kingdom of Mazda. Asha is the informing concept of all religions and ethical obligations, as prescribed by the Zarathushtrian doctrine. Wherever she is regarded, settled mode of life prospers. The well sown earth is the creation and the seat of this religion, and to cultivate the land is a religious duty. Hence the older mythical character of the deity is also well manifested in the Zarathushtrian Aramiti.

But of yore she had another phase still, which made her a sort of dependent of Asha, for Aramati can also mean "the right prayer, the right pious thought," which could help make her a genius of piety. This is not her only significance, as is usually supposed, though there are isolated passages in which she appears so to have been comprehended. When her sacrifices are spoken of, sacrifices with which Mazda is glorified, or her prayers and blessings, then this sense appears to be the most suitable. Yet, as said above, such are stray passages, for when it is said she instructs Zarathushtra in the ordinance of the infallible wisdom of Mazda, or brings to the Prophet, along with Vohmamo, Mazda's revelation, that can be applicable to her only in her capacity of the guardian deity of the husbandman and the patron saint of settled life.

**Haurvatat and Amerat.**

Indissolubly united are Haurvatat and Amerat, perfect well-being, or sanity and immortality:—two concepts, which the Veda and the Avesta share in common, but which, however, in the Avesta have been transformed into spirits and united into a Duality. It seems that their personifications in the Gathas took place in their incipient stage. At any rate, they play a subordinate role and seldom appear independently. More often the words occur in their ordinary significance without any personification. For instance, they are even called "the food of Mazda," which, he, in his kingdom, by which is meant here the kingdom of heaven, bestows on the pious, after having conferred on them here below strength and endurance. For strength and endurance are the earthly blessings, which correspond to the heavenly haurvatat and amerat. As personal spirits, both belonged, at least at this time, to the cult. Their mantra is joined with that of Asha. They promise the priestly singers their reward, namely, steeds and camels; and next to endurance, which is the gift of Amerat, we have mention of the drauma, that is to say, the sacrificial cake of Haurvatat. Amerat here fully occupies the place of Haoma, so that we might hazard the conjecture that, in the cult of the Gathas, it was turned into the drink of deathlessness.
Sraosha.

Even Sraosha, a word which several times is employed in its ordinary connotation of obedience, occupies but a very modest place as a genius in the Gāthas. He is a messenger between the terrestrial and the celestial worlds, is despatched by Mazda with Vohu Mano to his favourites, distributes together with Ashi, the bestower of riches, blessings among men, leads the pious on to the eternal domains of the beneficent Spirit along paths, which, starting from righteousness, conduct to the seat, where is Mazda Ahura enthroned, and he is even called “the Way to Godhead.” Sraosha seems to have been in the beginning only a clearly defined heavenly figree, and to have acquired only at a later period great importance as the representative of divine revelation.

Airema.

The Aryan god Aryaman, in the Veda the companion of Varuna and Mitra, retained his place of honour also with the Zarathushtrians. At least they recognise a genius in whom he is concealed, Airema Ishyo, the desired friend. In one of the oldest prayers, which bears his name, the wish is expressed that he might come in order to delight the men and women of Zarathushtra by his presence, to which is joined another prayer that Mazda may shower his blessings upon those who deserve them through righteousness.

These are the higher beings who were obviously acknowledged in the most ancient Zarathushtrian doctrine and who were revered by the early order. Partly deities of an earlier epoch, but afterwards substantially modified and reduced to harmony with the principles of the new teachings. Properly speaking they are none of them gods at all, with the single exception of Mazda Ahura. Most of these figures are more personifications than persons; in fact are neither more nor less than concepts appearing in the shape of divine beings whose real significance was nevertheless perfectly clear. Here and there they occur as mere manifestations of the existence of the supreme Deity, the effectuation of His spirit.

Some times two of them, as a rule the two that are pre-eminent, Vohu Mano and Asha, are united to Mazda in an almost indissoluble Trinity. Asha's will is in the most complete accord with Mazda's. Later on this is said of all the seven Amesha Spentas. That early in this period the seven were known as closely combined and elevated to higher rank than other Yazatas cannot be proved. On the contrary Sraosha, Geush Tashan, Aryaman, but above all the first, are held in no less esteem than, for instance, Haurvatat and Ameretat. And, however hostile the new preaching was to the Deva worship, that it had its roots in the elder faith, and that it was a reformation of it, is evident from the harmony between Mazda Ahura and Varuna, and the conservation of the older gods, after peculiar modifications, such as Aramati and Aryaman, and the ancient prevailing beliefs, such as those in Asha and Ameretat, and from other circumstances to which we shall refer further on.

One of the most important features of this reform is the tendency it shows to Monotheism. Too little value has been hitherto attached to the fact that even the most exalted celestial beings stand by no means on the same footing with Mazda. He alone is properly God, of whose being created or born there is no mention anywhere, except in a heretical doctrine promulgated centuries later. The rest of the spirits are all created or have come to birth. They are the creatures or the progeny of Mazda, and by consequence distinct from him, not only in rank, but in their very essence. As a matter of fact, as well as in actual practice, the system of Zarathushtrian religion in its most ancient form known to us was monotheistic.
ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE NELLORE DISTRICT.

BY V. VENKAYYA, M. A., RAI BAHADUR.

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

The Feudatory Families.

This is the main thread of the history of the Nellore District until the close of the first quarter of the 14th century A. D. Before continuing the narrative we must attempt a brief survey of the various feudatory families that sprang into existence in the Nellore District on the first sign of weakness of the imperial Chōḷas. With the Velanāṅgu chiefs who had their capital at Tsandavolu in the Gunur District, we are not much concerned, though a few inscriptions of the family have been found in the extreme north of Nellore. The family has already been mentioned incidentally in this paper more than once. It is enough here to remark that though they belonged to the fourth or Saivā caste, they based their claim to dominion on the services which they had rendered to the Eastern Chalukya king Vimaladitya and to prince Vira-Chōḷa, one of the viceroy of Vēngi during the reign of Kuloṭṭunga I. The last named king is also said to have adopted a Velanāṅgu chief as his son. Subsequently, the members of the family expanded their dominions and occupied a considerable portion of the province of Vēngi. Kuloṭṭunga-Rājendrā is the only chief represented in the Nellore volume (O. 59, O. 60, and D. 45). He was a feudatory of the Eastern Chalukya Rājārāja II. in A. D. 1167-68.

The Chōḷa king Parāntaka I. claims to have conquered the Vaidumbas. Several inscriptions of this family have been found in the Guḍḍapah District. Members of the Vaidumba family figure as feudatories of the Rashtrakuta Krishṇa III. in his inscriptions found at Tirukkōvalur in the South Arcot District. Subsequently, they appear to have transferred their allegiance to the Chōḷas. A few later Vaidumbas seem to have held some authority in the south of Nellore, originally as Chōḷa feudatories (G. 61, G. 88, N. 6 and S. 8). Rājendrā-Chōḷa-Vaidumba-Mahārāja (S. 8) was evidently the feudatory a Telugu-Chōḷa chief, whose name is not preserved in full.

The family whose history is more complicated is that which, on a former occasion, styled the Telugu-Chōḷas. The name does not seem to be inappropriate, because these Chōḷas appear to have extended their dominions over a considerable portion of the Telugu country. Almost all the known branches of the family trace their origin to the mythical Chōḷa king Karikāla mentioned in Tamil literature. This fact proves that Karikāla and his achievements were well known in the Telugu country, it cannot be taken to show that his dominions extended thither. In support of this conclusion may be adduced the existence of a Chōḷa principality in the southern part of the Kurnool District in the 8th century A. D., the rulers of which claimed to be descended from Karikāla and to be born.

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24 Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 34. Vimaladitya gave them the tract of country round Gudivada.
25 Ibid., p. 36. Vira-Chōḷa is said to have given them the country between the Krishṇa and Gōdāvārī rivers.
26 This was Chōḷa, on whom was bestowed the country of Vēngi containing sixteen thousand villages.
30 Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1899-1900, paragraphs 44-54.
in the Solar race and the Kāśya-pātra.\textsuperscript{31} The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang, who travelled in
India in the 7th century A. D. refers to a Chōja kingdom in the
same locality.\textsuperscript{32} It has, therefore, to be concluded that more than
a century before the Chōjas of the Tamil country became dominant in Southern India, there was
a Chōja kingdom comprising the southern portion of Kurnool, and the northern part of Cuddapah.
With this principality and its history we are not at present concerned. Its existence has, however,
to be noticed, because the Chōjas with whom we have to deal must have had some connection with
the former.\textsuperscript{33} At any rate, they claim no relationship with the Chōjas of Tanjore.\textsuperscript{34}

Of the Telugu-Chōjas I noticed three branches in the Annual Report on Epigraphy for
1899-1900. One of them seems to have settled down in the modern Guntur District with Kopidena
(the ancient Kotiyana) near Narasaraopet as its capital. Daśvarman, the earliest known
member of this branch claims to have conquered Pākanaṅdu and to have ruled at Pottapi,\textsuperscript{35} a name
which is associated with the surnames of a large number of Telugu-Chōja chiefs. Kandukurū in
Pākanaṅdu also seems to have been the capital at some time or other. The early history of these chiefs is
obscure and the circumstances which led to their acquiring dominion are nowhere set forth. But
towards the close of the reign of the Chalukya-Chōja emperor Kulottuṅga I. some disturbances
hitherto unexplained appear to have taken place in the province of Vēṅgil.\textsuperscript{36} The Chōjas of the
Telugu country whom we found in possession of a kingdom in the 7th and 8th centuries must have sunk
into comparative insignificance during the succeeding three centuries and were probably looking
for an opportunity to acquire dominion and reassert their power. The disturbance in Vēṅgil might have
afforded them the requisite opportunity. The earliest\textsuperscript{37} inscription of the Telugu-Chōjas is dated in
the Telugu-Chōjas of Kopidena.

A. D. 1106-07 during the reign of Ballaya-Chōjadēva Mahārāja\textsuperscript{33} D. 68. Next came Pottapi-Kāmadēva Chōja-Mahārāja\textsuperscript{38} and
Karikāla-Chōja-Mahārāja who were feudatories of Kulottuṅga I. and whose inscriptions have been
found at Tripurāntaka in the Kurnool District.\textsuperscript{40} D. 48 and D. 49 introduce Ballichōja-Mahārāja
(or Balliḥūpālaka), son of Kāma, grandson of Veika and great-grandson of Pottapi-Nanni-
Chōja.\textsuperscript{41} The dates of Ballichōja are Saka-Saṅvat 1067 and 1088 corresponding to A. D. 1144-45

\textsuperscript{31} See my Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1904-05, Part II, paras. 5 and 6.

\textsuperscript{32} This reference was first noticed by me in an article contributed to the Madras Christian College Magazine
for 1893 (Vol. XI, p. 384, note) and pointed out independently by Mr. V. A. Smith in his Early History of India,

\textsuperscript{33} In his volume of Tumkur inscriptions, Epigraphia Carnatica, Vol. XII, p. 7, Mr. Rice refers to certain
Chōja records from the country round Hēṃavati (in the Anantapur District) and Nīṇugal. These he assigns
to the middle of the 8th century A. D.

\textsuperscript{34} The title "lord of the city of Upalēśvarū" is borne by many of them and would show that they claimed
descendants from the Chōjas of Tanjore, but from the earlier Chōjas who had their capital at Upalēśvarū.

\textsuperscript{35} Pottapi is perhaps identical with Pottapi near Toogotoor in the Fullampet taluk of the Cuddapah District;
see my Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1907-08, Part II, paragraph 79.

\textsuperscript{36} The frequent change of viceroy (Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, p. 384) and the alleged adoption of a Velanipūl chief
as son by Kulottuṅka I. are facts which are at present inexplicable on any other supposition.

\textsuperscript{37} If the date assigned by the editors to P. 22 be correct, the history of the family would be carried to a still
earlier period. The inscriptions of this branch as well as the Telugu records of the southern branch open with
a Saṅkritic passage, the first words of which are chaṇa-sarūrā-sukha-sukhaḍanā.

\textsuperscript{38} Perhaps this is the same as the Chōjadaballayachōja on p. 18 of the Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1899-1900.

\textsuperscript{39} Perhaps identical with Kāma who married Śrīyādevi and whose date is Saka-Saṅvat 1059 (1644).

\textsuperscript{40} Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1905-06, Part II, paragraph 54.

\textsuperscript{41} Their ancestry might be made to agree with that quoted in the two preceding notes only on the supposition
that Kāma had two sons and that Veika was another name of Chōjadaballayachōja.
and 1165-66. Ballichōḍa does not acknowledge the overlordship of the reigning Eastern Chalukya kings Kalāṭāṅga II. and Rajarāja II. But another Telugu-Chōḍa chief who was a contemporary of Ballichōḍa, viz. Tribhuvananallidēva-Chōḍamahārāja, was actually an Eastern Chalukya feudatory in A. D. 1147-48 (O. 142). He probably built the Kēṣava temple at Kōṇḍēna. In A. D. 1152-53 (O. 19) he seems to have been a semi-independent ruler of Kammanṭuṇu. In A. D. 1228-27 Mallidēva-Chōḍamahārāja of the same family appears to have been governing Kammanṭuṇu (O. 17). D. 22 dated in A. D. 1254-55 introduces Haridēva-Chōḍamahārāja who might have been a Kākatiya feudatory. On the same date Gaṅgavasāṇaṇi, another Kākatiya feudatory, already known from the Tripurāntaka inscription, made a grant at the same village, viz. Gaṅgavaram in the Darasi division (D. 25). [Śiṅga]yadēva Gādēva-Chōḍa-Mahārāja, who was a feudatory of Rudramahārāja and for whose merit a grant was made in A. D. 1867-68 (D. 24) must also have belonged to the Telugu-Chōḍa family, though it does not appear how he was connected with the other members who have been already mentioned.

Another branch of the Telugu-Chōḍas is represented by the inscriptions of the southern tālnuks of the Nellore District. The capital of this family appears to have been Nellore. They were, accordingly, more in touch with the Chōḍa kings whom they generally acknowledged as their overlords. Some of these chiefs appear to have carried their arms as far south as Conjeevaram. In the temples of Conjeevaram as well as in the North Arcot and Chingleput districts, a large number of inscriptions of this branch, have been found. One of its members was also a patron of Telugu literature.

The earliest members of this branch were Maḷvāranṭaka Pottapi-Chōḍa and Tiḷuna-Vidyā. Of the former it is said that he acquired the name Maḷvāranṭaka by conquering Maḍura and Pottapi-Chōḍa by founding in the Andhra country the town of Pottapi. Tiḷuna-Vidyā is reported to have erected a pillar of victory with a figure of Gauri at the top at a place called Ujāyaprī. The time when these two flourished is not known. But as the latter is said to have been born in the race of the other, the interval of time between the two must be considerable. The first five kings of the family 44 mentioned in inscriptions from the Tamil country are not represented in the

42 O. 92 dated in Saka-Saṅvat 1072 = A. D. 1165-66 mentions six generations, viz. Rājamahēndra-Pottapi-Chōḍa; his father Sūraṇarāja; his father Nāmi-Chōḍa; his father Kaḷyaṇa Vaikya; his father Balārāja; and his father Chōḍa-Vaikyan of the Solar race. There is nothing in the inscription to show that these chiefs enjoyed any dominion. They might have been private individuals who boasted of some remote connection with the Telugu-Chōḍas. If this be the case, the origin of the Telugu-Chōḍa family is carried to a period anterior to the oldest hitherto discovered record of the family. D. 32 dated in A. D. 1167-37 records a gift for the merit of the Maḷvāranṭaka Pottapi-Chōḍa Mahārāja, who might be a local chief, though it is doubtful if he had anything to do with the family of which we are now speaking.

43 See also the Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1899-1900, p. 47. The name of the chief is not preserved in full in O. 19, as the stone seems to be built into a tank-bund. O. 120 also belongs to the Telugu-Chōḍa family. But as it is very badly damaged, neither the king's name nor the Saṅka date is certain.

44 Chōḍāḷa-va-Chōḍamahārāja and his brothers Maḷḷavasāṇaṇi and Chikkarāj are mentioned in K. 22 dated in A. D. 1235-37.

45 A close examination of the impression makes me think that the reading Ghaftida is not unlikely.
46 The details of date are the same in D. 28 and D. 25.
47 The Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1905-06, Part II, paragraph 44.
48 A later Kākatiya feudatory was Chōḍaṇalidēva-Mahārāja, who, in A. D. 1221-22, made a grant for the merit of Pratāpapuraṇa (D. 3). To judge from the name it seems to have been a Telugu-Chōḍa. Other inscriptions which may be assigned to the Telugu-Chōḍa family on the same ground are:—O. 65, which mentions the Maḷvāranṭaka Mallidēva-Chōḍamahārāja; O. 117, where the king's name is only partially preserved; O. 91, dated during the reign of Jagādēva-Jayājaṇṭha Ujral-Chōḍa-Mahārāja; and O. 120, where the name cannot be made out in full in the impression. As late as the 15th century A. D. there was a chief who boasted of having obtained dominion through the favour of karikīḷa-Chōḍa (O. 148).
49 The details which follow are taken from Dr. Lüders' paper in the Epigraphia Indica, Vol. VII.
50 Dr. Lüders identifies this place with Uṉīṟupam or Uṉīṟupam, 12 miles east-south-east of Koḷḷidāl in the Coimbatore District. There is, however, a place now known as Uṉīṟ in the Sālurpet Division of the Nellore District. The village is called Uchchichīrī in a Tamil inscription found at the place (S. 19).
51 Members of the Telugu-Chōḍa family who were contemporaries of the Chōḍa kings Vikrama-Chōḍa and Kalāṭāṅga II. are mentioned in inscriptions from Nandali in the Cuddapah District; see my Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1907-8, Part II, paragraph 78.
Nellore volume. These are Siddhi, his younger brother Betta I, and the latter's sons, Dāyabhima, Nallasiddhi, and Ersasiddhi. Of these, Nallasiddhi is said to have taken Kāṇchi. If there be any truth in this, it may be that the event took place prior to the reign of the Chōḷa king Kulottunga III. The capture of Kāṇchi and the victorious entry into the city mentioned in some of the inscriptions of Kulottunga III, may, in that event, refer to his recovering it from Nallasiddhi or from his successor.

The earliest inscription of the branch in the volume before us is dated during the reign of the Chōḷa king Kulottunga III. (N. 40) and in Saka-Saṃvat 1112 corresponding to A. D. 1189-90. It records a gift to a temple at Nellūr alias Vikramamīmāṁsapuram by a chief who is called Siddhi in the Sanskrit portion and whose name is not fully preserved in the Tamil portion. Perhaps he was called Madurāntaka-Pottapāḷa-Mannasiddha. No records of Betta II, who is said to have resigned the kingdom in favour of his younger brother55, are found in Nellore. Tammusatthi (KV. 39, N. 72, and N. 75) is represented as a feudatory of Kulottunga III, in an inscription of his 26th year = A. D. 1203-04 (N. 72). Here the former is called M. P. alias Tammasiddhi. His records have been found at Conjeevaram, Tiruvoriyur and Tiruppāsavī in the Chingleput District and Tiruchirālpādu in the Nārāyani District. From the Conjeevaram inscription we learn that he was the son of Gajādajāpala (which was evidently another name of Ersasiddhi) by Sridēvi and younger brother of Mannasiddhi56 and that he "performed his anointment to universal sovereignty in the town of Nellūr." His dates found in the Tamil country range from Saka-Saṃvat 1127 to 1129 = A. D. 1205-06 to 1207-08. Then came M. P. alias Nallasiddharasa who was probably ruling at Nellore (N. 85). He seems to have been a feudatory of Kulottunga III, from the 27th to 35th year of his reign (G. 34, N. 67 and A. 18) and had a son named Pattarasā or Bettaarasā (G. 76). M. P. Pattarasā mentioned in N. 111 with the date A. D. 1213-4 has probably to be identified with this Pattarasā. It is not unlikely that his father Nallasiddharasa is the same as the Bhujabalavīra-Nallasiddhanādeva-Chōḷamahārāja (R. 36), Bhujabalavīra-Nallasiddhanādeva-Chōḷamahārāja (G. 1) and Vīra-Nallasiddhanādeva-Chōḷamahārāja (KV. 13). The last boasts of having levied tribute from (the ruler of) Kāṇchi. The relationship, if any, which this Nallasiddhi bore to Tammasiddhi, is not explained. As the former appears to be a contemporary of Kulottunga III from his 27th to 35th year, it is clear that he must have come after Tammasiddhi. The contemporary of Kāṇrāja III, was apparently M. P. alias Erasiddhi58 (R. 38, V. 10, and G. 50) or

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52 Mannasiddhi and Tammusatthi, sons of Erasiddhi, were feudatories of Kulottunga III, as will be pointed out in the next paragraph.
54 In a Tamil fragment found in the town of Nellore (N. 82) mention is made of [Madurā]ntaka-Pottapāḷa-Mannasiddhītara dāra (sic).
56 From KV. 39 the editors of the Nellore volumes have made out that Nallasiddhi was the elder brother of Tammusatthi. Other inscriptions of the family hitherto known mention two older brothers of Tammusatthi, viz. Mannasiddhi and Betta II, of whom the latter did not reign. The impression of KV. 30 found in the collection made over to me by Mr. Butterworth is indistinct at the end of line 13 where the editors read tātāśاه-Navān and I am therefore unable to decide if this is the correct reading or if it has to be tātāśah-Mannasāh.
57 Ibid., p. 155.
58 The inscription is mutilated and the date is lost.
59 G. 38, dated during the 30th year of Tribhuvanaśrīdeva, i.e., Kulottunga III, mentions Siddarasā, son of Peddarasa, who probably belonged to the Nāgā family (see below). Siddarasā's elder sister is said to have married M. P. Mannasiddharasa.
60 In this inscription, two sons of his seem to be mentioned, viz. Mannasiddhi and [A]tīrga.
61 KR. 25, which professes to be dated in Saka-Saṃvat 1180, the cyclic year Kāḷiśukta, mentions Nellūri-Nallasiddhi, who invaded Yaragajāpāḷa in connection with the grazing of cattle. The same story is elsewhere told of Siddharasa of Nellore who is said to have fought against the combined troops of Kāḷanāru and Yaragajāla and of the Palmyrāyana who was ruling Paṇḍīrśu.
62 The provisional genealogy given on p. 18 of my Annual Report for 1899-1900 seems now to be confirmed by records of the family found at Naṅalār in the Cuddahāpur District; see my Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1899-1900, Part II, paragraph 74. In the former, Dāyabhima, son of Betta I, appears to have been called after his grandfather who would in that case be identical with No. (1) Dāyabhima of the Naṅalār inscription.
63 This Erasiddhi must be different from and later than his namesake who was the father of Tammasiddhi.
Bhuja-balavira-Érasiddanāḍeṇa-Chōḍjamahārāja, who boasts of having levied tribute from the ruler of Kaukki (A. 39). He is also mentioned in R. 37, V. 7, and G. 58.

The next chief whom we have to consider is Tirukkāḷattidēva who seems to have been a feudatory of Kulottunga III. He figures first in a record of the [3]1st year of Kulottunga III, where he is called M. P. aliṣ Tirukkāḷattidēva (N. 101). The same name occurs in R. 66, dated in the 37th year of Kulottunga-Chōḍamahārāja. He is also called Chōḍa-Tikka-āriṇi or Chōḍa-Tirukkāḷatidēva (R. 8), son of Maṇumāṭṭarasāra and Bhuja-balavira-Tirukkāḷattidēva-Chōḍamahārāja (R. 47). Kr. 29, which is dated in Saka-Saṅvat 1137, the Saṅka saṅvatēra apparently belongs to him. Here he is called Tirukkāḷattidēva-Chōḍa-Mahārāja. Gaṇḍagopāla-Tirukkāḷattidēva (or M. P. Gaṇḍagopāla Tīru[kkāḷa]tidēva), whose dates range from Saka-Saṅvat 1150 (KV. 33) to 1153 (R. 65), appears to be different from the abovementioned chief. He was a feudatory of the Chōḍa king Rājarāja III (S. 12 and G. 60). KV. 45 probably belongs to his reign. From the Telugu Nirv-aṇṭattarardamāyapam we know that Tikka-āriṇi (or Chōḍa-Tikka), son of Maṇumāṭṭarasāra, defeated Kaukkiṇa Kaṇṭha Śūṣṭa (i.e. the Hoyasāla king Vīra-Sūṣṭa), Sambuvārya and other enemies, established the Chōḍa king on his throne and in consequence assumed the title Chōḍasthāpana-dēva. We cannot be quite sure at present how many chiefs there were who bore the name Chōḍa-Tikka or Tirukkāḷattidēva (or if there was only one who reigned a pretty long time at Conjeeveram and who slightly altered his name during the later portion of his life) we have to identify the Tikka-āriṇi of the Nirv-aṇṭattarardamāyapam with the Chōḍa-Tikka-āriṇi, son of Maṇumāṭṭarasāra, mentioned above. R. 39 which seems to be dated in A. D. 1243-44 mentions the Mahāmāṇḍalmarāha [M. P. aliṣ Tākamāṇḍalamārāha, Maṇumāṭṭarasāra.]

Next came Allu Tirukkāḷattidēva-Mahārāja who was ruling at Kaukki and who had a maternal uncle (or father-in-law) called Tirukkāḷattidēva-Mahārāja (A. 7). The prefix allu was evidently intended to distinguish him from his uncle. G. 77 dated in the 3rd year of Alluntirukkāḷatidēva allus Gaṇḍagopāla-Mahārāja may belong to him. His dates range from Saka-Saṅvat 1166 (KV. 25) to 1174 (U. 48) in the latter of which he is called Tikayāḍēva-Mahārāja and figures as a feudatory of Vīrājāṇa-Caṇḍa-chakrabartin. He had a younger brother named Vījayaḍītya-dēva-Chōḍjamahārāja (R. 20). KG. 11 where the king's name is only partially preserved99 and Nallūr in Pākanāḍa is mentioned as a temple, may also belong to him.

(To be continued.)

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94 In A. 43 an officer of a certain Ėrasidērajan is mentioned.
95 KV. 40, which is undated, mentions the Mahāmāṇḍalmarāha Jagadobbagopala Kāmayadeva-Mahārāja and Maṇumāṭṭarasāra-Chōḍjamahārāja.
96 There is an inscription in Tamil of Gaṇḍagopāla in the Anjali-Perumāl temple at Little Conjeeveram. The date is A. D. 1233 and he is called M. P. Maṇumāṭṭarasāra Tirukkāḷatidēva aliṣ Gaṇḍagopāla (No. 37 of 1885). This shows that he was the son of Maṇumāṭṭarasāra and therefore he might be identical with the Chōḍa Tirukkāḷatidēva mentioned above. A Sanskrit inscription in kannarese characters of Chōḍa-Tikka is also found in the same temple. It is dated in Saka-Saṅvat 1156 (No. 34 of 1885) corresponding to A. D. 1233-4. Though the names are different, it is not altogether improbable that these two inscriptions belong to the same king who might be identical with the Chōḍa-Tikka of the Telugu Nirv-aṇṭattarardamāyapam.
97 N. 31 which is a Tamil fragment mentions Pottappeli-Kuḍa Gaṇḍagopāla.
98 It is not known when Vījayaḍītya of O. 57 flourished or to what dynasty he belonged. In G. 98 the editors have read the king's name as Vījayaḍīva. An examination of the impression made me to suspect that, in the original, the stones on this part of the temple wall may be out of order.
99 A. 35, dated in Saka-Saṅvat 1212, the cyclic year Vīkṛti = A. D. 1290-91 belongs to the reign of Maṇumāṇḍalmarāha-Mahārāja, son of Vījayaḍītya-Mahārāja. There is, however, nothing to show that the former was a Telugu-Chōḍa, though his name was borne by a chief of that family. It is also possible that Maṇumāṇḍalmarāha was the son of Vījayaḍītya-Mahārāja, but that the unnamed son of the latter made a gift during the reign of the former.
100 The second portion of the inscription records a gift by a chief whose name seems to be different from that of the donor in the first portion.
101 No. 45 of 1890, where he is called Tribhuvanachakrabartin Śri-Ailinṭikamahārāja Gaṇḍagopāla, No. 649 of 1904 (Rāmagiri) and No. 201 of 1905 (Kālaṭhati) may also belong to him. In the second he is called Tribhuvanachakrabartin Śri-Ailinṭikamakarājan aliṣ Gaṇḍagopāla and in the third Tribhuvanachakrabartin Śri-Ailinṭikamahārāja aliṣ Gaṇḍagopāla.
ARIYUR PLATES OF VIRUPAKSHA. SAKA SAMVAT 1312.
BY T. A. GOPINATHA EAO, M.A.
Superintendent of Archeology, Travancore State.

While editing the paper on the Soraikkâvûr Plates of the Vijayanagara king Virupakshe in Epigraphia Indica, Vol. VIII, I happened to show a transcript of the inscription to the late Mr. S. M. Na듯har Sastri, B.A., who, struck by the identity of the introduction of this record with another of which he had a transcript, placed that transcript at my disposal. I now edit the inscription from the transcript kindly sent to me by him. He added that the plates were discovered by one Saikhara Sastri of Ariyur, while digging in a portion of his house for a foundation. The plates were made over to Mr. Na tanggal Sastri, who did not remember what he did with them, but thought he might have sent them to Dr. Fleet.

The set must have contained at least three plates engraved on both sides. They are each marked on the left corner of the first side with the Tamil numerals one and two. The inscription does not end with these two plates and hence the surmise that there must be at least one more plate now missing.

The language of the inscription is partly Sanskrit and partly Tamil. The first part is in the former language, and the second in the latter, and both of them are written in the Grantha alphabet. There are here and there Tamil letters employed, which will be noticed in the foot-notes added to the text of the inscription. The Sanskrit portion contains verses which are word for word almost identical with the verses in the introduction of the Soraikkâvûr plates.

Here also the genealogy begins with Sangama whose wife was Kamakshi; his son was Bukka; and his son Harihara (II.). This Harihara married Malladavi, the grand-daughter (paturi) of Ramadava. To them was born Virupakshe, who is described as having conquered Kuntala, Tanjira, Chola, and Pandya countries. He is said to have weighed himself against gold in the presence of (god) Ramaanatha and made gifts of a thousand cows. He is called Seda-mad-gasthpandchdya. He re-gilded the central shrine of the temple at Sriraingam and the golden hall (at Chidambaram). The plates further add that the prince Virupakshe conquered also Sinhaladivpa (Ceylon); this last fact is mentioned in the Alampûdi plates, but not in the Soraikkâvûr ones. He is compared to the celestial kalpaka-vrishaba in giving presents to those depending upon him.

The record is dated in the Saka year 1312, expressed by the chronogram savyajalihjyé. This corresponds, according to the inscription, to the Cyclic year Pra[mudita]. The name of the month in which the record is dated is lost, but it is one of the months of the chatura%=a%ya vätra, beginning with the month Srava%na. The gift is made on a Sunday, the eleventh titi% of the bright half of that month. The immediate object of the grant is the gift of the village of Ariyur, said to be situated in the Kulavivrit belonging to the Paduvir-kotam of the Jaya-cholâ province (Jayasignda-solahandalalam), to learned and famous Brahma%nas of good family, under the name of Virupakahapura. Following these statements are the usual four imprecatory verses; and at the end we find that the document was drawn up by Visvanatha by the command of the king Virupakshe. From the fact that the Sanskrit portions of the Soraikkâvûr and the Ariyur plates are almost identical, we can well infer that Visvanatha must also be the composer of the Soraikkâvûr plate grant.

1 In his Alampûdi plates, Virupakshe is said to have been the grandson through his daughter, of Ramadava, whose Mr. V. Venkaya identified with the Yadava king Ramashaundra of Mâragiri. But Mr. R. Sewell in a note contributed to this Journal (ante Vol. XXXIV, p. 19), disagreed with Mr. Venkaya in his opinion about the identity of Ramadava of the Alampûdi grant with the Yadava king Ramashaundra and, in conclusion, dismissed the view that though Malladavi of the Alampûdi might have been of the race, she was not the daughter of king Rama, if Rama is to be identified with Ramashaundra of Mâragiri. About this point, see my remarks and those of Dr. Sultze}, in my paper on the Soraikkâvûr plates in Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, p. 299.
The second part deals exclusively with the division of the shares in the village granted. The inscription informs us that the village was divided into 32 shares and the following table gives at a glance the names of the donees, their gotras, sutras and vedas, and the shares of each in the division:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Names of the donees</th>
<th>Vedas of which they are students</th>
<th>Gotras</th>
<th>Sutras</th>
<th>Number of shares</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Kāyamāñikkabhaṭṭa</td>
<td>Driveda</td>
<td>Vridhāṅgṛtras</td>
<td>Kauśika</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Rāchaya</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Kāśyapa</td>
<td>Āśvalayana</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Kūppaṇa</td>
<td></td>
<td>Kāpa</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Peddibhaṭṭa</td>
<td>Yajurveda</td>
<td>Bhāradvāja</td>
<td>Āpastambha</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Svayampūki Girippaṇa Dikshita</td>
<td>Rigveda</td>
<td>Viśvāmitra</td>
<td>Āśvalayana</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Kōgu Dēvanāthayya</td>
<td>Yajurveda</td>
<td>Harita</td>
<td>Āpastambha</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Vainadēyabhāṭṭa</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Kauḍāṅgīya</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Sṛmanḍganaṇtha</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Saṅkṛiti</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Mallappa</td>
<td>Sukla Yajurveda</td>
<td>Kauśika</td>
<td>Kātyāyana</td>
<td>½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Mallinātha Paṭḍita</td>
<td>Yajurveda</td>
<td>Kāśyapa</td>
<td>Āpastambha</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Lakkaṇāṅgāl</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Viśvāmitra</td>
<td>Āśvalayana</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Vīshnūbhāṭṭa</td>
<td>Rigveda</td>
<td>Srivatsa</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Kēśavabhāṭṭa</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Viśvāmitra</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Nāgabhadēvabhāṭṭa</td>
<td></td>
<td>Saunabhārava</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Sṛtrakṛishnabhāṭṭa</td>
<td>Yajurveda</td>
<td>Naddhruva</td>
<td>Āpastambha</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Dēvarājavabhāṭṭa</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Kāśyapa</td>
<td>Vatsa</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Sṛtrakṛishnabhāṭṭa</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Kauḍāṅgīya</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Vīrarākhavabhāṭṭa</td>
<td>Yajurveda</td>
<td>Kauḍāṅgīya</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Sudarsana</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Ātreya</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Eṅuttamudiyār (?)</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Bhāradvāja</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Bhava bhaṭṭa</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Porukṛitas</td>
<td>Bōdhāyana</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The details about this name, &c., are lost.
First Plate; First Side.

2. Ōnkār̄ = āṅkura = dvāthisāyā sa —
3. kal = āmnāya = ghośhīpīc ā ṛdāy —
4. y = āstu namas = taṃnai Varāhāya mahan —
5. jasī [10] = Ādhāra = ākṣattim = ambhōlī —
6. mēkhalāṃ ratna = garbhīpīm | Hara = mūrttim
7. Harēj kāntām Bhūtadātrīm = upāśam —
8. hō || Āśīt Sōm = ānvay — ṧttām —
9. sah Kāmākshī = Saṅgama = ātmajal | Ba —
10. kka = bhūpa iti khyātō rājā Raṅgu —
11. r = iv = āparāḥ [10] Tasya bhūt = tanayās = śṛṭmān —
12. rājā Hariharēśvarāḥ | Yash = abōda —
13. sa mahādāna = sukrīt = āṃrīta = sāgarāḥ [10]
14. sa paṇṭryān Rāmādevasya Malā —
15. dēvyām mahāsvayam | (1) Virūpākṣha —
16. maḥ[ pālam labāh]vān = ātmā sambhavahā [10]
17. Sa Kuntāl — ēndus = Tuṇḍīra = Chōjā —
18. Pāṇjya = kṣhītīsvaḥ | sānnidhān —
19. Rāmānāthasya telām = ārūḍhavā —
20. n = dhanaiḥ || sa gō — sahasra-dō —
21. vōda-mārg [gā] a = sthāpana-tatparaḥ | (1) Śrī —
22. raṅga-Kāṇeṣhānabha = yathā purama —
23. bhīṣayat [10] Srīkrishṇa-kṣhētra nīshpanna —
24. viśva-chakra-mahāddīvaraḥ | (1) brahmādīd —
25. na saṃtrasāna samasta dvija-mārḍālah |[10] Śih —
26. haḷa-dvīpa vīnayā-śṛṣṭa jaya —
27. ṛāṇja (chaṇaḥ) ā āṣīt = āmara-vṛkṣhō sau —

First Plate; Second Side.

29. [ghyō] ākasyā = ābdē Pra|mōda-Saṅg —
30. vatsarē . . . . . . . .
31. pūr = asmin paksha Ekādaśi-tī —
32. than | Chātur-maṇiśī Bhaṇu-vārē —
33. puṇy = asmin samayē-prabbaḥ | Jaya —
34. chōjēghu Paṭuvṛ-kōṭē Ka —
35. lavai tvīrīṭi Ariyūr(r) = id(h)am grāmam —

* From the transcript of the late Mr. S. M. Natōn Śastri, B.A.
+ Asti rājdhīrāḥ = cya purī Hariharēśvarah, in the Śrīkaṅkāvūr plates.
6 Read sambhavam.
7 Sṛṣṭīm-Virūpa-bhūpatih-śrīkrishṇa-kṣhētra nīshpanna, in the Śrīkaṅkāvūr plates.
8 Lines 1 to 23 are identical with the Śrīkaṅkāvūr plates.
9 The passage beginning from Sṛṣṭīm-Virūpa-bhūpatih is not found in the Śrīkaṅkāvūr plates.
36. Virūpākṣhapur = ākhyā || Sākam va —
37. śuṃ sābhāgābhya dvātrīmāsad = vṛtti sa —
38. nāmītaṃ prūdītā praśasta gṛhē —
39. bhīyō brāhmaṇēbhīyō yaśō dhana —
40. sarva-mānyatayā sāyō dhūrā —
41. pūrvaṃ || tāyāsthira dra vardddhatam = agraḥā —
42. rō = yam-āchandra-ravi-tārakam || Dāsa-pā —
43. lana tayōrm = madhyē dānāt śrēyō —
44. nūpālam dānāt svargam[8]am = a-vāpno —
45. ti pālanad = acharsat padam || Ēkai —
46. va bhagini lōke sārvēsham = eva —
47. bhūbhūjāt || rabhōjyā nakaragrahāyā —
48. pradattā vasundhārā [svadattām pradattā[8]] —
49. vi yō harēta vasundhārāṃ || shashṭi —
50. varsha sahasrāpi vishātha[m] jāyātē —
51. kṛmī || Sāmānyōṣaṃ dharmaṃ Sūta nṛ —
52. pānām kālē kālō pān —
53. nīyōḥ bhavatḥiḥ sarvān = ētān bhāvi —
54. na pārthiśvētān bhūyō bhūyō —
55. yāchatē Rāmabhadrāḥ || Vidūṣhā Viśva = —
56. nāṭhēnā Virūpākṣha nripājñāyā —
57. tattam = asya = agraḥārasya . . . . na-nyamam

Second Plate; First Side.

58. 2 | Bhāghanam || Brāhmaṇānām gōtra
59. nāmāi || Vibhāgam || . . . . . .
60. bhāgam || . . vrīdhā = āmpirasā gō —
61. tratē Kanśikā sūtra dvīvēdī Kāyā —
62. 9māṭikka-bhāṭṭa-dīkshita[kā]10 vṛtti [2 Kā —
63. śya-pa-gōtratē Aśvalāyana-sūtra —
64. tta dvīvēdī Irācchhayārku11 vṛtti || 1 ||
65. Kā[śyaσ]pa gōtratē Aśvalāyana-sūtratē
ta Kappaṇaṭuku12 vṛtti [1 || Bhāradvāja gō —
66. tratē Āpastamba sūtratē Yaju[r]vēdī Pe13 —
67. ddi-bhāṭa[kā]14 vṛtti [1 || Viśvāmitra gōta —
68. tte Aśvalāyana sūtratē Rīgvedī sva —
69. yampākī Giriappan-dīkshita[kā]15 vṛtti [1 ||
70. Harita gōtratē Āpastamba —
71. sūtratē Yajurvedī Koṇuśdēvanātā —
72. yanakkū[kku]17 vṛtti [1 || Koṇḍinya gō —

9 The letter mā is Tamil.
10 The letter kā is Tamil in this and the following instances: — (11), (15), (22) and (23) to (32), (34).
11 The word Irācchhayārku is entirely in Tamil characters.
12 The word Kappaṇaṭuku is also Tamil.
13 The letter pe is Tamil.
14 The letters Koṇu are Tamil.
15 The letter kē is Tamil.
74. trattu Āpastamba sūtrattu Yajurvēdi
75. Vainadēya-bhaṭṭaṅgukku\textsuperscript{14} vṛitti \(\|\) \(1\) \| Saṅ —
76. kṛiti gōtrattu Āpastamba sūtrattu
77. Yajurvēdi Śrāvaṅgaṇāthaṅgukku\textsuperscript{18} vṛitti \(\|\) \(\|\)
78. Kuṇḍika-gōtrattu Kāśyapa —
79. sūtrattu śukla-Yajurvēdi Mallaṅpankkku\textsuperscript{20} vṛti —
80. tāt \(\|\) \(\|\) Kāśyapa-gōtrattu Āśvalā —
81. yana-sūtrattu Jaṅche Daivaṅganu(kku)
82. kku\textsuperscript{21} vṛitti \(\|\) \(\|\) Kāśyapa-gōtrattu Ā —
83. pastamba sūtrattu Yajurvēdi Mallānā —
84. tha-Paṅḍitaṅku\textsuperscript{22} vṛitti \(\|\) \(1\) \| Kāśyapa gō —
85. trattu Āpastamba sūtrattu Yajurvēdi —

Second Plate; Second Side.

86. nukku(kku)\textsuperscript{23} vṛitti \(\|\) \(1\) \| Viśvāmi —
87. trāgōtrattu Āśvalāyana —
88. sūtrattu Yajurvēdi Lakkaṅgaṅa —
89. jukku\textsuperscript{24} vṛitti \(\|\) \(1\) \| Srīvatsa-gōtrattu
90. Āśvalāyana-sūtrattu Rīgvedi Viṣhū —
91. bhaṭṭarku\textsuperscript{25} vṛitti \(\|\) \(1\) \| Viśvāmitra gōtra —
92. tāt Āśvalāyana-sūtrattu Rīgvedi Kā —
93. sāva bhaṭṭarku\textsuperscript{26} vṛitti \(\|\) \(1\) \| Sauna-bhāṛggaṇa —
94. gōtattu Āśvalāyana-sūtrattu Nā —
95. kabha (? ) dēva-bhaṭṭarku\textsuperscript{27} vṛitti \(\|\) \(1\) \| Naddhrivaṭcha (?) Kā —
96. śyapa-gōtrattu Āpastamba sūtrattu
97. Yajurvēdi ārt-Kṛṣṇa-bhaṭṭarku\textsuperscript{28} vṛitti \(\|\) \(1\) \| Va —
98. tsa-gōtrattu Āpa[stamba"] sūtrattu Yajurvē —
99. di-Dēvarāja-bhaṭṭaṅganu(kku)\textsuperscript{29} vṛitti \(\|\) \(1\) \| Kau —
100. niṇya-gōtrattu Āpastamba sūtrattu —
101. Yajurvēdi ārt-Kṛṣṇa-bhaṭṭarku\textsuperscript{30} vṛitti \(\|\) \(1\) \| Kau —
102. Kauḏina-gōtrattu Āpastamba-sū —
103. trattu Yajurvēdi Viṣvāpa-bhaṭta —
104. ṛku\textsuperscript{31} vṛitti \(\|\) \(1\) \| Ātreyo-gōtrattu Ā —
105. pastamba-sūtrattu Yajurvēdi Suda —
106. [rśa]na-bhaṭṭakku\textsuperscript{32} vṛitti \(\|\) \(1\) \| Bhrādvāja gō —
107. trattu Āpastamba-sūtrattu Yajurvēdi
108. Eduttavamudiṅkaru (P)\textsuperscript{33} vṛitti \(\|\) \(1\) \| Pō —
109. rūkṛtas-gōtrattu Bōdhāyana —
110. sūtrattu Yajurvēdi Bhava . . . . bhaṭa —
111. ṛku\textsuperscript{34} vṛitti \(\|\) \(1\) \| Pōruṣkṛtas-gō —

\textsuperscript{14} The letters ṣukku are Tamil in this and in the following cases: — (19), (29), (31) and (33).
\textsuperscript{18} The letters jukku are in Tamil.
\textsuperscript{20} The letter kku are in Tamil. So also in (28) to (34).
\textsuperscript{25} The unintelligible name Ṛṣṭuvaṃudiṅkaru is in Tamil.
CONTRIBUTIONS TO PANJABI LEXICOGRAPHY.

SERIES I.

Industrial Technicalities.

By H. A. Rose, L.C.S.

(Continued from p. 371.)

Dondí: a boat whose bow makes an angle of 30° and stern one of 60° with the water. Mono: Wood Manufactures, p. 17.

Dorassa: an alloy of gold. Cf. dokara.


Dosūtī: a cloth with double threads in both warp and woof. Mono: Cotton Manufactures, p. 7.


Durmarah: a neck ornament; Gujranwāla. Cf. dharamra.


Era: typha angustijolica; the bulrush, Gardāspur. Cf. diś, kunder, lūkā. Mono: Fibrous Manufactures, App. 1, p. i.


Pāth chānd: a head ornament. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 32.


Gannī: creosoteris lanuginosa, from the woolly growth under whose leaves tinder is made. Mono: Fibrous Manufactures, p. 5.

Garâi: a percentage on the value of a made article of jewellery. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 16.


Gaung: a necklace. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 36.

Gausa: a strip of old leather let into a shoe. Mono: Leather Industry, p. 28.


Ghambail: a wide hole made in the ground wherein a potter deposits prepared clay as stock. Cf. reward. Mono: Pottery and Glass Industries, p. 3.


Ghât: a kind of silver; Jhelum. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 5.


Ghorsambî: an extra piece of leather which goes round the outside of the heel. Mono: Leather Industry, p. 28.

Ghotâya-Kachha: a man who gives paper its first rubbing; Siâlkot; -pâkka: a man who puts the final polish on paper. Mono: Fibrous Manufactures, p. 16.


Gijjâ: a tinsel. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 27.


Grand: a square bin for corn and flour; Derajat. Mono: Pottery and Glass Industries, p. 10


Gult: the disc resulting from the cooling of molten metal poured into earthen pans. Mono: Brass and Copperware, p. 2.


Hariana: a kind of cotton; probably same as Bāgar; Delhi.


Hathipaur: elephant's-foot silver (so called from its shape); a soft silver used in wire-drawing. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 5.


Hazar: a cloth containing 1,000 threads to \(\frac{1}{4}\) lbs. of a yard. Mono: Cotton Manufactures, p. 4.


Jākā: dues paid to menials; Kullā. Mono: Leather Industry, p. 3.


Jāniru: an ornament. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 34.
Jasla: a shallow vessel, with a broad mouth, used for keeping pickles; Kāngra. Mono: Pottery and Glass Industries, p. 9.
Jat: goat's hair. Mono: Woollen Manufactures, p. 11.
Jauri: an ornament. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 34.
Jhallān: bellows. Cf. dhannī.
Jhāwān karnowāla: a cleaner of paper; Siālkot. Mono: Fibrous Manufactures, p. 16.
Jilu: an ornament. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 34.
Joth: an ornament similar to the tīk, but smaller. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 35.
Jutā bokhāra: a kind of gold; Gurdāspur. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 4.
Kabbal: *cynodon dactylon*. Cl. dak.


Kachar: silk of the third quality. Cl. banan; saf.


Kadhāya: a man who lifts the pulp from the vats on to the nir in paper factories; Siālkot. Mono: Fibrous Manufactures, p. 16.


Kahi mitti: an earth containing iron as a sulphate. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 25.


Kai: a kind of grass used for making ropes; Shāhpur. Mono: Fibrous Manufactures, p. 11.


Kattān: a plain unflowered ribbon. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 28.


Kalyr: the bark of the *basshima variegata*; Rawalpindī. Mono: Fibrous Manufactures, p. 5.


Kamarott: a waist ornament. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 34.

Kambdr: a gold-digger and washer. Cl. kairī.


Kangri: a kind of fork, with a wooden handle and iron teeth used for striking between the lines of the warp of a carpet. Cf. pānja. Mono: Carpet-making, p. 2.

Kangni: a thick silver wristlet. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 36.

Kāṅgrim: a vessel used chiefly in the hills, which is filled with live charcoal and carried under the clothes for warmth. Hind. kāṅgrī, brazier, Platts, p. 807. Mono: Pottery and Glass Industries, p. 11.


Kārīru: a synonym for konara.


Kaswa: a ladle used in washing sand kased, for gold. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 2.


Katha: a tapering wooden cylinder, round which wire is wound. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 19.


Katyās: bladed pincers. Cf. katira.

Kausa: a heelless slipper; Peshāwar. Cf. kapha-


Khāth (a): a wooden scraper. Cf. kātāl.


Khal ki lot: a paste of oilseed cake. Mono: Leather Industry, p. 28.


Khap: a wooden scraper used in removing hair from hides. Mono: Leather Industry, p. 32.


Khari: *antherium murecatum*. Cf. dāb.


Khingri: a wavy ribbon (*gota*). Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 28.


Khortya: a scraper shaped like a small cup or *katora*. Mono: Pottery and Glass Industries, p. 5.

Khosa: a leather mufier put by cattle-thieves on the feet of cattle to obliterate the tracks. Mono: Leather Industry, p. 28.


*(To be continued.)*
RICHARD PISCHEL.

BY STEN KONOW.

Professor Richard Pischel of Berlin, Germany, died in the Madras Hospital of blood-poisoning on the 26th of December last. He was on his way from Germany to Calcutta, where he had been asked by the University to give a series of lectures on the Prakrit dialects. He never reached his destination, but was taken ill in Madras in the beginning of December. His death is a very heavy loss to Indian scholarship and to German learning. Dr. Pischel was a Professor in the principal German university and a member of the German Academy. In both qualities he exercised an influence on the development of Indian studies in Germany and Europe on the whole which cannot easily be overrated. His learning and personal qualities made him eminently fitted for this position. His studies had taken him over the entire field of Indian philology, from the ancient literature of the Vedas and down to the most debased forms of Indian speech, the dialects spoken by the Gipese of Europe. Those who learnt to know him personally, very soon realised that the sharp criticism which sometimes appeared in his writings, was absolutely foreign to his character. He followed the studies of others, and especially those of his own pupils, with keen interest and sympathy, and he never got tired of assisting others with his advice.

Professor Pischel was born on the 18th January, 1849, in Breslau in Silesia. He was a pupil of Professor Stenzel in Breslau and of Professor Weber in Berlin, and took his degree of doctor in the Breslau University in 1870. Immediately afterwards he had to join the Prussian troops which were garrisoned in Paris. When he was able to return to his studies, he went to London and Oxford, where he examined the Indian manuscripts in the big libraries. In 1874 he returned to the Breslau University as reader of Sanskrit. In the following year appointed a Professor in the Kiel University, whence he was transferred to Halle in 1885. After Professor Weber's death he was finally called to the first chair of Sanskrit in Germany at the Berlin University, and shortly afterwards he was elected a member of the Berlin Academy. This shows his reputation in his own country, and Sanskrit scholars of other nationalities were agreed that the German Government had selected the right man to the most important Sanskrit position in its gift.

When Pischel published his first paper, a French critic wrote that his work exhibited a master's hand. He had chosen the thorny subject of the different recensions of Kalidāsa's Sakuntala. That famous play was originally made known in Europe in the form which is contained in Bengali manuscripts. E.g., in William Jones' famous translation and in the edition prepared by the French scholar Chezy (Paris, 1830). After that time, however, European scholars generally preferred the so-called Dēvanāgari recension which was published by Bohliangk (Bonn, 1842), Monier Williams (Hertford, 1853 and Oxford, 1876) and others. Only Stenzel protested against this view. Then Pischel stepped in. He unreservedly threw in his lot with those who considered the Bengali recension as, on the whole, the purest form of the play. And his principal argument was a linguistic one. He showed that the different Prakrit dialects used in the drama are confounded with each other in all recensions with the sole exception of the Bengali one, where the dialects are correctly distinguished. These studies induced him to undertake a critical examination of the Prakrit grammarians. It was a paper on them with which he introduced himself as a teacher of Sanskrit in the Breslau University. Later on he showed how the Prakrit grammarians, and the practice in good manuscripts, such as the Bengali ones of the Sakuntala, make it possible to reconstruct the chief features of the Sauraseni dialect. Then his masterly edition of the Bengali recension of the Sakuntala (Kiel, 1877) showed the practical application of the laws he had been able to lay down. His editions of Hēmachandra's Prakrit Grammar, in the original Sanskrit and in German translation (Halle, 1877-80) and of his Dūtānāmānādī (Bombay, 1889) were the next...
steps. Pischel had now become universally recognized as the chief authority on the Pārkṛtis, and he was accordingly asked by the late Professor Bühler to write the Prākrit Grammar for his Encyclopedia of Indo-Aryan Research. This Grammar, which appeared in Strassburg in 1900 and was awarded the Volney prize by the French Academy, will long remain the standard work on the Prākrit dialects. The high estimation in which Pischel was held as a Prākrit grammarians was also evidenced by the fact that he was, last year, requested by the Calcutta University to revive the study of the Prākrits in India by a series of lectures.

In connection with these studies on the Prākrits, I must also mention the editions of Pāli works, such as the Aesulgyams Sutta (London, 1880) and the Thāropālī (London, 1883), and the various papers devoted to the investigation of the language and customs of the Gipsies of Europe. The edition of the Sākuntalā on the other hand led to extensive studies about the history of the Indian drama and into the system of the rhetoricians. The literary history of India, on the whole, was one of his favourite subjects, and Professor Pischel's lectures on this topic are the best lectures I ever heard in any university. He did not, however, publish them. But he showed, in his paper on the court-poets of Lakhmapānā (Göttingen, 1893), his capacity for making the subject interesting. His literary history of India was a different work, destined for a wider public.

When Pischel made his entrance in the learned world, the study of the Vedas in Germany was under the spell of the school of Professor Roth, who tried to understand them out of themselves, without consulting the traditional explanation of Indian scholars. Pischel was of opinion that this method was essentially wrong. The Indian tradition, no doubt, contains a lot of valueless rubbish. There are, however, also traces of a good old tradition, mixed up with the phantastic speculations of later ages. In order to show how he thought it possible to exploit this tradition, Pischel in 1889 started a periodical publication Vedic Studies (Stuttgart 1889-1901), together with his friend Karl F. Geldner. These studies have not failed to exercise a great influence on the views now commonly held in Germany on the Vedas.

After his transfer to Berlin, Professor Pischel was brought into contact with the rich finds brought home by the German expeditions from Central Asia. He took a very keen interest in them and published some fragments of the Buddhist Canon in the Proceedings of the Berlin Academy (1904, xxv and xxxix). He was able to show that the Sūtrakrit Canon to which they belong, has not been entirely lost, and that it has not been translated from Pāli. Though the two often agree verbally, and though we can prove that the old Buddhist tradition was a great extent homogeneous, the differences in arrangement and in details are considerable. It seems necessary to explain many of the instances of concurrence by the supposition of a common source handed down in Magadhi Prākrit.

I do not intend to give a full bibliography of Professor Pischel's papers. What I have mentioned is, I hope, sufficient to show how wide the field was over which he spanned. And in every branch where he has been working, he has left his mark. His solid learning and his wide horizon made him eminently fitted for his work. But the influence he exercised cannot be measured from mere catalogues of his writings. He was an excellent teacher, and none of his pupils ever appealed to him in vain. Every mail, moreover, brought a heap of letters, from every quarter of the globe, with enquiries about the most different subjects connected with Indian lore, and he was a very conscientious letter-writer. His loss will therefore be widely felt, mostly, however, among his personal friends and pupils, who had learned to appreciate not only his learning, but also his kind heart and his sympathetic interest in everything concerning them. He was very happy when an opportunity at last offered itself of realising the dream of his youth, to visit India and see with his own eyes what had always interested him more than anything else. It is sad to think that his dream should end in the vast Nirvāṇa, and that he should not be permitted to return from India, enriched with fresh impressions of the actual life and existing conditions.

2 Die orientalischen Literaturen, I, 7.
THE CHUHAS, OR RAT-CHILDREN OF THE PANJAB, AND SHAH DAULA.

BY H. A. ROSE, C.S. AND MAJOR A. C. ELLIOTT.

The Chuhas, by H. A. Rose.

The Chuhas or Rat-children are an institution in the Panjáb. They are microcephalous beings, devoid of all power of speech, idiots, and unable to protect themselves from danger, of filthy habits, but entirely without sexual instincts. They are given names, but are usually known by the names of their attendants, whose voices they recognise and whose signs they understand. They have to be taught to eat and drink, but cannot be allowed to go about unguarded. Their natural instinct is to suck only, and, when they have been taught to eat and drink and can walk, they are made over to a faqir of the Shah Daula Sect, who wanders about begging with his Shah Daula's Rats.

The popular idea is that these unfortunate beings have been blessed by the saint, Shah Daula Daryāl of Gujrat in the Panjáb, and that, though they are repulsive objects, no contempt of them must be shown, or the saint will make a Chuha of the next child born to one who despises one of his protégés. It is this fear which has brought about the prosperity of Shah Daula's Shrine at Gujrat.

The common superstition as to the origin of the Chuhas is this. Shah Daula, like other saints, could procure the birth of a child for a couple desiring one, but the first child born in response to his intercession would be a Chuha—brainless, small-headed, long-eared and rat-faced. The custom used to be to leave the child, as soon as it was weaned, at Shah Daula's khatgah, as an offering to him. After the saint's death, the miracle continued, but in a modified form. Persons desiring children would go to the saint's shrine to pray for a child, and would make a vow either to present the child when born or to make an offering to the shrine. In some cases, when the child was duly born in response to the prayer, the parents neglected to make the promised gift. Upon this the spirit of the offended saint so worked on the parents that the next child born was a Chuha, and all subsequent children as well, until the original vow was fulfilled.

The tomb and shrine of Shah Daula lie on the eastern side of Gujrat town, about 100 yards from the Shah Daula Gate. His descendants dwell near and around the shrine, and their houses form a suburb known as Gachi Shah Daula. The shrine itself was built in the latter part of the seventeenth century by a 'saint' named Bhawan Shah and was rebuilt on a raised plinth in 1867. In 1898 it was put into thorough repair by the followers of Shah Daula.

The cult of Shah Daula offers few unusual features. No lands are attached to the shrine and its pirs are wholly dependant on the alms and offerings of the faithful. Three annual fairs are held at the shrine, one at each Id and a third at the Urs on the 10th of Muharram. A weekly fair used to be held on Fridays, attended by dancing girls; but this has fallen into abeyance. There are no regular rules of succession to the shrine, and each member of the saint's family has a share in it. Three of them, however, have a special influence and one of these three is generally known as the sufiśām, or successor of the saint. The general income of the sect is divided into three main shares, each of which is divided into minor shares—a division per stirpes and per capita. The shareholders also each take in turn a week's income of the shrine.

1 For medical opinion on the Chuhas, see an article in the Indian Medical Gazette for May 1st, 1866, by E. J. Wilson Johnston, M.D., M.R. C. S. E. This article is reprinted in Punjab Notes and Queries 1895, III, §§ 117-119. See also II, §§ 69 and 172.
The principal *murids*, or devotees of the sect, are found in Jammū, Púch and the Frontier Districts, and in Swát, Málná and Khústán. Sháh Daula's *faqírs* visit each *murid* annually and exact an offering (*nazar*), usually a rupee, in return for which they profess to impart spiritual and occult knowledge. Some of these *faqírs* are strongly suspected of being concerned in the traffic in women that exists between the Panjáb and Púch and Jammū, and it is from these districts that the Chúshás are chiefly recruited.

There is a notable off-shoot of the Sháh Daula *faqírs* in an 'Order' of *faqírs*, who properly own allegiance to the Akhund of Swát. A disciple of the Akhund, named Ghází Súltán Múhammad, a native of Awán, a village in Gujrat District on the Jammú border, has established a considerable following. He lives now at Sháh Daula's shrine, but has built himself a large stone house at Awán.

**The Legend of Sháh Daula, by Major A. C. Elliott.**

Sháh Daula was born in A. D. 1581, during the reign of Akbar. His father was 'Abdu'-Rahím Khán Lodi, a descendant of Súltán Ibrahim Lodi, grandson of Bahool Sháh Lodi who died in A. H. 894 (A. D. 1488). This would make him a Pákhtún by descent, but he is nevertheless claimed by the Gújars of Gujrat as belonging to their tribe. His mother was Niámat Khátun, great-grand-daughter of Súltán Sárang Ghákhar.

In the reign of Súltán Salím, son of Súltán Sher Sháh (A. H. 952-960 or A. D. 1545-1558) a large force was sent to subdue Khawás Khán, who had rebelled in support of 'Adil Khán, Salim Sháh's elder brother. Khawás Khán met with a crushing defeat and sought refuge with the Ghákharas, who supported him, and a battle was fought near Roh tá in the Jhelum District, in which Súltán Sárang Ghákhar was killed, and all his family were afterwards made captives. A daughter of Gházi Khán, son of Súltán Sárang was among the captured, and she had at the time an infant daughter at the breast. This was Niámat Khátun, who was taken with her brother to Delhi and in the first year of Akbar's reign (A. H. 963 or A. D. 1556), shortly after Humayún's death, she was married to 'Abdu'-Rahím Lodi, then an officer of the imperial household. But Sháh Daula was not born of this marriage till the 25th year of Akbar's reign (A. H. 989 or A. D. 1581) which was also the year of his father's death.³

Where Sháh Daula was born is not known, but his widowed mother returned to her native country, Pathása, now represented by the Jhelum and Rawalpíndí Districts. On her arrival, however, she found, that though she was the great-grand-daughter of Súltán Sárang, she was as much a stranger there as in Hindustán and that no one had any regard for herself or her fallen family. For five years she had to earn her living by grinding corn in the village of Sábhála in the *pargana* of Phirhálát, whence she removed to Káláh, where she died in A. H. 998 or A. D. 1590 after four more years of toil.

Sháh Daula, now left an orphan and friendless, determined to go a-begging. In the course of his wanderings he reached Sakhí Sialkót, where met one Mahtá Kíman, a slave of the Qánúngos of that place, and a rich and generous, but childless man. Moved by pity and favourably impressed by his looks, he adopted Sháh Daula and brought him up in luxury. Sháh Daula's intelligence attracted the notice of the Qánúngos, who gave him charge of their *tosha-khána* or treasury, but so generous was Sháh Daula by nature that he could never turn a deaf ear to a beggar. The result was that not only all his own money, but also all the valuables, cash and furniture of the *tosha-khána* disappeared! The Qánúngos refused to believe his story that he had given everything to mendicants and had him imprisoned and tortured.

³ This story reads like the familiar fictitious connection of local heroes in India with the great ones of the land.—Ed.}
In his extremity under torture Shāh Daula declared that he had buried the money and would dig it up again if released from prison. He was led to the tosha-khāna where he at once seized a dagger from a niche and plunged it into his belly. This act put the fear of the authorities into the Qānūngos who sent for a skilful physician, who bound up the wound, from which Shāh Daula recovered in three months.

The Qānūngos then set him free and he went to Sangrohī, a village near Siālkot, where he became a disciple of the Saint, Shāh Saidān Sarmast. Shāh Daula now ingratiated himself with one Mangū or Mokhū, the Saint's favorite disciple, and spent his time as a mendicant. The scraps he secured as the proceeds of his begging were placed before the saint, who ate all he wanted and passed the remainder on to Mangū. After Mangū was satisfied, the small portion that remained was given to Shāh Daula, whose hunger was rarely appeased. But such poor earnings in kind failed to satisfy the saint, who set Shāh Daula to work and earn money, with which cooked food might be bought, as a substitute for the stale scraps received as alms.

At that time a new fort was being built at Siālkot out of bricks from the foundation of some old buildings, and Shāh Daula was sent to dig as an ordinary labourer at a takā or two picc a square yard of brick work dug up. So hard was the material that most powerful men could not excavate more than two or three square yards in a day, but Shāh Daula worked with such amazing energy that he dug up seventy square yards on the first day and separated the bricks. The officials, recognising superhuman aid, offered him seventy takās, or full payment for his work, without demur, but he would only accept four.

With the four takās thus acquired, he bought a savoury dish of khichri, which he presented to the saint, before whom he was inclined to boast of his powers. But the saint showed him his own hands, all blistered with the invisible aid he had been rendering to Shāh Daula. As a mark of favour, however, the saint gave him some of the khichri, which produced such excruciating pain in the second finger of his right-hand on his commencing to eat it, that for days he could neither sleep nor rest, and at last asked the saint to relieve him. Mangū also interceded and at last the saint told Shāh Daula to go to the Butchers' Street and thrust his hand into the bowels of a freshly-slaughtered cow. As soon as he had done this there was immediate relief and he fell into a deep sleep for twenty-four hours; but on awakening he found that the finger had dropped off! He returned, however, to the saint and thanked him for his kindness, whereon the saint said:

"Man, thus much of self-love hadst thou, but it has gone from thee now and love for others only remains. Be of good cheer. Thou art proven worthy of my favour, and of the knowledge of God."

For twelve years Shāh Daula remained in the service of the saint, Shāh Saidān Sarmast, who was a faqīr of the Soharwardī sect. At the end of the twelfth year the saint saw that his own end was approaching and asked who was near him. The reply was,"Daula," but the saint told him to go and fetch Mokhū, i.e., his favorite Mangū. But Mangū refused to come as it was night. Thrice Daula went and thrice Mangū refused. The saint then remained silent for a while, but towards morning he roused himself and said:—"God gives to whosoever he will." He then made over his dalg (faqīr's coat) to Daula, and when the latter said that he knew Mangū would not let him keep it, the saint said:—"Let him keep it who can lift it." And so he gave the dalg into Shāh Daula's keeping, gave him his blessing also, and died.

When the day broke it became known that the saint was dead, and Mokhū and all the other disciples took their parts in the funeral ceremonies. They then attempted to seize the holy dalg, which fell to the ground. Each in turn tried to lift it and then they tried all together, but it would not move until Daula grasped it with one hand, shook it and put it on, thus proving his right to the name and title, by which he has always been known, of Shāh Daula.
Making his way out of Sialkot, and leaving the jealous disciples, he hid himself for a while outside the town. For ten years after the death of Shah Saidah Sarmast he remained in the neighbourhood, growing yearly in reputation and power. He built many buildings, mosques, tanks, bridges and wells, the most notable of which was the bridge over the Ak. After this Shah Daula moved to Gujrat and settled there permanently in obedience to divine instructions.

Faqirs believe that each city has its guardian saint, and Shah Daula is looked on as the guardian of Gujrat. During his life he devoted himself to works of public utility and the constructions of religious buildings. His principal works were the bridge in front of the eastern gate of the town of Gujrat over the Shah Daula Nala, and the bridge over the Dik in the Gujranwala District. It is said that he never asked for money and that he paid his labourers promptly. He was also most successful in finding the sites of old ruins, whence he dug up all the materials he required for his buildings. He was liberal to the poor, irrespective of creed, and had a peculiar attraction for wild animals, keeping a large menagerie of all sorts of beasts and birds. His tolerance made him beloved of all classes and there were both Hindus and Musalmans among his disciples. He became very famous for his miracles and received large gifts. The attraction towards him felt by wild animals largely contributed to the general belief in him.

The emperor Akbar died whilst Shah Daula was still at Sialkot, and it was in the seventh year of Jahangir that he went to Gujrat in A.H. 1032 or A.D. 1622. No meeting between Shah Daula and Akbar is recorded, but the following account is given of an encounter between him and the emperor Jahangir:

Shah Daula used to put helmets, with rauris sewn over them, on the heads of his favourite animals. One day a deer thus arrayed strayed near the place where the king, i.e., Jahangir, was hunting at Shabadara near Lahore. The king saw the helmeted deer and enquired about it, and was told about Shah Daula and his miracles. The deer was caught and two men were sent to fetch Shah Daula who at that time was seated at his khaghah. 'During the day he had remarked to his disciples:—What a strange thing has our deer, Darbakhs, done! It has appeared before His Majesty and caused men to be sent to call me before him. They will come to-day. Cook a delicious pildoo and all manner of food for them.' The astonished servants prepared the meal and towards evening the messengers arrived with His Majesty's order.

Placing the order on his head, Shah Daula wished to start at once, but the hungry messengers had smelt the supper and so they stayed the night at the khaghah, and did not take the Shah to Shabadara till the next day. When he arrived, he called for ingredients and made a large cake, which he wrapped in a bed kherchief and offered to the king when summoned. The king was seated on his throne with Nur Jahân Begam near by, and they were both much struck by his holy appearance. The king asked Shah Daula where he had found the philosopher's stone, but he denied all knowledge of any such stone and said he lived on alms.

The king, however, saw in him a wealthy and influential person, capable of raising a revolt, and Nur Jahân suggested that he should be made away with. At the king's order the imperial chamberlain produced a poisoned green robe, which Shah Daula put on without receiving any harm. A robe smeared with a still more deadly poison was then put on him and again no injury resulted. Upon this the king ordered a cup of poisoned sharbat to be mixed, but his throne began to quake, the palace rocked violently, and faces of faqirs were seen everywhere. The king in his fear recognised the saintship of Shah Daula and dismissed him with honour and two bags of ashrifa. Given the king his blessing, Shah Daula departed after distributing the ashrifa to the royal servants. Hearing of this the king summoned him again and asked him if he would accept a grant of 5,000 bighas of land. Shah Daula replied that he did not want any land, but would avail himself of the offer later on, if necessary. Upon this the king allowed him to depart after showing him much reverence.
The building of the bridge over the Dik came about in this way. During one of the journeys of the emperor Shâhjâhân into Kashmir, the private belongings of Dârâ Shikoh and Hari Begam and many pack animals were lost in the Dik, which was in flood. The Faujdâr of the District, Mirzâ Badr Usman, was accordingly ordered to have a large and permanent bridge ready by the time the royal party returned. The Faujdâr set to work, but could get nothing but mud bricks and so he imprisoned all the brick-burners. The result was that when the emperor returned the bridge was not even commenced. On being severely reprimanded, the Faujdâr remarked that only Shâh Daula could build the bridge. The emperor at once ordered him to fetch Shâh Daula. By a stratagem he was induced to enter a palanquin and was carried off, but he remarked:— "There is no need to force me to obey the emperor's orders. I know them and will carry them out."

Arrived at the Dik, Shâh Daula procured the release of the brick-burners and set about building the bridge. A wicked gurd, who inhabited the spot, destroyed the work as fast as it was done, but after a controversy, in which he was overcome, the gurd was lured into a lime-pit and buried up to his neck in lime and mortar by Shâh Daula.

Shâh Daula met with many other obstacles. Among them was one raised by Bûtâ, the landlord of the neighbourhood, who made money out of the ford at that spot. Bûtâ cut the dam in order to drown the fâqirs encamped underneath it, but Shâh Daula cleverly frustrated him by making a second dam below it. A fâqir was sent to report on Bûtâ's behaviour to Shâhjâhân, who ordered him to be sent to Lâhore bound hand and foot, there to be beheaded and his head to be hung on a nim tree. But Shâh Daula interceded for him and obtained his release. Bûtâ after this rendered every possible assistance, the bridge was duly built and Shâh Daula returned to Gujrât.

About this time a fâqir, named Saidû, came to Gujrât and claimed the guardianship of the town by divine appointment in order to discredit Shâh Daula. By spiritual means Shâh Daula convinced the impostor that he was wrong, and the fâqir disappeared and was never heard of again.

At that time female infanticide was rife in Râjâr, now a part of the Jammu State. Râjâ Chattur Singh of Râjâr was a devoted follower of Shâh Daula, but he always killed his female children at birth. However, on the birth of one girl, Shâh Daula told him to let the child live, as she would be very fortunate and become the mother of kings. The child was therefore allowed to live and grew up a fair and lovely maiden, and when Shahjahan was passing through Râjâr on one of his journeys to Kashmir, the Râjâ presented her to him as a nazar. The girl was accepted and bestowed on Prince Aurangzeb, who married her.

Later on, the prince, being anxious to know whether he or one of his brothers, Dârâ Shikoh and Murâd, would succeed to the throne, went to see Shâh Daula and presented him with a zar mergh (golden pheasant), a foreign cat and wooden stick. If the saint accepted all but the stick it was to be an omen that the prince would succeed. But Shâh Daula, as soon as he saw the prince, arose saluted him as "Your Majesty," and giving him a cake, returned the stick and said:— "God has sent you this cake, and this stick is granted you as the sceptre of your authority. Be of good cheer." Aurangzeb told the tale to the Begam Bal, who confirmed him in his belief in it by relating Shâh Daula's prophecy that she herself would be the mother of kings. Her sons were Mu'azzam and Mahmud, of whom the former became the emperor Bahâdur Shâh.

At a later period, after he had become emperor, Aurangzeb again sent for Shâh Daula, who appeared before him in a miraculous manner. The emperor was dining by himself, but he saw that a hand was eating with him. Calling his attendants he told them of this, and said that the hand was the hand of an old man with the second finger missing. One of the attendants, named Bakhtâwar, said that the hand was probably Shâh Daula's. The emperor therupon summoned the Saint to appear, when Shâh Daula at once stood revealed, and was dismissed, loaded with presents by the amazed sovereign.
Many other tales of his miracles are told of Shâh Daula, but that which is chiefly associated with his name is the miracle of the Chûhâs or Rat-children, said to be born through his agency with minute heads, large ears, rat-like faces, and without understanding or the power of speech.

Shâh Daula lived to a great age, commonly stated to have been 150 years, and was contemporary with Akbar, Jahângîr, Shâhjahân, and Aurangzeb. He was born in the 25th year of Akbar, A.H. 989 or A.D. 1581 and died, according to the anagram of his death, Khuddoost, in A.H. 1087 or A.D. 1676. He was therefore really 95 years old at his death.

His usual title is Shâh Daula Daryâf, because of the numerous bridges that he built. To the end of his life, princes and nobles, rich and poor alike, sought his blessing. At last, when he saw his end approaching he sent for his disciple, Bhâwan Shâh, duly invested him with the dalâ, and installed him as eîjdehâ-nishan and successor.

The existing members of the Sect of Shâh Daula claim that Bhâwan Shâh as the son of the saint, but whether he was a real, or an adopted son or bâkhd, the present Pirs are the descendants of Bhâwan Shâh.

**Notes by the Editor.**

There are some points worth noting in the stories of Shâh Daula's Rats and of Shâh Daula himself.

In the first place it seems pretty clear from what has been above recorded that the ascription of the Chûhâs to the agency of the well-known saint of Gujrat's posthumous. One suspects that Bhâwan Shâh of the Shâh Daula Shrine created the cult, much in the fashion that Ghãst Sultan Muhammad is creating one now out of the shrine which he has set up round the tomb of the great local saint. All the circumstances point to such a situation. There are the extreme modernness of the cult, the fact that a band or order of faqirs make a living out of a certain class of local microcephalens idiots, and the convenient existence of an important shrine. Then the absence of landed property in possession of the band, or of any recognized right to succession to the leadership, and the entire dependence on earnings, in turn dependent themselves on the gullibility of the 'faithful,' all make it almost certain that Bhâwan Shâh took the opportunity of the then recent decease of a well-known ancient and holy man to find a sacred origin for the unholy traffic of his followers. The division of the income thus earned is just such as one might expect of a body that had no other source of cohesion originally than profit out of a common means of livelihood.

As regards the legend of Shâh Daula himself, we have the usual ascription of a direct connection by birth of a local holy man with the great ones of the earth in his day, with the usual clear openings for doubt in the account thereof, and we have also the ascription of miraculous powers common to Panjabi saints. There is nothing in the story that could not have been picked up by the tellers out of the tales of other saints commonly current in the country. No doubt there did live, during the seventeenth century, a holy man in Gujrat town, who died there at an advanced age and had a tomb erected to him, which became venerated. It is quite probable that he was instrumental in forwarding works of public utility in his neighbourhood, and was notorious for his charity to the poor and needy, led an excellent life, and was venerated by the nobility around him. Considering the situation of the town of Gujrat, it is quite possible also that he attracted the attention of the emperor Shâhjahân and his suite, during their many journeys to and fro between Kashmir and their Indian Court. But all this affords no ground for supposing that he had anything to do personally with the poor idiots now exploited by the sect, band, or order of faqirs that have fastened themselves on to his name.

As regards the Chûhâs themselves, it is quite possible that there is tendency to produce such idiots among the population of given districts, such as Pânej and Jammu, but one cannot help suspecting that, owing to the necessity for a continuous supply being forthcoming for the well-being of those who live on them, some of these unfortunates are artificially produced after their birth as ordinary infants. It would be so easy to accomplish this on the part of the unscrupulous.
A TRIPLET OF PANJABI SONGS.

BY H. A. ROSE.

Kāfī Ghulām Farid Chāchhrān Sharif dā.¹

Text.

Hik dam hijar² na sahnī,³ he !

Dīl dīllar⁴ kārīn,⁵ māvā,⁶ he !

I.

Soz gudāz⁷ dī tul wīchhāwān.

Dukh duhāg⁸ dī sējī bañrāwān.

Hār ghaman dā gal wīch pāwān.

Dārd dī bañh¹⁰ sirandāh, he !

Hik dam hijar, etc.

II.

Mahl beparwā milyose.¹¹

Paṟe¹² soz firaq piyose.

Hāl kanūn behāl theyose.

Jindī jhok¹³ ghaman dī, he !

Hik dam hijar, etc.

III.

Dēnī nibhāwān sardeñ baldeñ.¹⁴

Rat wanjāwān galdeñ jaleñ.¹⁴

Sārī umar gal hath maldēn.¹⁸

Hai, hai ! Maut nā andī, he !

Hik dam hijar, etc.

A Kāfī of Ghulām Farid of Chāchhrān Sharif.²

Translation.

Refrain.

O, the heart cannot bear separation for a moment !

O, the heart grows sick for the beloved !

I.

The mattress of pain and sorrow I would spread.

The bed of sorrow and pain I would make.

The garland of grief I would place around my neck.

O, the arm of pain under my head !

O, the heart cannot bear, etc.

II.

I have fallen in love with a careless lover.

I have caught the pangs of separation in my skirt.

I have fallen from calmness upon evil days.

O, my soul is the thirsty habitation of sorrow !

O, the heart cannot bear, etc.

III.

I pass the day in grief and sorrow.

I pass the night in sorrow and grief.

My whole life is passing in regret.

Alas, alas ! O, the death does not come !

O, the heart cannot bear, etc.

¹ A song of the Derā Ghā́l Khā́n District.
² The poet whose takhlak was Fairād, and whose real name was Ghulām Fairād, dwelt at Chāchhrān Sharif, a town on the right bank of the Indus, opposite Koṭ Mīthān, where he had charge of his ancestors' shrine. Nawāb Ṣādiq Muḥammad Khān, of Bahāwalpur, was one of his murids or disciples. I am indebted to Sayyid Sher Shāh, a Munafīf in the Punjab, for this song and its translation.
³ Pārsh, used locally to mean 'separation from the beloved.'
⁴ sahnī, to bear, endure : still, dīl, the heart : 'the heart does not endure.'
⁵ dīllar : Pārsh, 'one who takes the heart,' the beloved.
⁶ kārīn, postposition, 'for.'
⁷ māvā, sick : Pārsh, mānū, wearied. * soz guldā : Pārsh, 'pain and sorrow :' lit., 'burning and melting.'
⁸ dukh dūdā : local expression, 'pain and sorrow.'
¹⁰ dārd, dīl bānī : the sense is that 'arm of pain is under my head,' while sleeping, instead of the arm of my mistress.
¹¹ milyose, lit., 'we have met.' 'I have fallen in love with.'
¹² Allusion to the custom of beggars receiving alms in the skirt.
¹³ jhok, local : an isolated habitation without a well of drinking water.
¹⁴ sardeñ baldeñ, galdeñ jaleñ : lit., 'rotting and burning,' 'melting and burning.' Both expressions mean, in grief and jealousy.
¹⁵ hath maldēn, lit., rubbing the hands,' in regret.'
IV.

Sohnriā18 ketī Kech17 tiyālī.  
Ayā bar birheh sir bhārī.  
Sengīā18 sarīāā karī na kārī.  
Bewas pāl kurandī, he!  
Hik dam hijar, etc.  

V.

Yād karesāū yar ānā gahlī :  
Sohnriāā ramsāā mouhrīāā chālīā.  
Tereh mehrheh dewī Siyālī.19  
Tang Farīd na jandi, he!  
Hik dam hijar, etc.

Hār Phulāh de.

Text.

Hār phulāh de, ni,20 pāndā hār phulāh de.  
Phul lēde, bāndā yār, pāndā hār phulāh de.22

I. — Nār.

Qissakhwānī de bāzār dhup dopahar di, he!  
Tere table di tikor hai kaisal qahr di, he!  
Hār phulāh de, etc.

II. — Mard.

Ithāā sambul dī darakht, ni, guwāh rakhā.  
Terī naināā de sawar cāunkhādī rakhā.  
Hār phulāh de, etc.

III. — Nār.

Qissakhwānī de bāzār asāā jā khalote:  
Uṭhthe manggan panj rupāia, sānum pain gote.  
Hār phulāh de, etc.

IV.

My love is ready to start for Kech.  
The burden of grief seems heavy on my head.  
Her companions and maids give me no help.  
O, I am become helpless and lamenting!  
O, the heart cannot bear, etc.

V.

I shall ever remember the talk of my friend:  
Her amusing questions and her charming gestures.  
What though the Siyāl women chide.  
O, the longing of Farīd that departs not!  
O, the heart cannot bear, etc.

II. The Garlands of Flowers.21

Translation.

Refrain.

Garlands of flowers, love, garlands of flowers  
will I wear.

Bring flowers, my gallant friend, and I will  
wear garlands of flowers.

I. — Girl.

O, the noon-day sun is hot in the Qissakhwānī  
Bazar!23  
O, the power of thy note on the tabīā!  
Garlands of flowers, etc.

II. — Man.

The sambul tree here is our witness, love.  
It stands guardian of the beauty of thine eyes.  
Garlands of flowers, etc.

III. — Girl.

I went and stood in the Qissakhwānī Bazar:  
And when they asked five rupees, I was  
plunged in care.  
Garlands of flowers, etc.

18 Lit. 'beautiful': used for 'the beloved.'
17 A place renowned for the beauty of its women. Hence 'going to Kech,' as applied poetically to a girl means 'going home.'
19 sengādi, girl companions of her own age.
20 Allusion to the story of Hār and Rānjhā, a 'Romeo and Juliet' story of the Panjāb. Rānjhā came from Takht Hāzār and Hār was of the Siyāl tribe and their mutual love was highly impolitic. Hence their remonstrances referred to in the text. But the allusion is more subtle than this. The poet is using the language of Hār, and by the term 'Siyālī' he means his own country-women.
21 My love, my darling: used by a man to a woman.
22 [A very popular Panjābī song with references to the story of Mīrā and Šākihbā. I suspect that this version is incomplete. — Ed.]
23 Used as a refrain after each couplet. Here the man addresses the girl in the first line and she replies in the second.
24 At Peshāwar.
IV. — Man.
They take vermillion and dañød and adorn their faces:
They make vows and promises, but soon forget them.
Garlands of flowers, etc.

V. — Girl.
Their hands are fair and flowerbuds are in their baskets.
Many a beauty hawks her wares in the lanes.
Garlands of flowers, etc.

VI. — Man.
What dost thou gain, love, by troubling a poor man?
I was thy lover from the first night I saw thee!
Garlands of flowers, etc.

VII. — Girl.
Thou art indeed, my love; I will die with thee.
Clasping my hands on thy arm, I will go to Jhang-Siyäl.
Garlands of flowers, etc.

VIII. — Man.
Loose thy shoes: tight thy trousers.24
Give me back the two annas and sit thou here and beg.
Garlands of flowers, etc.

IX. — Girl.
Alas, binding a lakh of bandages does not stay the blood!
0, thy beauty in its pride is as the noon-day sun!25
Garlands of flowers, etc.

X. — Man.
Thou bringest the desire of love as thou goest, dear.
And my hand is on my side for laughter, love.
Garlands of flowers, etc.

24 As worn by Panjabi women. The meaning is that she could not walk far.
25 [ In the story of Mírzá and Sáhibhá, which is connected with Jhang and the Siy ál, the pair eloped and were caught under a tree, and the Mírzá was murdered before the eyes of his paramour. — Ed. ].
XI. — Nār.38
Chall ājā chhaman chhaman, tuñ piyārī nī.
Zarā sājakā bāzār, naināswāliye nī.

Hār phulān de, etc.

XII. — Mard.
Pardesīān de nāl haske boliye, nī.

Nā kar husan da gumān: pūrā toliye, nī.

Hār phulān de, etc.

XIII. — Nār.
Asīn tere liye parote hār chhote chhote, nī:
Kāhnā evidi hai bol sānu moṭe moṭe, nī?

Hār phulān de, etc.

XIV. — Mard.
Terī zulf kundaal pāyā, kali nag kolōn.
Terī gall hai mazedār, nī, gulāb kolōn.
Hār phulān de, etc.

XV. — Nār.
Terā rang hai mazedār mahtāb kolōn.
Terī dhunni mazedār tung sharāb kolōn.

Hār phulān de, etc.

XVI. — Mard.
Terī šākk hai mazedār amb anār kolōn:
Terā nāk hai khuṇā de dhār, nī, tālwār kolōn.

Hār phulān de, etc.

XVII. — Nār.
Kāhenā baĩthé tir mainānī de chalāonī, he?
Sine barōhiān tūn misēghān diān laonī, he?

Hār phulān de, etc.

XI. — Girl.27
Come with thy tinkling feet, thou dearest love.
Stay not a moment in the bazar, my love with the ( beautiful ) eyes.
Garlands of flowers, etc.

XII. — Man.
Thou should speak graciously to strangers, love.28
Be not proud of thy beauty, love; but be just ( to me ).
Garlands of flowers, etc.

XIII. — Girl.29
For thy sake I have made many little garlands love:
Why dost thou speak to me with rough words, love?
Garlands of flowers, etc.

XIV. — Man.
Thy locks have fallen into curls like black snakes.
Thy cheeks are fairer than the rose, love.
Garlands of flowers, etc.

XV. — Girl.
Thy colour is fairer than the moon.
Thy navel is more intoxicating than a flash of wine.
Garlands of flowers, etc.

XVI. — Man.
Thine eyes are sweeter than the mango or the pomegranate:
Thy nose more slender than the edge of a sword, love.
Garlands of flowers, etc.

XVII. — Girl.
O, why dost thou sit and let loose the arrows of thine eyes?
O, why dost thou pierce my breast with the spears of thy glances?30
Garlands of flowers, etc.

38 [ From this point something has gone wrong with the regular interchange of complements between the man and the woman, and verses 11, 12, 15, 14, 16 and 19 should all be addressed to the woman, and only 15, 17 ( doubtfully ) and 19 to the man. This verse, No. 11, both forms its substance and its form, should not be spoken by but to, the woman. Such irregularities and obvious discrepancies are, however, characteristic of Panjābī bards. — Ed. ].

27 [ But the man should speak this verse. I suspect that not only is this version incomplete, but also that the verses are given in any order, just as they occurred to the singer. — Ed. ]

28 [ Mirāz was of a tribe hostile to that of Sāhibān. Hence the trouble. They were a Panjābī Romeo and Juliet. — Ed. ]

29 [ Here again the man should be speaking. — Ed. ]

30 [ But all the expressions are feminine and apparently the man should be speaking. — Ed. ]
XVIII. — Mard.
Teriā thēwā gosādār, ni kāmā kōloā.
Tere naināō de nāl rāhndē, ni, nishān kōloā.
Hār phalāō de, etc.

XIX. — Nār.
Teri pātī dā singār mazedār rāhndā:
Teri āngi dā nār rāzīdār rāhndā.
Hār phalāō de, etc.

Sehrīāh.
A Wedding Song of the Joïyas of Multān Dist.

Sehrīāwālā bānārā jiōvē!
Sehrīāwālā bānārā jiōvē!

1.
Nām Fārid Khān! Zāt Lakhwērā!
Lākk salāmī thīwē!
Māhrājā, bānārā jiwe!
Sehrīāwālā, etc.,

2.
Jitwāl ōcharīēhē, tōrī fatahī liamēshā!
Jor bāhānā dā thīwē!
Māhrājā, bānārā jiwe!
Sehrīāwālā, etc.,

3.
Bānārā dā māl nūn dīyō mūhārāk.
Sharbat pīyālā pīwe.
Māhrājā, bānārā jiwe!
Sehrīāwālā, etc.,

Sehrā II.

Sakhi Fīroz rangīlā,
Jug jug jiwe!
Sagāl wāri pāhār,
Aīse Jōyā tūn dāīr!
Aṭhāā nāwāā, sūrān dā
Sarkop madītā!
Jug jug jiwe!
Sakhi Fīroz rangīlā,
Jug jug jiwe!

Translation.

Garland. I.
Befrām.

Long live the bridegroom with the garlands!
Long live the bridegroom with the garlands!

1.
By name Fārid Khān! By tribe Lakhwērā,
Lāţā of men salute thee!
Māhrājā, may thy bridegroom live!
Long live, etc.

2.
Where thou dost attack, be victory ever thine!
Be thou united to thy kinsmen!
Māhrājā, may thy bridegroom live!
Long live, etc.

3.
Congratulate the bride's mother.
Let her drink the cup of sharbat.
Māhrājā, may thy bridegroom live!
Long live, etc.

Garland II.

The generous and beautiful Fīroz,
May he live for ever!
Possessor of a mountain of wealth,
Be thou a creator of wealth like the Jōyāś!
Of eight or nine friends
Be thou the great leader!
May he live for ever!
The generous and beautiful Fīroz,
May he live for ever!

—

n1 Carrying on the metaphor of the eyes and the arrows.

n2 [An under-garment covering the breasts. Here again apparently the man should be speaking. — Ed.]

n3 Lakhwērā: one of the principal class of the Joïyas, an interesting account of whom will be found in the forthcoming Gazetteer of the Bahkwalper State. Lākh in the next line is simply placed punningly in juxtaposition.

n4 Note that the same term is used for bride and bridegroom.
Lámân tūn lī bāne hoī pahāvā !

1.
Tainūn sewā Jamānūn dē rāje,
Dasteñ ghorē pair pīyāde !
Joīyā, kūtān dē sardār !
Lámān tūn, etc.

2.
Barēñ wīch wānjārā sewā !
Bohar ghanānā dātār !

Lámān tūn, etc.

3.
Janāk Khān sukhānādā pūrā !
Tērā bāchān na howe kūrā
Sāhib dē dārār !
Lámān tūn, etc.

4.
Jis val ḍarēpēñ teri ṣatāh hamesha ;
Ṣatāh har ḍarēr !
Lámān tūn, etc.

5.
Sāre Joīyā dā sardār,
Rasūl Āllāh dā haǐn tūn yār !
Mūbārak dēwe saṁ saṁsār !
Lámān tūn, etc.

Sekhra IV.

Jīvehowān ṣchrīhānādā bānānā !

Wādī Jānak samī dī marūn tangeśāl gharāī.

Sone gharāēh bātrīñ galāñ saṁnī dhāl khindāi.

Sonā pūt sopnt ralāī,
Wīch ghore phīrē daryāī.
Jānak Joīyā aṭī Sidū Mīr dūnānūn jhīk lōī ṣpāī.

Gharī taksāl ; bānī ḍadshāhāī !

Garland III.

Refrain.

Be the ranks of thy army ranged like the hills !

1.
May the rējās of Jamānū serve thee
Themselves on foot and their horses by the hand !
Joīyā, Lord of ( many ) foris !
Be the ranks, etc.

2.
Be thy enemy subdued on the battle-field !
Be thou a ( very ) bohar-35 tree as a creator of wealth !
Be the ranks, etc.

3.
As Jānak Khān, fulfil thou thy promise !
Be thy word never false
Before the Court of God !
Be the ranks, etc.

4.
Where thou dost attack, be victory ever thine;
Victory in every Court.
Be the ranks, etc.

5.
Lord of all the Joīyās,
Thou art the friend of the Prophet of God !
May all the world bless thee !
Be the ranks, etc.

Garland IV.

Refrain.36

Long live the bridegroom with the garlands !

Jānak distributed at the wedding money coined at the mint,
Golden coins he minted and gave them to the servants and the poor.
He united a good bridegroom to a good bride.
River horses were used at the wedding.
Jānak Joīyā and Sidū Mīr were ashamed and covered their faces with a cloth.
With gold coins at the mint he founded a kingdom !

35 The banyan tree, or ficus indica.
36 Probably in practice repeated after every line.
THREE SONGS FROM THE PANJAB.

BY H. A. ROSE.

I.

A Love Song.

Text.

Sājan, woh din kaun the, tam bichhṛat1 mohē
cain?
Gīte ban kē lākrīl sūlgat hai din raiās,
Lākrīl jal koīlā bahī, aur koīlā jal bahī rākh:
Mainī pāpan aisī jall, na koīlā bahī, na rākh.

Sājan, woh din kaun the, jo tum gūriyā2 ham
dēr.
Chalt wā parem, kit gūriyā? kit ḍēr?

Sājan, woh din kaun the, jo bhēl ni rakhte
hīr?
Karanhār ne aisī kī, jo pargayī bhēl pahēr.

Translation.

Which were the days, love, when I had
pleasure away from thee?
The damp wood smoulders all the day.
Burnt wood makes charcoal, burnt charcoal
makes ashes:
But I, poor wretch, am so burnt up that there
is neither charcoal nor ashes.
Which were the days, love, when you were
the kite and I the string?
When the wind of love blew, where was the
kite and where the string?
Which were the days, love, when there was
not even a garland between us!
Now the Creator has so made it that there is
a mountain between us.

Rāg Larkāyōn kā.

Text.

Asāh āprā charbhā katnā;
Dēē dē muṣī chaṭṭānā.3
Ktuā dēē dē kārau rol?
Bhed āpne dē kā khoī?
Asāh āpne ghar4 de rājā;
Dēē kane kuchh nahiā kajā?
Ktuā jāg māsan kush karnā?
Pārna Mālik de charnā.
Ktuā kisī dē sang asūs haṣnā?
Ktuā kisī dē ghar jā basnā?

Asāh ant same marjānā;
Dēē kisī sang nahiā jānā;
Ktuā Dunyā de bāje bajānā.
Sukh chhadke, dukh ko pānā.
Haiī miṣṭī, miṣṭī meī mil jānā;
Ktuā narm dāshāle bichhānā?

Translation.

Ours to ply the spinning-wheel:
Not to flatter another's face.
Why should we for another weep?
Why let go the secret of our hearts?
We are lords of our own house;
We have no concern with another's.
Why should man take pleasure in the world?
It is better to fall at the feet of the Master.
Why should we laugh with any one?
Why should we go to dwell in any one's
house?
In the end we have to die.
We may not go with any other.
Why should we play the music of the World?
Ours to forgo pleasure and endure pain.
Earth we are, to the earth we must return:
Why then spread soft shaws?

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1 bichhṛat, separated.
2 gūriyā usually means a doll, but here = ḍōṛāt, a four-cornered kite.
3 āprā, to lick; to flatter.
4 āprā, house: our own concerns.
Gawon Timidā as.

Text.
Asān apnā charkhā katanā?
Nāl dde de kahūn rahañ?
Kiuñ dōje de ket jā reñ?
Dharmā apne jī dā khoi?
Asān apne ghar diñā rāntān:
Kahnu karniāi deñā dā kahānāñ?
Kiuñ jag niñorō satiyā?

Sahīye, apne nāl saek? rahīye.

Kiuñ kisā de chāt lubhāñ?
Kiuñ jag nūn jāñā harsāñ?
Asān čāk nūn mar jāñ:
Kisī dde de nāl nāñ jāñ.
Kiuñ jag vich dhūm māčhī?
Sukh chhañake, dukh nū pañ;
Sab mīṣō, mīṣō hō jāñ:
Kiuñ señū te chāñh sōñ?

The Matron's Spinning Song.

Translation.
Ours to ply the spinning wheel:
Why do we abide with another?
Why do we go and weep with another?
And let go the falseness of our hearts!
We are queens of our own house:
Why do we talk of others' doings?
Why do we endure the coquetties of the world?
Matrons, we should keep the world to ourselves.
Why should we enthrall the heart of any one?
Why should we suffer ridicule in the world?
In the end we have to die:
We may not go with any other.
Why do we make a display in the world?
Ours to forego pleasure and endure pain.
All are of earth, to the earth we must return:
Why meant a bed to sleep?

MOHIYE KI HAR, OR BAR.

BY H. A. ROSE.

The Chronicles of Bajā Mehi Parkāsh, Ruler of Nāgan (Sārnār) State.

(Continued from p. 308.)

Saño ri sārī dā, Rājā pāgī pherī,

210 Garh rahī-goā Nāganē rā, sāre pahīro ri shistrī;24
Mōhiye ri fanjo, sab Nāganē khi girlī;
Kashe huṇde kamare,26 lāge-buṇde tere,
Garho giri Nāganē re, gere chakre ghorē;
Gurī rowō meghulā, jhumī roko kebojō;28

215 Nāganē re garho khe, garhī Nāganē chūto,27
Garh chūtā Nāganē rā, lea mānki29 Rājē,
Bhāgī guwe gahile, rowe darwāsē khūle,
Nāganē ri, O Kālkā, tuahō khe dūṭāō:
Rājē tinī30 Mōhiye, hāmēn gharī-tero khāī.

On the plain of Sañj the Rājā turned his galangāla,
(For) the fort of Nāgan, the queen of all the hills, remained (untaken),
The army of Mehi Parkāsh all turned towards Nāgan,
The horsemen, with leina girl and guns ready-
Round the fort of Nāgan rode their horses,
As if they were thundering in the clouds and bombarding,
The fort of Nāgan fell, and they said:
'crush the Rājā,'
Its garrison fled away and its gates were thrown open.
(The women cried: —) O Kālkā of Nāgan,
By that Rājā Mehi Parkāsh, we are brought to great distress.

24 Shīrī: head.
26 Kasahe huṇde kamare: with leina girl; sēre: the tow (used to fire the long Indian gun).
28 Gurī rowō: meghulā: jhumī roko kebojō: the mist is spreading.
29 Lea mānki: broken, & c.; the fortress gave in.
30 Tīmī: by that; hāmēn gharī-tero khāī: we are in sore distress (an ñālōm).
February, 1909.

MOHIYE KI HAR.

220 Garhi phukā Nāga rā, hāmeñ kheēl ro lā.30
Chūpī ro merle Kālikā,31 hāmeñ karmā jummoñ;
Ubhe āwane de Deshū khe, lāmā māso rā hūmoñ.32
Garho pānde Nāgañ re, sāt chādro pherī,
Hāl faujo Rāje rī, Saiñō rī serī;

225 Sīhīe Koṭ rā ṭhākur, kindā roī jāī?
Deshū dhāro rī bārī hāmtū delā batāwī.
Lāgī gowā boldā,33 Bīdhīyā bhāto,
Manj Phāgū rī rastā, Deshū dhāro rī bāto.
Āī pālgī Rāje rī, Dhamāndrī re ghaṭē,

230 Ghāṭe para Dhamāndrī re, Mohīye re tāmbū;
Phāgū hālī gowā Rāpe re, ālo rā jyā lāmbā;
Chān syāhe Phāgū re, Rāje khe mille:
Ghāṭe lyāe Dhamāndrī re, bathorī re kille.
Phāgū re, O Phagyāuevo, tāse kaute tāre?

235 Kārā bhore Naḥālī khe, base āpo gharē
Āī pālgī Rāje rī, Kaitthalī re ghaṭē,
Baro dīṭā bākrā, Nālo re bhāṭē,
Āī pālgī Rāje rī, Deshū rī dhāro,
Deshū para jubro33 de, Mohīye re tāmbū,

240 Sārā hālī gowā Keonthal, ālo rā jyā lāmbū;
Tāmbū taṅt ro chākā, chhārī rākhā mūhālā.35
Undī dhartī jhulko,36 ābhā Indar hālā:
Dhūveñ re bādalle, ubhā sūrjo thāmo.
Deshū gurī,37 Mohīye rī drāgī,

229 He has burnt the fort of Nāgañ and driven us out of it.
Be still, O my Kālikā! we will bear the blame;
Let them come up to Deshū, we will feed the flames with human flesh.
On the fort of Nāgañ was unfurled the red flag.
The Rājā's army returned to the plain of Saiñō.

225 (They asked: —) 'O Sīhīe, Thākur of Koṭ,
whither art thou going?
Pray show us the pathway to the ridge of Deshū!'
Bīdhīa Brahman replied:
'Through Phāgū is the road, by the pathway to Deshū ridge.'
The Rājā's palanquin reached Dhamāndrī ghdī.34

230 At the ghdī of Dhamāndrī was pitched the Rājā's tent,
And Phāgū of the Rāṇā of Keonthal shook like the stalk of a potato plant.
Four elders of Phāgū met the Rājā,
At the ghdī of Dhamāndrī they brought him baskets of bathorī.
(Said the Rājā: —) 'O men of Phāgū,35
why are you afraid?

235 Pay your revenue at Nāhan, and dwell in your own homes.'
The Rājā's palanquin came to the ghdī of Kaitthal,36
And the Brahman śūs of Nāl37 village gave him provisions and a goat.
The Rājā's palanquin came to Deshū ridge,
And on the meadows on Deshū were pitched the Rājā's tents.

240 All the land of Keonthal trembled like a potato stalk.
When they had pitched the tents, they bombarded to such an extent
That the earth below and sky above shook.
And clouds of smoke hid the sun above.
On Deshū sounded the music of Mohīye Parkash.

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30 Kheēl ro lā: we have been hunted out.
31 Chūpī ro merle Kālikā: O my Kālikā! Be still!; jummoñ: responsible.
32 Lāmā māso rā hūmoñ: we will feed the flames with human flesh.
33 Lāgī gowā boldā: began to say.
34 Dhamāndrī: a place in Tīhāg territory below Phāgū.
35 Phagū the inhabitants of Phāgū.
36 Kaitthal: a ridge in Keonthal State.
37 Nāl: a village in Chhabrot pargānd, now in Pātāla territory, but formerly owned by Keonthal.
38 Jubro: in the meadow or waste-land.
39 Chhārī rākhā = chhārī mūhāla: the sound of string, i. e., sreed.
40 Jhulko: shaking.
41 Gurī: will roar; drāgī: music.
245 Dhol bâje, gherâ 41 bânâ, ḍhakâlî bâjî;
Dehâe gûrî 42 maubato, Koṭî ahûno Râṅâ;
Bhâhâ lâgâ bolâdâ, Nûp Sâino Râṅâ;
Dhol bâje, ḍhaknîl bâjî, bâjo galhîrâ 43 bâjî,
Ke gurî rowâ meghûlî, 44 ke āwî-gowâ Râṅâ;
250 Dewo, Râṅâ re házrîo, Manûno āṣâ jî:
Deshû dhârîo ri khâbro, āwaṇâ le-âl,
Dowe Râṅâ re rigû Manûno ri dhârîo,
Manûno ri dhârîo dâ, pânhle nâ dewo;
Sârâ râkhâ juble, 45 tâmbûc chhâl;
255 Deshû di dhârîo dî, nîrî 46 lag-râbih âgo,
Bûre dâho badûko re, pâgiye ri pâgo; 47
Do Râṅâ re rigû, haṭl āwî-gowe Koṭî:
Lâl, merec rigûo, Deshû dhârîo ri bâto.
Deshû dhârîo ri bâto, lâi nahû jîndî,
260 Sârâ râkhâ juble, tâmbûc chhâl;
Bolûndâ nî, Râṅâ, tece sâhibâ dare:
Dehâe āyâ bairi, koṭ Sâîño gherî.
Râṅâ tişûyen Nûp Sâine, mat lai kamîl,
Koṭî dâ Râṅâ sâhibe, dêrâ lowâ ùthûl;
265 Koṭî dâ Râṅâ Sâhib, gowâ Juṅge āl:
Jungo re maunâ 48 dî, Râṅâ rowâ gubbi; 44
Deshû āyâ bairi, gowâ mulkô ḍobî; 50
Jungo re pâgiye dâ, Râṅâ gîrdâ giro; 51
Nâûn āṣî dewo Gumde, sâbale phiro; 52

245 The drums were beaten, the boundary was surrounded and the ḍhakâlî sounded.
On Dehâe the maubato resounded, and at Koṭî the Râṅâ heard it.
Thus he spoke, the Râṅâ Nûp Sâine —
'The drums are sounding and the ḍhakâlîs,
Either 'tis thundering in the clouds, or the Râṅâ has come,
250 Go, attendants of me the Râṅâ, go to Manûn, Go and bring me news of Deshû ridge.'
The Râṅâ's messengers went to the ridge of Manûn, 46
As far as the ridge of Manûn, but not up to it.'
All the waste-land was covered with tents.
255 On the ridge of Deshû everywhere fires were burning,
The guns were seen to be terrible, and the turbans of the infantry.
The Râṅâ's two messengers turned back and came to Koṭî,
(Said the Râṅâ: —) 'Tell me, my messengers, the news from Deshû dhârî.
(They replied: —) 'The news from Deshû ridge is not to be told,
260 All the waste-land is covered with tents.
We dare not speak, Râṅâ Sâhib, from fear of thee.
The enemy has reached Deshû ridge, after taking the fort of Sâhir.'
Then Râṅâ Nûp Sâine made a wise resolve,
'The Râṅâ Sâhib took his camp and came to Jungâ,
265 The Râṅâ Sâhib from Koṭî came to Jungâ.
At the palace of Jungâ the Râṅâ fell into anxiety.
'The enemy has reached Deshû ridge, my kingdom has been overthrown,'
In the verandah at Jungâ the Râṅâ paced to and fro,
(Giving his orders: —) 'Let Gumdâ 53 come from Nâûn and be loyal,'

41 Gherâ: surrounded.
42 Gaithra: deep, and 50 (idiomatically), that which can be heard from afar.
43 Gâf rowâ meghûlî: the clouds are roaring.
44 Manûn: a ridge in Patâla territory; also the name of the village deity who lives in Manûn village.
45 Nîrî: only, merely; nothing but.
46 Bûre (bad), dâho (are seen), baṭhîko re (of the riflemen), pâgiye ri pâgo (the turbans): i. e., the turbans of the riflemen were seen to be terrible.
47 Bûre dâho badûko re (of the riflemen), pâgiye ri pâgo (the turbans): i. e., the turbans of the riflemen were seen to be terrible.
48 Raunâ: in the courtyard.
49 Râṅâ rowâ gubbi: the Râṅâ was struck with grief, or plunged into anxiety.
50 Good mulkô ḍobî: mulkû gubba geyâ: i. e., the country is lost.
51 Gîrdâ giro: walked round.
52 Sâbale phiro: turn the right way.
53 Gumdâ: the name of a man of Nâûn.
270 Rawálo ánfı devo Bhagte, Rāṇe re waszro; 270 Let Bhagta, Rawáł, the Rāṇa’s warri-
Charpole ánfı devo Chandre, Ailele áno come too.
Fahkro.
Gille ánfı devo Dhartá, álthe hānde na Let Chandra the Chapol come, and also
bāto.66 Faqira, the Aitlā.
Adró di Rāṇe, likhí ditio chiri;69 Let Dhartá and Gillá too, come, but not
Gillá lyāwāna naitē,60 Dhartá lyāwāna together by the same road.’
tīr.
275 Āc Rāṇe re rigrū, Gille re Bhareche, From her palace the Rāṇi wrote a letter—
Gille jānā63 Chhibre, rākhe pūchhne That Gillá was to be brought by way of the
īs. river, and Dhartá across the hills.
Do Rāṇe re rigrū, kani joge āwe?
275 The Rāṇa’s messengers arrived at Then the messengers came to the Fort of
Bharech,62 Gillá’s village, Dhartá.
Gillá bolūn, Chhibro, Rāṇe rākhā bolāc, 280 Dhartá took it in good part and began to
Āc Rāṇe re rigrū Dharre re Koṭe; question them: —
280 Bhal64 re jānfı Dharre, rākhe ‘O messengers twain of the Rāṇa, for what
puchhne lāc: purpose have you come?’
Do Rāṇe re rigrū, kani khe tāsbe āāe? (They replied: —) ‘Tis the truth we tell
Bhal re bolūn, Dharre, Rāṇe rākhā you, Dhartá, the Rāṇa has sent for you.’
bulāc,
(Sillá and Dhartá were brought to the 285 Gillá and Dhartá too did obeisance to the
place at Jungā.) Rāṇa, And said: — ‘O Rāṇa Sāhib, why have we
The Rāṇa’s court was in session at the been summoned?’
terrace of the gateway.
285 Gilla and Dhartá too did obeisance to the Rāṇa,
And said: — ‘O Rāṇa Sāhib, why have we In the court-yard at Jungā, the Rāṇa was
been summoned?’ in great anxiety.
The enemy has come to Deshū, and my kingdom is likely to be lost.
Mōhī the Rāṇa has come like a thunder-bolt 290 He has demanded ransom from every
from the sky.
hearth, and the hand of my daughter in marriage.

24 Rawāł: a clan of Kanets in Keonfhal.
27 Chapol and Aitlā: also the names of clans in Keonfhal.
28 Sāthē (together): hānde na (do not walk), bāto (the way): do not walk together on the road.
32 Lyāwāna naitē: should be brought by the river: first by or over the peak of the hill.
31 Gillá and Dhartá: servais of the Rāṇa of Keonfhal who were not on good terms with each other.
32 Bharech: a village in Keonfhal.
33 Jōgā (knew): rākhe puchhne īs: have been sent to enquire.
34 Bhal: good. 36 Dēurf re chobbā: on the terrace of the main gate.
35 Deshū: the enemy. 38 Ghōlā jōhdēr: paid his respects.
36 Gōfī: plunged into anxiety. 38 Bhaī: the enemy.
38 Dāmān: smoke (from every house in which fire burns).
Gillâ jâst Dhartâ, chôri dele jabâbo.
Phût karâ phulrû, phûle karâ arû,
Bângâ karâ, râkhâ Bâsû, Dharte dà daây;
Încû bûte ri karî,72 râkheo Râpâ ghâî.

295 Bângâ kâtâ Bâsû, Râpâ bharle shâî,73
Jungo ra raûgo dî, mat lai kamâl,
Dhâvî jâtî Pûjûll râ, lovâ bû-lâl;
Jungo ra raûgo dâ, deo râkhâ gharwî.74
Gille Dhartâ, kâ karî lovâ thâ to?75

300 Dharte ra ðûngî,76 kuûjô mûle lowe
' thâ to,
Ajo dà pûrâî77 Gilleâ, karû mahlû mânû;
Ekât ra khyâwû pâyà khâo:
Deshâ yû bairi, ebo chûlî laço.79
Mîâre bole nê dawandî,80 dingûl ri mâro,

305 Kûre mînhû ðûtâse, mûhare ðûngû tarâro;81
Gilleâ Chhibrâ, pûre nê phârâ;82
Kût chôri re dhûno rî, sàwān kiyâ kârâ;83
Natho bhûgu Rânu, pûrûn-ôn boro,84
Sadhû chûrâ Ghentâ,85 dhûro re sero;
76

310 Sadhû dà, Rânu, lânke talvâsâ terâ.
Karaî Gilleâ Chhibrâ, tûshe apûn goh.86
Tâmâh sadhû dà londâ, râkht demûn boî.37

Gillâ or perchance Dhartâ will give him
a proper answer.
The flowers will be blooming and peaches be
in blossom,
It was wrong that Dhartâ's pomegranate-
tree should have been cut down by Bûdà.'
The Rânu made enquiry into the dispute
between Gillâ and Dhartâ:

295 (He decided:) that Bûdà had done
a wrong.
In the court-yard at Jungâ they made a
shred resolve.
The dîedâ was summoned from Pûjûllî
village,
In the court-yard at Jungâ the god was
consulted,
(And the dîedâ replied:) 'Gillâ, what were
you doing to Dhartâ?

300 You had taken axe in hand to kill Dhartâ.

Henceforth, O Gillâ, bear not enmity to-
wards him,
Both of you have eaten food at one table.
The enemy has come to Dânu, thither
must you go.'
'We cannot,' they replied, 'fight the enemy
with sticks,

305 Our axes and swords have been taken away
for the land-revenue.'
(The Rânu said:) 'O Gillâ and Chhibar,
I will remit you the rice revenue for a year'
(Gillâ answered:) — 'O Rânu, if we run
away there will be delay.'
(Said the Rânu:) 'Ghentâ the saint lives
near the ridge.'

310 (Gillâ replied:) 'We will summon the
saint, O Rânu.'
(Said the Rânu:) 'Do, Gillâ and Chhib-
ar, as seems best to you.'
They answered that they would send for the
saint and keep him below the tank.

71 Bângâ Kôtî: has been cut away.
72 Dharte shât: the Rânu will give evidence.
73 Hâk karâ lowe thâ to: what would you do?
74 Dûng: an arc; kuûjô mûle lowe thâ to: thon were carrying under thy arm-pit.
75 Ajo dà pûr: from this date.
76 Ekât: in one; khyâwû pâyà khâo: are fed on meal.
77 Dîedâ: cannot be given.
78 Kàra hûngû ðûtâse, mûhare ðûngû tarâro: our axes and swords have been swallowed up (lit. plunged) in the
revenue.
79 Pûre ra phûr: do not make pretence (idios). [The Chhibar is Dhartâ.]
80 Kût chôri re dhûno rî: having remitted the revenue once; sàwân kiyâ kârâ: the revenue has been made up.
81 Pûrûn-ôn boro: there will be delay; i.e. there will be no time to escape.
82 Chûlî: fed or grased.
83 Goà: pleasure, or one's own way.
Chhoṭā láh ádā18 bare márle gāon.

Deyā Rāņe ri Sītālā, bẖāt bẖājio khāndī,

315 Dāṛī loko ri dhāiāṇī,46 ďewī ro n jāndī;

Thārī tayī Rāṇāki,41 ďī ro ghālmeṁ ďūrdī;

Mūṛī jāmēn Junge ri, to lāt ghālmeṁ chẖūrī.

Thārī tayī Rāṇāki,43 lāī pāmeṁ sharāpo,44 Ghare gharā pāře45 thāre, Deyā Sītālā re pāpō;

320 Palaṁ ṛeduo46 Dharma, ōrū jīhōto :

Ohukhe bhalngō79 kho chẖūnā, Junge rā tharoṁo.

Bāhīā85 chẖūṁ jno khāndō ri, Ḥaṇūmāno rā nejā.

Jo chukhā lye80 gāīt kho, tālo teṛā bejā;

Gillā délā Dhartā, Rāņe kho dīlās:

325 Koṭī bēṭhe Rāņeś, mhrā kẖe ṛamāshā.

Junge re ṛaṇṇo dī, mat lāi khāmī,

Pandrā-hažāro100 thārā ṭhakro ri, chherō ghāli chherāwī;

Nālī kho ditte kāgto, ṭhakūrī kho chẖīthī ;

Dhoḷ bājō ḍẖākull bājī, hor bājī saṅāī.

330 Phūlo lá phūṛū, phūlo lī chẖabāṛī,

Ṭhākur āyā Mahloṛig, sāthī āyā Kūṭhīṛī;

Bājī loe bājāng, sāpaḷ dā bārū :

Morchā pūjā2 tārī rū, Rāi āyā Kūṅhārū.

Dhārī bājī Simle ri, ḍẖaphṛā rū bānā,

( Said the Rāṇā : ) ' If you will do but a slight service for me, you will get a large village.'

315 The daughters of great people do not go out by themselves.

'O Rāṇāik ;'22 when we return we will punish you! ' ( Said the Rāṇā : )

' When we return to Jungā, we will have your throats cut.

O Rāṇāik! we shall have to curse you,

The curse of Deyā Sītālā will fall on every house of yours.

320 Dharma, the Palaṁ, is known as the root of the feud:

For being loyal you should touch the place of Jungā deodāl.

You should also touch the arms of these attendants and the spear of Ḥaṇūmān.

He who shall be disloyal to this throne, shall lose his offspring.'

Gillā and Dhartā gave solace to the Rāṇā :

325 ' Do you remain at Koṭī, Rāṇā, and witness our display.'

In the court-yard of Jungā, it was shrewdly resolved

That a levy of all Keonāthi, with its eighteen baronies, should be levied.

An order was sent to Nālī,1 and a letter to each barony.

Drums, both large and small, and the pipes, resounded.

330 Flowerets are blooming, and the Chhabāri plant is blooming,

The Ṭhākur of Mahloṛig arrived, and with him he of Kūṅhār.

Music was played: the pipes discoursed the Barwā mode.

Foremost were the tūris,3 then came the Rai of Kūṅhār.

On the ridge of Simhā, the kettledrums were sounded.

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18 Ādā: respect or work.
22 Ḍẖājīo: has denied.
18 Dharma: the girls; ḍẖal: escaped or went.
41 Ḍẖājī: the girls; ḍẖal: escaped or went.
42 Rāṇāik: the Rāṇā's official.
43 Thārī tayī Rāṇāki: O Rāṇāki, for your sake; ďī ṛo: having come home.
44 Šharāpo: curses.
45 Ghare gharā pāṛe: on every home will fall the curse.
64 Beduo: is known; ṛajī ṭhājo: the root of ṭhājo = do ṭij, i. e. two-sided, disloyal.
79 Ohukhe bhalngō: for missing and failing; tharoṁo: the place of Jungā deodāl.
85 Bāhīā: the arms.
80 lye: this or those; ďālo (may destroy), teṛā (his), bejā (used or offspring).
100 Pandrā-hažāro: a name for the Keonāth State, then said to possess a revenue of Rs. 15,000. Chẖerō (the war), yādī (wan), chẖerōt (began.)
1 The name of a paryaya.
2 Morchā pūjā: the vanguard arrived.
3 Musicians.
335 Gaj bājā bandūko dē, Rānā āyā Dhamyānā;
Phūlo-lā phūlū, phulo le-ālū;
Āi rāyant Rāge ri, thākūro Bhrālo;
Āi rāyant Rāge ri, thākūro Koterū;⁴
Ghāṭi dā bājī Kohāṇ re, dhākult rā bānā,

340 Thākur āyā Rajyāṇe rā, Kumbhārsainā Rānā;
Bālīū de lāe bālū, hor kānō de daraṭū;
Ghūndū āyā, Khrūṭhū āyā, sāthī āyā Trochū.
Bālīū de lāe dhāgule,⁹ lambe loīye wālo,
Thākur āyā Mālī rā, hor Sāngrī re Sāngrālo;

345 Dhāro dā bājī Manūno rī, dholo dā bānā:
Thākur āyā Theogī, sāthī āyā Madhānā,
Sāthī āye thūkuro, Khūnī Dūkhū Ghaṭeō.
Rāge ri lágl bahl bondī⁴⁴ rāyīnto;
Rāyīnt to Rāge ri, Bhaḥe re Bishāpe:

350 Wāŋe pāndo⁴⁶ re Bhaḥe, Khūmālī rā sānā.
Rāyīnt to Rāge ri, Shīmle re Shīmālāo,
Pāṭā de līye dewoço,²² phar-ke dē ālo;
Rāyīnt to Rāge ri, Bāgrī re Bagrālū:
Hātho dē līye dīngūl,¹³ jāṅī jhāṅgī pālū.

335 The ramrods rattled in the guns, then came the Rānā of Dhamū.
Flowerets will bloom and the potatoes will blossom.
Came the Rānā's subjects, and the Thākur of Bhrālō.
Came the Rānā's subjects, and the Thākur of Koṭī.
On the pass above Kohāṇ⁶ sounded the music called dhākult;
Came the Thākurs of Rajyāṇa, and the Rānā of Kumbhārsainī.
On their arms they wore gold bracelets and in their ears gold ear-rings.
The Thākurs of Ghūndū and Khrūṭhū came, and with them the Thākur of Taroch.
On their arms they wore bracelets and long woollen cloaks.
The Thākurs of Mālī¹⁰ and Sāngrī¹¹ came.

345 On the peak of Manūn¹² was beaten the drum.
Came too the Thākur of Theog and with him he of Madhānū.
Together came the Thākurs of Khalāsh, Dūkhū and Ghaṭe➀;
The Rānā's subjects were pouring in,
Came the subjects of the Rānā, the Bishānās of Bishā,¹⁵

350 The Bhōoras of both sides, and the Shyānās of Khūmālī,¹⁷
Came the subjects of the Rānā, the Shīmlās of Simīla,
Carrying their food in leaves, and potatoes in their waist-bands.
Came the subjects of the Rānā, the Bagrās of Bāgrī,
Bringing in their hands long sticks, as if to gather hill apples.

⁴ Bharāl: a person of Koṭī.
⁶ Koṭān: the people of Koṭ are called Kotoy.
⁸ Khrāṭhū: a person of Koṭī.
⁹ Bālīū: a small bracelet; daraṭū: ear-rings.
¹³ Jāṅī: a stick; jhāṅgū: as if; pālū: a kind of hill apple.
¹⁰ Now in Patāla territory.
¹¹ The people of Sāngrī are called Sangrī. Cf. Shīmlā, Bagrī, Ṣināra.
¹² Manūn is the name of a ridge on which the boundaries of Patāla, Koṭī and Koṭ meet, near the temple of Hanūmān of Muṣāṇa.
¹⁷ Khālāsh or Nakhālāsh, Dūkhū and Ghaṭe are now villages in Koṭī.
355 Rayiyat at Rāşe rī, Kaimale Kaljūpe,

Dhaññā re lyāye bāwāre,21 heṃmū re ḍūpe;
Rayiyat at Rāşe rī, ṛṇde re tāre.22
Hātho dl lyāe ḍārohī,23 ḍājī jāṅgāe shālī.
Rayiyat at Rāşe rī, ṛṇde re Tarāṇōde,

360 Hātho dl lyāe ḍōngūlī, āe aṅṛte24 bāṅhīe;
Rayiyat at Rāşe rī, ṛṇde re Baterū :
Terhi bāāhdo pāgarī, ṛnde re jye sēraṛū.25
Rayiyat at Rāşe rī, Chhibro hor Bhailro,
Ptīhī bāāhde targasī, bhoṅṛo jye26 gīro;

365 Rayiyat at Rāşe rī, Nāun Khanogū Kīro:
Phat paro mūrōi-de28 pāchhū nā gīro.
Rayiyat at Rāşe rī, Jāī re Jayaṅe,
Ghāṭī ghāṭī karo khumlī,29 sabai syāṛe syāṛe;
Rāše rī re rayīte, bhari rūwe mālī:

370 Koṭerū āvi-goṛa Koṭī rā, Rhaṃlīthī rē Rohālū.
Tārā Debi Tārā rī, mat lai kamāl,
Haṃmānā bhāiyā, āmen Jengo khe jāl;
Rāṅī chālā Deshū khe, shikh ā-nṛ-men lāl,30
Haṃmānō rī chaukī,31 lai bāhar biṭhīl.

355 Came the subjects of the Rāṅī from Kaimali and Kaljūn.20
Carrying strings for their bows and vessels made of tree-leaves.
Came the subjects of the Rāṅī from the lower country.
Bringing in their hands spears, as if to kill porcupines.
Came the subjects of the Rāṅī from below Tarāṇō,

360 Carrying in their hands sticks, and short cloaks tied tight round the waist.
Came the subjects of the Rāṅī, from Baterū25 below,
With their pagris tied away, like the roots of ginger,
Came the subjects of the Rāṅī, the Chhibar and Bhailrī27
With quivers tied on their backs, they swarmed like bees.

365 Came the subjects of the Rāṅī, from Nāun, Khanog and Kīr.
Even when wounded in the face, they did not turn their backs.
Came the subjects of the Rāṅī, the Jayāṅas of Jāī,
On every pass they held a council and everyone was as wise as could be.
With the Rāṅī's subjects every ravine was filled.

370 The Koṭerū of Koṭī and the Rohālīs of Rhaṃlīthī came.31
Tārā, goddess of Tārā, made a shrewd resolve,
(Saying:) 'O brother Haṃmānā, let us come and go to Jengo,
The Rāṅī is going to Deshū, we will give him good counsel.'
Outside was kept the watch of Haṃmānā.

20 Kaimali and Kaljūn were parganas of Ksoṇthāl, but are now in Patīkāhā territory.
21 Bāwāre, strings; heṃmū re ḍūpe : cups made of leaves of the silk-cotton tree.
22 ṛnde re tāṛī : of the lower valley.
23 Aṅṛte : small cloaks (Hindi aṅṛ or aṅṛkāhā).
24 ṛnde re jye sēraṛū : like the fruit or roots of ginger.
25 Chhibar and Bhailrī : clans of Kanets. The former give their name to the Chhibrot pargana.
26 Jye : like.
27 Bhailrī : committees.
28 Phat paro mūnā : they get blows on the mouth.
29 Ksoṇthāl : a village whose people are called Rohālū.
30 Baterū : the people of Baterū village.
31 Tārā : goddess of Tārā, made a shrewd resolve.
375 On the ridge of Gājamu was pitched a great canopy
Climbing the ranges, the khātrī trees were lopped by the muleteers,
In the court-yard of Jungā there was much rejoicing.
The eighteen ḍākūrs arrived, and all the Keonthal people.
Rānā Nūp Sain of Keonthal said ironically:

380 'These rascals have come, but they come empty-handed.'
Jānki Dāsa gave shrewd advice,
In his left-hand he took a huge stone and cast it into the court-yard.
Seeing this Rānā Nūp Sain bit his finger, (saying):
'No, they are not rascals, who live at Koji.'

385 In the court-yard at Jungā he made a shrewd resolve:
(Said the Rānā:) 'Our officials only know how to eat,
'O Dharmā Pālāti, get thee to Deshū:
For four or five days keep the Rājā beguiled.'
Dharmā will speak like a great man,

390 'What excuse shall I make for going to Deshū dhār?'
'Bring a book from the treasury, Dharmā will place it in his waist belt,
He will put a sacred thread round his neck,
and mark a long tilak on his forehead' (said the Rānā),
'In the guise of a pāhādā of Balg, Dharmā will go to Deshū dhār,
In his hand he will carry a painted staff.'

(To be continued.)
NOTES ON CUSTOMS AND BELIEFS IN SPIII
BY H. CALVERT, L.C.S.

(Communicated by H. A. Rose.)

SPIII is a portion of the Kullu Subdivision of
the Kangra District of the Panjab on the Tibetan
border. The following notes were made by
Mr. Calvert during a tour in 1904.

I.
Customs connected with the Social Relations.

Betrothal.

Betrothal is usually proceeded by verbal in-
quiries through a relative or friend as to whether
the father of the girl is agreeable, who usually
takes with him a needle as an emblem of the
well-being of the family making the enquiry.1

If the girl's father intimates his acceptance
of the proposal, the boy's father takes some
chang (barley beer) and khatta (cushion) to him.
If the girl's father drinks the chang, the betrothal
is complete.

A lama is then consulted as to an auspicious
day for the wedding, which may be six months
or a year later. The boy's father has already
referred to the lama to ascertain if the marriage
is likely to be fortunate before he made proposals
for the betrothal.

If, after betrothal and before marriage, the
girl prefers another man, or is married by her
parents to another man, the first fiancé is given
a pony or a sum of money as compensation.

If a young boy be left an orphan, his relatives
select a grown-up woman as his wife, to look
after him and his property as foster-mother as
well as wife. The boy cannot on attaining his
majority marry a second wife.

Marriage.

Marriage within the got is prohibited, but
interchange of sisters is allowed and cousins
may marry.

A man may marry a woman of an inferior got,
but a woman must, if possible, marry a man of
superior got.

1 In Tibetan, Spiti.

2 A needle, sent by one relative or friend to another by people who cannot write, is a sign of the well-being of the sender.

Divorce.

A son-in-law who has been adopted cannot
be divorced by his wife as in Ladakhi.

There is no custom in Spiti of a widow divorcing
herself from her dead husband.

Unfaithfulness and refusal to cohabit are
reasons for divorce, but incompatibility of
temper is not.

In cases of divorce both parties go to the Nono.

If the woman is in fault, her jewels and peruk
(head ornament) and a pony are given to the
husband. If the man is in fault, a field is given
to the woman for her maintenance, but she can
only retain it so long as she does not marry
again. The man may remarry.

A wife's adultery is usually condoned by the
presence of a few rupees to the injured husband.
A husband's unfaithfulness usually only results
in a quarrel. A single lapse is not ground for
a divorce, and only cohabitation with his paramour
can give his wife right to a divorce.

Pregnancy.

A married woman wears white breeches till
she is pregnant, when she wears red or black.
Unmarried girls wear white breeches up to
twelve and afterwards red or black.

Naming.

The name of a child is selected by a lama
after reference to the Sacred Books, who receives
for the services a khatta, or piece of cloth, such as
is given by visitors to a monastery.

When naming the child, the lama places
a little bit of cloth upon it, or, if the child be not
present, sends the cloth to its parents.

In every monastery kesar, or green, water
is kept; i.e., water in which kesar, saffron, has
been placed. And sometimes, but not always,
when naming a child, the lama sprinkles it with
kesar water.
The wealthy take their children to the monastery to be named and pay a heavy fee, but the poor bring the lama to their homes, feed him and give him a small present of cash or grain.

The child to be named must be over a year old and may be as much as three years old.

If a child die without being named, it is buried. If it dies after the naming ceremony, the Sacred Books are consulted as to the disposal of the body.

The naming ceremony is not considered to have any effect on the child's future.

Adoption.

a.—Where there is no son.

If a land-owner have no son, but only a daughter, she is ordinarily married to a man ranking as an adopted son. This man must be a younger son and so able to leave his father's house. He is not in any way looked down on.

However, if the land-owner have a younger brother who would ordinarily be a lama he can object, because a son-in-law can only be taken into the house as heir with his consent, and he can claim to cohabit with the land-owner's wife and begat a son. Or, if the wife be old, he can marry another woman and try and get a son by her. If he does, the elder sonless brother is turned into the khang chhen, and the lama takes possession of the khang chhen.

b.—Where there is no child.

If there is no child and no younger brother, or if the younger brother does not object, the land-owner adopts a married man of his own got, or he adopts a girl and finds a husband for her who is made his heir. If in this case, the younger brother objects he can be bought off with a field or a pony or money or some similar present.

c.—The adopted son.

Once a man is adopted as a son, he cannot be set aside, but there can be no adoption if a real son exists. If, after adopting a son, a real son is born, the latter becomes a younger son, and has to become a lama or is given a field for maintenance, while the adopted son gets the main portion of the land. The real son cannot object.

It must be remembered that in a land where only the eldest son marries and all the younger sons are celibate, a sonless land-owner naturally has no relations in the male line to adopt.

d.—Where there is a childless widow.

If a man dies childless, his widow first marries his younger brother. Failing him, she may marry any man of her husband's got. But the land is considered her property till she has borne a son, who, on attaining his majority, steps into the khang chhen.

Cremation.

Coffins are not used in Spiti for want of wood. Corpses are carried in a sitting posture to the burning-ground either on a man's shoulder or in a blanket held by four men.

II.

Social Ideas.

Asceticism.

Hermits exist and are said to subsist on nothing but tea and one morning meal.

Excommunication.

A man can be excommunicated for eating with a man or cohabiting with a woman of lower caste than himself. The decision is announced by public proclamation.

The lamas taking no part in this, but they turn out a lama who misbehaves himself and he is never taken back in any circumstances.

An excommunicated layman can be received back into caste after ceremonies. He has to read a book on shaksas or penitential offerings, burn a lamp in front of a desta, feast the lamas, and may be ordered to make 100 or 1,000 prostrations before some desta in a monastery.

Leprosy.

Leprosy is found in one village in Spiti, ascribed to the water of a spring, wherein lives a devil, Chutawāh.

If a man passes the spring on a day when the devil happens to be present, he is liable to get leprosy.

A leper is not allowed to marry, but if married, he is not separated from his wife. He feeds by himself in a separate room and the villagers will not eat with him.
Dancing
All the people dance on occasions of merriment,—girls and men. At Kuling, while the Buzhans were dancing six or eight girls joined in.

Professional dancing women are looked down and the peasant-proprietors will not eat with them. They are not usually prostitutes, though the unmarried ones may be.

III.
Objects connected with Religion.

Cenotaphs.
Strictly speaking, the chtchen is an object of worship; the chtchen is a bone receptacle. The chtchen, usually made of wood, is the substitute for the dantzen, which contains the bones of some abbot or saint and is situated too far away for practical worship.

Such is the origin, but in modern usage the chtchen is merely a Buddhist symbol, and like a brass donta, may have no relation to any special dantzen or to the bones of any particular saint.

Altars.

Heaps of stones are erected to local spirits—to the lha of the pass or ravine and so on—and every passer-by adds a stone or a horn. Horns are more acceptable to the lha than stones and the most acceptable gift is a lungta (cloth with prayers printed on it).

Every traveller adds a stone, even if in a strange place, where he does not know to which lha the altar has been erected. A white stone is the best. Black stones are from the evil spirits and are never placed on the heap. Usually a fallen stone is replaced and only when there are no fallen stones is a fresh one sought for.

A lungta is only added on special occasions. Thus, when a merchant sets out on a trading venture, he leaves a lungta containing a prayer for his success, his name and the name of the year.

IV.
Superstitions.

Magic Dagger.
The dorja phurpa or magic dagger is used by the choho, attendant on the sick, and by the Buzhans of Pin. It has three edges and an elaborate handle.

An old trick of the Buzhans, which I have seen them perform, is to wave the magic dagger over a stone and then to place the stone on a man's chest and break it in two by hurling another stone on to it.

Amulets.
The shungwa is an amulet containing a paper, with mantras and prayers against sickness, falling stones and so on, written by some well-known abbott.

The chhoh shus is an amulet specially worn during a journey.

Lucky and unlucky days.

Special days are lucky or unlucky for special acts; e.g., starting on a journey, cutting a crop, sowing a field, and so on. Everyone knows these, and idmas are only consulted for special occasions.

Unlucky days for journeys, when there is no time to wait, are thus evaded. All you have to do is to walk 30 or 30 paces in the opposite direction to that of your journey and you can go on your way rejoicing.

There are no lucky days for crossing the Spiti River.

Unlucky days for actions, which must be performed, are thus evaded. Call a lma to read certain mantras and pay him a fee in money or grain and all will be well.

Hares.
The people of Spiti will not eat hares, as they hold them to be a kind of donkey. The name for them (vibong) means wild ass.

Earthquakes.
The God of the Earth is a frog and occasionally shakes it, as it is balanced on his back.

Deformities.
A child born with an extra finger is lucky, but a child born with the number short or with the fingers incomplete is unlucky. The people do not admit killing off such children.
CHAITRA-PAVITRA.

The above expression is often met with in inscriptions which register grants to temples. Special provision is made in the records for the due performance of the Chaitra-pavitra. What does this expression mean?

Dr. Fleet has translated it "the purificatory rites of (the month) Chaitra," and, in another place, "the purificatory ceremony of the month Chaitra." Mr. Hultsch has rendered it "purificatory rites in Chaitra." Mr. Rice's translation has been "Chaitra purification." I venture to think that none of the above scholars has properly understood the meaning of the expression in question. They have all taken it to be a *taparnaka* compound and interpreted it accordingly. They have moreover taken the word *pavitra* in its general sense, not knowing that it is used here in a technical sense.

I now proceed to give my own interpretation of the expression Chaitra-pavitra. To begin with, it is a *devandita* compound, the two words which make it up being quite independent of each other. Further, the word *pavitra* is here used in the special sense of "a sacred object." In most temples, at any rate of Southern India, a festival known as *pavitrāśana* is celebrated every year between the full-moon day in the month of Aśādžha and the full-moon day in the month of Kārttika, or, according to other authorities, in any of the four months beginning with Jyēṣṭha, when garlands of sacred thread made of cotton or silk are put on the necks and other parts of the body of the holy images. From this it is clear that the *pavitra* festival has no manner of connection with the month Chaitra. It is nowhere celebrated in that month, though what is known as the Chaitra festival is always celebrated in that month. Consequently, the expression Chaitra-pavitra constitutes what is called a *samādhāra-devandita* compound and means "the Chaitra and the pavitra (festival)."

In the Pāḍhāra works, whole chapters are devoted to an exposition of the rites to be performed preparatory to the celebration of the pavitra festival and of other details about it. For instance, in the Īvara-Saṁhitā the whole of the 14th chapter, with the heading *pavitrāśana-vīdhiḥ*, is devoted to this subject. Similarly, the 14th chapter in the Charūyāpda of the Pāḍma-Tantra, which bears the heading *pavitrāśana-vīdhiḥ*, treats of the same subject. I give below a few brief quotations from three Pāḍhāra works in support of the statement made above. They explain the term *pavitra* and tell us when and why the *pavitra* festival is to be celebrated. I may add here that the festival is also known as *pavitrāśana* or *pavitrāśana-vīdhiḥ*.

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1 Epigraphia Indica, V, 22.
2 Ibid., 250.
3 Ibid., VII, 123.
4 Epigraphia Carnatica, V, 155 and 172.
5 Ep. Cor., V, Būhār 172, line 15; Arakaśa, 124, lines 39, 130, lines 24-25; idem., XII, Chiknaikanbaljī, 2, line 51.
The Kannada equivalent of the pavitra festival is nīla pārba, i.e., 'the festival (pavitra or pārba) of the thread (nīla)'; and this expression occurs in many inscriptions. The expression Aśākṣa-māsa.Aśākṣa-māsa nīla pārba used in Epigraphia Carnatica, VI, Kaṭṭur, 49, line 57, gives us the information that the festival in question was usually celebrated in the temple to which the inscription refers in the month of Aśākṣa.

Though the expression Chaitra-pavitra often occurs as a samhāra-decadea compound with the singular case suffix, apparently led the scholars mentioned above to translate the expression as they have done, still there are not wanting inscriptions in which it has the plural case-suffix, thus shewing that two different things are meant. If further evidence is deemed necessary on this point, it is indisputably furnished by several inscriptions in which, not only is separate mention made of Chaitra and pavitra, but also separate provision is made for the celebration of each. Epigraphia Carnatica, V, Anantakere 108, line 50, for instance, tells us that provision was made Chaitra-pa-vitra-deiva-gaḍa-ḍege that is, "for the two, namely, Chaitra and pavitra". The word utṣava, festival, is understood after each of these words: and the full expression pavitra-utṣava occurs in several inscriptions. In the translation of the expression Chaitra-pavitra-vasanāvīvarūṇi-parvagāta (Ep. Ind., V, 259), the word utṣava which ought to have been taken with each one of the three words preceding it is taken only with one word, vasanā, which immediately precedes it.

I hope the evidence adduced above is sufficient to convince the reader that the expression Chaitra-pavitra does not mean a purificatory ceremony performed in the month of Chaitra, but that it means the Chaitra and the pavitra festivals which are annually celebrated in most of the temples of Southern India.

R. Narasimhachar.

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**A MYSTERIOUS FIRE-PIT.**

A writer signing himself 'Nearuchas,' in Calcutta Review for 1875, p. 383, describes an old channel of the Sutlej near Pākpatan, which is on the north side of the present stream, and was the principal ferry at that point in the thirteenth century, and proceeds to say that there are two ancient mounds on the old river bank, of which no tradition remains. One is called Mūne Shāhīd (Muhammad the Martyr). This hillock was taken possession of by the Mahamadans—it holds a shrine and is covered with graves.

The other mound is known as Tibbā Rāūkā (the place of the ruler). It is situated above 50 miles north-east of Bahāwalpur. This mound has been excavated to the depth of thirty-five feet. A foundation wall of large sun-dried bricks has been found at thirty-two feet below the surface. Other walls of fire-burnt bricks were found just below the surface and extending to fifteen feet. These walls indicate builders who lived at periods remote from each other. The chief feature of the place is a large pit, seventy feet in diameter and eight feet deep, dug out of the highest point of the mound, which is filled with calcined human bones.

The writer seems to have copied this notice from a report by the Political Agent at Bahāwalpur.

Is anything more known about the pit with its terrible secret, or is anything similar known elsewhere?

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Vincent A. Smith.

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26th December, 1908.
CORRESPONDENCE.

INSCRIPTIONS NEAR KODAIKÂNAL.

Sir,—It came to my notice some time back that there was a Malayalam Inscription in the Pambúrâri temple, eight miles to the west of KodaiKânal, and I expected another at Kavanji, eight miles further west, because I had formerly noticed there a number of well-dressed stone pillars which looked like the remnants of a ruined temple.

On the 26th December 1908, I went with a friend to those villages to see if the inscriptions really existed and if anything could be made out of them. At Pambúrâri there are traces of writing on stone walls in two different parts of the temple. One of them appears to be in Tamil and the other either in Grantha or Malayalam. But it is almost hopeless to make anything of either.

The ruins at Kavanji, we found to represent, not a deserted temple, but the former residence of a local chieftain styled Tambirân (Zamorin). There was no inscription at that site, but there was one close by cut on a rock is an open place. This was in slightly better condition than those at Pambúrâri. The writing is in Tamil and we were able to make out a few words here and there. But it has become much obliterated owing, mainly, to the action of the weather. It seems to be possible, however, to get something out of it if close attention were paid to it for some length of time.

The legend of the inscription, as narrated to us by several old men of the place, is that once upon a time, the village was the headquarters of a tambirân. Thelast tambirân who lived there had a controversy with a local artisan, in the course of which he agreed to give up his seat at Kavanji if his opponent made a wooden cock which could crow like a living one. The artisan succeeded and so the tambirân had to leave Kavanji for good and settled himself at Púmaiyr in Travancore territory. The people of Kavanji believe that the details and result of this controversy are related in the inscription.

The inscription occupies 4½ feet by 3 feet and contains 20 lines of varying lengths. The letters, too, are of various sizes. The whole is enclosed by lines and below the line at the lower end there is the word “tambirân” showing that the inscription purports to be in his name. We tried to get impressions on paper but failed.

We were told that in an adjoining village there is a similar inscription and also a copperplate grant in private possession, both of which are believed to refer to the aforementioned controversy. But we had to return without going there.

Can any of your readers let me know if their existence is known to the Epigraphists?

31st December, 1908.

S. SITARÂMAIYA.

The Observatory,
KodaiKânal.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

TABUS IN THE PANJAB.

In continuation of the instances of tabus in the Panjáb already noted the following cases of tabus among particular families or sections of a caste, or confined to the people of a certain locality, are worth recording. The subject of general tabus, binding upon a whole religious community or a whole sect, is a very wide one and no attempt is made to deal with it here.

The Ahirs of the Chorâ got, who live in Kâlâpâr, a village in tabaisf Nuh (District Gurgaon), do not burn the wood of a ban tree. They cut it down and worship it as long as it remains green and covered with leaves, but may not touch it with impure hands. Their tradition about it is as follows:—The village was once attacked and entirely destroyed, only a pregnant woman escaping. She took refuge in the trunk of a ban tree and vowed that if she was safely delivered of her child, her descendants should worship it for ever.

Ejîpûta of the Jokhar got in the same District do not eat mutton and they worship no god. Their tradition about this is as follows:—In the old times a man, in order to test the powers of a saint, tied an iron pan on to a woman’s stomach and brought her to the saint, saying if she would bear a boy or a girl. The saint said: “chhu!” (touch), and the result was that the pan stuck to the woman and could not be removed, so she was compelled to file it off, and the filings were thrown into the Jâmâ. Some time after the Ejîpûta went to bathe in that sacred river and saw that a tree had sprung up at the spot where
the filings had been thrown in. After they had bathed, a dispute arose and they were all killed with the exception of one pregnant woman. She put a lamb in her lap and went to the saint to ask whether she would have a boy or a girl. As before he exclaimed, "chhu!", and on this she asked whether the child in her womb would be stock or the lamb in her lap. The saint replied that the lamb would be attached to her body, and accordingly it died, so the people of this got have given up eating mutton ever since.

Among the Gândingo Mahajans of Jinji town the ears of both male and female children are not bored until the porojan ceremony has been performed, i.e., the kan chhadan or 'boring the ears' ceremony follows the porojan; their females do not wear bracelets (chunit) made of lac; and on the marriage of a man's sister's son, the members of his family do not take the bhati to the wedding party themselves, but send it by a Brahman or barber. As regards the two latter customs, they say that one of their ancestors who did not observe them, met with misfortune, and so they have always observed them.

The Magan Mahajans of Jinji neither curd nor churn milk on the chanda dwaddi or 12th of the bright fortnight of every month, but they may use it for drinking. They say that Aman Ram, one of their ancestors, had great faith in Bada Sundar Das Brahmachari of Bara Kaalan, the village which is also called Sundarpur after him. The saint told Aman Ram not to curd or churn milk on the 12th sati or light fortnight of each lunar month, and the injunction has been observed ever since.

In connection with sati worship, certain families have some peculiar tabus, or restrictions on the use of certain articles and so on, which commemorate events connected with a sati of the family. For instance, among the Mahajans of the Bhojara family of Jinji, no female is allowed to wash her head with warm water after the pherdi ceremony at her wedding, till her child's porojan ceremony has been performed, because a woman of the family once took a hot bath when she became a sati.

Among the Mahajans of the Kakrotia and Narwana families of Jinji, no woman may drink fresh milk after her marriage till her death. This custom is a very old one. [Cf. the next para, but one.]

Among the Lallan Mahajans of Jinji town no woman, after the birth of her first son, until his porojan ceremony has been performed, may eat wheat, drink fresh milk or use vegetables taken from a khari or bako, though she may eat vegetables obtained from a garden. This, also, is an ancient rule.

The Mahajans of the Singal got, in Julana Miliw and Deozar villages allow no Brahman or sweeper to enter their houses on the 15th of Bhadoon or Kistik, on which day they worship their satis. The tradition is that one of their forefathers went to fetch his wife from her parents' house. He was accompanied by a Brahman and a sweeper, who on the way back were tempted to rob him of his ornaments, and killed him. His wife, when about to burn herself with his body, told his heirs that as he had been killed by a Brahman and a sweeper, they should not allow any man of either of those castes to enter their houses at the time of her worship. This being so, everything offered to the sati, at their worship, is given to a virgin girl of the biradar. Further, their women do not drink fresh milk after giving birth to a child, because the wife, who as described became sati, had drunk milk before starting from her father's house.

Among the Bajra Brahmanas of Jinji town no members of the family of any age, male or female, may eat anything prepared by a barber. A boy of this family once went to play in the bazar on the very day he had returned home after his marriage, and there he was bitten by a snake and died. His wife became sati with him, and the female barber, who had accompanied him, also became sati, as she was at a loss to know what tale she should tell to the boy's relatives.

The Mahajans of the Singal got in Kanana village do not use the wood of a kim tree for making roofs, or burn it or spit on it, because they consider it a dev and worship it at the porojan ceremony.

The Jata of the Amalwat got in Rupgarth and Jitgarth do not cut or burn the kim tree, because they consider it a dev. If any one fails to observe this tabu, he is afflicted with ring-worm, and in order to recover must give a feast to a virgin girl under the kim tree.

The people of Narana in the Jinji idga never irrigate their fields from a johar or pond by breaking its embankments, because hundreds of years ago, their forefathers made

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1 Dower presented by the boy's maternal grandfather.
2 Channel.
a khalet from a johar and irrigated their fields with its water. It thus became dry, the frogs and fish therein died, and the cattle returned thirsty from the pond. The people then assembled and took an oath by throwing salt in an ewer of water (lotha naa galii), declaring that in future whoever irrigated his fields from it should be dissolved like salt.

Women of the Muhammadan Sakkâ or Water-carrier caste in Jîpî town are not allowed to wear a gold nath, balâq or lamâq (nose-ring) given them by their husbands, but they may wear such ornaments if given by their fathers. They may not make any sort of pickles of mangoes, lemons, etc., but may make baris, i.e., small balls of ground pulse. These customs are very ancient among them, and whoever does not observe them sustains loss.

Vermicelli (svaâyâ) is never used by a section of Brahmins at Thanesar, because it is said that long ago one of the family died on the Salerno day when preparing svaâyâ. (Hindus eat svaâyâ on the Salerno, Muhammadans at the 'Id).

The Jâts of Jatwâr, a village in Narainghar tahsil of Amilân do not keep a kharasâr or mill, for grinding corn driven by bullocks, because it is regarded as a sign of extreme poverty.

The Râjpâts of Patar Heri in this same tahsil do not put up a thatch or make pickles in the house within a year of a marriage.

Among certain sections of Brahmins in Thanesar, ivory bangles are never presented to a bride, because once a newly-married girl lost her husband after wearing them.

The people of Lavaghâr in the Kohat District neither cut nor use the wood of the fêg tree for domestic purposes. The reason assigned is that when Adam and Eve wanted to hide themselves from the Almighty, and asked for protection from the trees, none but the fêg tree came forward with its branches and leaves.

The Muhammadzi Pathâns of the same District do not climb a mulberry tree, as the tradition runs that one of their ancestors fell from one and died.

The Hindus of Jîmpur in Dera Ghazi Khan do not use kikar wood for building, considering it unholy.

Some sections of the Aouras in Ferozepur, do not use anything new or celebrate a marriage in the month of Sawan, but a new garment may be given to some one else and having been once put on by him, may wear it.

In Amritsar, Khatri females do not use a spinning wheel on Tuesday or Thursday, the former being considered the day of the goddess and the latter the Pâr's day. Among Khatrias of the Najar got milk is never churned, because one of their ancestors died of drinking whey in which a snake had got churned. The Khatrias of the Marwâlâ got never use the spinning wheel, because this section was once very rich and did not do such menial work.

Among Hindus generally women consider it unlucky to wash the head on a Tuesday or Saturday, but among the Malâla (boatmen) it is considered unlucky for a virgin to do so on a Sunday.

Like all those Hindus who are followers of Keshab Dev, whose temple is at Mathrâ, the Jâts of Hassanpur in tahsil Nuh (District Gurgaon) do not use tobacco.

The people of the Gurgaon District think it unlucky to put a manjâh or bhanâj near an earthen pitcher, because these two things are used together when a corpse has to be washed. Indeed, all Hindus in general think it unlucky to bring these two things together from the bazaar.

Not only are various articles tabooed by particular sects and families, but any misfortune which has befallen a family, a section, or even a whole caste will often cause its members to tabu, a certain day, month or season in fear of a recurrence of the catastrophe.

Thus the Shânepotra got of the Brahmans in Dera Isâmâl Khan District, do not begin any new work in Phâgan, as one of their ancestors went in that month to exhibit miracles at the court of Aurangzeb, but was thrown into prison and only released in Chet.

The Bhojepotra got of the Brahmans in this District do not wear anything new in Jeth, because one of their ancestors forbade his son to do anything new in that month. The son disobeyed his father and disaster ensued.

The Narang, Khanduja and Tanjâ got of the Aouras usually refrain from eating anything new which they have not eaten on the list of Bâsâkh and from wearing anything new, or marrying, in the month of Jeth.

The family of Chaudhri Jattî Râm Ghâbra in Dandâ village, tahsil Sânhgar, Dera Ghazi Khan, do not shave, change their clothes or wear new ones, or begin any new work in Mâgh.

H. A. Rose.

* These words are not traceable in the dictionaries, but both are said to mean an earthen plate.
TEN ANCIENT HISTORICAL SONGS FROM WESTERN TIBET.

BY A. H. FRANCKE.

No. I. — King Nyima-mgon.

Text.
1. Aka Nyima-mgon khyirala ma phebs.
2. Dering mhsunai snylampo.
3. snylam ngampa rig mthong.
4. bathsa ngaranla barchodeig yong yin.
5. yserri sgra khraggi thespa rig mthong.
6. dung dang rgya glinggi mangna,
7. bathsa ngaranla rtsems re min.
8. rgyalpo nyerang lingsla ma skyod.
9. ras Zlaba-mgonla barched rig yong yin.

Translation.
1. O father Nyima-mgon, do not go a-hunting.
2. To-night [I had] a dream.
3. To night I had [saw] a bad dream.
4. To me, a boy, an accident will occur.
5. I saw the colour of blood on my golden saddle.
6. At [the sound of] shells and trumpets,
7. To me, the boy, there will be no [more] dancing.
8. O king, do not go a-hunting.
9. To thy son Zlaba-mgon will occur an accident.

Notes on the Tibetan Text.

The Epic of king Nyima-mgon, whose son was killed by a lama, is known among a Dard family at Da, who do not sing the song in Dardi, but in Tibetan. The epic is said to be rather long. As, however, I could not get at a member of this particular family, I had to be satisfied with the nine lines of the epic given above:

v. 1. — The name nyima mgon means 'sun-lord.'

vv. 2, 3. — snylam, dream, is the classical word rmilam. The Gadhre relics have rmilam. This is one of the instances of the better preservation of the more ancient form of a word in Ladakh than in classical Tibetan; rmilam may be pronounced snylam.

v. 9. — The name zlaba mgon means 'moon-lord.'

Notes on the English Translation.

The song appears at first sight to be a hymn of nature-mythology; for it treats of a king and his son whose names are in English 'Sun-lord' and 'Moon-lord.' There is, however, some possibility that the song contains a few historical elements. A king of the name Nyima-mgon actually existed. He was the conqueror of Western Tibet as far as Gilgit and the first king of that country. He reigned from c. 975 to c. 1000 A.D. Whether he had a son called Zlaba-mgon, who did or did not survive him, we do not know. The name is not among those of the three known surviving sons.

Nyima-mgon was a direct descendant of Langdarma, the Tibetan king who was killed by a lama. It is possible that in course of time Nyima-mgon's ancestor was mixed up with his descendant and the original story that Nyima-mgon was the descendant of a king who was killed by a lama became changed into a tale of Nyima-mgon's son being so killed. At any rate, it is interesting that the name of the great Tibetan conqueror turns up in the folklore of the Dards of Da.
No. II.—King Jo-dpal.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. dponpo bzangpoi duspo :—</td>
<td>1. In the time of the good master :</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>la yena la yado pa ?—</td>
<td>Isn't it so, O [my] comrades?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Jo-dpal-rnam-rgyal dipo,</td>
<td>2. In the time of Jo-dpal-rnam-rgyal,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>la myampari jamad kun,</td>
<td>O [my] comrades around me,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. ngatang thangkala ser rkyanglagi thoda :</td>
<td>3. We all had nothing but hats of gold:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yena la yado kun?</td>
<td>Isn't it so, O [my] comrades?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. zhabs phyi la thangkala thodabai lagmo,</td>
<td>4. All the servants had beautiful hats,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>myampari jamad kun.</td>
<td>O [my] comrades around me.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. kha dena ja chang 'abral med :</td>
<td>5. [Our] mouths never became separated from</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yena la yado kun?</td>
<td>tea and beer;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. kha dena ja chang 'abral med.</td>
<td>Isn't it so, O [my] comrades?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dponpo bzangpoi thug's rje.</td>
<td>6. [Our] mouths never became separated from</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. ngatang thangka ci yyangsnyayang gan</td>
<td>tea and beer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yyang,</td>
<td>[It was through] the mercy of our good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yena la yado thangka?</td>
<td>master.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. zhabs phyi thangkala ci skyidnyayang gan</td>
<td>7. Whatever pleasure there is, we enjoyed it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skyid,</td>
<td>Isn't it so, O [my] comrades?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>myampari jamad kun.</td>
<td>8. Whatever happiness there is, all the serv-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>O [my] comrades around me.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Notes on the Tibetan Text.**

This song was dictated by the 'Mon' of Kbalatsae and written down by Munshi Yeshes-rigs-'aldzin.

**v. 1.—**La, is the Lower Ladakhi exclamation, corresponding to ordinary wa.

**vv. 2, 4, 8.—**Myampariyi stands for myampoyi or myamporangyi; jamad is the Urdu word 'jamal', company.

**vv. 3, 4.—**Thoda, hat, is probably related to thod, skull.

**v. 7.** Myangspa, is the same as classical yyang; but in Western Tibet it is used more commonly to express 'pleasure, entertainment.' The inclusive pronoun ngatang is used in the song to denote that the singers include all persons present when the recollections of the old times are sung.

**Notes on the English Translation.**

King Jo-dpal belongs to the First or Lha-chens Dynasty of Western Tibet and reigned according to my chronology from 1275-1300 A.D.; but possibly a little earlier. The rGyal-rgabs (Marx' translation) has the following note on him:—'This king performed royal as well as clerical duties to such perfection that he reached Nirvana.' This song confirms that statement.

In the song, the name of the king is erroneously furnished with the addition rnam-rgyal, which belongs to the Second Dynasty. My explanation of the error is that in the days of the rNam-rgyal Dynasty all the royal names ended in rnam-rgyal, and so the people came to believe that royal names must have this addition to them, and thus this old name came to be furnished with a modern royal suffix.
No. III. — Prince Rinchen.

Text.

1. dbuṅ rtsen lha snyan po
gongma phyag dang ldan byung.
2. gongnyai rgyal-ma gar skyod-nayang,
   lha sgrungs rig sgrub-los lo.
3. Rinchen-dongrub-rnam-rgyal-la
thset'i sgrungs rig sgrub-los lo.
4. kha ttags udnyaṃ gangla
   rino bkrašis ttags brgyad.
5. kha ttags la drima ma pho-pa,
dponpa zhabstog rig phul yin,
6. kha ttags la drima ma pho-pa,
   mi dbang bstan sraṅs la zhabstog phul yin.

Translation.

1. The famous god of the summit
   Has arisen through the hand of the highest.
2. Wherever the high prince may go,
   O god, protect his body.
3. To Rinchen-dongrub-rnam-rgyal
   Give (make) protection to his life.
4. [ The vow of Prince Rinchen's servants ]:
   On a 'scarf of salutation' of the full length of one fathom
   There are the pictures of the eight happy signs.
5. That no dirt may soil the scarf of salutation,
   We will serve our master.
6. That no dirt may soil the scarf of salutation,
   We will serve the lord of men to keep him safe.

Notes on the Tibetan Text.

The song was obtained from the Moss at Khalatse, and does not contain any unusual words or formations.

It speaks of the departure of a certain Prince Rinchen, and the servants promise to take as much care of him as of the 'scarf of blessing.' This scarf is furnished with the eight signs of happiness: a shell, an umbrella, etc. Such scarves are exchanged continually between the Tibetans as a matter of courtesy.

v. I. — ldan byung-gos, is used in the sense of 'come into existence, arise.'

Notes on the English Translation.

The name given in the text of the song is that of the last king of Zangkar, who was transported by the Dogras to Jammu, where his life ended. I am convinced, however, that the song was not composed in remembrance of him, but of another namesake. In the first place, he was not transported to Jammu as a prince, but as king. In the second place, it is very unlikely that any Ladakhi servants were allowed to accompany him to the place of his captivity.

My belief is that the song speaks of the departure of Prince Rinchen, who conquered Kashmir in about 1318 A. D. In favour of this view it may be said, that according to the song, the title of the prince is the old form rGyals-pa, as we find it in the rGal-rubs, and not the modern one rGyals-bris. In the rGyals-bris, this particular prince is called Lha-chön-rgyal-brtan-riṣṭha, and, according to the Kashmiri Rājakrāti, Rinchen left Western Tibet with a great retinue of followers. It is therefore probable that, until the time of the Dogra War, the words of v. 3, were 'Lha-chön-rgyal-brtan-riṣṭha,' and that after that war that the present words crept in, because the king of Zangkar had become so famous in Ladak through his tragic fate that his name superseded that of all other Rinchets. It may be added that the name Rinchen-dongrub-rnam-rgyal does not occur twice in Ladakhi history. Thus we have good reason to suppose that the song was composed in honour of the departure of the old Prince Rinchen to Kashmir.
No. IV. — Defeat of the Ladhakis by the Baltis.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Theo Mondurri mthosoyi kharu</td>
<td>1. On Lake Mondur,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Stobsyabgopas stangshig byasse binglings bed</td>
<td>2. Stobsyabgopa shows some strategy and comes out in some way.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Skar-rdoi lha dmag kun la pholaddi ljagespa yod</td>
<td>3. The godly army of Skardo has lassos of steel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Ladvags si lha dmag kun la sman nang saza yod</td>
<td>4. The godly army of Ladakh is getting a beating as a compensation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. ata nang apobai kale zlog lags bed</td>
<td>5. In return they (the Baltis) revenge their fathers and forefathers.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes on the Tibetan Text.

v. 3.—ljagespa, perhaps related to ljags, tongue, said to mean ‘lasso.’

v. 4.—sman, said to mean ‘compensation, sza, chastisement,’ Urdu.

v. 5.—kale, revenge.

vv. 1, 5, 6.—bed, the same as byed, make.

Notes on the English Translation.

v. 1.—Lake Mondur: I have not yet been able to trace on a map.

v. 2.—The name Stobsyabgopa is a pure Tibetan name; stobs means ‘power,’ yab ‘father,’ gopa ‘headman. Names of this kind are never found among the Baltis nowadays. Their present names are ordinary Muhammadan words such as occur in all Muhammadan countries. The song must therefore go back to an event, which took place before the Baltis became Muhammadans, i.e., before the year 1400 A.D. The Ladakh Chronicles do not contain any mention about wars with the Baltis before 1400, and it is only through folklore like this song, and perhaps the account of Rinchana Bhoti in the Chronicles of Kashmir that we hear of such occurrences.

No. V.—King Sodnams Pambar of Baltistan.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Thalo La mgona gLingpai dmacgig shagse</td>
<td>1. On the top of the Thale Pass there arrives an army of gLing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. sharri nang lha dmag kun ‘habas shig’</td>
<td>2. O godly armies inside the town, shout ‘bravo.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Thalo La mgona gLingpai dmacgig shagse</td>
<td>3. On the top of the Thale Pass, there arrives an army of gLing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. sharri nang lha dmag kun ‘habas shig’</td>
<td>4. O godly armies inside the town, shout ‘bravo.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5. Our Lord is more clever in strategy than the falcon of GlIng.
6. Beware of all the armies of Hor.
7. bSodnam Pambar our lord, is more adroit than the falcon of GlIng.
8. Beware of the godly army of the town.
9. Tell me what is needed by the godly army in the little meadow.
10. Our good lord is [like] a door-bolt of steel.
11. Quickly he is coming out (emerging from) at the top of the Thale Pass.
12. Take command of the summit of the Castle of Shigar at the early rising of the sun.
13. [There] my lord is sitting on a golden throne.
14. bSodnam Pambar is sitting on a golden throne.
15. Before the whole nobility of the town the prince is [like] an all-pleasing flower.
16. Before the lord bSodnam Pambar, dBang-rgyal is an all-pleasing flower.
17. There is no misfortune, there is no sorrow (among us).
18. Take command of the armies of Shigar and Skardo.
19. There is no misfortune, there is no sorrow.
20. Take command of the castles of Shigar and Skardo.

Notes on the Tibetan Text.

v. 1.—The Thale Pass is not known to me.

vv. 2, 4, 8, 15.—shar said to be shahr, town, Urdu.

vv. 2, 4.—habas shig, related to habbasū, bravo, Arabic through Urdu. It is used, but not commonly, in the same way as Pers. shābūch.

v. 9.—dgosnyu, contraction of dgos 'adug, must.

v. 11.—subesarag, said to mean 'very quickly'; sa rak, sarak in Urdu.

v. 12, 18, 22.—Shikar, the well-known village of Shigar.

vv. 18, 20.—nampa or nampa, is used in Western Tibetan in the sense of 'give commands.'

v. 17, 19.—phikyir, sorrow is the Urdu fhr.
Notes on the English Translation.

This song also goes back to the Buddhist times in Balti. The account it gives of the wars of those days seems to be rather confused. The enemies mentioned in it are Hors, who were either Mongolians or Turks, but it is very interesting to find there the names of two ancient Buddhist kings of Baltistan (Skardo and Shigar), viz., bSodnam Pambar and his son dBang-rgyal, who must have reigned some time before Muhammadanism entered the country. Stobsyabgopa (see Song No. IV.) may be another king of this line.

As the Baltis, after becoming Musulmans c. 1400 A. D., destroyed their ancient historical accounts, it will be hardly ever possible to get exact historical information about their Buddhist times, and we shall have to be satisfied with a few names gathered from folklore or inscriptions. From inscriptions two names may be adduced: Lsgchen, ‘great arm,’ Longimanna, Mahābāhu, occurs in Miss Duncan’s Sadpur inscriptions, No. 2. (See her Summer-ride, p. 300), and Lho-nub-mdā-mdsad-rgyalpo, king ‘South-west-arrow-thrower,’ is found on an inscription at Rongdo. (See my Collection of Historical Inscriptions, No. 9).

The present pedigrees of the Balti chiefs all date from Muhammadan times, and contain only partly reliable matter. To arrive at a trustworthy point of chronology, a note in the rGyal-rabs of Ladhāk may prove useful. It is there stated that Ali Mir Sher Khān, who was apparently master of all Baltistan, invaded Ladhāk. This Ali Mir Sher Khān is generally called only by one or two of his names and can be traced in all the Balti pedigrees, which were collected by Cunningham in his Ladhāk. On p. 30 where the dukes of Kapulu are given, we find as No. 58 a Sultān Mir Khān. On p. 31, among the dukes of Kyeris, as No. 3, there occurs a Rāja Ali Mir Sher. On p. 32, among the dukes of Parkutta, we find an Ali Sher Khān as No. 4. On p. 33, among the dukes of Shigar, as No. 15, an Ali Mir is found. On p. 35, among the dukes of Balti-Skardo, as No. 1, the name Ali Sher can be read. On p. 37, among the dukes of Rongdo, the name Ali Sher occurs as No. 1. Thus we see that the same duke is found in the genealogies eight, nine or ten generations before the year 1830. Only in the case of Shigar are there 13 names before 1830. Here a younger brother may have occasionally followed an elder brother. My belief is that all the present lines of Balti chiefs are descended from Ali Mir Sher Khān, who was master of the country from about 1550 to 1880, and that there is no certainty about the names preceding him. I do not by this mean to say that the rest of the genealogies do not contain several interesting items. For instance that Sikander is placed at the head of the dukes of Kapulu, may, as Cunningham suggests, very well point to Sikander Butshikan of Kashmir, the possible introducer of one type of Muhammadan into Baltistan. A Sultān Yāgu may very well have been among the ancestors of Ali Mir Sher Khān. Also the Dard word tham (king), in the names of the dukes of Shigar is interesting, as pointing to the Dard origin of the Balti princes.

The legend of the Fakir origin of the princes of Skardo, given by Cunningham, seems to occur also at Chitgān, where the first founder of the dynasty, who came from Gilgit, is called Ltsang-mkhan-(beggar)-malig; and as the old Buddhist inscription at Chitgān shows (see my First Collection of Inscriptions, No. 43), the word Ltsang-mkhan, beggar, seems to have been used almost as a dynastic title of the princes of Chitgān.

1 An inscription possibly containing his name in the form Khān Ali in Arabic letters was photographed by Miss Duncan.
Ali Mir Sher Khan's son and successor was Ahmed Khan, who suffered a defeat by the Ladakhis under bDel-lidan-rnam-rgyal. The Ladaks rGyal-rabs says that the Baltis made a unanimous application for help to the Nawab (of Kashmir) who induced the Turks to invade Ladakh. They were defeated as well as the Baltis. Cunningham says that according to the Chronicles of Skurto, this application was made during the reign of Jehangir (probably about 1625). Bernier also speaks of assistance rendered to one of the Balti chiefs by the Mughals, but he places it in the reign of Shah Jahan. At any rate, the Baltis became true friends of the Mughals, and Baltistan was, as is also attested by Bernier, a province of the Mughal empire.

Much more we do not yet know of Balti history. As regards the pre-Muhammadan times in Baltistan, folklore furnishes three, and archeology two royal Buddhist names. We also know the name of one Balti-Buddhist lama of importance. It is found in the Reu mi, translated by S. Ch. Das. There we read that the saint of Baltistan, sBalte-dgra-bgompa, was born in 1125 A.D., and died in 1214 A.D.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. VI. — Old 'aBumbha.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Text.</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 1. Zhagpo nang skarmabo 'adzombari zhag yod : | 1. [This] is a day when the stars assemble :
| menna wa yado kun?          | Isn't [it so], O companions? |
| 2. skarmai nang rgya stod po sharbarg zhag yod, | 2. [It] is the day of the rising of the chief constellation among the stars,
| mnyambari jamad kun.        | O assembled comrades.        |
| 3. rGyal-'abum bhai jo nyerang rgaspa phangapa yod : | 3. O Lord rGyal-'abumbla, thou art old and forsaken :
| menna wa yado kun?          | Isn't [it so], O companions? |
| 4. rgaspa rgu gyang tamo mila mi zug : | 4. The old speech of an old man does not seize the people :
| menna wa yado kun?          | Isn't [it so], O companions? |
| 5. rgaspa rgu berpo sala yang mi zug, | 5. The old stick of an old man does not take root in the ground,
| mnyambari jamad kun.        | O assembled comrades.        |
| 6. rGyal-'abum-bhai jo nyeranga bran ma khor : | 6. O Lord rGyal-'abumbla, do not let the servants work around you :
| menna wa yado kun?          | Isn't [it so], O companions? |
| 7. aman[nang] zan medmola bu ma khor | 7. If a mother has no food she must not let the children [work] around her,
| rGyal-'abum-bhai joi zhabshi kun le. | O servants of Lord rGyal-'abumbla. |

**Notes on the Tibetan Text.**

v. 1. — 'adzombari instead of 'adzompai. The r was inserted on account of the metre, to create one more syllable.

v. 2. — sharbarg instead sharbarg for the same reason.

v. 2, 5. — jama, company, is an Urdu word.

v. 4, 5. — zug is Ladahki for 'adzumpu, take hold of.

v. 7. — zhabshi, the same as zhab phyi, servant.
Notes on the English Translation.

The personality of rGyal-abumbha can be ascertained with some amount of certainty. A person with a very similar name occurs in two inscriptions. (See my *First Collection of Tibetan Historical Inscriptions*, No. 38 and No. 77). The former inscription mentions Lha-dbang-ram-rgyal (c. 1500-1530 A.D.) as “father-king,” and Thse-dbang-rnas-rgyal (c. 1530-50) as “reigning king,” and also mentions a minister ‘aBum-lde, as a person in authority. The latter inscription speaks of the construction of a bridge under Thse-dbang-ram-rgyal I, and gives the name of a minister ‘aBum-bha-lde as the authority who apparently had to superintend the work. The full name of the minister was possibly rGyal-abumbha-lde, but here, as in the case of other persons, the full name is given only in rare cases in Western Tibet. Thus, the song and the inscriptions all contain different portions of the same name. The hero of the song probably had to superintend forced labour and made ample use of the stick. When he grew old, people were no more afraid of him and composed the song in mockery of him.

No. VII.—Thsering-malig of Chigtan.

Text.  
1. Lha yul nag mi yulli mthasamna.  
2. sengges bshangs-pai mkhar shig yod.  
3. debo garise garise zerrugna.  
4. ngati lha yul nag barmai sharpa kun yin.  
5. debo garise garise zerrugna.  
6. semmO shag-mkhar ri shag thang kun yin.  
7. ngatang rtse shig rgod shig yado kun.  
8. ngati jo lags jo skun mdunla habas shig.  

Translation.  
1. On the boundary of heaven and earth,  
2. There is a castle raised by [a] lion.  
3. If you ask where that is, where that is.  
4. It is the youth of middle age in our godly land.  
5. If you ask where that is, where that is.  
6. It is all the gravel-plains of the beautiful [castle] Shag-mkhar.  
7. Let us dance, let us laugh, O companions.  
8. Cry out ‘bravo’ before our good lord.  
9. Call out ‘bravo’ before our good Lord Thsering-malig.

Notes on the Tibetan Text.

v. 3.—*Garise*, where! Purig; zerrugna, instead of zerna, if you say, Purig.  
v. 6.—*semmo*, beautiful, Purig; perhaps related to *sengmo*, white; Shag-mkhar was once a famous castle of the chiefs of Chigtan.

v. 9. Thsering-malig is the name of a Purig chief; nang is inserted between the two parts of the name only for the sake of the metre.

Notes on the English Translation.

The castle between heaven and earth, raised by the lion, would make us think first of all of the glacier, where the ‘white lioness with the blue locks’ lives according to popular belief. But the answer given in the song takes us down to Chigtan. Perhaps the town of Chigtan is compared with the glacier.
The chief of Chigtan, Thsering-malig, who is mentioned in the song, is a well-known historical personality. He reigned about 1550-1560 A.D. and was the first chief of Chigtan who became a Muhammadan.

I was told that the Chigtan princes were in possession of a Chronicle, and to get a copy of it, I sent my munshi, Yeshes-rig-'adzin of Khalatse, to the present ex-chief, who is residing at Kargil. The ex-chief said that the book had been lost only a few years ago, but that he knew it by heart and was ready to recite it. According to the ex-chief's recital, my munshi wrote down the story afresh and brought me a copy. The Chronicle thus obtained, reminds one of the Balti Chronicles, as we find them in Cunningham's Ladak. The first or mythological part clusters round the figure of Ltsang-mkhan-(fakir)-malig and tells of the emigration from Gilgit in prehistorical times. The second or historical part contains all the Muhammadan chiefs of Chigtan, beginning with Thsering-malig. All the Buddhist chiefs, who reigned after Ltsang-mkhan-malig and before Thsering-malig, are ignored.

That Thsering-malig's ancestors were Lamaist Buddhists, we know from an inscription by several of them in the Chigtan monastery. It is found in my First Collection of Tibetan Inscriptions, No. 43.

Of one of Thsering-malig's descendants, Adam Khan, who reigned in the eighteenth century, the Chronicles say that during his time the Musalmân religion was adhered to. This can only mean that Adam Khan used his influence to make it the religion of all his subjects.

A copy of the Chronicles of Chigtan has been deposited at the library of the Macica Serbska, Bautzen, Germany.

No. VIII.—mDzes-ldan rnam-rgyal and Thsering-malig.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. 'aDiring gyi yodd snyilampo bsangpo rig mthong.</td>
<td>1. To-night [I] had (saw) a good dream.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. zhang bsang gyi yodd snyilampo bsangpo rig mthong.</td>
<td>2. I had a good dream of a good day.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. gongma alam bda po dang mjalba rig mthong.</td>
<td>3. I dreamt that I met with the high owner of the world.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. rgyal po mDzes-ldan rnam rgyal dang mjalba mthong.</td>
<td>4. I dreamt that I met with king mDzes-ldan rnam rgyal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. gongma alam bda po ye ser khri kha bzhugs-pa mthong.</td>
<td>5. I saw the high owner of the world sit on a golden throne.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. rgyal po mDzes-ldan rnam rgyal ye ser khri kha bzhugs-pa mthong.</td>
<td>6. I saw king mDzes-ldan rnam rgyal sit on a golden throne.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. buthsa ngarang langste phyag ysam phul a mthong.</td>
<td>7. I dreamt that I, a boy, rose and bowed three times [before him].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. dKarpo buthsa langste phyag ysam phul ba mthong.</td>
<td>8. I dreamt that I, the boy dKarpo, rose and bowed three times.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. gongma alam bda po phyag yas sphyag phrang po.</td>
<td>9. The high owner of the world has a rosary in his right-hand.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. rgyal po mDzes-ldan rnam rgyal phyag yas sphyag phrang po.</td>
<td>10. King mDzes-ldan rnam rgyal has a rosary in his right-hand.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
11. rinpoche don 'adzinpo bdag gi dpon po bsang po.
12. rinpoche don 'adzinpo gagai Thsering-malig jo.
13. Stog pa' nang bthasa ngarangla aba rig med lo.
14. dGa-dGa' bthasala amara rig mi 'adug lo.
15. a babai dodpo gong ma alam mi bdag po.
16. a babai dodpo rgyal po mDzes ldan-nram-rgyal.
17. Stog nang Mä-sprobai barla gyang rta sgor gi mi 'adug.
18. Stog nang Mä-sprobai barla chula zamba mi 'adug.
19. gyang nang rta sgoi dodpo gong ma alam bdag po bsug.
20. chu' nang zambai dodpo rgyal po mDzes ldan-nram-rgyal bshuga.

Notes on the Tibetan Text.

v. 1. — snyilam, is classical rmi lam, pro-classical rmyilam, dream.

v. 3. — alam, is the Urdu alam, world.

v. 8. — dKarpo, the name of the boy-poet, means ‘the white one.’

v. 9. — phyag phrang, rosary, respectful (classical phrenha).

vv. 11, 12. don 'adzinpo, ‘beginner of the meaning,’ name of the first large bead of the rosary. The meaning of these two lines is that the rosary is chanted over twice. When doing it for the first time, it is for the benefit of mDzes ldan-nram-rgyal; when doing it for the second time, it is for the benefit of Thsering-malig.

v. 14. Here another name of the boy-poet occurs. It is dGa-dGa, ‘joy-joy.’ Or possibly it is incorrect spelling for gaga, nobleman? Stog and Mä'aspro are the names of two villages on the left bank of the Indus.

Notes on the English Translation.

A king mDzes ldan-nram-rgyal is not known at all; but as Thsering-malig of Chigtan is mentioned together with him, the title mDzes ldan ‘possessing beauty’ can only be taken as an epithet given to 'aZam-dbyangs-nram-rgyal whose date is about 1850-1890 A.D.

The song is of no particular importance. It was probably composed in commemoration of the alliance which 'aZam-dbyangs-nram-rgyal of Ladakh formed with Thsering-malig of Chigtan.
No. IX. — Defeat of the Baltis.

Text.

1. Sagling nang Mentog-mkharla jopa bzhugsas staselled.
2. dbyar nang khodas yangla thee minned le.
3. Sagling nang mentog mkharla rgyalpo bzhugsas staselled.
4. yTsangma nang bdagpos yangla thee minned.
5. Skar rdci Hor dmagpo Daltong Lala logse staselled.
6. dbyar nang khodas yangla thee minned.
7. mi thesha mi thugspa kmangya namna staselled.
8. bDe-skyong-rnam-rgyalil namralla klog barred.

Translation.

1. The lord is residing at the Flower-castle of Sagling.
2. God is gracious to thee [this] summer.
3. The king is residing at the Flower-castle of Sagling.
4. The 'Owner of purity' is gracious to thee.
5. Thou turnest back the Turki army of Skardo on the Daltong Pass.
6. God is gracious to thee [this] summer.
7. Thou dictatst a treaty to them to last longer than a life-time.
8. Lightning flashes out of king bDe-skyong-rnam-rgyal's sword.

Notes on the Tibetan Text.

v. 2. — yang, contraction of nyid-rang, you; minned, contraction of minba yod, minba means 'to give' in Balti; thee minba, 'give a lifetime,' used in the sense of 'be gracious.'

v. 4. — yTsangma nang bdagpo, 'owner in (of) purity,' 'Lord of purity,' a Balti name of God.

v. 7. — mi thesa mi thugspa, 'not touching a life-time,' together with namna, nante, has the sense of 'exceeding a life-time.' Kham rgya (bk'i rgya) said to mean 'a treaty.'

v. 8. — nam-rai, respectful for ralgyi, sword.

Notes on the English Translation.

The royal name given in the song is apparently wrong. King bDe-skyong-rnam-rgyal never went to any war, as far as we know. The king mentioned in the song was probably bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal (c. 1620-1640 A.D.), who beat the Baltis. The mention of a Turki (Hor) army in v. 5 points directly to this king, as the Ladakh Chronicles say that when the Baltis were beaten, they received the assistance of the Nawab of Kashmir, who induced the Turks to overrun Ladakh, but they were driven back. The Balti king who suffered the defeat was Ahmad Khan. See Notes on Song No. V, ante.

No. X. — The Siege of Basgo.

Text.

1. rGyalsa Basgoi' yyas phyognas ltaapa, —
2. thsugsa Basgoi' yyas phyognas ltaapa,
3. rgyalpoi yasang zhihpo Pangkatsa stenga,—
4. mi dbanggri yasang zhihpo Pangkatsa stengas,
5. shaw yasum stong lnga brya zam yod lo,

Translation.

1. Looking towards the right from the capital of Basgo,—
2. Looking towards the right from the caravanserais of Basgo,
3. On the field, (called) Pangkatsa, of the king,—
4. On the field, (called) Pangkatsa, of the potentate,
5. There are about three thousand five hundred little beds.
6. bkang rdoba 'sum brgya drug bcu zam yod lo:— 6. And about three hundred and sixty irrigation stones:—
7. ddenbarig Yodtsung wa Hor ngangyi sogpo:— 7. As far as that [reached] the Mongol, the bad Hor:—
8. ddenbarig Yodtsung wa dgra ngangyi sogpo. 8. As far as that [reached] the Mongol, the bad enemy.

Notes on the Tibetan Text.

The original song, as received from the Mons at K hala tse (like the rest of the songs with the exception of No. 1), has eight more lines prefixed to the above text. Those additional lines have nothing to do with Basgo, or the siege, and correspond very closely to Ladakh Songs No. VI. (See ante, Vol. XXXI, p. 94.) It is probable that two different songs have become mixed up, because both had the same tune.

vv. 3, 4. — yonang zhung, honorific term for zhung, field.

v. 5. — shau, shagu, a little bed in a field, in which the irrigation water is gathered.

v. 6. — bkang rdoba, 'hinderling-stone,' one of the stones with which the irrigation water is regulated.

vv. 7, 8. — ddenbarig, 'as far as that.'

Notes on the English Translation.

'To the right' of Basgo does not necessarily mean 'to the east' of Basgo, though it does in this case. The united army of Central Tibetans and Mongolians had their camp on the Ja-rgyal (? Bya-rgyal) Plain, between Basgo and Nyemo, and there a great battle with the soldiers of the Mughal emperor took place, c. 1647 A.D.

Concluding Remarks.

In conclusion, I may say that my Collection of Ladakh Songs, published ante Vol. XXXI, pp. 87-311 contained several historical songs of later times, as I have since discovered, among which are the following:—

No. I is a hymn in honor of Thse-dpal-dongrab-rdorje-rnam-rgyal, the last independent king, c. 1790-1841 A.D.

No. II is a hymn in honor of the same king, and besides the king's name it contains the names of his eldest son, Thse-dbang-rab-bstan-rnam-rgyal, of the queen, dPal-mdzos-dbangmo, and of the first minister, Thse-dbang-dongrab.

No. III, the Polo Song, contains the name of the first minister of Chigtan, who was tortured during the Dogra wars, because he was the instigator of an insurrection. (See my History of Western Tibet, p. 155.)

No. XIV, the Girl of Sheh, contains a passage referring to little prince bDe-skhyo-rnam rgyal, c. 1720-1740, who had lost his mother.

No. XVIII is a wedding congratulation addressed to the Leh minister, dNgos-grub-bstan-'adzin, who became vassal king of Ladakh during the Dogra wars. See my History of Western Tibet.

Besides those published already, I am in possession of an extensive collection of historical songs dating from about 1600 to 1900 A.D., and as several of them are of considerable historical value, I may publish a list of them in a future paper.
MOHIYE KI HAR OR BAR.

BY H. A. ROSE.

The Chronicle of Rájá Mohí Parkash, Ruler of Náhan (Sirmur) State.

(Concluded from p. 56.)

395 Thus disguised Dharmá Palánt went to Deshú dhár.

He saw before him the Rájá's tent.

(The Rájá said:) "Who is that fool, standing before my tent?"

(Said Dharmá:) "Call me not fool, for I am come from Balg, and am a pandáda. In search of thee, O Rájá, have I wandered thro' the land."

400 Dharmá Palánt danced a turn (and said):

"O Rájá, I am a pandáda of Balg and a subject indeed of thine."

(Said the Rájá:) "Indeed, thou art a pandáda of Balg, be seated on the ground, And give me an anger, whether I should go to Koṭi or to Junga."

Dharmá Palánt sat down upon the earth, opened his book and began to read.

Dharmá began to talk of the proceedings of Saiñj.

(Saying:) "For leaving Náhan, who gave thee the auspicious moment? On thy head sits Saturn, at thy feet is Ketu. Thou, O Rájá, must perform worship of the nine (planets)."

410 The clothes on thy body and the shoes on thy feet.

The turban on thy head, and the horse from under thee, thou must give away.

O Rájá Sáhib, these I have never asked for. Unfasten the dress on thy body, thy pandáda hath remained naked!"

The Rájá doffed his robes, and Dharmá went to the Rájá of Guler.
415 Nāngā kīye Dēshū, dūnē shērā jāwānēn.
Jāpī lāi Dharmēn, sab hādī khoṭī.60
"Sahī lāni de Pāṇjā, Rānā Jungo ke Koṭī?"
Palāṇī khārā Dharmā, Mokhiye ri sewā,
"Āyā shīhu62 Dēshū, Rānā Sukheto khe āvā.
Kātī ghāli73 tinīyā, tamrī ri shīrī.
Tere jere, Rānā sāhibā, lai ghālī fakīrī.
Shunā chārī Jungā, shiuli Rā ngō ri Koṭī.
Mhāre kārṇi Dēshū dhāro, basgē ri tharoṭ.74
Palāṇī re Dharmā, dере jere lwā jāi.64
Dere jere hāzī dā, dāno lwē garāi.65
Palāṇī Rānē rā Dharmā, dere dere dā hāngō,
Kiryā re jye bugche,66 bānī lalo phānjō.
Palāṇī re Dharmē, Jungo khe joll: —
"Shale pāti rūwe bairī, dārcō karō goll."

420 Nau sau maṇ misri Rāse, roh-ṇōn khe pāi,
Misri chūngo roh-ṇōn dī, ubhe bāndhle māthe.
Ādhe khe pūgt misrī, ādhe bishke hāthe.67
Charhi āyā kaṭak, garjī rowi dhāro.
Chālī rahi fanjo, lekhā rwā ni gaṇo.

425 On the ridge of Dēshū, both father-in-law and son-in-law were stripped by him.
Dharmā repeatedly said all he could of evil (against the Rānā of Jungā).
"Tell me true, O Pāṇjā, whether the Rānā be at Jungā or at Koṭī."
(But) Dharmā the Palāṇī wished to serve Mohī Parkāsh (and said: —)
"Hearing of thy arrival at Dēshū, the Rānā went to Suket.

420 He has cut off the head of a gourd.
In fear of thee, the Rānā Sāhib hath become a mendicant.
Desolate bath he left Jungā and Koṭī of the Rānā.
On the Dēshū ridge we must make a house to dwell in."
Dharmā the Palāṇī went to each tent.

425 At each tent of the retinue he realised offerings.
Dharmā, the Rānā’s Palāṇī, goes to every tent.
And ties together his bundles, like the bundles gifted at the death-rite.
Dharmā the Palāṇī turns his face to Jungā, saying: —
"Idle lies the enemy, get powder and ball ready."

430 Nine hundred maunds of sugar the Rānā bade throw into the court-yard.
In the court-yard the people pick up the sugar and salute the Rānā as he stands above.
Half of the army got the sugar, but the other half went empty-handed.
The array ascended the hills which resounded with the din.
The army marched away, and no account of it could be kept.
435 In the low-lying field of Koṭi the camp was pitched:
        In the low field of Koṭi arrived Jānki and Nāthū:
        On the bonfire they put the iron plates, and began to cook the potherb.
        In the gate of Koṭi the bell began to be rung,
        The potherb being roasted on the plates, they began to divide it.

440 Jānki and Nāthū had formed a relationship between them:
        One and a quarter khātis were divided, but each man only got a mouthful.
        Said the Rāgā: — “Our officials are all ignorant of business,
        Go this way to Thānthia's, and have our hatchets sharpened.”
        At the gate of Koṭi, rations are distributed.

445 They so sharpened the hatchets as if pepper were put on them,
        Opposite Koṭi is seen the Brahmans’ small forest.
        “On our march to Deshū we must place Hašūmān's flag foremost.”
        First of all in the palanquin sat the monk of Hašūmān,
        After him marched the army, which was without end.

450 Up the ridge of Manūn climbed Hašūmān’s devotees (saying: —)
        “Cut thick clubs of oakwood.”
        The Rānī's array reached the ridge of Manūn.
        The army of Mohī Parkāsh lost all heart,
        Gillā and Dhārā made a shrewed plan,
455 Bāro bāro bikhau di, kāṭi legi khāi.

460 "Ke gīṛī rūwā meghūli, ke chāṛhī āyā Rāṇā."

465 Chāṛī gīrwā Rāṇā Jangō, nāṭhi ro dewā Sūkhetē.

470 Rāṇe re kāgato, Rāje āge pājāwe:

475 "Rāje ri fañjo pāchhū, nāḥu haṭhe mere deṉi."

455 That at every twelve paces should be dug a ditch.

When they reached the ridge of Manūn the rattle of the guns began.

The army of Mohī Parkāsh trembled like water.

In the smoke of the clouds of gunpowder the Sun God was hidden.

The Rāṇā was sleeping in his palanquin, — but then he shook and shivered (saying: —)

"Either it is thundering in the sky, or the Rāṇā has attacked us."

(They answered: —) "Neither is it thundering, nor has the Rāṇā attacked."

Dharmē the Pāḷanī gave comfort to the Rāṇā (saying: —)

"O Rāṇā Sāhib, many are thy warriors. Thou dost not know, Sir, the secret of these simple hillmen.

465 The Rāṇā has abandoned Jangō and fled to Suket.

Thou hast not seen, Sir Rāṇā, the simple people of Keanīthal.

Take as much of his money as thou may'st choose as well as his daughter to wife."

Then Rāṇā Nūp Sain bade them write a letter (saying: —)

"O Rāṇā Mohī, come and meet me at Muṅā."

470 The Rāṇā's letter was despatched to the Rāṇā:

And Rāṇā Mohī began to read it.

The Rāṇā's order is to come to meet him at Muṅā.

The Rāṇā's army made ready,

And Kālkā of Deshū Ridge became favourable in turn to him.

(Saying: —) "Never will I allow the Rāṇā's army to return again."

The Rāṇā's army reached the ghōṭ of Muṅā.

Gillō and Dhērtō gave counsel to the Rāṇā (saying: —)

"These devotees of Haṅumān have always enjoyed a free grant.

They should be in the forefront of the battle."

460 "Nahiū gīṛī rūwā meghūliā, nahiū chāṛhī āyā Rāṇā."

Dharmē Palaṅī deittā, Rāje khe dhīro :

"Tere Rāje sāhibā, mukhte aso bāro.

Tū jāndā nahīū sāhibā, bhōle pahāṛī rā bhetō.

Dekhe naḥū, Rāṇā sāhibā, Keoṅthalā bholā.

Take le chawwe mukhte, sāthi deyī rā dōḷā."

Rāṇe tiṅ्यeṇ Nūr Saine, lūwe kāgato lēkhē :

"Rājeā Mohīyā ahe, Muṅe mele khe śāwe."

Rāje tiṅyēṇ Mohīye, tabe bāčhe āwe āwe.

Rāṇe rā āyā lukam, ke Muṅe e mele khe āwe.

Rāje ri fañjo ri, hol goī tāyārī,

Dēshū dhīro ri Kālikā, phiri goīyo gerī.

Pahī pahūlo rā māmāla, Haṅumānle dele."

70 Cāḥrē lūwē muḥālā : bombarded.
480 Jâmkâ Dâse mahanâte, Muñjâ châdrâ tâqâd;
Dîtî deotâ ri kâro,71 hor boli "Jâi jai bâl.
Čro dhâuili giyo, baithâ kâlâ kâgâ,
Dhûro pâmde Deshûde, jaadh mâmâlâ lâgâ.
Beûa lâgâ tarâl râ, ùndi jhamko dûnoû.

485 Beûa lâgâ kamânâl râ, jau jyâ pûno.
Beûa lâgâ Râmçaûgâl râ, meghâlâ jyâ garjo.
Golâ châhûto Râmçaûgâl râ, bâjô pûndi bhîte.
Haûûmântâ chele mûro, mushiî ri choîto;
Lîûçe kîye ghûrûl, tûûndi nakti bâûduko;

490 Sîdhât Koût râ thâkûr, Râje klyâ nûngâ.
Mûndâ re lâgé ghor, bahl lohû ri gângâ.
Deo bûlxû Jûngo râ, Târâ bûlxû Debâl.
Tap bûlxû Nûp Saino râ, chele Haûûmâni.
Gillâ re Dhartâ dele, Mohiye khe meûrû.72

495 Poro dâ bolâ Râje khe, Nâlo râ Miûn:—
"Orî de liûçe ghoûrî, mere gâûnhû gheûnû."
Râgâ Nûp Saino Jûngo khe kâgato dîto:—
"Âwî got Deyle, Keoûthalô khe jîto."

Lûgâ rûwâ bûldû, Dharamaû Palûnû:
500 Râje khe dewo meûnû, bûrî bolo bâûdû:—
"Tû Râjèâ Mohiyeû, sawûndû dà hillâ,73
Dhûri jhûlû Habûûrû dî, lohe râ jyâ killâ:"

480 The monk Jâmkâ Dâse stretched a sheet or cloth at Muñjâ,
And drew the deotâ lines, and said "Be victorious."
The white vultures flew, and the black crow perched.
On the ridge of Deshû the battle was joined.
When the turn of the swordsmen came, the flashes of their swords reached downwards to the valleys.

495 When the turn of the archers came, the arrows fell like barley chaff.
When the turn of the Râmcaûgâl gun came, it thundered like a cloud.
The ball of Râmcaûgâl flew, its echo struck the other side.
Haûûmâni's devotees smote with their maces, And struck off the horses' tails and made the guns useless.

490 Sîdhât Òhâkur of Koût was put to shame by the Râjâ,
A heap of heads was piled up, and a river of blood flowed,
The Deo of Jûngû fought and so did the goddess Târâ.
The star of Nûp Sain fought, and so did Haûûmâni's devotees.
Gillâ and Dhartû taunted Râjû Mohî.

495 Miûn of Nûl from the other side said to the Râjû:—
"Give me thither your tailless mare, to thresh my wheat."
Râgû bade write a letter to Jûngû, (to say: —)
"Daughter, victory has come to Keoûthal."
Dhûnychâ Palaûni began to taunt the Râjû

500 With ironical words and evil speeches: —
"O Râjû Mohî, thou art accustomed to the level valleys,
On the ridge of Habûû, thou art dragged like an iron basket."

\[71\] Dîtî deotâ ri kâro: drew a circle in the name of Haûûmâni.
\[72\] Meûnû: ironical speeches. \[73\] Sawûndû dûû dûû hillû: art accustomed to the plain valleys.
CONTRIBUTIONS TO PANJABI LEXICOGRAPHY.

SERIES I.

Industrial Technicalities.

BY H. A. ROSE, I.C.S.

(Continued from p. 24.)

Kirro; see jangli जङ्गली. Mono: Fibrous Manufactures, p. 4.

Kishta; a vegetable acid. Cf. khatta.


Koda; a head ornament. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 32.


Kokhāni; a kind of silk imported from Central Asia. Cf. akhēdā.

Konera or konert; a convex piece of clay or stone fitted with a handle, used to beat out clay vessels. Mono: Pottery and Glass Industries, p. 5.

Konta; an earring. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 86.

Kora; a pure gold; Hoshiārpur. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 4.

Kora; tinsel. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 27.


Kuchhar; a round-headed hammer. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 18.

Kulābā; a drainage pipe. Mono: Pottery and Glass, p. 11.

Kular; a small vessel used by milkmen. Mono: Pottery and Glass, p. 10.


Kundan; the purest gold (Platts, p. 853); -sāz; a settler of precious stones. Cf. mūras-
sakūr. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 4.
Kundr: Typha augusfolia; the bulrush Bamū cf. era. Mono: Fibrous Manu., App I, p. i.


Kunti: see kunt.

Kunkah: a silver hook. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 35.

Kunta: an ornament. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 32.


Kutt: a kind of paste formed from the fat, etc., scraped off hides. Mono: Leather Ind., p. 25.


Kyir-byir-tea: a small saucer-shaped silver ornament; Spiti. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 36.


Lab-i-abi: a kind of silk produced in the country bordering on the Oxus and in Samarkand. Mono: Silk Ind., p. 15.


Lagan: a vessel. Mono: Brass and Copper Ware, p. 2.

Lagdā: an alloy with copper and silver. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 4.


Langri: an anklet. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 36.
Larhāna: a tool used for marking off bracelets on a piece of ivory. Mono: Ivory Carving, p. 15.
Lasūra: the bark of the Cordia myxa; Siwākks and Himalayas. Mono: Fibrous Manu, p. 6.
Lavāya: a man who pastes the wet sheets of paper on to a wall; Siwalik. Mono: Fibrous Manu, p. 16.
Loh: paste made of flour and water. Mono: Leather Ind., p. 33.
Litkā: a small silver ring with ball-shaped pendants; Kāngra. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 35.
Lochka: a gold, two ungals wide. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 28.
Long: gold alloyed with copper; Hoshiāpur. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 4.
Lūkh: powdered bulrush; Peshāwar. Mono: Pottery and Glass, p. 3, also the bulrush: Trans-Indus.; cf. era.
Mad: lime and water. Mono: Leather Ind., p. 33.
Madar: a fibre used for making ropes and string; Shāhpur. Mono: Fibrous Manu, p. 11.
MADR: a juice. Mono: Leather Ind., p. 15.


Magar chaudânt: an ear ornament. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 33.

Mahawar: an ornament. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 34.


Main: a head ornament. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 32.


Makhawaji mal: a necklace. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 35.


Malt: a synonym for chûnî; Kangra.

Malla: Zizyphus nummularia; Rawalpindi. Mono: Leather Ind., p. 18.


Main: a vat. Cf. kûn.

Manchu: a Hong-Kong silk. Mono: Silk Ind., p. 15.


Mandli: a mat made of rice-straw or grass; Kullâ. Mono: Fibrous Manu., p. 11.


Manj: lattice or pinjra work, similar to that seen in Cairene moucharabiehs. Mono: Wood Manu., p. 10.


Masún: a twisting wheel, a form of the dherna. Mono: Woollen Manu., p. 5.

Matherā: a man who turns parts of ornaments into an oval or round shape after preliminary preparation by the sunār. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 24.


Matloha: a synonym for mat; Kângrā.

Mātra: see chakkī.


Māyā: water in which rice, wheat or quince seeds have been boiled. Mono: Pottery and Glass, p. 20.


Mehndi: an ornament. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 34.


Mīrzī: the dwarf palm or its leaves (Pashto) mazrī. Mono: Leather Ind., p. 6.

Mochha: a block of wood which is to be turned. Mono: Wood Manu., p. 11.


Moir: a deota's face. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 31.


Mor phunwar: an ornament. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 32.


Mouch: a forehead ornament. Cl. tahiti. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 32.

Mudha: a spindleful of thread. Cl. challi.


Mukat: a semi-religious ornament worn by the bridegroom at a marriage. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 36.

Mukesh: wavy tinsel. Cl. sutna. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 27.


Mundá: a kind of shoe (gurgdhi); Gurgión. Cl. mundld. Mono: Leather Ind., p. 31.

Mundla: a kind of shoe (gurgdhi); Ambalá. Cl. mundd.


Murassakár: a setter of precious stones. Cl. kundanás.

Mushka: a variety of coarse silk. Mono: Silk Ind., p. 20.


Mutka: a variety of coarse silk. Mono: Silk Ind., p. 20.

Nahan: an ornament. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 34.

Nahná: a small instrument with a flat edge. Cl. katat. Mono: Leather Ind., p. 23.

Nák: of first quality. Cl. ld.


Nakli: imitation:—daryā, a plain fine stuff supposed to be like real daryā. Mono: Cotton Manu., p. 8.

Nakyu: an ear-pendant; Spiti. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 36.

Nāl: a tall blue-stemmed variety of the jangli bāns; Hoshiarpur. Mono: Fibrous Manu., p. 4.

Nām: a gold necklace worn by Hindu males. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 25.


Nānd: a vat; Rohtak. Cf. bāṅgar.


Nārā: a person who procures silver from the sweepings of a goldsmith's shop. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 6.

Nārī: a generic term for sheep and goat skins. Mono: Leather Ind., p. 15.


Nashī: an ear-ornament. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 32.

(To be continued.)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

MATHURA, A MINT OF AKBAR
FOR COPPER COINAGE.

'As an indication of importance, it may be mentioned that in Akbar's time there was a mint at Mathura, though only for copper coinage,' (Growse, 'The City of Mathura', Calcutta Rev., 1873, p. 5, note.)

Neither Wright (Catal. Coins. I. M., Vol. III) nor Lane-Poole (B. M. Catal.) gives Mathura as a mint of Akbar's. Are any copper coins of Akbar from the Mathurā mint known?

VINCENT A. SMITH.

18th December, 1908.

UNPUBLISHED ASOKA INSCRIPTION AT GIRDAR.

When reading old numbers of the Calcutta Review, I came upon an interesting descriptive article, signed by C. M. and entitled 'Saurāshtra and the Hill of Sorath,' in the volume for 1878. The writer, when dealing with localities near the shrine of 'Nīnāth' (Nūnānāth'), records a note at the foot of p. 46, which states that 'another longish oval stone, about 10 feet by 12, inscribed with characters apparently resembling those of Asoka's edicts, is to be seen near the Bhirukunda. But the letters of this inscription also have been much injured by exposure.'

Burgess (Kāthiawār and Kachh, p. 169) briefly describes the Bhirakunda, but makes no allusion to the inscription mentioned by C. M., nor can I find any mention of it anywhere. Can anybody give information concerning it, or still better publish a copy?

VINCENT A. SMITH.

18th December, 1908.
LEGENDS FROM THE PANJAB.

BY SIR R. C. TEMPLE AND H. A. ROSE.

(Continued from Vol. XXXVII., p. 155.)

III.

THE WAR OF AURANGZEB WITH GURU GOBIND SINGH.

WHEN the people told the emperor Aurangzeb that Guru Gobind Singh intended to take Delhi, the emperor became anxious and asked his nobles and ministers, "Is this a true report?" And they replied: "Save the king, it must be a true report." On this the king gave an order, "write a letter to Guru Gobind Singh."

Nasım.

Likhit Auranzeb na Dilto sauf kara:
"Mer d hukum Qandahar vich Kábul Kábul.
Ráje Dokhan Pakhr de yar dehul salamah.
Ek haqiqat sam Kashmir di, jo wórdi pandit,
Sur, sur, sur gyánd.
Maính chhoorun us nu, jo parhe zamánsa rooundä.
Oh chhoorun dharm nu, yichá swan imánd.
Fatwā11 mer d parhind vich dehul johánä.
Maính ekh bhuján báz nu, khat shihrä sámänd."  

Verse.

Wrote Aurangzeb a letter from Delhi:
"My writ (runs) in Qandahar and Kábul and
Khurásán.
The kings of the South and of the (Northern)
Hills, all make obeisance.
Hear about Kashmir, what happened to the
pandits, the gods, the heroes and the
wise men.
I cherish him, who daily repeats the (Muham-
madan) prayers:
Who will give up his (Hindu) faith to come
within the (Muhammadan) faith.
My judgment is read in both worlds.
I have only to send one hawk to eat up all the
birds."

To this the Guru Gobind Singh sent a reply:—

Nasım.

Satgur saache boodhun yaheritya parwadä22:
Lik jayb bhıyád jao saaché námã.
"Likhit ánub hukayatáh : sun samajh, nídána!
Tú23 qasm jo kot dage ìi ; maính tere dik ìi jánd.
Tú khar haukár bolo, nádpdhashidháh !
Takóbhar kiyá Ibís22 ne, gall la'mat jánda.
Dae-sirwarg24 kai daint märé hagmānã.

Verse.

The true guru, the true king has read the
letter:
He writes the reply and sends a true
document:—
"All admonitions are written: listen and
understand, blockhead!
Thou hast taken an oath of treachery:
I know thy mind.
Thou basest basestfully, O impure of tongues!
Ibils was arrogant, his speech was all impu-
ritv.
Many a ten-headed demon has been destroyed
by pride.

11 For shihr, to read which in any man’s name is to proclaim him king.
22 Parwadã, a letter to an inferior: úma an authoritative document, a letter-patent. The terms used are
peculiarly insolent. So is the use of it, thou, further on.
23 The Arabic turn of phrase when speaking of Ibils is noteworthy.
24 Dáhisár, i.e., Rávâpã.
Main pakrit of Akal di: koh hor ad jand.
Mainsu dyd hukm Hazir thi; hath badha jand.
Maini panti karun Khalsa vich dehun jahand.
Chyida manran bad nih kar khawan thona."

I have secured the aid of the Eternal: I know no other.
The order of the (divine) Majesty has come to me; the thread is round my wrist.
I will proclaim the Khalsa in the two worlds.
(Remember) the birds killed the hawk and ate him all."

When the emperor read the letter of Guru Gobind, he called his ministers.

Reshe.

Likhid payhid Badshah, wazir bilde;
'Arab Shahde de sadhku qasib bitude;
"Maini roj jandah vich Haj de Dargah Khudde.
Maini auda ga na sah suldeh; mansada wih khade.
Jo koj howe sur lir, kitya ujhde;
Jia jotun vah Gora de, mat khaj na khade,
Math dund manuub korangta, jo fafeh korde."

The emperor read the writing and called his ministers;
And sent for the doctors of the Arab Law:
"I go daily on a pilgrimage to the Court of God.
I cannot brook such language; I will take poison and die.
Whosoever is a hero and a warrior, let him take up the betel-leaves;
And go and war with the guru and not turn back,
And I will give him double rank, if he gain the victory."

The ministers and doctors replied:

Wazir te qasib akhade: "Sun, Shad sidna,
Aida chit na rakheye, eil rakhe hukme.
Kar Shahde di bandagi, namas rodna.
De tapha rehie aur khorv khasna.
Dund pakh vich mulk de, ki dp bigadna.
An doxa gola dhanga, mar Mughal Pathana.
Astit pakar le gura nih, sdr ek damana."

Guru Gobind Singh was on his way to the Court of God, and Zebu'n-nissn, the emperor's daughter, was also going to the Court, and she said to her father:
Zebu'n-nissn hath fer; ek subhan sundad:
"Jis din da baithoon tekh to kyd 'amal kamad?"

"Zebu'n-nissn joined her hands, and spake a word:
"From the day thou sittest on the throne, what justice hast thou done?"

18 Allusion to the bridal bracelet of goat's hair worn to keep off evil spirits. The guru wears the "order of the Eternal" as a bride has wedding bracelets.
19 The fraternity of the Sikhs.
20 Bird is a preparation wrapped up in a betel-leaf and used as a token or pledge at marriages, betrothals, and among>Hajputs sometimes as a challenge.
Sháhjáhán ko qoít kar, Dárá marwádá.

Thou didst imprison Sháhjáhán and slay Dárá.\(^{33}\)

Tuá Tegh Bahádúr Gúrá nát idhá kámádá.

Thou didst treachery to Guru Tegh Bahádur.\(^{39}\)

'Adal bájá Naushírwán, jas jaj rích pídá.

Naushírwán did justice and obtained honour in the world.

Tuá zahr ād phal bájá, hun kháhá díyá.

Thou hast sown the seeds of poison, now thou must eat them."

The emperor replied to his daughter:—

Aurángzéb fármdád: "Sún, ján hamári.

Aurángzéb, I am also king Aurangzeb, the great and mighty.

Maín bhi Sháh Aurángzéb, baíd nálkádári.

I grind to the earth under my feet whosoever is proud.

Maín pirthi ándi pair het, jo ko hankári.

All the kings obey me, Mughal, Pathán, Qandahári.

Maín réjíre sab máná, Mughal, Pathán, Qandahári.

Whichever way I turn my face, there comes confusion.

Maín jis wáli karaun muáh, chakhá pae jác ghubará.

The crocodile, tortoise, alligator and shark all tremble at me.

Maíthión máchá, kákh áb kánpéti bélán sansári.

I will send but one warrior and he will slay (them) with the sword."

Replied ZéBu'n-níssá to the king:—

ZéBu'n-níssá fármdád: "Sún, báb hamáree.

ZéBu'n-níssá: "Hear, my father.

Éh áyá díyá, Hasúr thín le máná bhdáre.

This gurá has come, bringing from the hand of Majesty (God) a great dignity.

Tá bájá 'addwát nát gurá de múnt, bájá háre.

Do not make enmity with the gurá, lest thou lose the game.

Charní já lag gurá di, lage Darbáré.

Fall at the gurá's feet, be one of the Court.

Terá bájá Shará'dá dí deh págá, hun kon áláre?"

The tower of thy Law hath fallen, who will now raise it up?"

The emperor answered to his daughter:—

Aurángzéb fármdád: "Sún, báchchá nádlára.

Aurángzéb: "Listen, foolish daughter.

Maín rájí pakháá Bahádúr Sháh nún, nó ngaamáá.

I will send Bahádúr Sháh, who is a serpant for wisdom.

Maín réjír ghaláá Pákáá dí, sab 'ágal kááni.

I will send the Hill chiefs, all full of sagacity.

Paár láwáí gurá náá; múlk deh tawámí.

They will seize the gurá, and all this world shall see."

The king would not hear the council of his daughter.

She greatly argued with him. In the end he made war and attacked Guru Gobind Singh, and killed the gurá and conquered his country.

[So far our present text, but a Gurmukhi text differs slightly and is about as long again.]

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\(^{33}\) Sháhjáhán was the father, and Dárá Shíkoh, the elder brother of Auràngzéb. He deposed the former and slew the latter. He also brought the Guru Tegh Bahádúr to an untimely end.

\(^{39}\) Naushírwán is the legendary hero of justice in Indian and Persian story.
ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE NELLORE DISTRICT.

BY V. VENKAYYA, M. A., RAI BAHAUR.

(Continued from Vol. XXXVIII, p. 17.)

The period of about 30 years commencing from A. D. 1250 to 1280 is but poorly represented in the inscriptions of the southern taluks of the Nellore district. There are no records from Rāpur, Sullurpet, and Venkatagiri, which can be referred to this period while there are only a few from the Nellore and Gudur taluks. The Pāṇḍya invasion which took place during this period must have caused considerable confusion in the southern portion of the district. The Chēla chiefs were probably crippled on this account. Bhujabalavira-Mannasiddayādēva-Chōdamahārāja (KR. 60, 61 and 63) who had one or more Pallava feudatories and whose dates range from Saka-Saṅvat 1179 to 1183; A. D. 1256-57 to 1260-61 and [Puramadi-Gaṇeṣagopāla-Vijayanādīyādēva-Mahārāja (KR. 62) who had also a Pallava feudatory and whose date is A. D. 1260-61 belong to this period. But their inscriptions have all been found at Peṭrāla in the Kandukūr taluk, and consequently it is doubtful if they belonged to the Nellore Telugu-Chēlas or if their influence extended beyond that village.

The same remark applies to the following three chiefs whose records have also been found in the same village:—(1) Bījirāju-Siddayādēva-Chōdamahārāja whose date is A. D. 1267-68 (KR. 64); (2) Gaṇeṣīvārājula, son of Peramaśīdēva-Chōdamahārāja whose date is A. D. 1268-69 (KR. 65); and Siddayādēva-Mahārāja, (son of) Bhimaraja, whose date is A. D. 1269-70 (KR. 66). According to the Telugu Siddhasuracharitra and Sūmadēvaratīyamu, extracts from which are published by Rao Bahadur K. Vireśalingam Pantulu Guru in his Lives of the Telugu Poets, Mannasiddha, the ruler of Nellore, had been deprived of his kingdom by his cousins, Akkana and Bayyana, Tikkanasūmayan, the court poet of the former, is said to have gone to Anamkōḍa and persuaded the Kākatiya king Gaṇapati to take up the cause of his patron. Records assignable without doubt to this Mannasiddha have not been found.

72 Above Vol. XXXVIII, p. 355.

73 A number of inscriptions dated during the reign of Tribhuvanachakravarthi Gaṇeṣagopāla or Vijaya-Gaṇeṣagopāla have been found in the Tamil country. One of them seems to have been a contemporary of the Kākatiya king Gaṇapati (No. 67 of 1898) and another of the Chēla king Kubērmunga III. (No. 4 of 1898 and South-Ind. Anu., Vol. III, p. 207 f.). In the Annual Report for 1899-1900, p. 51, I remarked that the Vijaya-Gaṇeṣagopāla, whose initial date is A. D. 1250 and who must have reigned until at least A. D. 1268, must have been a Telugu-Chēla. In the first place, it is not certain if there was only one chief with this name or more than one. In the Nellore district, records of Tribhuvanachakravartin Vijaya-Gaṇeṣagopāla are found in the Gudur, Nellore, and Sullurpet taluks. They are all in Tamil. In case the latter is identical with the former, his dates seem to show that he might have taken part in the attempt to drive out Jaţāramana Sundara-Pėṭrāya I. from Nellore, if any such had been made. In the inscriptions of the Pāṇḍya king, it is Vira (not Vijaya)-Gaṇeṣagopāla that figures as one of his enemies (Ind. Ant., Vol. XVI, p. 121). A Tamil epigraph of Tribhuvanachakravartin Viraj-Gaṇeṣagopāla has been found at Rāmagiri in the Chingleput district (No. 650 of 1906) and another at Mallam in the Gudur taluk (G. 67).

74 At Ayavlapalli and Nandiḍapal, in the Udyaṇagiri taluks, have been found inscriptions of Bhujabalavira-Chēla Tirukk[ttīdēva-Mahārāja, dated in A. D. 1244-45 (U. 3) and A. D. 1245-46 (U. 14). He was the lord of Upayya and Kākēhī and belonged to the family of Karikul. If he was related to the Peṭrāla Chēlas, he must have been one of their ancestors. Neither the Māthiyāpatidārakara Mannasiddhayādēva-Chōdamahārāja of KV. 43 nor the Mannasiddhārsar of G. 39 could have had anything to do with the Peṭrāla Chēlas.

75 Mannasiddhagopāla, a later prince of the Nellore Chēlas, was also deprived of his kingdom, but was reinstated at Vikramasihapura by a Kākatiya feudatory (Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1905-06, Part II, para. 44). It is not possible that the Mannasiddha reinstated by Gaṇapati is identical with the Bhujabalavira-Mannasiddhās-Chōdamahārāja mentioned above. Perhaps he took refuge at Peṭrāla in the Kandukūr taluk before he was reinstated by Gaṇapati. His opponents, Akkana and Bayyana, are, however, not mentioned in any of the Nellore inscriptions. It does not seem likely that the two abovementioned Telugu works call Mannasiddha-gopāla, Mannasiddha, and mistake Rāmagiri-Vaṇḷahārāja for Gaṇapati.
The earlier part of this article has shown what an important part the Pallavas had played in the history of the district. There were evidently some reminiscences of their dominion and a few families claiming connection with them.

On the first signs of weakness of the Chōja empire in the Telugu country, the Pallavas must also have attempted to regain their dominion. Some of the chieftains belonging to the Pallava family seem to have enjoyed considerable power, though most of them were only feudatories. As early as A.D. 1102-3, while Kalottunda I. was still alive, the Mahâmândâlôvâra Nandivarma-Mahârâja alias Ammarâja of the family of Kâśuvâti was ruling with Pālalânu (i.e., Proluḍânu in the Cuddapah district) as his capital. He was one of the sons of Dvârapâruja by his queen Dvârapâruja. His territory extended apparently into the Udayagiri tâluka of the Nellore district (U. 6). He belonged to the Pallava family and to the Bhûrâvâya-gôtra and had the khatûśa banner and the kudânduvâpâru drum. He claims to have been the lord of Kâshi and a devotee of the goddess Kâmakâyamûbikâ (i.e., the Kâmakâshî temple at Conjeeveram). In A.D. 1182-83 we have a Pallava, named Allatûnâkî, at Gaṇḍâvarâma (N. 16) in the Nellore tâluka and N. 15 mentions Allantûnâkî of the Pallava family. At Sûmâvarâpadu in the Dârisi Division (D. 69) is an inscription dated in A.D. 1218-19 of a descendant of Mukaṅarâti-Kâśuvâti who is a descendant of Mukaṅarâti-Kâśuvâti whose name does not appear to have been made out satisfactorily. He also belonged to the Pallava family and to the Bhûrâvâya-gôtra and was the lord of Kâshi and a devotee of the goddess Kâmakâyamûbikâ. He claims to have founded 70 agraḍhâras in the country to the east of Sârâvâtâ, i.e., Srisailam in the Kurnool district. The Mahâmândâlôvâra Inuma-jîdâva-Mahârâja of the same family (with similar titles) set up an image of Kâñçâja-Perumâj at Nâgâlâvarâma in the Kânuigiri tâluka (K.O. 24). He was the son of a certain Bûmârâja by Sîrâyâvi. Nallaâsitârâsaâpâ of the Pallava family is mentioned in an undated record from Mannemuttâri (S. 2) in the Sûlâpûr Divison. The best known of these chiefs is the Mahârâjasimha of the Tripurântaka and Drâkâhrâmaâ inscriptions (perhaps identical with the rebel Koppurângâja of Tamil records). The latter signed at A.D. 1243 to at least 1278-79. When and under what circumstances he advanced against the Telugu country and how long he remained there is a question which require to be investigated in future. Allâja-Pennamâdâva-Mahârâja (A.D. 1259-60) and Vijaya-Gaṇḍâgôpâla (A.D. 1283-64) of the Tripurântaka inscriptions were also Pallavas. Vijaya-Gaṇḍâgôpâla of the same family (bearing the Pallava titles mentioned above) was probably governing a portion of the Atmakur tâluka with a "lord of Urâjâvâ" for his subordinate (A. 25). Reference has already been made to the Pallava feudatories of the Telugu-Châodas whose records have been found at Peétrâla in the Kandukur tâluka. These do not boast of Pallava titles but claim to be descended from Mukaṅarâti-Kâśuvâti.

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79 The Mahâmândâlôvâra Chûlôpa-lôvâ-Mahârâja of the Pallava family is mentioned in a record of A.D. 1182-83 from Chîntâlaputtâru in the Cuddapah district.

80 Mukkañâjâ is the Telugu equivalent of the Sanskrit Trîbhojana, the name given to the semi-mythical Pallava king whom the founder of the Chânûya family claimed to have conquered in battle. The same or another Trîbhojana was a contemporary of the Chôja king Karikalâ who is said to have got him as well as the other kings of the earth to build the banks of the Kâvâri river (Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1992-1996, para. 45). Mr. Beal's Gaṅga inscriptions seem to point to the existence of a place called Kâvâjê who is identified with Kâvâjé nagar, the headquarters of a Zamîndâr in the North Arcot district (Myers Gazetteer, Vol. 1, p. 533). But in the phrase Mukkañâji-Kâvâjê, the second member must denote either the name of an individual or of a family. Perhaps Kâvâjê is the same as the Tamil Kâvâra which is synonymous with Pallava (Ep. Ind., Vol. VII, pp. 22). One of the Nandîlâr inscriptions gives the Šaka date 723 for Mukkañâji-Kâvâjê; see my Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1990-91, Part II, paragraph 74. This was evidently later than his namesake who was a contemporary of the Chôja king Karikalâ.

81 Nallalâsidaâra of the Pallava family is mentioned in an inscription from Conjeeveram (No. 49 of 1890); see the Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1995-96, Part II, paragraph 5.


Here are their names — (1) Alījā[ā]hadēva-Mahārāja, grandson of Siddīrāju of Poḍa[da]kanūr (KR. 61); (2) Madhusudanadeva-Mahārāja, grandson of Vījayaśīlā of Andalūr (KR. 62); (3) Siddi[mad]ēvula-Vījādevū, son of Bhīmayadeva-Mahārāja (KR. 63). These three belong to the middle of the 13th century. But as early as A. D. 1150-51, there flourished in the north of the Nellore district a certain Vījayaśīlā-Mahārāja of the family of Mukkaṇji-Kāḍuvaṭi (D. 43):

In A. D. 1263 the Kākāṭiya king Gaṇapati died, leaving his daughter, Ruḍrāmbī, as his successor. During her reign, some of the Kākāṭiya feudatories became powerful. The inscriptions of Gaṅgāya-Sahṣī and Tripurārīdēva bear this out. One of these feudatories claims to have established Manmagaṇḍagopala at Nellore. It is, therefore, likely that these Kākāṭiya feudatories interfered in the affairs of the southern portion of Nellore. In A. D. 1275-76 Nellore was ruled by Nā[g]a-Mahārāja (A. 29), whose inscription is also found at Īḍūru in the Nellore taluka (N. 21). He probably belonged to the Nāga family and might have been a Kākāṭiya feudatory. An officer of his is reported to have made a gift in A. D. 1273-74 for the merit of Ruḍradēva-Mahārāja, which was the name adopted by Gaṇapati’s daughter, Ruḍrāmbī, on her accession to the throne (KV. 43). Nāgadeva himself made a grant in A. D. 1280-81 for the merit of the same sovereign (O. 75). An earlier member of the Nāga family was Siddarasa who was a Chōḍa feudatory (G. 78). Peddaraṇa of the same family was a feudatory of Kōḷatūniga III. (G. 53). His agent is mentioned in G. 55. Peddaraṇa’s son was Siddarasa who continued as a feudatory of Kōḷatūniga III. (G. 66 and G. 99) though the characteristic Nāga būruḍas are omitted in his case. A genealogy of the family for nine generations is furnished by D. 13, which belongs to the 14th century.

The Nāgas.

The Telugu-Chōḍas seem to have regained their lost dominion very soon. In A. D. 1278 Irnuṭṭi-Tirukkāḷṭilīvē ascended the throne (G. 45). But how he was connected with Allu Tirukkāḷṭilīvē or with his uncle, Tirukkāḷṭilīvē, is not apparent. Irnuṭṭi-Tirukkāḷṭilīvē might have been identical with Tikka II., son of Mannakshamavallabha of the genealogical table on p. 18 of the Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1895-1900. Manmagaṇḍagopala, whose initial date is A. D. 1282-83 (N. 31), was probably his successor. There seem to have been two chiefs with this name known from other inscriptions, one whose head was cut off by a general of Prataparudra and a later one who was a Kākāṭiya feudatory. If the Manmagaṇḍagopala of the Nellore inscription was not different from these two, he may be identified with the first. It was perhaps the same chief who was originally dispossessed of his kingdom but subsequently established at Vikrama-śinghapura (i.e., Nellore) by the Kākāṭiya feudatory Ambadēva Mahārāja. The second Manmagaṇḍagopala appears to have been governing the northern portion of the Nellore district, and perhaps also a portion of Guntur as a Kākāṭiya feudatory (P. 32). His latest date is Saka-Saṅvat 1219, the cyclic year Hēmalaṅka corresponding to A. D. 1297-98. In the southern portion of the Nellore district, the first Manmagaṇḍagopala was perhaps succeeded by Tribhuvanachakravarthīn

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83 As the villages to which this and the next “Mahārāja” belonged are also mentioned, it is extremely doubtful if they possessed any influence beyond their own villages. If this be the case, it is not a little surprising that even men of no independent position claimed Pallava ancestry. Some of the Chōḍa “Mahārājas” mentioned in the foregoing pages might also have been private individuals. In fact, the suffix mahārāja is by itself no conclusive proof that the person to whose name it is added was not a private individual. Chōḍadēva-Chōḍamahārāja, Mallīdevandā and Chikkīrāja mentioned in a record of A. D. 1236-37 (KR. 22) were probably similar “Mahārājas.”

84 At Tiruvālandagōṇḍu in the North Arcot district is an inscription of Tripurārīkaṇḍa-Mahāsunandēva of the Pallava family and the Bhāroduṭi-gōṇḍa; see the Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1905-06, Part II, paragraph 5.

85 See my Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1905-06, Part II, paragraph 44.

86 A. 31 may also belong to him. The Telugu poet Tikkaṇa-Eṇayāṭi’s son, Mānaṇa, is said to have dedicated his version of the Mūrkaṇḍapurāṇa to Nāgāya-Gūṇa, the general of the Kīvāṭiya king Prataparudra. If, as may reasonably be supposed, Nāgāya-Gūṇa means Gūṇa, son of Nāgāya, it may be that Nāgāya is identical with the Kīvāṭiya feudatory Nāgadeva.
Rājagāṇḍagopālādeva, he is called "the lord of the city of Vikramasimhapura" (i.e., Nellore) in N. 12. Five inscriptions of his reign which couple his regnal years with Saka dates prove that his accession must have taken place about A. D. 1289-90 (N. 71, N. 62, G. 115, N. 60, and N. 74). He was probably also called Madurantaka-Pottapi-Chōḷa Sirraṅgānanatha alias Rājagāṇḍagopāla. By the time he asserted his independence all traces of Chōḷa dominancy had evidently disappeared and accordingly he assumed the title of Tribhuvanashokavartin, and as all his inscriptions come from the Nellore and Gūḍūr talukas, it looks as if he took the place of the Chōḷas and was, perhaps, a rival of the Kākatiya Rudradēva and Pratāpādēva. His latest date is his 14th year corresponding to Saka-Saṅvat 1227. K.V. 37, dated in Saka-Saṅvat 1231, the cyclic year Saumya=A. D. 1309-10, records a gift by "king" Veṅkaṭēsa, while Raṅganāthā was the ruler. The only Kākatiya inscription found in the town of Nellore appears to be dated in A.D. 1314-15. Rājagāṇḍagopāla's reign must have come to an end and the Kākatiyas probably annexed the southern portion of the district in or before that year. Muddipī-Nāyaka's capture of Conjeeveram took place in the next year and, perhaps, the campaign which commenced in the annexation of the southern portion of the Nellore district ended in the capture of Conjeeveram.

Certain Chōḷa feudatories who claimed Chālukya ancestry may now be noticed. Inscriptions of this family have been found in Kāḷahastī (Nos. 172, 181, 182, 183, 191 and 200 of 1903) and its vicinity (Nos. 209 and 282 of 1903) in the North Arcot district, Rāmagiri in the Chingleput district (Nos. 640 and 659 of 1904) and Tiruvannamalai in the South Arcot district (Nos. 494, 495, and 511 of 1909). References to these chiefs found in the Nellore volume have all been discovered at the village of Chāpalapalli in the Veṅkaṭēsa Zamindari. They are all in Tamil and belong to the reign of the two Chōḷa kings Kuṭṭumunda III. and Rājarāja III. The family is connected to the Yādava race. The most important item of information which these records furnish is that Bājajabalā Siddarasa alias Rājamalladaśa founded a Brahmāna settlement at Nāgāpurā in Pākkai-nāḍu and called it Rājamalla-chaturvēdimaṅgalam (V. 11, V. 2 and V. 6). A tank was built at the same time in the village and called Kamalamahādevi-vipputtērī (V. 7) after Bejādēvi alias Kamalamahādevī, the wife of Siddarasa (V. 1). The Vishnu temple where all these inscriptions are engraved was built in ancient times Yādava-Nārāyaṇa Perumāḷ and was apparently founded about the same time (V. 16). The temple of Tirnānagāvaram-Uḍaiyar of which no traces seem to exist at present at the village was evidently more ancient and had been founded by the sage Nārāyaṇa (?)(V. 11). Siddarasa alias Rājamalla was the son of Kaṭṭidēvaramāṇa (V. 11 and V. 13). He was Ghaṭṭiyadeva or Ghaṭṭiyadhēva in two Kāḷahastī inscriptions (Nos. 189 and 210 of 1903). The latter was a feudatory of the Chōḷa king Rājarāja III. in his sixth and ninth years. The relationship which Ghaṭṭiyadhēva bore to Tirukkāḷūtiyadhēva and to NārasimhaMahādeva of the same family (South-Ind. Insocr., Vol. III., p. 208) has to be ascertained by future researches. But Madurantaka-Pottappichōḷa Ėraṇidhārasa of the Telugu-Chōḷa family seems to have been a subordinate of Siddarasa alias Rājamalla (V. 11).

A few of the more important Kākatiya feudatories have now to be noticed. [Śinga]yadēva-Gaṭṭidēva-Chōḷa-Mahāraja, the Telugu-Chōḷa feudatory of the Kākatiyas, has already been mentioned (D. 24). The dynasties to which [Vōḥa]jēva-Mahāraja (A. 11) and Daśavarmanēdeva-Mahāraja (K.V. 11) belonged,

\[87\] G. 50, which is badly damaged and seems to have been misread, probably also belongs to his reign.

\[88\] That Rājagāṇḍagopāla's dominions extended as far as Kāḷahastī in the North Arcot district is rendered probable by a record of A. D. 1290-91 at the place (No. 109 of 1903) which refers to transactions in the 7th year of his reign.

\[89\] See p. 9 above.
are not specified. From their dates it may be concluded that they were probably Kākatiya feudatories. Ganggaya Sāhipi and Tripurārīdēva-Mahārāja of the Kāyastha family, who are mentioned in the Tripurāntakam inscriptions, are represented in the Nellore volume by two records in the Darṣi Division (D. 25 and D. 1). Ambadeva-Mahārāja, the younger brother of Tripurārīdēva-Mahārāja, was the most powerful of the family. His claim to have established Manmaganāḍagopāla at Vikramsīhāpura (3. ε., Nellore) has been already mentioned.²⁵ No inscriptions of his time are found in the volume before us and his boast, therefore, remains unconfirmed.

The Manneppali copper-plates (OP. 17) are dated during the reign of the Kākatiya king Ganapatī and record a gift by a chief named Sāṅgadhara, who belonged to the Sāṅgadhara-gātra and was the son of a certain Mādhava. Six stone inscriptions which may be attributed to this feudatory family have been found in the Ongole tālkus (O. 28, O. 76, O. 101, O. 103, O. 150, and O. 151). Its influence seems to have been confined to the extreme north of the district. The chief town of the family is said to have been the city of Addaikii. Its members bore the surname Chakranāḍī. Their dates range from Saka-Saṅhat 1170 to 1194²⁶ corresponding to A. D. 1247-48 to 1273-74. Three chiefs of the family are known, viz. Mādhava, Sāṅgadhara and Siṅga or Siṃgala. The relation of the last to the other two is not specified.²⁷ The compilers of the Nellore volume suggest that the family might be connected with the Sēnas.

The Kākatiya general Mappiṇi-Nāyaka who captured Konravera in A. D. 1316, is represented by a considerable number of records in the Ātmakūr (A. 56), Kandukūr (K. 1, K. 23 and KR. 84), Nellore (N. 80), and Ongole (O. 87) tālkus, ranging in date from A. D. 1294-5 to 1315-16, from some of which it appears that he was in the service of the Kākatiyas already during the time of Pratāparudra’s predecessor Rudrādēva-Mahārāja. In fact, it is said in one of the inscriptions (A. 56) that Rudrādēva had placed the burden of the kingdom on him. KR. 23 reports that Mappiṇi-Nāyaka’s father’s name was Nāgī-Nāyaka and his mother’s name Gangasānāma.

The Redđis.

Before attempting a survey of the feudatory families that held sway over Nellore, I remarks³⁸ that the Kākatiya dominions were in a state of disorder like the rest of Southern India in consequence of the Muhammadan invasions. According to Mr. Sewell, Krishna, son of Pratāparudra, “turned the tables in 1344, by making a grand combination of Hindu States and driving the Muhammadans out of the country.”³⁹ This combination among the Hindu States is not unlikely, as in the earliest Redđi inscriptions, dated in Saka-Saṅhat 1267=A. D. 1345, Vennu, who built a flight of steps at Srisailam is called “the very Agastya to the ocean which was the Māhechchha.” He is also said to have “restored all the agrahdēras of Brāhmaṇas which had been taken away by the wicked Māhechcha kings from (the time of) king Viṇa-Rudra of the Kākatiya-vaṁśa.” At any rate, order had been restored in the Telugu country (or, in a portion of it at least), in or before A. D. 1345, by the Redđis of Konravera, who belonged to the cultivating caste. Why and how the Redđis became rulers is nowhere explained.

²² Above, Vol. XXXVII, p. 357.
²³ O. 75 appears to be dated in Saka-Saṅhat 1150, the cyclic year Vībhava. But as the Saka and cyclic years do not agree, the editors of the Nellore volume have apparently accepted Saka-Saṅhat 1150 as the correct date of the inscription, because it corresponded to the cyclic year Vībhava. The record belongs to the time of the Kākatiya feudatory Madharava-Mahārāja. As we have an epigraph of Madhardēva-Mahārāja of the same family dated in Saka-Saṅhat 1184 (O. 101), it is doubtful if the assumption of the editors is justifiable.
²⁴ D. 72, O. 6, O. 27, O. 34, O. 86, O. 88, O. 89, and O. 100 probably belong to the same family.
²⁵ Above, Vol. XXXVII, p. 357.
may be supposed that they occupied subordinate military as well as administrative offices in the Kākyā kingdom. The Telugu poem Harivamsam and the Sanskrit Virandrayaparcharita state that the original seat of the Reḍḍi was Addanki. The country over which they originally ruled was apparently Pāka-nādu extending from Koṇḍavīra in the Kistna district to Kandukur in the Nellore district. The Madras Museum plates of Vēma say that his capital was the city of Addanki in the country of Pāngi, which extended from the eastern slopes of Srīsailam to the eastern sea on both sides of the river Kuṇḍi, i.e., Guntakamam. In the Nellore district, a comparatively small number of inscriptions of this family has been found. O. 73 mentions Vēma, father of Kōmaṭi-Prola, the earliest hitherto known Reḍḍi chief. KR. 55 records that Vēma, son of Kōmaṭi-Prola, caused the Rāṇāyana and the Harivamsa to be translated into Telugu, the latter of which is actually dedicated to Vēma. The poet who made the translation was Errāppragaṇa, who is here mentioned by his other name Sambhudāsā. The Nellore volume furnishes some details about a branch of the Reḍḍi family descended from Malla (KR. 34), the youngest brother of the above-mentioned Vēma. To distinguish these from the Koṇḍavīra and Kṛṣṇamūḍra Reḍḍis mentioned in my Annual Report for 1899-1900, they may be called the Kandukur Reḍḍis. Their capital is said to have been Kandukur (KR. 43), and their inscriptions have been found mostly in the town of Kandukur and in a village called Chundri in the Kandukur taluka. Sivalingabābupati of this branch says, in his commentary on the Girīlāruvitākšīlīlā, that he ruled from his golden throne at Skandapurī situated in the south-east of Srīsailam. This Skandapurī may be identified with Kandukur, which is actually called Skandapura in KR. 35, dated during the reign of Bāla-Vēma, younger brother of Srīgaṇa of this branch. The genealogy down to Sivalinga is given in his abovementioned commentary on the Girīlāruvitākšīlīlā. Malla and his grandson Mācha, of this branch claim to have fought against the Muḥammadans, and nothing worthy of notice is said about the rest. Kummaṇa-Sūmayajīrī, the prākṣād of Kōmaṭi Reḍḍi of this branch brought a sasyambhi-līga from the Pāṭālaṅgā at Srīsailam and set it up in the village of Chundri at the spot where he had performed the aṁniṣṭhēna and the aṁṛata sacrifices. He also caused a stone temple to be built at Chundri and planted a grove round the temple. A fort was constructed at Chundri by one of the sons of Kummaṇa and several tanks and wells are reported to have been built by him and his sons in and around that village. This Kummaṇa is different from and later than Kummaṇa, the father of the Telugu poet, Tikkana-Sūmayajīra. The two belonged to different gōtras (KR. 16 and KR. 17). As late as A. D. 1513-16, there was a chief named Gaṅga Reḍḍi bearing the usual Reḍḍi birudā, who was a subordinate of Kṛṣṇarāya (CP. 16). We are not told if he possessed any dominions or was only an officer of the king.

The Vijayanagara Kings.

The earliest Vijayanagara inscription in the volume before us is the Kāpalūr grant (CP. 15) dated in Saka-Saṅvat 1258, the cyclic year Daṅgūr corresponding to A. D. 1336-37 and during the reign of Harīhara I. This was the year in which the town of Vijayanagara was founded according to Nūnī. The Kāpalūr grant reports that the founder of the Vijayanagara dynasty was Bukka, whose son by his wife Meṅgāmbikā was Sanjīgama I., the progenitor of the family according to later inscriptions. The mythical descent of the former from the Moon is traced through Budha, Áyuś, Marhara, Yāyati, and Yadu. Sanjīgama’s wife was Gālāmbikā and they had five sons, viz. Harīhara, Kampa, Bukka, Māra, and Mudda. The eldest of them conquered all the quarters of the world beginning with Aṅga and Kaliṅga and was ruling the earth from the city of Kuṇjārakōṇa, which, as the editors suggest, is evidently a Saṃskṛt rendering of the Kanares Ānegodī. Ānegodī is at present the headquarters of a Zaminīdār owing allegiance to the Nūnī of Hyderabad. The town

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88 This district is called Puṅgaḷ-[naḷa] in a Tamil fragment found at Nellore (N, 83).
89 Mr. Sowell’s Forgotten Emperors, p. 19.
is situated on the north bank of the river Tuğabhadra, while the ruins of Vijayanagara are found on the opposite bank of it. The Kāpālur grant informs us that king Harihara on one occasion crossed the river on a hunting expedition and found a forest to its south. There he saw a dog being attacked by a hare and proceeded to the hermitage of the sage Vidyārāna to find an explanation for the wonderful phenomenon. Harihara was told that the spot deserved to be the residence of a family of great kings and accordingly founded the city of Vidyānagara. After his coronation, the king granted the village of Kāpālur as an agraśāra. The date of the Kāpālur grant is three years earlier than the only hitherto known record of Harihara I. On paleographical grounds the editors suspect the genuineness of the grant.

The father of Saṅgama I. is also mentioned in three copper-plate grants published by Mr. Rice, one belonging to the reign of Harihara I. (Ep. Carn. Vol. X. Bg. 70) and the other two to that of Bukka I. (ibid. Mb. 158 and Gd. 46). Here the name of Saṅgama’s wife and that of his mother are given in a slightly altered form. Of the first the original has not been traced, but Mr. Rice has published the text from a copy of it. It is dated in the same year as the Kāpālur grant. The date of the other two grants is Saka-Saṅvat 1266, the cyclic year Tāraka, corresponding to A. D. 1344-45. The donor in the latter grants is Soma of the Bhāravājā-gōtra, Āpastamba-Sūtra and the Yajus-śākha. He was the son of Nāchana, was well versed in the dhyānas and the eighteen Purāṇas and could compose in eight languages. This Soma is probably identical with the Telugu poet Nāchana-Sōma.

Verses 1 to 28 of the first grant (Bg. 70) are nearly identical with verses 2 to 29 of the Kāpālur grant and refer to the building of the city of Vidyānagara by king Harihara at the instance of the sage Vidyārāna. The two later grants refer to the city as having been founded by Vidyārāna. The legend concerning the foundation of the city of Vijayanagara mentioned both in the Kāpālur grant and in Mr. Rice’s inscription was current also in the first half of the 16th century. The Portuguese chronicler Fernao Nunis mentions the identical story in connection with the foundation of the city.

Returning to the Kāpālur grant, we find that the people of Bestarabālij in the Bāgepalli tāluka of the Kolar district possess a copy of a Vijayanagara grant dated in the same year as the former. The original is not forthcoming, but the text of the inscription down to the grant portion is nearly identical with the Kāpālur plates. As the villages granted in the two inscriptions are different and situated in two different provinces, viz. Yāragūl in the Ghanānalla (i.e. Penugonda) rāja and Kāpālur in the Chandragiri-rāja, it is unlikely that the portion which is similar in both was copied, the one from the other. On the other hand, they must both have been copied from

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3 KG. 7 belongs to a king named Bukkarāya. According to the editors of the Nellore volume it is dated in Saka-Saṅvat 1236, the cyclic year Ananda, which is too early for a Vijayanagara inscription. The Kākatiya king Pratāparudra was still living at the time. Besides Bukka, father of the Vijayanagara king Saṅgama, is a more or less mythical person. Even if such a person existed, he could not have been a king possessing the power and influence implied by the titles attributed to him in KG. 7.

4 The engraver of this inscription seems to be identical with that of the other two.

5 These two inscriptions are evidently two copies of the same document. In Gd. 46, the Saka date is denoted by rasa-bhū-nāyu-śānu corresponding to the cyclic year Tāraka, while Mb. 158 has rasa-rūru-nāyu-śānu and the same cyclic year. As Saka-Saṅvat 1226 (rōasa-bhū-nāyu-śānu) does not correspond to the cyclic year Tāraka, Mr. Rice corrects the latter into Sāhārāna and the Saka year into 1222 (Ep. Caru. Vo. X, p. 219). This double correction seems to be unwarranted.


7 An interesting point in the inscriptions edited by Mr. Rice is that the composer is a certain Mallalāpradhyā of the Aṣṭāvaya-gōtra and the Yajus-śākha, who was the son of Kōṭiśvarākhyā. The Nallūr grant of Harihara II., published by me reports that the verses of the inscription were composed by Mallalāpradhyā, who was the son of Kōṭiśvarākhyā. The slight difference in the name of the father in these two cases is not serious and it is just possible that the composer is the same in both cases. As there is, however, a difference of 55 years between the two grants, it may be safer to assume that the composer of the Nallūr inscription of Harihara II. was the grandson of his namesake in the plates of Harihara I.

8 Mr. Sewell's Forgotten Empire, p. 399 f.
a common original. In fact, it seems very probable that in the royal archives was preserved the original of the preamble to be added to all public documents. This preamble seems to have been composed by court poets and gave an account of the reigning king’s military achievements as well as his ancestry. In the absence of military achievements the king’s prowess was described in general terms. It is worthy of note that the abovementioned plates of Bukka I. are in Nandiegāri like the Kāpalūr grant of Harihara I. and that the former were engraved by Nāgīdeva who is mentioned as the artist that engraved, the Yāragūl inscription. This fact raises a presumption that the latter is genuine, though the original copper-plate is not forthcoming. The story of the foundation of the city of Vidyānagara and other details found in the Kāpalūr grant are thus confirmed by what may be taken for independent testimony. Whether Saṅgama’s father was Bukka and whether his wife’s name was Gālāmbikā or Mālāmbikā and his mother’s name Meṅgāmbikā or Magāmbikā, the student of historical research need not much mind.

The Bīṭragūṇā grant of Saṅgama II. reports that Harihara I. defeated the Sultan. The political relationship, if any, which existed between the Reḍḍi chiefs and the kings of Vijayanagara is nowhere clearly explained. Perhaps the former were at least semi-independent. The Kōṇḍavīḷu Reḍḍis were probably ruling over the modern Guntur district and a portion of the northern talukas of Nellore, while the Kandukir Reḍḍis governed the modern Kandukir taluka, and the rest of the Nellore district, might have belonged to the Vijayanagara kings. Harihara’s younger brother Kampāṇa is represented in the Nellore volume by an inscription dated in Saka-Saṅvat 1268, the Vyaya-saṅvat or corresponding to A. D. 1346-47 (N. 28). His maha-pradhāna Sāyaṅa-Oḍēya is also mentioned here. This is two years later than the Hindu coalition against the Muḥhammadans which has already been mentioned. It may be that Harihara I. sent his younger brother Kampāṇa-Oḍēya to take part in the war against the Muḥhammadans. After the war was over, Kampāṇa-Oḍēya probably set himself up as a semi-independent prince in the province which subsequently came to be called the Udayagiri-rāji. The greater portion of the modern Nellore district seems to have been included in it. Kampāṇa’s successor in the Udayagiri-rāji was apparently his son Saṅgama II. who issued the Bīṭragūṇa grant in A. D. 1356-57. Eight years later we find Vira-sīrī Sāyaṅa-Oḍēya ruling (N. 78). From other inscriptions we know that this latter was the son of Kampāṇa by Meṅgēdevi-Aunma and that his dominions extended beyond Nellore. During the reign of Bukka I. (A. D. 1353—77) the province of Udayagiri was governed by his son Bhāskara Bhūvandha who in A. D. 1369-70 built a large tank at Porumāmillī in the Cuddapah district. The earliest inscription of Harihara II. in the Nellore volume is dated in Saka-Saṅvat 1299, the cyclic year Pīṅgala corresponding to A. D. 1377-78, while a record found in the Raṅganāyaka temple at Nellore (N. 76) yields A. D. 1375-76 for his accession. He probably died in A. D. 1404. A much mutilated inscription of his reign dated in Saka-Saṅvat 1308 (= A. D. 1386-87) is found at Rūvimāndiṁ in the Udayagiri taluka (U. 18 b and c). During the reign of Harihara II., his son Dēvārya-Oḍēya was appointed governor of Udayagiri and occupied that position in A. D. 1382-83. For the merit of his father Dēvārya built a tank at Mogilicherla in the Kanigirī taluka about the year A. D. 1393-94 (K. 23). He was crowned on the 6th November, 1406, at Vijayanagara in succession to his father. The successor of Dēvārya in the governorship of Udayagiri was his son Rāmachandra, hitherto unknown from Vijayanagara inscriptions. In the Nellore volume there is a copper-plate and a stone inscription which refer to him.

It is a characteristic feature of the Sanskrit records of the second Vijayanagara dynasty—both those on copper and on stone—that a number of identical verses are found in them all—the kings to whom they should be allotted being left, particularly in later ones, entirely to the whim of the person who drew up a document.

9 See my Annual Report for 1906-07, Part II, paragraph 52.
10 See Dr. Hultsch’s Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1902 3, paragraph 15.
The former (CP. 1) is dated in Saka-Saṃvat 1312, the cyclic year Pramāda corresponding to A.D. 1390-91 and records a gift to Chennubhatā. The donee might be identical with his namesake who was the protégé of Hariharā II, and author of the Sanskrit work Tarakabhāshyapradākiikā. Rāmāchandra claims to have vanquished the Muslim king by his skill. The stone inscription of Rāmāchandra is from Dāḍīrejāpallā in the Kanīgiri talukā (Kg. 4) and is dated in Saka-Saṃvat 1338, the cyclic year Durmukha corresponding to A.D. 1416-17.

At Tripuranatākam in the Kurnool district has been found a record of Viṣṇu-Bukka dated in A.D. 1423-24.78 Another epigraph of the same king dated in the same year has been published by Mr. Rice.77 In the two latter, the parentage of Viṣṇu-Bukka is not given. But it is not unlikely that Viṣṇu-Bukka of the two latter is identical with Viṣṇu-Bukka of the Kaṇaparti inscription (O. 56). Viṣṇu-Bukka aśās Viṣṇu-Bukka was, perhaps, only another name of Viṣṇu-Viṣṇu, the son of Dārvarāya I, and father of Dārvarāya II. In an inscription at Maṇgaṇapūrī, the father of Dārvarāya II is called Pratāpa-Viṣṇu-Bukka-Mahārāya (D. 47). A. 81, which is dated in the cyclic year Chitrabhaṇu corresponding probably to A.D. 1462-63, records a gift for the merit of the Mahānagapāliikāra Viṣṇupratāpa-Viṣṇu-Mahārāya, who might be identical with Viṣṇupākha, son of Dārvarāya II. To the same reign may be assigned an inscription at Cheḷalavāḍā in the Ongole talukā (O. 30) where the king is called Praṇāghadārāya and the date is Saka-Saṃvat 1404, the cyclic year Subhaṅgā corresponding to A.D. 1482-83. It is, however, doubtful if this date belongs to his reign or to the actual donation made by a certain Tīmārāṇi after looking into grants previously made by Praṇāghadārāya at the instance of a certain Pāṇṭa-śāhīrāḍī. The Udāyagiri-rājā in which the greater portion of the Nellore district was included, seems to have come into existence soon after the Vijayanagara dynasty was founded and was governed by princes of whom the first appears to have been Kampaṇā-Ojāya. We also find inscriptions of the reigning sovereigns which may be taken to show that the princes were not quite independent, at least in later times.

14 CP. 2, in whose date there is a discrepancy, mentions a certain Dārvarāya-Ojāya, son of Parvatahrāya and grandson of Rāmāchandrārya of the Rākṣapa-tora. It is doubtful if the last is identical with the Vijayanagara prince Viṣṇu-Rāmāchandrārya-Ojāya.

15 O. 53, dated in Saka-Saṃvat 1345, the cyclic year Parbhaṇa corresponding to A.D. 1423-27 records a gift for the merit of Dārvarāya (I), his queen Dēnak-Ammā (Dēnak-bhikā or the Satyaśaṅkalam plates) and his son and successor Viṣṇu-Bukka-Mahārāya. The gift was made by a Chōja chief named Viṣṇu-Anubhaśa-gaṇa-Chōjanakhrāya, son of Nāgarāya-ja-Chōjanakhrāya who is also mentioned in O. 55. As the earliest inscription of Dārvarāya II, is dated in Saka-Saṃvat 1343 (see my Annual Report for 1905-06, Part II, para. 54), the gift mentioned above must have been made during his reign for the benefit of his father, grandfather and grandmother. It is also possible that Viṣṇu-Anubhaśa, registered in Saka-Saṃvat 1346, a grant made some years previously either by Viṣṇu-Bukka or by Dārvarāya I.


18 In K¥. 11 and 17, which, if their dates have been correctly read, would belong to the time of Dārvarāya II., the king is described as the son of Harīhara. It may be noted that Dārvarāya II. had a paternal uncle named Harīkarāya-Ujaiyār (see my Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1905-6, Part II, paragraph 45).

19 A certain Pāṇṭa-Mallārāk is mentioned in CP. 15 as a feudatory of Dārvarāya II. He apparently belonged to the Rekṣa caste and bore the titles Dharaṇapākha and Chaṇḍapatīmaṭi.

20 In the northern part of the district, the Telugu-Chōjas seem to have lingered, though it is doubtful if they still exercised any dominion. One of them has already been mentioned as a Vijayanagara feudatory. Another member of the same family was Gaṇagāna-Chōja-Mahārāya (O. 85). Besides these, the Sāljās rose to prominence. These seem to be different from the Sāljās mentioned in the Devalapalli plates. In Saka-Saṃvat 1368, the Kālgaṇakha-gana-lavāna corresponding to A.D. 1458-59, Tippaliddi constructed a tank at Tippaliddi-palli in the Peddi Division (P. 39). She was the daughter of Pēla-Raxavihāla, who was the younger brother of Gaṇi, son of Pēla-Sambuhrāya. Gaṇi had also two other brothers whose names seem to have been Teliuguriya and Ajaṇapākha. The Telugu poet Sriṇātha, who was a contemporary of the Rekṣa chiefs Kōṇassis-Maṇi of Koḍavijīru and Viśānabhaṭtā of Rājambundry, refers to Teliuguriya, son of Sambuhrāya. At Kēchāpūrā in the same division, Sambuhrāya-Mahārāya, son of Raxavihāla-Dēva-Mahārāya seems to have built a temple in Saka-Saṃvat 1348, the cyclic year Parbhāna corresponding to A.D. 1423-27 (P. 28). The Sāljā chief Gōparāk who was a feudatory of Dārvarāya II. boasts of having established Sambuhrāya in his kingdom. His date is Saka-Saṃvat 1352, the cyclic year Śkhdhāna corresponding to A.D. 1436-37 (Ep. Curn., Vol. X., Mr. 3).
On the death of Dēvarāya II. the succession was disputed according to Nānīz. But eventually Pādea Rāo succeeded. Pādea Rāo, as I pointed out on a previous occasion, is perhaps a corruption of Pāvuḍhadēvāraya, a name of Mālīṅkārjuna, whose dominions might have extended at least into the northern part of the Nellore district (O. 30). The city of Vijayanagara was besieged soon after his accession by the allied Gajapati king and the Sultān of the south. But Mālīṅkārjuna routed the enemy so thoroughly that the two allied kings just escaped with their lives. The Gajapati antagonist of Mālīṅkārjuna was Kāpilēśvāra, who appears to have been continually at war with the kings of Vijayanagara and who seems to have been allied with the Bahmani king Āḥmad Shīh I. Then came the double usurpation at Vijayanagara, first by the Sāluvas and then by the Tuluvas. With these usurpations, however, we are not concerned in the history of the Nellore district. They show that the central government became weak after the death of Dēvarāya II, if not already during his reign. The Rājās, too, do not appear to have been very strong after the time of the Rājahnūndy chief Vīrabhadra. In Saka-Sāvat 1377, the cyclic year Yuvana, corresponding to A. D. 1455, Kōṇḍavīḍu was in the possession of the Gajapati king Kāpilēśvāra. (A. D. 1434·35 to 1469·70) and was governed for him by a feudatory named Gāṇḍēvā. Two inscriptions of the same Gajapati king, one at Tīrūpati in the Godavari district and the other at Bevada, show that he continued to rule over the dominions of the Rājās. The former is dated in the cyclic year Bahudhānaya=Saka-Sāvat 1381 and states that a minister of the Gajapati king was governing Rājahnūndy. The latter is dated 6 years later in Saka-Sāvat 1387. Kāpilēśvāra's son Purushotāma (A. D. 1469·70 to 1496·97) is said to have conquered Vijayanagara and to have brought thence a jewelled sīrīdīsana, which he presented to the temple of Jāyana-rāthā, and an image of Sākshi-Gopāla which he kept in his capital at Kāṭaka. He is also reported to have undertaken an expedition against Kānchī. If all this be true, it is not impossible that a portion at least of the Nellore district acknowledged the suzerainty of the Gajapati king.

Pṛāḷīparuḍra (A. D. 1496·97 to about 1539·40), the successor of Purushotāma on the Gajapati throne, became engaged in a war with the Vijayanagara king Narasa, about five or six years after the accession of the former. Vijayanagara inscriptions often speak of Narasa's conquest of the Turuṣks and the Gajapati kings. In spite of this conquest, the fortresses of Kōṇḍavīḍu (also Udayagiri and Addāṅki in the northern portion of the Nellore district) had to be recovered from the

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21 See my Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1905·6, Part II., paragraph 32. As Vīrubhadra also bore the title Pāvuḍhadēvāra, it is doubtful if Nānīz refers to Mālīṅkārjuna or to his younger brother Vīrubhākṣa II.
22 See my Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1905·6, Part II., paragraph 47.
23 Dēvarāya II. probably made an attempt to secure the Rājāli dominions; see my Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1899·1900, paragraph 65.
24 There is also a copper-plate grant which corroborates this conclusion; see my Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1899·1900, paragraph 65.
25 Jour. As. Soc., Benj., Vol. LIX., Part I., p. 184. In A. D. 1477·78 the Bahmanī king Muḥammad Shah II. made a dash towards Conjeevaram and returned with an immense booty. It is just possible that Purushotāma joined the Bahmanī king as an ally.
26 See above, Vol. XXXVII., p. 357, note 19. Prior to the time of Kṛṣṇaparaya, the fort of Udayagiri (and apparently the country to the north of it) was in the possession of the Gajapati from whom he captured it. Udayagiri and, perhaps, all the country to the north as far as the river Kṛṣṇa and a considerable portion of South Nellore seems to have been governed by a feudatory family tracing its descent from a certain Mādhavarāmawa of Bevada. Two inscriptions of this family are found on the Udayagiri hill (U. 28 and 29) both dated in Saka-Sāvat 1338, the cyclic year Vīrīṭi, corresponding perhaps to A. D. 1470·71 and a third at Tirumala in the North Arecot district dated in A. D. 1467·58. This family eventually became a feudatory of the Vijayanagara king Kṛṣṇaparaya as is proved by an inscription in the Kānaka-Durgā temple at Bevada. Prabhaśīrpaṇṭam in the Āvīmukṭa śatskha, called in ancient times Prabhākaraṇapaṇṭ in the Udayagiri-rāya (A. 33 and N. 81-A), was built by Pāṇārāja of this family. The political relationship which these chiefs bore to the first Vijayanagara dynasty, the Sāluvas or Gajapatis is nowhere stated.
Gajapati king by Narasa's son Krisna Paraja. The latter not only regained the lost dominions of the Vijayanagara kings, but advanced as far north as Siinhabalam in the Vizagapatam district where he planted a pillar of victory. Prataparudra had to make a treaty and to give his daughter in marriage to the victorious Krisna Paraja. Other kings of the second Vijayanagara dynasty represented in the Nellore volume are Achyuta and Dadasiva. Virprapata Vir-Bhujabala Tirumaladiesa-Maharaja who was ruling at "Vidyanagara seated on the diamond throne" in Saka-Saivat 1445[4, the Vibhaaja-saivatara (perhaps a mistake for 1448, Parthva) (U. 2) is probably identical with Tirumaladiesa, son of Krisnapeda, mentioned in an inscription at Damal near Conjeeveram with the date Saka-Saivat 1446 expired, the cyclic year Taranasa corresponding to A. D. 1524-25. That Krisnapeda had a son is also borne out by the Portuguese chronicler Nuniz who says that the king desired to confer the crown on the young prince and went so far as to abdicate openly in his favour. But the prince died suddenly. During the reign of Sadasaiva, Aliya RamaRaja became virtually the king, as is known from other sources. Certain barbers having pleased RamaRaja by their services, the taxes leivable from the whole caste of barbers were remitted. Records registering this remission have already been found in other parts of the Telugu country. In the Nellore volume there are three (P. 35, KG. 20, and A. 17), the first extending the privilege to the Podili district, the second to the Kanigiri and Polachara districts, and the third to the village of Batapadi in the Udayagiri-raya. RamaRaja's brother Tirumala, called Ramaraja-Tirumaladiesa-Maharaja in the inscriptions, was apparently the governor of Udayagiri in A. D. 1551-52 during the reign of Sadasaiva (N. 104). That Tirumala was governing Vellore and the country surrounding it as a feudatory of Sadasaiva even after the death of his brother RamaRaja at the battle of Talikota, is apparent from four inscriptions at Vellore. Tirumala was also a commentator of the Sanskrit poem Gitagovinda. He is reported to have transferred the seat of government to Penukonda in A. D. 1567. Tirumala is alleged to have murdered Sadasaiva in A. D. 1568 and seized the throne for himself. N. 105, dated in Saka-Saivat 1492, the cyclic year Pramoda corresponding to A. D. 1570-71 belongs, however, to Virprapata Sadasaiva, who was ruling the earth seated on the diamond throne. RamaRaja Shriangarajayidesa-Maharaja who is here mentioned was probably the son (Ranga IV.) of RamaRaja who fell in the battle of Talikota. Several inscriptions of Ramg II., son of Tirumala, have been found mainly in the southern taluks of the Nellore district, and the latest date for him found is Saka-Saivat 1504, the cyclic year Chitrabhanu (N. 124) corresponding to A. D. 1582-83. He must have reigned until Saka-Saivat 1507, the cyclic year Taranasa corresponding to A. D. 1584-85. In two copper-plate grants published by Mr. Rice (Ep. Carn., Vol. VII, Sh. 83, and Vol. XII, Ch. 33) Ranga is said to have conquered Koopavudu, Vinnikonda, and other fortresses after establishing himself at Uddagiri (Udayagiri). Ranga's younger brother Venkata I. was probably governing a portion of the Vijayanagara empire.

23 See my Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1899-00, paragraph 69.
24 No. 150 of the Government Epigraphist's Collection for 1899.
25 Mr. Sewell's Forgotten Empire, p. 339.
26 N. 34-A where the date is read as Saka-Saivat 1448, is very badly damaged. The cyclic year is completely gone while the Saka date seems to be 1438 — not 1448.
28 South-Indian Inscriptions, Vol. I., Nos. 43 to 45.
31 Mr. Sewell’s Forgotten Empire, p. 312.
32 Two inscriptions near Berekut in the South Canara district dated in Saka-Saivat 1507 (No. 131 of the Government Epigraphist's Collection for 1901) and Saka-Saivat 1508 (No. 140 of the same collection) refer themselves to the reign of Sadasaiva. These two dates are much later than the latest sure date of the king hitherto known. But it is just possible that the Berekut dates do not refer to the grants made by Sadasaiva but to the time when they were actually engraved on stone.
already during the reign of Sadāśiva. During this period Veṅkaṭa seems to have led an expedition against Ceylon. On this event must be based his own boast of having conquered Ceylon, as well as that of his brother Raṅga’s claim to have levied tribute from Ceylon. Veṅkaṭa is said to have removed the seat of government to Chandragiri. In the inscriptions of his reign found in the Nellore district, there is no reference to this change of capital. His grants are issued from Vijayangara (A. 53) and Penugonda (U. 23, U. 24 and R. 60). According to Barradas, Veṅkaṭa died in A. D. 1614 at the age of 67, leaving the kingdom to his nephew. But the nobles, whom the new king displeased by his conduct, deposed and imprisoned him and crowned an adopted son of Veṅkaṭaṇapi. The second son of the deposed prince escaped from prison and eventually succeeded to the throne with the help of one of the nobles named Ėchama-Naik, who remained faithful to the family. The last prince was reigning in A. D. 1616. In the Nellore volumes are a number of inscriptions of Veṅkaṭapatiḍēva, whose dates range from Saka-Saṅvat 1537 (= A. D. 1615-16) to Saka-Saṅvat 1558, the cyclic year Dhātri (= A. D. 1636-37). They have been found in the Udayagiri, Ātmakūr, Gūḍur, Rāpūr, and Kāvali tālukas; and five of them say that his capital was Penugonda (KV. 49, KV. 50, R. 5, R. 6 and R. 39). Rāma IV. answers to the description of the prince set up by Ėchama-Naik, as he was one of the sons of Veṅkaṭa’s nephew Raṅga III. Mr. Rice has published a copper-plate grant of Vīrāṇapāla Vira-Rāmadēva-Mahārāya (ruling from the jewelled throne at Penugonda) dated in Saka-Saṅvat 1536, the cyclic year Ānanda corresponding to A. D. 1614-15 (Ep. Carn., Vol. IX., An. 47). In a stone inscription dated Saka-Saṅvat 1537, the cyclic year Rākhāsa (= A. D. 1615-16) the king is called Vīrāṇapāla-śri-Rāmadhānandarāya (Ep. Carn., Vol. VI., Ck. 108), who might be identical with Rāma IV. The inscriptions of Veṅkaṭapatiḍēva found in Nellore would show that he succeeded immediately after Veṅkaṭa I. Perhaps Veṅkaṭapatiḍēva was only governing a portion of the Vijayanagara empire until the death of Rāma IV., and eventually succeeded as Veṅkaṭa II. Vīrāṇapāla Vīrā-Rāmadēva-Mahārāya, who was reigning in Saka-Saṅvat 1550, the cyclic year Vībhava, corresponding to A. D. 1628-29 (A. 3) may also be identified with Rāma IV. Three other inscriptions of his reign are known, viz. a copper-plate grant dated in Saka-Saṅvat 1543, the Darmati-saṅvatsara corresponding to A. D. 1621; a stone inscription dated in Saka-Saṅvat 1547, the cyclic year Kṛdhana corresponding to A. D. 1625-26 (No. 616 of the Government Epigraphist’s Collection for 1904) and another dated in Saka-Saṅvat 1551, the cyclic year Sukla corresponding to A. D. 1629-30 (No. 3 of the Government Epigraphist’s Collection for 1894). The latest hitherto known Vijayanagara king Raṅga VI. is represented in the Nellore volume by a single stone inscription (O. 32) and by the Utsā grant (CP. 7), dated in Saka-Saṅvat 1569, the cyclic year Sarvajit, corresponding to A. D. 1647-8.

39 Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1902-03, paragraph 49. 40 Ibid., for 1903-05, paragraph 35. 41 Mr. Sewell’s Forgotten Empire, pp. 222 and 224. 42 Jagardya mentioned by Barradas as the father-in-law of Veṅkaṭa and as the leader of the disaffected nobles might be identical with the Mahāparīkṣhita Veṅkaṭaṇapi Jagardya, the donor of V. 24 whose date seems to be Saka-Saṅvat 15[5] (not 1584 as the editors have read it). Another chief named Pada-Jagardya figures in an inscription of Rāmadēva dated in Saka-Saṅvat 1545, the cyclic year Rudhrīṇa = A. D. 1623-24 (Ep. Carn., Vol. IX., Cp. 189). 43 The Shollingar inscription of Rāmadēva-Mahārāya of Penugonda, dated in Saka-Saṅvat 1542 expired, the cyclic year Rādhana (No. 11 of the Government Epigraphist’s Collection for 1903) belongs probably to the reign of Rāma IV. 44 This surmise is to some extent corroborated by the fact that Penugonda figures as the residence of Veṅkaṭaṇapi only in inscriptions of Saka-Saṅvat 1553 and 1555. 45 Ep. Ind., Vol. VII., Appendix No. 540. 46 To Raṅga’s father Gopāla, the editors of the Nellore volume tentatively assign a much damaged inscription (K.B. 7). But it is doubtful if Gopāla actually reigned and what remains of the record shows that it belongs to the time of Manumangapaṭṭaṇa. 47 N. 33 is dated in Saka-Saṅvat 1597, the cyclic year (Pārthiva), corresponding to A. D. 1645-46. But the name of the king is not preserved, and the editors have tentatively read Veṅkaṭaṇapi Ayyavaṇa.
It was Raśa VI. that granted from his palace at Chandragiri to the English the piece of land on which the Fort St. George stands. His Kaḷājukusī grant is dated in A.D. 1614-4527 while a stone inscription of his time has been found at Kāvērippakkm in the North Arcot district.28 The latter is dated in Saka-Saṁvat 1559, which is one year later than the last known date of Vēṅkaṭa II. It is, therefore, not unlikely that the reign of Vēṅkaṭa II. came to a close in Saka-Saṁvat 1558 and that the accession of Raśa VI. took place in the next year.

Among the provinces of the Vijayanagara empire, Udayagiri seems to have been the most important. It is called the first fortress in the territories subject to Vijayanagara (KR. 27 and KR. 30). During the period of supremacy of the first Vijayanagara dynasty the province was governed by princes of the royal family. In the Nellore district, it seems to have comprised the modern tāṅkas of Udayagiri, Nellore (N. 124), Átmakur (A. 28), Kandukur (KR. 30); Kanigiri (KG. 5 and KG. 17), Kāvali (K.Y. 50) and Rāṇpur (R. 41 and R. 49) and the Podili (P. 14 and P. 19) Division, or portions of them. During the time of Krīṣhṇarāya, the province was governed by Rāyasam Koṅ-ja-marasayasya, whose title rāyasam 'secretary' shows the profession which he (or at least his family) originally practised. He was succeeded by Rāyasam Ayyaparusaṣya (KR. 77) who seems to have been either transferred to Koṅḍavīḍū later on or to whose charge Koṅḍavīḍū was also added (D. 53) in or before Saka-Saṁvat 1451, the cyclic year Virōdhin corresponding to A.D. 1529-30. In 1525-26 the governor of Udayagiri was China-Tirumalayadēva-Mahārāja (N. 34 A), Ačhyuta being mentioned as the reigning king.29 During the reign of Ačhyuta, the governor of Udayagiri was Bhūtanātha Rāmabhāṭṭu (KR. 78). It has already been remarked that Tirumala I. of the Kaṛṭha dynasty was governing Udayagiri and other provinces during the reign of Saṁśiva before he asserted his independence. That branch of the Kaṛṭha dynasty which is mentioned in the British Museum plates of Saṁśiva30 seems to be intimately connected with Udayagiri. A. 16, U. 20, U. 22, and U. 44 refer to Timmarāja, son of the Mahāmugdhaśīvara Rāmarāja Koṅṭayyadēva-Mahārāja. One of the inscriptions in the Viṭṭhalasvāmin temple of Hampe, dated during the reign of Saṁśiva and in Saka-Saṁvat 1476, the cyclic year Ánanda corresponding to A. D. 1554-55, mentions Udagiri Timmarāja, son of Koṅṭayyaya and grandson of Áriviṭi Rāmarāja Koṅḍayyadēva (No. 13 of 1904). There is not much doubt about the identity of the two above-mentioned Timmarājus. A certain Muḍdayyadēva-Mahārāja seems to have been the governor under Veṅkaṭa I. (A. 53).

As regards Koṅḍavīḍū, Saḷva-Timma was apparently the first governor after its capture from the Gajapati king on the 23rd June, 1515.31 Saḷva-Timma is different from Rāyasam Timmarasayasya, who is mentioned in an inscription of A. D. 1539-30 (D. 53), because the former was deprived of his office during the latter part of his life. Saḷva-Timma was already in the service of Krīṣhṇarāya's predecessor and served the Vijayanagara kings for 40 years.32 The appointment of Saḷva-Timma's nephews, Nāḍīnya Appa and Nāḍīnya Gōpa, as governors of Koṅḍavīḍū, one after the other, as mentioned in the Mauṅgalagiri inscription33 must have happened before their uncle got into disfavour.

27 Above, Vol. XIII, p. 159.
29 Both the Śaka date and the cyclic year are damaged in N. 34 A. The date accepted by the editors of the Nellore volume is too early for Ačhyuta and falls into the reign of Krīṣhṇarāya. There is, however, some reason to suppose that Krīṣhṇarāya and Ačhyuta were coregents for some time (see my Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1909-10, paragraph 70).
31 Mr. Sewell's Forgotten Empires, p. 359.
32 Ibid., Vol. VI, p. 111.
33 Ibid., Vol. VI, p. 112.
with the king. Neither of the two brothers is mentioned in the Nellore volume. A certain Bācharusūrya was the governor of Koṇḍavīḍu during the reign of Achyuta (O. 23). During the time of Sādāśiva, Siddhirāju Timmarājaya was the governor in A. D. 1558-69 (O. 31) and Tirumala I. in A. D. 1565-66 (O. 29).

Finally, a few remarks have to be made about the family of the Veṅkaṭagiri Zamindārs which played an important part in the history of the Nellore district during the Vijayanagara period. By tradition, the editors of the Nellore volume remark, “the family owes its elevation to the patronage of the Oraṅgāl Kākatīya dynasty.” Some of the inscriptions say that the family belonged to the Rēcherla-gōtra (R. 18) and to the race of Padma-Nāyaka (A. 35). The family name Vēligōṭi which is retained to this day occurs also in inscriptions. The district of Podila (Podili) was granted to Kumāra-Timmun by Sīraṅgadēva-Mahārāja apparently in A. D. 1575-76 (P. 27), while the Udayagiri province (or Rāpur-salma) seems to have been granted to Veṅkaṭapati-Nāyaniyāru, son of Ammā-Timmun Pāṇyanigāru and grandson of Koṇḍama-Nāyanīyēru in A. D. 1590-91 (N. 46). The earliest inscription of the family is dated in A. D. 1528-29 (KG. 5) and mentions Timanāyanīyēru, son of Vēligōṭi-Rāgāṇāyēdu. Veṅkaṭapati, whose inscriptions range from A. D. 1612-13 to 1638-33, deserves to be remembered on account of his efforts to encourage irrigation. Either Veṅkaṭapati himself or one of his predecessors must have taken part in an expedition against the Pāṇḍyas. Accordingly, Veṅkaṭapati bore the surname Paṅcha-Paṇḍiya-daḷa-viḥḍalāṇḍu, “the conqueror of the army of the five Pāṇḍyas” (A. 33). The pedigree of the family derived from inscriptions does not agree with that published by Mr. Sewell in his Lists of Antiquities, Vol. II. Inscriptions which mention members of the Veṅkaṭagiri family have been found in the Kanigiri, Nellore, Āṭmakūr, Gūḍār, and Ongole Tālukas and the Podili and Sōḻūrpet Divisions.

The Musalmān inscriptions of the Nellore district deserve also some notice. The earliest of them is from Māsāyaṇē in the Kanigiri tāleka and is dated in Saka-Samvat 1508, the cyclic year Vyaśa corresponding to A. D. 1586-87 (KG. 23). It is in the Telugu language and character and records the gift of a village to three Brāhmaṇas by a Muḥammādān named Lā[ī]śa[ṃ] Khān for the religious merit of the Golconda king, Mahamandu Kuli Pāta Śa[ḥ]a, i.e., Muḥammād Quli Qoḥ Shah who reigned from A. D. 1581 to 1611. The document is instructive as it evidences the feeling of religious toleration practised by the early Muḥammādāni rulers of Southern India. About this king it is said that he was constantly at war with the Vijayanagara kings and that the province of Koṇḍavīḍu was held by him. In 1589 he founded the present city of Hyderabad then called Bāḥγuṇagar. It is also believed that he conquered Gaṇḍikōṭa, Cuddapah, and all the country south of the Pennar. A number of inscriptions of his successor Abdullah have been found ranging in date from A. D. 1640-41 (KR. 20) to 1661-62 (U. 26). The big mosque on the Udayagiri hill was built by Ghazi Ali, apparently a general of the Golconda king. The work was begun in A. D. 1642-3. He captured the fort of Udayagiri and “with the fire of his sword he burnt in one moment the idol of idol worshippers” (U. 39). The little mosque on the same hill was built in A. D. 1660-61 by Husain Khān, who “destroyed a temple and constructed the House of God” (U. 36).

The latest inscription in the volume is dated in A. D. 1602-03 when John Benward Travers was Collector of Nellore and Ongole (KR. 42).

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64 Krishparivya suspected that his only son died from poison administered by Sāḷya-Timma and his sons and accordingly cast Sāḷya-Timma in prison and eventually put out his eyes; Mr. Sewell’s Forgotten Empire, pp. 339-61.
65 The editors suspect that the date of this inscription has been incorrectly transcribed; see p. 165 of the Nellore volume.
66 Mr. Sewell’s Lists of Antiquities, Vol. II., p. 183.
CONTRIBUTIONS TO PANJABI LEXICOGRAPHY.

SERIES I,

BY H. A. ROSE, I.C.S.

(Continued from page 80.)

Nath: a thin strip of leather on the sandal which passes between the big and the second toes. Mono: Leather Ind., p. 33.


Nawáb: a Bokhâran silk, used for the weft and in embroidery work. Mono: Silk Ind., p. 15.


Ngun-leu: a foot ornament resembling the Kullâ tora. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 36.


Nihan: a chisel; see ndn.

Nikâlî: a synonym for patpârd in Multân and Delhi; a man who prepares silk for spinning and weaving. Mono: Silk Ind., p. 17.


Olgî: a menial; N.-W. Frontier; = sefi in the Panjâb. Mono: Leather Ind., p. 3.


Pachîl: a fibre used for making ropes and string. Mono: Fibrous Manu., p. 11.


Paindi or pindi: see konera.


Pakh: the sides of a shoe. Mono: Leather Ind., p. 28.

Pakhaûlt: the sides of a cart, made from hemp. Mono: Fibrous Manu., p. 3.
Pakpan: an ornament. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 34.
Palás: see paláh.
Palkin: an ornament. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 32.
Palla: a broad kind of thappa or disc. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 23.
Pán: an ornament. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 34.
Panihár: a synonym for nāhnd (a small instrument with a flat edge); Kullū. Mono: Leather Ind., p. 24.
Panja: a kind of fork; see kangī.
Panja: the portion of a shoe over the toe. Mono: Leather Ind., p. 28.
Pankhrián: see pankhriyán.
Parattha: a hand urī or spindle; see dras. Mono: Silk Ind., p. 17.
Pasna: a kind of hoop used for cutting heaps of kneaded clay into thin slices. Mono: Pottery and Glass, p. 5.
Passā or pāsā: English or Australian gold; European gold generally. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 3.


Patkī: an ornament worn round the neck; Kāngra. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 35.


Pauhrū: a brass ring for the little toe. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 35.

Payal (pa'ela): an ornament. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 34.

Pooch: a knot or stitch made by a weaver on a piece of wool passed in a figure of eight round the two threads of the warp. Mono: Carpet-making, p. 12.


Perāk: an ornament consisting of a strip of padded cloth generally red, hanging from the forehead nearly half-way down the back, studded with turquoises and square silver talismans and possibly a sapphire or two; Lāhul. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 36.


Phākō: 4 or 5 *sars* of grain from the threshing floor given to the *sept* as his due; Sialkōt. Mono: Leather Ind., p. 4.


Phalangrus: an ornament. Mono: Gold and Siver, p. 34.

Phallī: a flat, smooth piece of some soft kind of wood on which the shoemaker cuts his leather. Cf. pharāt, phīrdāt and takāt. Mono: Leather Ind., p. 23.

Phairī: see *parāt*.


Pharāt: see *phallī*.

Phas: straw. Mono: Leather Ind., p. 21.

Phass: (Derājāt); see *phala*. Mono: Pottery and Glass, p. 5.
Phor: a small ring thickened through half its length with silver wire twisted round it. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 35.

Phari, double: neglecting to pass the warp threads; see under phandā. Mono: Carpet-making, p. 13.

Phindi: a round mat; Hazāra. Mono: Fibrous Manu., p. 11.

Phirhāi: see phallī.


Phora: a finger ring. Cl. phori. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 34.

Phori: see phora.


Phūl: grey brass. Cl. kānāi.

Phul: a kind of China silk. Cl. māl.

Phullī: a wooden platter; Rāwalpindi. Cl. hārī.


Pinawat: Cl. patri.

Pina: a man who does scutching. Cl. naddīf.


Pīthī: an alloy of silver with gold; Dera Ismail Khān. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 4.


Polī: an ornament. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 34.


Pothwar or pothauri: a kind of shoe. Mono: Leather Ind., p. 29.

Prach: the bark of a root used for dyeing hides yellow. Cl. sām. Mono: Leather Ind., p. 18.

Pūla: shoes made from bhang fibre; Kullā. Mono: Fibrous Manu., p. 15.

Pumber: silk of the second quality. Cl. petā.


Puri: an ornament consisting of four straight silver tubes. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 36.

Pushantang: the leather to which the lower girth is attached. Mono: Leather Ind., p. 33.

Putli: a Dutch deca. Cl. butli; Siāloq.


Qassabā: a skin removed by a butcher; opp. to gāmā. Mono: Leather Ind., p. 17.


Rāchī: an iron bar worked into a blade at each and used for turning ivory. Cl. roda. Mono: Ivory, p. 14.

Rāchma: an iron instrument with which the hair and flesh are scraped off camel hides. Mono: Leather Ind., p. 21.


Rainī: (i) gold in leaves obtained by melting down old ornaments, Cl. poter. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 3; (ii) a cigar-shaped silver ingot. līd, p. 26.


Rangata: a polishing stick (made of skīsh or poplar). Mono: Wood Manu., p. 11.


Rokhan: an ornament. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 32.

Rolu: an ornament worn on the head; Kāngrā Gaddis. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 35.

Rila: the rim (or a strand passing under the rim) of a basket. Mono: Fibrous Manu., p. 13.

Rithā: sapindus detergens, used to make a lather for felting cloth. Mono: Woollen Manu., p. 7.

Roda: an iron bar used for turning ivory; i. q. rachi. Mono: Ivory, p. 14.


Rūpcha: an alloy of silver with gold; Ambā. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 4.


Sādā: a tinsel. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 27.


Salai: (i) a boring-stick thrust through the loops of filigree work to keep them parallel. Cl. rōla. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 18; (ii) an axis. Cl. tīr. Mono: Pottery and Glass, p. 4; (iii) a stick with which loose fibres are cleaned off. Mono: Fibrous Manu., p. 12.
Salart: a kind of cloth. Mono: Silk Ind., p. 15.
Salendhi: see sarbandi.
Saloni: a mixture of brick-dust and salt; Delhi. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 21.
Samor: a wild cat-skin; Peshawar. Cf. soghar.
Sandran: a goldsmith's implement which seems to be the same as the chudi, q. v.; also cf. sundan. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 18.
Sangli: an ornament. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 34.
San: iron tongs. Cf. sandasa.
Sapai: see chapli.
Sarkandi: see sarbandi.
Sarma: the piece of wood attached to the shaft of a plough. Mono: Wood Manu., p. 5.
Sath: a man who works the janidr. Mono: Fibrous Manu., p. 16.
Sawman: a rain festival, which begins on the first Sunday in Sawan. Mono: Silk Ind., p. 18.
Selra (pine resin): used as the material in which an article is inserted to be embossed; Kullū. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 19.


Set-barwa: a plant (probably a Daphne) from the fibre of which a semi-transparent paper is made; Bhaijī State. Mono: Fibrous Manu., p. 8.


Shalai: see salai.


Shāns-kangā: a double comb. Mono; Woollen Manu., p. 4.


Shiṣmahal or shishmaːl: a Hong-Kong silk of inferior quality. Mono: Silk Ind., p. 15.


Sil: (i) a block. Mono: Brass and Copper, p. 2; (ii) a kind of gold, Jhang. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 4; (iii) a grass (Imperata kauhigii). Mono: Fibrous Manu., p. 17.

Sillī: Chinese silver, from sīt or slabs, the form in which it is sold. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 5.


Singari: a tool made of flat steel, broad in the middle and tapering to a fine point at each end: used to turn the ivory. Mono: Ivory, p. 11.


Sinkh: See saillākh.

Sirga; a kind of silk. Mono: Silk Ind., p. 20.


Sitnī: a wooden scraper or rubber. Mono: Leather Ind., p. 23.

Sobī: an alloy of silver with copper; Siālkoṭ, Peshāwar, Jhelum and Lahore. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 5.


Sodhtānwālī: a kind of silver; Muzaffargarh. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 6.

Soghār: a wild cat-skin; Peshāwar. Cf. samar.

Sohāga: a clod crusher, a wooden beam about 7 ft. long, 9 inches broad and 6 deep. Mono: Wood Manu., p. 5.


Subhanga: an alloy of copper with gold; Siālkoṭ and Ambāla. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 4.


Sultānī: a Hong-Kong silk. Mono: Silk Ind., p. 15.


Sumdān: see sandān. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 18.

Sunīwālī: a kind of silver; Muzaffargarh. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 6.

Sut: an ornament. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 34.


Sutri: an ornament. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 34.


Tabī or tahvič: a kind of reel on which silk is wound. Mono: Silk Ind., p. 17.

Tāgrī: an ornament for a zone. Cf. tāragrī. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 32 and p. 34.
Taiga: a head ornament. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 32.
Takhti: (i) Cf. phali; (ii) a head ornament. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 32.
Takkāda: things that cannot be got except by dunning, and so a synonym for takūsa, ornaments; Julundur. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 15.
Tammāiyā: an article made of chaurd brass. Mono: Brass and Copper, p. 4.
Tančhi: a chisel without a handle. Mono: Stone-carving, p. 3.
Tandowra-dōdi: an ornament. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 32.
Tānt: it, warp: also silk of first quality used for the warp. Cf. id. Mono: Silk Ind., p. 17.
Tārahband: a worker to whom the pattern is made over by the designer (nakkūsh) to make up the proper number of reels in shawl-making. Mono: Woollen Manu., p. 10.
Tārā: a slab of stone on which the shoe-maker smooths out leather. Cf. patrī.
Tarkla: an iron rod which has a thick butt and tapers off to a point. Cf. trakla and tirkla. Mono: Pottery and Glass, p. 24.
Tarora: an ornament. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 34.
Tath: fastening in stitches to two of the warp threads instead of one, or more properly to four instead of two. Mono: Carpet-making, p. 13.


Tauri: see tauri.

Tawitri: a head ornament. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 32.


Teriwat: a slab on which clay is kneaded. Cf. patri.


Thang-nga: a glass bead necklace. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 36.

Thapa: see thatwa.

Thapi: see thatwa.


Thasul: a tool used for rounding the outside edges of the teeth of a comb. Mono: Ivory-carrying, p. 11.

Thatwa, thatwi: a flat mallet of wood, about a foot long and having one of its sides slightly concave. Mono: Pottery and Glass, p. 5.

Thipa: see konera.

Thipu: a coloured kerchief; Kullā. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 35.

Thitman: see thatwa. Mono: Pottery and Glass, Ind., p. 5.

Thobi: silver in blocks or wedges. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 5.


Thukkawār-gandāl: a fibre used for making ropes and string; Shāhpur. Mono: Fibrous Manu., p. 11.


Tikkt: silver procured by Niáris from the sweepings of a goldsmith’s shop; Shāhpur. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 6.

Tikora: a polished description of sda (tinsel). Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 27.


Tirkla: Cl. tarkla.


Tisa: a cloth containing 300 threads. Cl. tíras, to the 4ths of a yard. Mono: Cotton Manu., p. 4.

Tokai or tokai: (i) an alloy of silver, Jhelum; (ii) silver obtained by melting down old ornaments, Rawalpindi. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 5.

Toda: lintel. Cl. shatiridar; Hissár.

Todi: a worker in silk. Cl. tandi.


Tolkù: an ornament. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 35.


Tora: a kind of small hammer. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 18.

Toykå: a man who cuts up raw materials for paper; Sialkot. Mono: Fibrous Manu., p. 16.

Tragus: an ornament. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 35.

Trakla: Cl. tarkla.

Trangli: a wooden pitchfork with 8 or 9 prongs. Mono: Wood Manu., p. 5.


Trêna: a bowl. Cl. bhânda.

Tridodya: a finger ring. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 34.

Trikal: a tripod. Cl. charîd.

Trisa: see tissa.

Truhâ: a thick matting; Dera Ghazi Khan. Mono: Fibrous Manu., p. 11.


Tulnâ: a mallet. Cl. kâtnî.


Tumbhâ-ki-bel: a fibre used for making ropes and string; Shillpur. Mono: Fibrous Manu., p. 11.


Tunki: an ornament. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 35.

Tur: a heavy woolen roller supported by the upright poles of a loom. Mono: Carpet-making, p. 12.

Tursâ: a mixture of tan and water. Mono: Leather Ind., p. 33.


Tusta: a shoe; Peshawar. Mono: Leather Ind., p. 31.
Tusurr: the silkworm which yields the *tasur* silk. Mono: Silk Ind., p. 1.


Udāla: a rope used for fixing slates to a roof and tying thatch. Mono: Fibrous Manu., p. 5.


Utaun: See *utauana*.


Ura: a small spindle or pinion on a spinning wheel to which the silk thread is transferred from the *urt*. Mono: Silk Ind., p. 17.


Wana: the inside piece of the sole of a shoe. Mono: Leather Ind., p. 28.

Wana: lil, wool; also silk of the second quality used for the wool. Cfr. *bānā*. Mono: Silk Ind., p. 17.


Watta: a synonym for *kamara* (q. v.) Derajāt.

Waur or bāu: a kind of rope for *chārupās*. Mono: Fibrous Manu., p. 7.


Yammā: a kind of silver; Peshāwar. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 6.


Zarak: a boat built on the Sutlej, higher in build than the *beri* and often with a berth in the deck for a cabin. Mono: Wood Manu., p. 17.

Zeh, Zohn: a strip of red goat or sheep-skin, used as binding for a shoe. Mono: Leather Ind., p. 28.

(To be continued.)
AN ACCOUNT OF THE RUINS OF TOPARY
(POLONNARUWA IN 1829).

(Reprinted from a communication from Lieut.
Fagan to the Ceylon Government Gazette
of Tuesday, August 1st, 1829.)

When I was near Topary, a number of stone
pillars standing in the jungle a short way
on the left of the road attracted my atten-
tion. I hastened to examine them and, on a
nearer approach, was surprised by the
appearance of the ruins of an elegant cir-
cular building of red brick; and at a short
distance on the right another building of
massive proportions and of the same mate-
rials, heaps of ruins, pillars, brick abutments
and fallen walls appeared through the jungle in all
directions. The circular building was, I think,
one a temple, open above. I ascended to
a platform of about 15 feet wide and 5 high, by
six stone steps. The platform is rounded and
faced with a wall of brick and has a coping and
cornice of cut stone, most of which is still
standing. From this platform six steps more
lead to another, about 7 feet wide, and faced all
round with cut stone in square panels, divided
by small pilasters. Ornaments in relief are
cut on the panels, but now worn away and
indistinct, it is edged like the first with
a cornice of stone and moldings. Within this
and rising from a ledging of cut stone 4 feet
high and 3 broad, stand the walls of the temple,
a perfect circle about 20 feet high and 2½ thick,
with a handsome cornice of brick encircling
the top. The whole appears to have been coated
with fine plaster, small parts of which still
adhere. I examined closely but could not
discover the smallest appearance of its ever
having had a roof. Corresponding exactly with
the four cardinal points, are the remains of four
doors, to each of which there is an ascent by a
flight of steps similar to that already described.
The interior circumference measures five paces
exactly and in the centre rises a mound of earth
and ruins, in the middle of which is a square pit,
4 feet wide, lined with brick, and nearly filled
with loose bricks and jungle. On the band
or footing of cut stone that runs round the base
of the wall, stand a number of small stone pillars
without capitals, about 5 feet high and 4 feet
assunder; they appear to have been ranged in
order from door to door, and bear marks of
having been highly ornamented. The door-
frames, I suspect, have been taken away; judging,
however, by the openings, they were about 4½ to
5 feet wide, but whether arched or square it was
impossible to say. On each side of the steps
which conduct to the four doors of the temple
stands the female figure that guards the entrance
of most of the Kandian temples, covered nearly
to the knee with rubbish; this figure must be
upwards of 5 feet high, and is shaded by a hood
of Cobra Capellas, of superior sculpture and
elegance of attitude to any I have seen, and on
the pedestals on each side of the steps and on
several stones lying around in different attitudes
and of fine workmanship; the walls of the temple,
although interlaced with the Indian fig-tree, are
in great preservation, the bricks, which compose
them, are of well-burnt red earth, each
measuring 12 inches by 7 and 1½ thick, disposed
with about ¾ of an inch of chunam between
them, and the layers, being quite even, look as
if the plaster had just been stripped off.

Twenty yards to the right stands the other
brick ruin, of an oblong form about 56 feet long
by 30 in breadth and 33 feet high, the wall brick
and 5 feet thick throughout. The principal
entrance is a square stone frame not large,
Situated in the west front, and on one side of it is
a massive brick pillar that has been highly
ornamented and on which, I conjecture, was once
a statue; its fellow has fallen down and nearly
choked up the doorway. Climbing over the
rubbish, I entered a vestibule about 10 feet
square, having a small door on each side, and
a brick roof of a conical form, thence passing
through a high door I entered the principal
apartment, now choked up with rubbish and
brick-work. I think it is full 30 feet high, the
roof is an arch of brick about 4 feet thick, but
neither of the Gothic or Roman type; the best
way I can describe it is by supposing an egg-shell
cut lengthwise, when the small end being held
up will give the section of this roof; it has
nothing of the dome in its form, but is thrown
over like a tilt and the end walls are built up to
meet it; about half has fallen in. In each of
the side walls of this apartment is an arched
window about 5 feet high and 3 wide and three
stone bars running from top to bottom and at
the far end and fronting the place I entered is a
niche cut in the wall, and under it the ruins of
an altar; I saw four sitting figures of Budhoo
amongst the rubbish, rather under the human
size, the features decayed and worn away. The
end and sides of this building had highly
ornamented fronts, portions of which have still
withstood the ravages of time, each front had
a pediment and cornice, supported by small
pillars rising from the moulding of the surbase,
arched niches for small statues and small pilasters with panels square and circular, the whole in a surprising state of preservation.

The ranges of stone pillars, which first attracted my attention, appear to have supported an open building similar to what is called an ambulium; they stand about 5 feet out of a mould of earth, are plain, round, octagonal or square shafts, of one stone each, but none more than from a foot to 10 inches in diameter, and never had capitals. A thick brick wall with a coping of stone appears by its remains to have formerly surrounded these buildings, and several large platforms faced with bricks and covered with ruins appear through the jungle.

The inhabitants, of whom I inquired, informed me that these ruins are called the Naïque’s palace, and the headmen, remarking my admiration of them, told me he would send for an old Kandyam who could conduct me to a place in the jungle where I should find others far more extensive, the remains of buildings constructed by Joharums or Giants. We set out at 4 p.m., and after walking about a mile through the jungle in an easterly direction a stupendous brick building, like the tombs of the kings in Kandy, struck my view: the elevation of the building is from 80 to 100 feet, and it is surmounted by a beautiful circular obelisk or spire in good preservation, about 25 feet in height, towering magnificently over the surrounding plains and jungle; on the first view the Kandyans of my party uncovered their heads and prostrated themselves with marks of the greatest reverence.

The whole of this great pyramid is built of the great brick above described, the coating of plaster, which once encircled, has dropped off, large trees and patches of jungle are rooted in its circumference and project from the surface, and the fall of vast masses of the brick-work, forced down by that natural destroyer of Ceylon architecture, the Indian fig-tree, has left broad and deep chasms, exhibiting only regular layers of the same material, from remarking which I am led to conclude that this vast pile is not a mound of earth faced with a brick wall, but that the whole structure is one great mass of brick masonry. I am also inclined to think that like the Egyptian pyramids it may contain a chamber in the centre. Round the base of this structure and projecting about 10 or 15 feet from it, at equal distances, stand 16 small brick buildings, one open and one closed up alternately, those that are open are about 10 feet in front and measure 5 feet square inside; the entrance to each is by a small square door, the frame of stone, and the roofs are conical, opening at the top like chimneys, the remains in plaster of the usual guardian figure are visible on the sides of some of the doors of these buildings, from which

I should be induced to call them small chapels; the buildings closed up are rather larger than the former and have the appearance of tombs, the front of each is ornamented with small pilasters rising from the moulding of the surbase supporting a cornice, on the astragals of which are regular lines of dentils like those of a Grecian architrave; I should not be surprised if a passage to the centre of the pyramid was found through one of these tombs. I paced round close to these buildings and found the circumference measured 276 paces,—a platform of about 30 feet wide and faced with a brick wall 4 feet high, partly remaining, surrounding the whole.

At a short distance stands another pyramid of the same form, but smaller in all its dimensions, and without the chapels and tombs at its base; it is in far better preservation, the plaster still remains in most parts, and although the fig-tree roots have made deep openings in its sides, but very little of the brick-work has fallen down.

Near it stands the side and end wall of a large square building, similar to that which I saw in the morning near the circular temple, but of great strength and magnitude, the walls being nearly six feet thick and of solid brick-work, a small arched window with stone bars remain in the side wall, but the roof and other parts have fallen in and filled the area. The whole of the standing walls are covered with ornaments in plaster, parts of which are in surprising preservation, an architrave and cornice projects in front, supported by numerous pillars and containing arched niches for small statues and panels between the pilasters exhibiting dancing figures in relief, the cornice and frieze are covered with small grotesque human figures in pot bellies in all attitudes (about 7 inches high), the bands and fillet are covered with rows of small birds resembling geese and made of burnt earth and chunam.

The evening was closing fast and obliged me to leave these interesting objects to view one, which my guide told me, surpassed them all; and on advancing about half a mile farther in the jungle I came upon what at first view appeared a large black rock, about 80 feet long and 30 high in the centre, and sloping towards the ends, and on advancing a few steps further found myself under a black and gigantic human figure at least 25 feet high. I cannot describe what I felt at the moment. On examination I found this to be a figure of Budhoo in an upright posture, of excellent proportions and in an attitude, I think, uncommon, his hands laid gracefully across his breast and his robe falling from his left arm. Close on his left lies another gigantic figure of the same sacred personage, in the usual recumbent posture. I climbed up to examine it more
minutely and found that the space between the eyes measured one foot, the length of the nose 2 feet 4 inches, and the little finger of the hand under his head 2 feet; the size of the figure may be guessed from these proportions. On the right of the standing figure is a small door of the Vihare, and on the right of the door another figure of the god of the same proportions as the former two and in the common sitting attitude; these figures are cut out clearly from the rocks, and finely executed; but whether each is formed of one or more pieces I forgot to examine. The entrance to the Vihare is arched with a pilaster on each side cut out of the rock, the old wooden door is in good preservation, within sits Budhoo on a throne, a little above the human size with is usual many-headed and many-handed attendant. The apartment is narrow and the ceiling low and painted in red ornament, the whole resembling others that I have seen in the 7 Korales, Matale, &c., &c.; between the door and the standing figure the rock is made smooth for about 6 feet square, and this space is covered with a close written Kandyan Inscription perfectly legible. I may have overlooked many interesting points in this great monument of superstition but it was nearly dark and I was obliged to return to Topary. Various names are assigned by the people to the other buildings, but they all agree in calling this the Gal Vihare. Close under the large pyramid, the people pointed out a cavity about 4 ft. square and 15 deep, lined with brick, which, I am inclined to think, would, if cleared, lead to a subterraneous passage. There is a vague tradition among them that the Portuguese found immense treasures in this building, since which time they affirm that I am the only European by whom these ruins have been visited. The few poor Kandyan_s residing in the neighbourhood still worship in the Vihare. I inquired from their priests, hoping to obtain from them some further information, but was told they had but one [who knew], and he lived several miles off. The people spoke of some smaller ruins at a distance, but so overgrown with jungle that it was not possible to approach them. I could not discover the least appearance of water near these ruins, nor the remains of any wells or other reservoirs from which the inhabitants could have been supplied.

I will leave it to the curious in Ceylon antiquities to discover the reason that the people, who built these great edifices, should take the trouble of making so many millions of bricks for the work, where there was abundance of fine stone well calculated for their construction in the immediate neighbourhood.

Whatever was the state of this part of the country in former times, it is now a sterile wilderness, covered with impenetrable thorny jungle.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

THE VARIOUS PERSONS NAMED BHARATA.

Mr. M. T. Narasimhengar of Bangalore having asked me to put into shape for publication his observations on the various persons named Bharata and the meaning of Bharatasvarsha, I have much pleasure in complying with his request.

The name Mahabhárata, he observes, means 'the Great Story of the descendants of Bharata,' who must necessarily have been the ancestor of both contending parties, the Kauravas and the Pándavas. The Purânas mention two kings and two only, named Bharata. One was the son of Talajangha, who was a grandson of Kártavíryájuna, and a descendant of Yudhí, son of Yáyá. The other was the son of king Dushyanta, and also descended from Yáyá through Páru, of the Lunar race. The first-named Bharata was the ancestor of the Vrishnis, and had no concern with the epic which is named after the emperor Bharata, son of Dushyanta.

But the territorial name Bharata-varsha or Bharata-khaṇḍa is derived from a third Bharata, who was more ancient than the son of Dushyanta, and belonged to a different line, the dynasty of Priyavarta, brother of Utánapāda, the father of Dhrúva. This Bharata is said to have retired to Sálagrāma for penance, and to have been born again as Jasa-Bharata, whose story may be found in Viṣṇu Purāṇa, II, 1, 33; II, 13; Bhāg. Pur., V, 7, 8; Agni Pur., 107-11 and 12; Mark. Pur., 63-40, 41, etc.

But books claiming to be authoritative constantly confound this Bharata with the distinct person of that name who was the ancestor of the combatants of the Mahabhárata war. Such confusion is found, for instance, in Talboy's Wheeler's Short History, Frazer's Literary History of India, and Prof. Egging's valuable contribution to the Encyclopaedia Britannica (9th ed., Vol. xxi, p. 281).

Mr. Narasimhengar is anxious that the 'vulgar error' exposed in the above remarks should not be perpetuated.

A learned Sanskritist to whom I showed his letter remarks that the names Bharata-varsha and Mahabhárata both, no doubt, go back to the Vedic tribe of Bharatas, so that the distinction between the persons is of less importance than it seems to be at first sight.

I cannot carry the matter farther.

VINCENT A. SMITH.

3rd April, 1909.
The Legend of Khan Khwas and Sher Shah the
Chaugatta (Mughal) at Delhi.

By H. A. Rose.

The Khan Khwas of this quaint Panjab Legend is the Khwas Khan mentioned in the account of the Chuhás of Gujrat. Maasal Ali Khan was a historical personage and a Memoir of him is given in Elliot's Hist. of India, IV, pp. 528-32. He is also alluded to repeatedly in the Takhir-A-Sher-Shah. The present Legend is historically quite incorrect, but it is interesting as showing how Khwas Khan the Generous is still remembered in the Panjab.

No. V.

Text.

Laṛā: Khan Khwas bītā nāl Sher Šah wāllī kā khud Chaugatta Dīhi; bāsābī Panjabī vā Hindūstānī.


No. V.

Translation.

The War of Khan Khwas with his father
Sher Shah Chaugatta, King of Dehi.

Once upon a time king Sher Shah was displeased with his Begam and ordered her to be banished. The Begam, who was pregnant, took up her abode in Rohtas city. The governor of Rohtas, in fear of the king, remained in attendance on her. On the completion of the term of pregnancy, he sent for a midwife, and introduced her into (the Begam's) room. He also called in an astrologer. She was delivered of a son. The astrologer opened his book and after consulting it said that her son would be a liberal and generous prince. The Begam was much pleased at hearing this prophecy and gave him a handsome reward. When the prince 'grew older, servants were engaged for his care. At the age of 12 he began to plunder the country by force and violence. When this news reached king Sher Shah, he sent troops to capture the prince. In the battle that ensued, the king's army was repulsed, and its guns were seized by the prince. The king despatched yet another force, which the prince also defeated. The king, now helpless, called together his nobles, and courtiers, and told them that whoever captured the prince should receive a great reward. For the prince's bravery none of them volunteered.
Khabib.

Nar had Nabi, nadi had sgar, jat had ind, boktanar had bher.

Dhan had hast, zewar had moti, parwat had jo jatvan Sumer.

Rath had arun arun had, din yar din yar had hano another.

Chah chah had kariyā tu be-had Shulhan pat Sher.

Jivan Rāi kahe: ‘kord maniya bāt, na khijo ter.’

Shāhāzādah eh sunko bahut khush hōi; bolā: ‘māng kyā māngādai hai.’ Usne Shāhāzādah dā nām Allāh de sar māngā. Woh bolā ki: ‘jo kuchh hor kān hai, le-le, sar merā nā māngā.’

To phir woh bhaṭ bolā ki: ‘mai tuinān Sher Shāhī de pās lejān hai, jahan marzi chāhe sar kholānā.’ Usne kahā: ‘wahan nā lejā: ‘phir woh bolā:

Khabib.

Khul Khwās wāli tān pūrā kaun sahe tere aj dhakke.

Uchā Kāt Kāngrā diše jisko dekh Bhishan jhakke.

Jan chhorād mile vo Sher Shāh se, yad tasā th phar laitho Makke.

---

or promised to capture him. But one Jīvan Rāi, Bhāt, who was then at the Court, said: “O king! I wish to say something, provided my life be granted to me.” The king granted him leave to speak and he said that he would only bring in Khān Khwās, if the king refrained from killing him. The king agreed to this request. The Bhāt set out incognito and reached Rohtās after some days. There he appeared before Khān Khwās, and began to flatter him. First he praised the Prophet and then recited the following khabī in his honour:

“The Prophet occupies the highest place among mankind. He is the ocean among the streams, like Indra among the gods of rain, and the trump among musical instruments.

The elephant is the token of immensity of wealth; pearls are the best of ornaments and the highest of all mountains is Sumeru.

No chariot is greater than that of the Sun, yet higher than the Sun’s chariot is the daylight, since where there is light, there is no darkness.

I have seen the four dominions; thou art emperor, a lion of unbounded power.

The poet-laureate Jīvan Rāi saith: ‘Follow his advice, do not delay.’

“Hearing this, the prince was greatly pleased and asked him what he wanted. The bard asked for the prince’s head in the name of God. The prince said: “Take anything else you desire, but ask not for my head.” The bard rejoined: “I wish to take thee to the king Sher Shāh, and shall take thy head wherever I require it.” The prince said: “Take me not thither.” The bard recited another khabī:

“O Khān Khwās thou art a perfect saint, and none to-day can withstand thy attack.

The high fort of Kāngrā is visible and seeing it, Bhībhikshān (brother of Rāvan) bends. Meet Sher Shāh, if thou valuest thy life, or else take the rosary into thy hands and retire to Mecca.

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1 A distich in Hindi.
2 The trump which will be blown by the angel Israil on the day of resurrection.
Khán Khwás thou art perfect in every way, Mount Sumer bows to thee."

Hearing this, Khán Khwás went to his mother and told her hear how that the bard has extolled him, and asked for his head. At these words she went into the inner chamber, and brought out a shield, full of good mohars, with a katār or dagger above them, and said to the prince, "My son! If the bard needs wealth, he can have a train of carts full of treasure reaching as far as Dehli. Otherwise, give him thy head, and I will absolve thee from the debt thou owest me, thy mother, when I hear that thou hast done so.'

The prince laid the shield filled with gold coin, before the bard, and told him that if he wanted money, he could make him a road of gold coins, &c., thence as far as Dehli; otherwise he might cut off his head. Upon this the bard said he did not ask for money, but for the prince's head. The prince gave up his head, whereupon the bard said: "I am not a jallād (executioner) that I should behead thee. Give me thy head, as did Rājā Jagdev who cut off his head with his own hands and offered it to Kankali Bhatnī." Hearing this the prince fastened the dagger on to his neck with a silken thread which he tied to his feet. The prince then placed a dish before him to receive his severed head and was about to press the dagger when the bard spake and said: "Wait a while, for the body is subordinate to the head, so will I carry thy head wherever I require it." The prince said: "Take me not to Dehli." The bard said: "I will surely carry thee thither." And he recited another kabit:

"There are men who climb over the scaffolding to die; others there are who would not rise from slumber.

Some men there are who burn themselves to death by fire; others there are who flee in fear of snake bite.

Some drown in the waters; others enjoy themselves in the rainy month of Sāwan:

The poet-laureate praises thee; cut off thy head, and make it over to the bard, so that the fame of thy magnanimity may be spread all over the world!"
Jab yih būt Shāhzādah ne aantu, to nāl usde holā. Chalte chahtā kal din ākār, Dehli ke pās, bahapus de kos, Shāh Ali Mardān kā bāgh hue, wahān jā baithhe, to bhāt ne kāhī kām kātā?

Shāhzādah ko kahā: 'Hazār yahān baithiye, main khānā leāun; khānā khāke bādshāh ke rūbaru le-chālāngā.' Yih takrār karte the, jo sin bārā sāl kā ek bhāt kā lājā lāyko ke nāl kheltā us bāgh meh chalā āyā. Uske dekhkhar bhāt ne bulāāyā aur kahā ki: 'betā tu Shāhzādah ke pās baith, main khānā leāun.' Bhāt chalāgāyā: bād do gīrāt ke ek bāghbān bādshāh kā Shāh-

When the prince heard this kahīt he accompanied the bard without demur. After a few days' journey, they reached their destination, and betook themselves to the garden of Shāh Ali Mardān, which lies two miles from Dehli. The bard said: "Your Majesty should sit here and I will go and bring your food." After you have taken food I will present you before the king.

During this conversation a boy-bard about 12 years old, who was playing with other boys, came into the garden, and the bard seeing him, called to him and addressed him thus: "My boy! Sit by the prince, for I am going to bring his food." After two gharis or three-quarters of an hour the king's gardener came before the prince, and presented with some produce from the garden. The prince putting his hand into his pocket, brought out 5 or 7 gold ahrāsīs and gave them to the gardener. The gardener asked the prince's name and he replied that his name was Khān Khwās hai. Chupke se woh namakbarān Bādshāh Shershāh ke hazār men jāke kahān lagā ki: 'mubārik ho'e Hazār mon jo duhsmaan tera hai tsāntā main Shāh Ali Mardān ke bāgh men baithāa weh aā yā hān.' Bādshāh ne sāndā sār fauj ko hukm dīttā ki: 'gherā karlo, nīkālā nā pāwā.' Isī terā se fauj ne girde girde nīrga, bāndh-līttā, aur āp bhi ghore par aswar hoke bāgh men āgyā. Us wakhāt men Shāhzādah sāṭā sti, gūnī kā beṭā bolā:

Kahīt.

Uthāe bāgh āa kīun soyo?
Faujān utāa dūāa har deā?
To Shāhzādāh bolā yih kahīt:

Dhālā bhāt dē jāa ādān?
Mañ m to saaṁ uē dē raḥāa uthāā?
Ap jas lē jāa kārīn?
De sar dāān sar hath paān?
Us dāā kiun nākhā charhe Shershāh,
Jo Kōt Kāngṛā Jammān pā tāāqī?

The prince was lying asleep but the bard's boy recited this kahīt, to rouse him from his slumber:

"Rise up! O lion! Wake up! Why art thou sleeping?
Troops are pouring in (from all sides)."

The prince responded in the following kahīt:

"It is a pity that the bard brought me all this distance!
I was ready to cut off my head, and give it to him at my own place!
Why should I now lose the fame I have won?
Let me make him a gift of my head and thereby attain virtue's reward.
Why did not Sher Shāh come to attack me,
When I held the territories of Kōt Kāngṛā and Jammā?
"
With these words the prince plunged his
dagger into his heart and put himself to death.
The bard's son now recited the following
dohra:

Dohra.

Jaise sakhi Khán Khwás, taïse hote doî.

Sádi dip nau khand men bhúk rahe nd koî.

Itni bát kahe gíñi ká betá kaîr márke
margá. Yih khár bhat ko puhúchhi ki: 'tún
kiske wáste kháná pakítá hai? Wáhá to kám
tamán hochuká! To phíc gíñ háth meñ kaîr
leke maqa par áyá sur bolá:

Kabit.

Are Khán Khwás diáy kar da, na diáy dildá,
ná jíyo bechárdá.

Main usun ehórayá si ámánat, píchhe se lít-
liyo yíh paírá.
Are daktánsi packám ugam párab cháttí ki
bich pore cháshki rál!
Ek ajo raáh dil meñ taine gídi gulám dágá
kor márdá.

Itni bát kahe woh bhi kaîr márkar margá,
Uske dusre bêta ko khár paúchhi ki: 'báp,
bhai aur Sháhzádah märe gaye. Ta ko aábth khár
na hul? Woh bhi kaîr pakárkar áyá sur bolá
Bádehá sé:

Kabit.

Kete ek kaîk kaîk kíyá, aur tag ke sór so
bátáshíyo hái
Bhút bákí phari gadh se útra án núm Sáîn
ke se shish díyo hái
Tún súlám baró bimán-díe zahr payád bádi
ká píyo hái

Sakhi Khán Khwás Surá gáyá, gáiddi tán munúd
ján ká bol gáyá hái

Itni bát kahe kaîr márkar woh bhi margá
Phír bhat kí 'aurát kaîr pakár, yih báe sunkár
áyí. Kháwan, aapí ko sár par khár hokár
kahne lájá:

Dohra.

Uth bánta sáh píyáhkar jágat hain kyá de?

“Had there been another equal to Khán
Khwás in generosity

None would have starved in the seven penin-
sulas and the nine sections of the world.”

Uttering these words the bard's son also
stabbed himself to death with that same dagger.

This news reached the bhád, who was asked for
whom was he preparing food? since all was
over! The bard then came to the spot, with
a dagger in his hand and recited the following
kabit:

“Oh! Khán Khwás came here in hope, but
none welcomed him, so he chose not to
remain alive.

I had left him here as it were a trust, but in
my absence my wealth has been plundered!

From south and west and north and east
reproaches fall upon thy breast!

The only grief in my heart is that, thou, O
coward slave! hast treacherously killed the
prince.”

With these words, he also stabbed himself
and died. The news of the death of his father,
his brother, and the prince, reached the bard’s
second son, and he said to himself: “Hast thou
not yet come to know?” He also went dagger
in hand, and thus, addressed the king:

“Thou hast defeated many a foe and with-
stood him by dint of arms.

The bhád had brought the prince, by the arm,
down from his castle and he hath given away
his head in the way of God!

O Sultán! Thou art wholly faithless, thou
who hast drunk poison out of the cup of
vex!

The generous-hearted Khán Khwás has en-
tered Heaven! Coward! thou alone hast
died, having lost thy fame and name.”

With these words he too stabbed himself to
death. On hearing this news, the bard’s wife
also came armed with a dagger, and standing
near her husband's head thus began:

“Dear husband, arise! Put thy turban on thy
head! Art thou asleep or art thou awake?
CASTE AND SECTARIAL MARKS IN THE PANJAB.

BY H. A. ROSE.

I. — Caste Marks.

Caste marks, like sectarial marks, probably had a religious origin, but they should nevertheless be carefully distinguished from the latter. They are in themselves only a part of the symbolism of caste, and find counterparts in various other outward signs and observances, which distinguish one caste from another.

According to the commonly-accepted theoretical division of Hindu society, the outward and visible signs of the castes were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sacred thread.</td>
<td>black deer.</td>
<td>red deer.</td>
<td>goat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staff.</td>
<td>cotton.</td>
<td>hemp.</td>
<td>wood.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dhāk.</td>
<td>bar.</td>
<td>jāl.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Brahmāchāryus of each of the above castes are said to have been distinguished by more elaborate differences in the matters of clothing and staff. Thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hemp.</td>
<td>silk.</td>
<td>sheep-skin.</td>
<td>goat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper garment of skin.</td>
<td>black-buck.</td>
<td>ṛūḍa, a deer.</td>
<td>gālūr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staff.</td>
<td>dhāk.</td>
<td>bitra.</td>
<td>gūlar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Height of staff.</td>
<td>to the head.</td>
<td>to the forehead.</td>
<td>to the nostrils.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girdle.</td>
<td>mānj.</td>
<td>mura.</td>
<td>hemp.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1, 2, of the wood of the butea frondosa, ficus Indica and acacia Arabicus, respectively.
3 Called the chīchēkyā.
4 Apple marmala, or wood-apple.
5 Ficus plum erat.
6 According to Manu, ṭhoka 45. The varieties of the Brahmāchārya staff above given are arranged according to the Gītāyādīya. Manu, ṭhoka 45 gives a wider range of choice: e. g., Brāhmaṇa, dhāk or bitra; Kahatriya, bar or khaṭirād (acacia catechu); Vaśya, jāl or gūlar.
7 A creeper.
Caste and Sectarial Marks in the Panjab.

Caste Marks: Manu, Grihyasutra, etc.

1 2 3 4

Caste Marks: Meru Tantra.

5 6 6a 7 8

Vaishnava Sectarial Marks.

9 10 11 12 13a 13b 14 15

Śaiva Sectarial Marks.

16 17 17a 18

Shāktaks.

19 20 21

Jains.

22 23 24

Marks of Hindu Religious Orders.

W. GRIGGS. LITH.
There was a difference also, according to caste, in the forms of the words used by the Brahmāhárayas in asking alms.²

- Brahmāna
- Kshatriya
- Vaiśya
- Śúdra

In connection with the above distributions of clothing and accoutrements, each of the four chief castes wore, on the forehead between the eye-brows, a distinctive caste mark of coloured sandal-wood paste (vide Plate figs. 1, 2, 3 and 4). The colour, as well as the form, of the caste-mark was distinctive for each caste, as under:

- White: red, pale yellow, black.
- Venerable: merciless, merciful, vain.

According to a sloka in the Padma Purāṇa, the colours above-mentioned correspond with the complexion of each caste, which was assumed to convey its general mental qualities:


The sloka above referred to runs as follows:

The Meru Tantra, however, prescribes quite a different set of marks (vide Plate figs. 5, 6 and 6a, 7 and 8):


Other authorities again permit Brahmānas to wear the tripundra in its straight form, though Shāktas might wear both, while the vardhapatra is prescribed for Kshatriyas.

The materials for the vardhapatra are also varied to saffron, clay, turmeric and earth from sacred places. In modern practice the colour is rarely pure white.

Historically the discrepancies to be observed in the authorities more than probably represent local feeling at various epochs and show that at no time was there any hard and fast general rule. Nowadays, in practice, the distinctions noted in the books do not exist, and customs that are not to be found in them are observed. E.g., the sacred thread is usually of cotton, and caste distinction is shown by the knots used; the castes assumed to represent the old Brahmāna and Kshatriya divisions employing the brahm-gaṇgh, and those representing the old Vaiśyas, the vishā-gaṇgh.

II.—Sectarial Marks.

1. Vaishnavas.

Sectarial marks as now used are probably of comparatively modern form. That of the Vaishnavas is the vedaghaṇḍa, representing the bishpad, or footprint of Vishṇu: (Plate fig. 9).

It is also described as consisting of two upright lines with a point between them (see Plate fig. 5), and as a simple vertical line. This last statement is, however, expressly contradicted by another account, which says that Vaishnavas are forbidden to use the single vertical line, and proceeds to prescribe marks for each of the great Vaishnava sects and their offshoots as understood in the Panjāb.

This account leads us into an extremely instructive presentation of sect development among Vaishnavas in the Northern parts of India. These sects are given as follows, employing the terms for them used by the modern Panjābīs:

- Brahmānas also use ḍhūḍh, ashes, for this purpose.
- In two forms: three straight lines, or three lines curved upwards.
(a) Lakhmijit or Śrī, founded by Rāmānuja Āchārya.

The Panjābī followers of Rāmānuja are divided into two sects, using the same sectarian mark, but of different colours (see Plate fig. 10). That is, the inner part of the mark is called śrī, and is coloured yellow by the Rāmānuja Sect, and red by the Rāmnand Sect, who are bairagi.

(b) Seshjī, founded by Madhev Āchārya.

This sect also has two divisions, and they use quite separate marks. That of the Seshjī Sect is a tulsi leaf and is called śrī guṇjaṇ mali (Plate fig. 11), and that of the Gopālī Sect has a peculiar elongation down the nose. (Plate fig. 12).

(c) Mahādāvari or Budrā, founded by Kalabhī Āchārya.

This sect has seven gaddīs or sектs, six of which use the urdhvā mark, some with a dot below it: (Plate figs. 13a and 13b). The seventh gaddī, at Gokalnāth near Mathurā, uses two vertical lines. (Plate fig. 14).

(d) Sankādikā, founded by Nimhark Āchārya.

This sect uses a modification of the urdhvā with the śrī: (Plate fig. 15).11

2. Saivās.

The Saivas commonly use the curved tripūṣā (see Plate fig. 6a), representing a half-moon, the symbol of Śiva. The tripūṣā is, however, not a constant character, being also described as three oblique lines with a point under them or simply as three parallel lines (Plate fig. 6). It also takes the form shown in Plate I, fig. 16.

The parallel or curved forms of the tripūṣā with a dot on the central line (Plate figs. 17 and 17a) is utilized to show the particular form of worship affected by the Saiva devotee. The worshipper of Śiva wears the tripūṣā made of ash, saffron or sandal. The worshippers of his consort Devi has the central dot made of sandal coloured red. The worshippers of Ganesha has the central dot of simdar (vermilion). The worshipper of Śūrya wears no special colour, but his tripūṣā mark is sometimes red.

3. Other Hindus.

The Shāktas are distinguished by a single dot of vermilion12 (Plate fig. 18).

The Samars, the Sanos and the Shankars are said to use the urdhvā and the tripūṣā indiscriminately, and the Ganapattis to use the tripūṣā only.

4. Jains.

The mark of the Jains is said to be a vertically elongated dot of saffron. The Indian Buddhists are said to distinguish themselves by the same mark (Plate fig. 19).

Another account however says that the Sitambri Jains use a round saffron dot (Plate fig. 20), while the Digambri Jains wear a thick vertical line of saffron (Plate fig. 21).

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11 Vaishnavas have of course other insignia, as the necklace of tulsi beads, in contradistinction to the red mark of the Saivas. The Vaishnava sectarian marks in Southern India differ altogether, see Dubois, Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies, 5th ed., p. 112.

12 "A single mark of red-lead" is worn in Kach by the Terī Sholl, a class of Muśalmān fažil, who wear a long cloak, often carry a trident tied to the shoulder, and "revolve a metal plate."

The Religious Orders of the Hindus wear certain marks which may be regarded as sectarian. Thus the Bairagi and some Udāsīs paint a curious mark (Plate, fig. 22) on the forehead, and also wear their hair long (jata).

Jogis, both of the Aghār and Kaṇḍhār degrees, as Saivas, wear the tripura without any special embellishments.

Sthātra-shāhās paint the forehead black.\(^{13}\)

The tirtha Brahmans in the first stage of his career wears a red vertical line with a white one on the side\(^{14}\) (Plate, fig. 23).

Some minor religious orders have sectarian marks of their own, such as the mystic word om, painted on the forehead. Others wear the tripura with two lines added above (Plate, fig. 24). Others have a tulst-patra inside a tripura, a complicated combination (Plate, figs. 3 and 11).

III. — Pilgrimage Stamps.

Hindus generally, it is said, are required by their religion to tattoo the hands in blue when going on a pilgrimage. Sanisās who visit Hingalā in Balchistān are also said to tattoo an emblem of Mahādev under the ear.

Branding is, however, a much more common device, at least when the pilgrim belongs to a religious order. Thus, Bairagis who visit Rāmār, sixty miles from Dwāraka, have the seal of Rāmār seared on the wrist so as to leave a black brand. Those who visit Dwāraka itself have a tapin madī, or brand of a cock, discus, mace, or lotus, as emblems of Vishnu, or a name of Vishnu, burnt on the arms.\(^{15}\) Those again who visit Rāmāshwār have the right shoulder branded thus.\(^{16}\)

IV. — Female Caste Marks.

I add here a cutting from the Pioneer of the 26th May 1907, reproducing a note from the Madras Mail as to the custom of wearing caste marks by women in Southern India. I have not heard that there is a similar custom in the Panjab:—

"The caste-marks worn by women are confined to the forehead and are, says a writer on caste-marks in Southern India in the Madras Mail, more uniform than those affected by the men. The orthodox mark invariably worn on religious and ceremonial occasions is a small saffron spot in the centre of the forehead. But the more popular and fashionable mark is a tiny one made with a glue-like substance, usually jet black in colour, called in Tamil sandhū, which is obtained by frying sago till it gets charred and then boiling it in water. Sandhū is also prepared in various fancy colours. Women who have not reached their twenties are sometimes partial to the use of kuṭṭhiliporte, or small tinsel discs, available in the bazaar at the rate of about half-a-doores for a pair. To attach these to the skin, the commonest material used is the gum of the jack-fruit, quantities of which will be found sticking to a wall or pillar in the house, ready for immediate use. The vogue of the kuṭṭhiliporte is on the wane, however.

In the more orthodox families, it is considered objectionable that the forehead of a woman should remain blank even for a moment, and accordingly it is permanently marked with a tattooed vertical line, the operation being performed generally by women of the Korava tribe. The blister takes sometimes a fortnight to heal, but the Hindu woman, who is nothing if not a martyr by temperament and training, suffers the pain uncomplainingly."\(^{13}\)

\(^{13}\) Sikhs do not use any mark as a rule, though some wear a dot, and their sectaries appear to have no distinguishing marks other than those used by the Udāsī and Sthātra-shāhās.

\(^{14}\) This appears to resemble the Vaishāpava samam of Southern India.

\(^{15}\) The tapin madī is a 'burnt impression' as opposed to the alit madī or 'cold impression,' which means the painting of emblems daily on the forehead, chest or arms with gops chandu or clay, while worshipping a god.

\(^{16}\) [During my wanderings in bastars in India, I frequently collected pilgrimage stamps of brass of the kind above mentioned. They were not at all difficult to procure twenty years ago in such places as Hardwar, Gayā, Mirzapur, Bareilly, and so on. But I have never reproduced or used them, as I could not ascertain to which shrines they belonged. When the stamp contained a name it was usually Rām-sīn, Rām Nākyaṇ, or some such Vaishāpava term.—Ed.]
SUPERSTITIONS AND CEREMONIES RELATING TO DWELLINGS IN THE PANJAB.

BY H. A. ROSE.

I.

The Aspect of the House.

1. The south.

A southern aspect is unlucky.

In Jullundur (Jalandhar) it means that it will generally remain empty. In Lahore a house facing south, or a site on which a house facing south can only be built, has a markedly lower selling value than one with any other aspect. Builders make every effort to avoid a southern aspect. In Gurgaon a house should, if possible, face towards the Ganges, never south. In Dera Ghazi Khan this aspect is specially unlucky.

2. The astrological aspect.

In Trans-Giri Sirmaur the "nām ras," of the village settles the aspect in the first instance. If it is Kumbh, Talā or Bīsī, the house must face west: if in Bīrīk, Kunj or Makar, south; if in Mia, Kerkh or Mīhan, north.

The house must never face east. But north and south are also unlucky, as the north aspect brings poverty and the south admits demons. Therefore when a house, according to the "nām ras" rule ought to face north, south or east, it is made to face north-west or north-east, south-east or south-west.

3. Other aspects.

In Amritsar a house built in front of a tree, or facing a tank or river, is unlucky. 3

II.

Times for building.

1. The suspicious moment.

In Sirmaur a handful of earth from the site selected is taken to a Brahman, who predicts the suspicious moment for laying the foundations, by declaring that a leopard, cow, fox or other animal or drum will be heard at the appointed time. The prophecy usually comes off, because it is made with due regard to local circumstances at the time, but if it fails, the time is postponed and another day fixed.


Baisakh, Bhadon, Māgh and Phāgun are lucky, unless the builder's "nām ras" is in Saturn, Mars, Ketu or Rahu.

In Kangra, the only lucky months are those between Māgh and Hār.

In Dera Ghazi Khan, the lucky months are Sāwan, Kātk, Poh, Phāgun and Baisakh.

---

1 The Hindu alphabet is divided among the twelve zodiacal signs, each of which affects the letters allotted to it. The "nām ras" is the sign to which the initial letter of the name of the village (as also of a person) belongs.

2 Also among Muhammadans in Dera Ghazi Khan.

3 In this District, if a pipal tree grows within the house precincts, it is unlucky. But in Lahore symmetry and even safety are sacrificed in order to preserve a pipal tree growing on the site of a house, or within its precincts, unless the tree can be easily transplanted.
SUPERSTITIOUS DECORATION OF BUILDINGS,
PANJAB.

Plate I.
SUPERSTITIOUS DECORATION OF BUILDINGS,
PANJAB

Plate II.
SUPERSTITIOUS DECORATION OF BUILDINGS, PANJAB.

Plate III.
Phágun and Baisákha are the lucky months: (Sáwan provides sons; Kátik brings gold and silver; Poh finds worship acceptable to God.) The unlucky months are Há, Bhádón, Asaaj, Maghar, Mág, Chét, and Jéth. Há breeds mice; Bhádón makes the owner ill; Asaaj produces family quarrels; Maghar produces debt; Mág creates danger of fire; Chét brings ill-luck, and Jéth loss of the money spent in building.

III.

Foundation ceremonies.

1. Sírmúr.

In Trans-girl Sírmúr a betel-nut, for fertility, and a pirināda4 for longevity, are always, and a hair from a tiger’s or a leopard’s moustache for courage is often placed beneath the foundation stone.

Elsewhere in Sírmúr four jars containing articles, brought from Hardwár or other sacred places, are set at the four corners of the house, and on these are laid the foundation stones.

2. Kángrá.

In Kángrá tahi the foundations are laid at an auspicious moment, when a stone chakki (grindstone), called rastā, is placed in them and worshipped, a goat being sacrificed and karhā parshād offered to it.

3. Ambálā.

In Ambálā, the foundation is laid at the time fixed by a Brahman, and oil is poured on the spot; gur being distributed to those present.

4. Amritsar.

In Amritsar, the foundation rites are called child asthipas, ‘setting up of the stone.’

A pit is dug at an auspicious moment, and mangoes, betel leaves with an iron peg driven through them into the earth, curds, bari (a mess of pulse), and gur are placed in it as offerings. White rape-seed and asafetida are then sprinkled over the pit. Next a new jar, covered with a spotted red and yellow cloth and containing a coconut, seven kinds of grain, a gold or silver coin and a paper, recording the year, day and hour of laying the foundation, is placed in it. Lastly, oil is sprinkled over the jar, the gods and serpents are worshipped, and the pit is closed with five or seven flat bricks.

The object of the various articles used in this ceremony is as follows: — Mangoes for fertility: betel leaves for a gentle temper: the iron peg for strength to the foundations: the coconut for riches in fruit, grain and money. The curds and gur are offerings to the gods, and the rape-seed and asafetida ward off evil spirits.

IV.

The architrave.

1. Ambálā.

When the door frame is set up, a gaudā of wool, with a small bag of madder tied to it, is fastened to the lintel, to avert calamity and for the prosperity of the inhabitants.

2. Amritsar.

The door frame is set up at an auspicious moment, and a mauli thread, with a bag containing rice, rape-seed, a bit of red silk cloth, a kaunī, a ring of iron and of glass, is tied to it to the northward. Gur is distributed and the gods worshipped. Five or seven impressions of the hand in red are then made on the frame, to signify the completion of the rites.

The door frame is guarded until the walls reach the top of it, lest a woman should bewitch the frame and cause death or injury to the owner.

The ‘Five Gods’ are often carved on the lintel for the protection of the inmates.

4 A silk cord for tying a woman’s hair. Usually it denotes a wife’s good fortune, but here long life to the men of the family.

A kāngī of red thread, an iron ring, a betel nut and mustard seeds are all tied to the lintel to keep off the evil spirits.

V.
Completion ceremonies.
1. Sirmūr.

As the house approaches completion a piruđa, a betel nut, and an iron ring, called the three šākhās are tied to a beam and to the lintel of the door. The iron ring is a protection against evil spirits.

2. Kaṅgrā.

The completion rite is called pataśīltā, when Brahmans and the kinsmen are feasted and a goat is sacrificed. An image of Ganesha carved in stone, called wāstā or jujūp is also set up in a niche in the hall.

3. Ambālā.

When the building is finished a black handīd (pot) is hung inside it and a black hand is painted on the wall to avert the evil eye.

4. Amritsar.

A house should not be roofed during the parjā in any month, but at a fixed auspicious time. The roof should have an odd number of beams.

A staircase should always be to the left of the entrance and contain an odd number of steps.

VI.
Occupation ceremonies.
1. Ambālā.

Before occupation a Brahman is asked to fix the mahārat, or lucky time for entrance. Seven or eleven days previously a pandit performs a havan inside the house. On the day fixed for the occupation pandits also recite mantras to avert evil spirits and the owner feeds Brahmans and gives alms.

2. Amritsar.

A Brahman fixes a lucky day for the occupation when the ceremony of chathā is performed. As a preliminary, green leaves from seven trees are tied to a mauli on the outer door. The gods are worshipped, havan is performed and figures of five or seven gods are drawn on the ground, together with that of Wāstā, the house-god.5

After first throwing a little oil on the threshold, the master and his family enter at an auspicious moment, carrying a new jar full of water, flowers, sur, yellow thread, fruit, nuts, etc., while house-wife carries a jug of curds. The master wears new clothes and a turban. Both man and wife, together with a quiet milch cow, are led by a girl, wearing a red cloth on her head and a nose-ring. Sometimes a sacred book is carried in also. A Brahman recites mantras, and then all the articles brought in are placed north and south of a bedī, in which are stuck flags of ten various colours. These are afterwards removed and affixed to the outer wall of the house on either side of the door. Brahmans and kinsmen are fed and the ceremonies are ended.


The chathā, or occupation ceremony, simply consists here of the worship of a figure of Ganesha painted in red or smeared with flour on the house-wall by the owner.

4. Gurgon.

Before occupation havan is performed, the bhatā of Sat Narain is recited and food given to the Brahmans.

5 See above III, 2; and V, 2.

6 See preceding paragraph.
5. Ludhianā.

Before occupying a new house the ceremony of griha pratishtā is performed.
Before reoccupying a house that has not been lived in for some time, the ceremony of bhāstā pājā is performed.

VII.
The form of the house.

1. General.

It is unlucky to build a house broader in front than at the back. Such a house is called sher-dahan, lion-mouthed, or ḫūq-mahan, tiger-mouthed.
A house, to be lucky, should be gau-mahāt, cow-mouthed, or broader behind than in front.
Houses, also, to be lucky, should have an equal number of sides, preferably four, six or twelve sides.

2. Amritsar.

In Amritsar, a house that is kushāt-dahan, open-mouthed, or wider in front than behind, will make the tenant spend more than his income.
A house with its front higher than its back is unlucky.

VIII.
The roof.

1. Ceilings.

The beams of the upper storey must not cross the rafter of the lower storey, but lie parallel with them. If they do cross it is a bad omen, and the condition is called gal. This does not apply to the ceilings of different rooms on the same floor.

2. Rafters.

Rafters are counted in sets of three, the first of each set being called respectively bhūstṛāj (lord of the dwelling), Ind (for Indar, the rain-god), Yām (for Yāma, the god of death), or simply rāj. Endeavour is always made to so arrange the rafters that the last may be counted as rāj, as that brings luck. If the counting ends in Ind, the roof will leak, which is tolerated: but on no account must the last rafter be counted as Yām, as that would bring death or adversity.

3. Thatch.

Some Gūjaras of the Palwal tahāl of Gurgūn affect thatched roofs, as any other kind will bring down on them the wrath of their Pir, or patron saint.

IX.
Structural alterations.

Between the months of Hār and Kāṭik the gods are asleep and no structural alteration should then be made.

X.
Ceremonial decorations.

1. General.

On numerous specified occasions, the house is decorated or marked with figures and designs, everyone of which has, or originally had, a meaning of its own. They are always drawn by the women, never by men.

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*Upper storeys are sometimes tabbed; e.g., the Najar Jats of the Samralāh tahāl of Ludhianā think an upper storey brings bad luck.

† Thus with four rafters, the last counts as Ind: with seven rafters, the last would count as Yām: with ten rafters, the last would count as rāj, the lucky number.
2. Figures used on religious festivals in Gurgão.

(a) Solono.

On the Solono day a figure, called sand (Plate I, fig. 2), is drawn in red on the house-wall. It is said to represent the asterism Srāvana, and is worshipped by placing sweetmeats before it, which are afterwards given to Brahmas.

(b) Nāg Panchami.

On the Nāg Panchami, 5th of lunar Bhāden, the figure shown on Plate I, fig. 1, is drawn in black on the house-wall. It represents the snake-god in his dwelling and is believed to prevent the house from being infested with snakes.

(c) Kāṭik and Diwālī.

In Gurgão, Bāniās and Brahmas draw the figure on Plate II, on the house-wall. It must be begun on the 4th and finished on the 8th of lunar Kāṭik.

The first part (a) is called sīṭā and represents Rādhikī (Rādhā), spouse of Kṛishṇa. This is worshipped on the 8th of lunar Kāṭik by placing sweetmeats before it.

The second part (b) represents the goddess Amanashyā and is worshipped at noon on the Dīwālī by placing before it rice and milk, which are afterwards given to Brahmas.

The third part (c) represents Lākṣāmī as the goddess of wealth, and is worshipped at midnight on the Dīwālī by placing money before it. An all-night vigil is kept on this occasion.

(d) Deo-ūthān.

On the Deo-ūthān day in Kāṭik when the gods awake from their sleep the figure in Plate III is drawn in the courtyard of the house and worshipped by placing before it fruit and vegetables in season. The women of the household call in a Brahman, and with her they sing songs and beat the mat with which the figures are covered, and then, it is believed, the gods are awakened from their sleep. The male representation to the right is of Nārāyān.

(a) Nārāyan.

On Nārāyaṇa’s day white dots are made on the tops of the figures, in parallel rows on the house-wall; and figures of birds and animals, all in white dots, are also drawn.

(3) Figures of deots.

In Sīrūr a house is at once abandoned if the sign or image of a deota is painted on it, in the belief that it was thereby become sacred.

4. Weddings.

Chariots, peafowl and many other objects are drawn on the house-walls at a wedding. In Gurgão, in addition, a picture of the god Bīnsāik or Bīndāik, covered over with an earthen jar fastened to the wall, is drawn several days before the wedding of a male member of the family, and is worshipped daily to avert calamity.

5. The Dehrā.

In Kāŋgāra, every house should possess a dehrā, upon which a ball of clay, made by an elderly woman of the family, is placed on the birth of a child. This ball is called Bhain or Atam Devī.

At the wedding of a boy or girl the enclosure of the dehrā is plastered over with cowdung and the figure of the dehrā drawn anew with ground rice in red and yellow. See Plate I, fig. 1.

The enclosure in which the dehrā is drawn is decorated with pictures of Gauḍā, Devī, Shib and Pārbatt adorned with flowers, and so are both sides of the door. In the courtyard of the house a chariot is drawn with wheat flour on a portion of the yard plastered with cowdung.

* Sanskr. Vinnāyakā or Vinnāyikā (?).
XI.

Ceremonial marks and signs.

1. Swástika.
   (a) Form.
   The usual form of the sátiá or sátiá is \( \text{Sa} \), but in Dera Ghází Khán District a curious arm is added. See Plate I, fig. 1.
   (b) Meaning.
   The sátiá is divided into four main lines \( \| \) which represents the gods of the Four Quarters:—Kuber, north; Yám ríj, south; Indar, east; Varun, west. The four additions \( \text{Sa} \) represent the gods of the ‘half quarters’:—Isar, north-east; Agni, south-east; Vayú, north-west; Nainí, south-west. In the centre sits Gánpati, lord of divine hosts.
   (c) Uses.
   To bring luck; it is drawn on the doors of and inside houses and shops in Gurgâon.
   To avert the evil eye; it is drawn in black on newly-built houses.
   To avert evil spirits; after the Holi or festival of the harvest god, by matrons in red or yellow on either side the house door; and after the birth of a boy, by a girl of the family or by a Brahman on the seventh day after the birth with seven twigs inserted in it.

2. Bandarwáli.
   (a) Form.
   A bandarwáli is properly a string of siras or mango leaves tied across the door as a sign of rejoicing.
   (b) Variants.
   In Ludhiána it is termed kinkámndi.
   In Sírmúr a bandarwáli of red flowers is tied all around the house on the first of Baśákh to invoke the blessing of Sri Gul.
   In Sírmúr, in Bhádón a branch of tejáí is kept at the door to avert evil spirits and dágas.
   A common variant is a row of (probably seven) cyphers under a line.
   In Kânpur, at a wedding or birthday, seven cyphers are drawn on the house-wall in saffron, and gáé is poured on them seven times. This mark is termed biśá-dhírd, and is a symbol of Lákshmi as goddess of wealth.
   In Firozpur, the Bhaúráis carve in wood over their doors during a wedding the following figure:

3. Thápa.
   (a) Meaning.
   A thápa is an impression of a hand, and popularly represents the hand of an ancestor raised in blessing on those who do them homage. In the Shhátrús, thápas represent the hands of Asví, god of wealth, and Púshá, god of intelligence.
   (b) Use.
   A thápa is always a sign of rejoicing.
   (c) Gurgâon.
   In Gurgâon, five or seven thápas in red beside the house door denote the birth of a boy or a wedding in the family: a single thápa in yellow, with another drawn in gáé, denotes that a vigil (jágrítt) is being kept in honour of the house goddess.

* Vidó Punjab Notes and Queries, 1885, § 771.
(d) Ludhiana.

Thāmās stamped with turmeric, ṛòkī or ḍhā denote rejoicing. At weddings they are placed on both the bride's and bridegroom's house. In the former they are worshipped by the newly-married couple immediately after the pherūd, and in the former after the bride enters it.

XII.

Shops and out-houses.

1. Shops.

In Gujrāt the thārā is a large, raised, circular mark on shop walls. It begins by being a circle, nine inches in diameter, to the right of the door. Every Sunday it is rubbed over with wet cowdung, and incense (ṭhāhū) is burnt before it. In time the layers of cowdung form a considerable incrustation on the wall. (Thārā literally means a platform).

2. Out-houses.

The kōṭā, if meant for treasure, is invariably ornamented, and if built into the wall of the dwelling house, the style of decoration suggests that the aid of some protecting power is invoked. The outer edge is enclosed with a square beading of notches in three longitudinal and five transverse lines alternately, making a continuous chain. The corners are furnished with a pentagonal lozenge with a dot in the centre, an adaptation of the circle with a dot. This chain of three and five | | | | | is continued all round the kōṭā, but occasionally in the upper centre, for five consecutive times, the five transverse notches are left out, and the three longitudinal ones are made into figures of three tongues turned about alternately, by inclining two notches to an angle and making the third spring out of it, thus: < > < > <.<. Beneath the beading at the four corners is added a svodātīka without the usual regular addition, but with four dots, \[\frac{1}{4}\] suggestive of the modern Vaishnava innovations of the four elements. The door is surrounded by a double beading of a square, topped by a larger one with trefoils in the corners, and two serpents with their heads back to back in the centre. Their eyes are dots, but the symbol being incomplete without the mystic three, a dot is placed between the two heads so as to form the apex of a triangle. The trefoils are double, the lower being the larger of the two showing a dot on each leaflet, while the upper one has only two dots, one in the centre and one in the stalk.

If the kōṭā be for storing grain, it has a hole in the bottom for taking the grain out of it, and this is ornamented with the sun symbol, a circle with curved radii or spokes.

XIII.

Muhammadan usages.

All the foregoing observances are, as a rule, confined to Hindus, and then chiefly to the higher castes. The Muhammadan observances are much more simple.

1. Gujrāt.

In occupying a new house, friends and kinsmen are feasted and some alms distributed.

2. Dera Ḡāzī Khān.

On laying the foundation, gur is distributed as alms. On completion, alms are distributed and a sacrifice (ratwādī) of a living animal is made to avert evil. The formal entry is made at an auspicious time fixed by the ulāmād, the owner carrying a Qarān, with some salt and a jar of water as emblems of fertility.

Panjab Notes and Queries, Series II, § 75.
THE YATIRÂJAYAIBHAVAM OF ÂNDHRAPÚRṆA.

(Life of Râmânuja).

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Introduction.

This is a work of one of the contemporaries of Râmânuja describing briefly the main incidents in the life of Râmânuja from the point of view of an admiring devotee. Such as it is, it is peculiarly free from the gross exaggerations which mar the other works of the kind, except perhaps the Tiruvarangattandâdi by Amudân of Arangam, a disciple, according to tradition, of Kâratâlvân, the first among Râmânuja’s inner coterie of disciples.

Nothing is really known about Ândhrapûrṇa, the author of this work, except what he chooses to tell us himself, viz., that “he was engaged in the milk service of Râmânuja.” Even tradition has few things to tell about him. We find his name, however, among those of the 74 successors of Râmânuja in the propagation of the Vaishnava Gospél, and the author of the Prapannâmrityam, who lived a contemporary of Venkaṭapâti (vâdy 1614 A. D.) claims to be a descendant of Ândhrapûrṇa (or Vaduganambi as he is called in Tamil).

Of late there has arisen considerable interest in the life and work of Râmânuja among scholars to whom this and other similar works bearing upon the history of Râmânuja do not appear to have been accessible. It is with a view to placing such works within their reach, and also of our northern consis that I have made this attempt at publishing the text in Devanagari with an English translation. It has been published pretty accurately in Telugu, and possibly Grantha characters as well, leaving little to be done in the matter of collating and editing.

It is hoped that this attempt will lead eventually to a better understanding of the life and teachings of Râmânuja and of the faith of a vast number of the men and women of my country who profess to follow his teachings. My sincere thanks are due to Sir Richard Temple for helping me in the publication of it through the Indian Antiquary.

Text.

Translation.

Obeisance to you, Ândhrapûrṇa of great qualities, devoted to the milk service of Sri Râmânuja, prince of ascetics.

1. He that had learnt the secrets of the two systems of the Vedanta, from Yâmuna as preceptor; He that wished to carry out his (preceptor’s) command, Âcharya Sri Sâllapûrṇa, in search of eligible young men to marry his two young sisters dwelt in Venkaṭapâdi (Tirupâti), doing God service, with water, flowers and other such that the good might prosper.

2. During the time two persons, permanent residents of Mâdhura-mangals and Bhûta-puri (Pûtûr) respectively, well versed in the Vedas and Vedângas and well born, by name Kamalanayana (or Pûndârikâksha) and Kâśvâsâmayâji came there with ideas of marriage.

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1 The Vedânta as expounded in the Sanskrit and Tamil Canonical works of the Vaishnavas.
2 Places very near each other in the Chingleput District about 15 miles from Kânci.
3 Sri Sailapūrṇa seeing them to be eligible and gladly making up his mind that they were worthy of his sisters, at their request, bestowed upon them, as they bowed low in reverence, the marks of the conch and disc, and the mantra.  

4 Among them Kesavaśāmyāji, his mind full of joy, accepted the hand of the elder sister Bhūmīdīvi; while Kamalanayana Bhaṭṭa accepted the younger Sridevi; Sri Sailapūrṇa was delighted with them both.  

5 Thereafter, taking leave of Sri Sāila, the two with their wives reached their respective places. Leading good lives and devoting themselves to the worship of Viṣṇu they lived in happiness with their wives.  

6 Then, in the all-auspicious year Pingala, in the month of Chaitra, in the fifth division of the bright half, in the asterism of Ardrā, on a Thursday, in the sign Leo of the Zodiac.  

7 For the establishment of the system of Vedanta, for the condemning of the systems of illusion, both within and without the Veda, from the wife of Kesavaśāmyāji was born a child, an incarnation of Śāla, a store-house of light.  

8 Then Sri Sailapūrṇa having come to Bhūtapuri and having seen the marvellous child, his nephew, made the marks of the disc and conch to protect the child from evil, and gave him the name Rāmānuja.  

9 The child, growing by the blessings of Sri Sāila, the father celebrated the anniversary of his son’s birth, then tonsure and then, in the auspicious fifth year, initiated him in letters in the usual order.  

10 Having then been invested by his father with the sacred thread, having learnt the Veda and the sciences of the Vedāṅga, conducting himself truthfully to the joy of the great ones, Rāmānuja lived a young man of consequence.

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3 Vaishnavas have five Sāmakaras or purificatory observances, viz.:  
(a) Thāpā = branding with metallic blocks of the shape of the Conch (Śaṅka) and Disc (Chakra), two of the principal weapons of Viṣṇu.  
(b) Punāra = casts mark on the face, white on the border and red in the middle.  
(c) Nāma = devotional name, generally assumed as soon as the previous two are over;  
(d) Mantra = the three mantras, mūla, dvayam and charanā śīla. The first is a declaration that the soul is of God; the second, that devotion to him is indispensable to salvation; the third is declaration of promise that God will give salvation to those that devote themselves unto him. Of these the first two are in the Upadhyāda and the last in the Gītā.  
(e) Yāga = worship of God in one form.
11 Having married a certain young lady Rāmānuja as a householder went for the purpose of learning the teaching of the rival school, to a Yādavaprakāśa, the advaitic ascetic (Mayi Sanayasi) at Kanchi.

12 On one occasion afterwards, when Yādava, who was ignorant of the real meaning of the Vedic passage "Sarvakāla,\(^4\) etc., interpreted the passage wrongly in the midst of the assembly, Rāmānuja proved the truth by explaining its proper meaning.

13 The noble Yānunārya, usually resident at Srirangam, having heard of Rāmānuja's exposition of the passage referred to, arrived at Kanchi with his more confidential disciples and worshipped God Varada with his consort.

14 Having done his worship he saw Yādava surrounded by his pupils, among whom shone the bright form of Rāmānuja. Seeing them thus, he thought it were proper if Rāmānuja had been the master and Yādava the pupil.

15 For the exaltation of the Sri Vaishnavas, he, Yānunārya supplicated God Dēvaraja, the protectress, glorious in company with Mahādevi, 'Yasyaprakāśa' etc.

16 "If Rāmānuja should be spoken to now, his further studies may be put an end to," thought Yānuna and therefore left with all his disciples for Srirangam without speaking to him. Rāmānuja continued his course under Yādava as usual.

17 In the meanwhile, while the son of the ruler of Kanchi became possessed, and while attempts at exorcism by others had all failed, the King ordered Yādava to try, having heard that his power of incantation would raise the ghost.

18 Having seen Yādava surrounded by his more intimate disciples, having greatly laughed him to scorn, the evil spirit found refuge in Rāmānuja giving up both the prince and its own burden of sin.

19 Seeing what had so wonderfully occurred the King made presents to Rāmānuja, which the latter, with great reverence, made over to his guru Yādava.

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\(^4\) Ghāṭotkara Upamāṇa, III., 14, i.

\(^5\) It is a sthānta implying that if God only wills it, things considered impossible of occurrence will some to pass easily. To such a God I resign myself for the success of the Dāsāsana.
20 Yādava having then returned to Kanchi, feigned great love to Rāmānuja, while inwardly hating him. Thenceforward he began expounding the texts of the Vedanta with a view to testing the attitude of mind of Rāmānuja.

21 While Yādava was once giving a wrong interpretation of the expression “Karpāsāṁ” (in a passage referring to Viśnu) he looked up with surprise at Rāmānuja, who, then in the service of anointing his master, shed hot tears which burnt through Yādava’s thigh.

22 Giving the correct rendering of the expression to Yādava who was enquiring what it was that Rāmānuja was shedding such hot tears for, Rāmānuja gave out the story of Jaimini in illustration. Yādava then told Rāmānuja: “Come no more here for learning.”

23 After this the evil-minded Yādava, consulted his more intimate disciples, deceiving Rāmānuja by stratagem, started on a pilgrimage to the Ganges, with view to putting an end to Rāmānuja.

24 Rāmānuja’s mother’s sister’s son, good-natured Govindabhaṭṭa informed his fellow-disciple and friend Rāmānuja, in the depth of the forest, of this evil intent on the part of his companions and went his way along with them.

25 Having reached the middle of the forest, Rāmānuja in mental agony, fixed, one night, his thoughts on Varada, ever shining in company with Mahādevi, protector of the humble, the refuge of all.

26 Varada, assuming, with Mahādevi, the form of a Kirāṭa (hunter) pair, said: “Well, Rāmānuja, we shall go to Kanchi.” Leading Rāmānuja, he disappeared with Mahādevi, having drunk the water which Rāmānuja brought up from a well.

27 In the morning following, seeing close at hand the Puṣya Kēṭi Vimāṇa (the tower of the sanctum at Kanchi), Rāmānuja was struck with wonder, thinking, as he was, of Varada that had so recently quenched his thirst with the water Rāmānuja gave him.

*Chandogyo Upanishad, I. 6, 71.

*Referring to the acceptance of Jaimini’s interpretations by Viśa in the Brahmastra.

*The wife of the hunter wanted some water to allay her thirst. Rāmānuja got down and fetched her some water from a well by the roadside. The well is yet pointed out on the outskirts of Kanchi. It is from this well that Rāmānuja used to bring water for temple service as stated above.
28 Rāmānuja, well pleased with all that had happened, performed his morning prayers at the tank near at hand and worshipped both Mahādevi and Varada. He pleased both the God and his Consort by a daily service of water from the well, which seemed so acceptable to them both.

29 Govindabhaṭṭa, under the influence of Yāmuna's spell, with a phallic linga in the palm of his hand, having returned to his native village from the banks of the Ganges, lived in Kāḷahasti, as temple-manager.

30 Having, then, returned to Kaśchī, Yādava, saw Rāmānuja and heard how he had managed to return. Inviting him again to his school he taught Rāmānuja along with his other disciples with a view to circumventing him again.

31 On a particular occasion while Yādava interpreted wrongly the Vedic text beginning "Śadāra, etc." Rāmānuja explained the passages correctly by giving the true interpretation. Yādava then dismissed Rāmānuja from his school finally.

32 Having heard that Rāmānuja, a jewel of wonderful lustre, had been cast out of his school by the monkey of a man, Yādava, Yāmūnāya felt delighted that Rāmānuja lived yet quite worthy of the affection (for adorning the chest of) the God Viṣṇu of Kaṅkha (Kaḷiṣa).

33 This Yāmūnāya ordered his disciple Mahāpūrṇa (Periambi in Tamil) to fetch Rāmānuja. Having gone to Kaṅkha he delighted Rāmānuja with a recital of (Yāmūnā)'s Śrīyatrata and himself rejoiced (at the impression it made upon Rāmānuja).

34 As Rāmānuja in company with Mahāpūrṇa was about entering Srīrangam, he found, on the banks of the Kaveri, a large crowd of the 'God's chosen.'

35 Rangēsa and the other elect having seen the pair (Rāmānuja and Mahāpūrṇa) felt consoled when they pointed out to them the folded fingers of Yāmuna.
36 I will expound the unique Vṛṣṇa Sūtra (Bṛha-
ma Sūtra); I will confer upon two worthy
people the names of his father (Vṛṣṇa's
father Pārāśara) and Saṭṭāri. Having
made these promises Rāmānuja prostrated
at the feet of the departed great one.

37 In a moment his three fingers resumed
the usual condition (of erection). Having
seen this, all present, declared that this
(young man Rāmānuja) will surely
become the principal in the establishment
of the Siddhānta (the qualified Monistic
School of the Vaishnavas).

38 Hastening back to Kanchi even without
workshop God Ranganātha (of Srirangam),
having made reverential obeisance to God Varada (at Kanchi), he
settled down serving God with water, etc.;
thus engaged he pondered on one occasion
as to what he should then do (to fulfill
his solemn promise).

39 Addressing himself then to Kanchipurāṇa
(Tīr-Kachchinābhi) who was in the con-
dence of Varada at Kanchi and who laid
down the duties of each of the separate
castes and each separate stage in the life of
a Hindu, Rāmānuja sought help of the
guru to ascertain the wishes of God regard-
ing what he was pondering in his own mind.

40 I with Sri (Lakshmi) am the supreme being;
my conviction is difference; resigning
oneself to God is the safest way to
salvation; conscious volition not essential
at the end of this life, salvation; for the
time being the preceptor is to be sought
by you in Mahāpurāṇa.

41 These six statements of Varada he com-
municated to Rāmānuja in secret; so it is
that this keeper of the conscience of
Varada (God) ever after became worthy
of the reverence of Rāmānuja.

42 Afterwards, Rāmānuja journeying towards
Srirangam, halted for worshipping
Tāṭkapāla Raghunandana, together with
Sri, Būmi and Niḷa at Madurāstakam.

43 Rāmānuja having there met by accident
Mahāpurāṇa who had arrived at the
temple (on his way to Kanchi to fetch
Rāmānuja) at the instance of his fellow-
disciples (of Ālavanār) and having
prostrated at the feet of Mahāpurāṇa, each
of them had his eyes filled with tears of
joy (at this unlooked-for meeting).
44. Rejoicing at the respective commands that thus brought them together, in the same temple, at a spot where, the Vakula tree cast its shadow and which he (Rāmaṇuja) took to be the abode of the highest (paramāmpad) Rāmaṇuja elected Mahāpūrṇa for his holy preceptor.

45. To Rāmaṇuja, Mahāpūrṇa gave instruction in the mantras with their meanings relating to the performance of the marks of the disc and conch, the putting on of the Vaishāva face-marks and worship of God. In the same manner he instructed in the Mantraratnam and the other mantras as well.

46. The guru with his disciple then left such a holy place (as the one where these events took place). Reaching Kanchi and worshipping Varada (giver of all that one wishes for) whose name bears out his act, they reached the house where Rāmaṇuja was in residence.

47. Mahāpūrṇa, well pleased, instructed him in the three thousand songs (The Tamil Prabandha 4000 less the Tiravṭayaadi 1000) and even the commentaries on the Brahmastra of Vyāsa; Rāmaṇuja by conducting himself in a way that his preceptor approved of, honoured his guru and his wife.

48. While Rāmaṇuja had gone to Bhūtāpurī on some business, Mahāpūrṇa took his wife to task for having lost her temper with Rāmaṇuja's wife for using scornful language unworthy of her.

49. Mahāpūrṇa then left with his wife for Srirangam. Rāmaṇuja having heard of what had taken place, grew angry with his wife and sent her away to her parents, full, as he was, of devotion to his preceptor.

50. Bereft of desire, Rāmaṇuja gave up his wife and having worshipped Devaraja, received from him the āśrama (life) of Saṅhaṅa (ascetic). Devaraja gave him the name Yatiraja.

51. After this Rāmaṇuja, prince of ascetics, carrying a tridāṇḍa (triple staff), with tuft of hair, holy thread, and brown robes muttering the mantraratna (the second three mantras in note 3) eagerly conducted himself as became his caste and stage of life.
52 Kūrādhāsa, (Kūrattājāvār), Vātysanātha (Naḍḍādārājāvār) and Vadhulanātha (Mudaliyāndān) became his disciples while they were alone. Rāmānuja, Indra among ascetics, became to them the bestower of Sankha and Chakra marks and the secrets of the faith.

53 Then Yādavaprakāśa, purified by the look of Yāmunārya, became a disciple of Rāmānuja with the appellation Govinda-Yūgi. He composed a book treating of the rule of ascetic life (Yati-Dharma Samuchchayaṁ).

54 On a particular occasion Srinagarījārya (Tirunagalapparumālārayar) went to Kanchi and worshipping Varada started towards Srinagām in company with Rāmānuja.

55 Yatīrāja, accompanied by Kurēśa and other disciples of the first degree and other disciples besides, desirous of paying his respects to the elders of the sect went to Srinagam, worshipping God at Madurantakam on the way.

56 Rāmānuja, reverence with garland and accompaniments, presented by those who went forward to receive him by order of God Rangannātha, worshipped Śrī (Lakēmi) and then Rangannātha, and lived there at the head of the temple management.

57 Thinking that all his greatness, both here and hereafter, was due to the kindness of Mahāpūra, Rāmānuja, reverencing Mahāpūra, lived at Srinagam doing obedience to his preceptor.

58 Afterwards under command of Mahāpūra, Rāmānuja doing obedience at the feast of Gōshhipūra (Kōṭiyūr Nambi) gained initiation into the meaning of the Mantra and the Charama Śloka.11 He then explained these secrets to a large number of his followers.

59 Understanding the inward thought of Rāmānuja (Yati Sārvabhauma) and holding him and his principle in high esteem, Gōshhipūra considering that thereafter the particular dāsana (religion) should be Lakēhmana dāsana, remained delighted.

11 Gītā, Ch. XVIII 66, and the last of three referred to in note 3.
Then Rāmānuja, the prince of ascetics, paid his respects to the preceptor Mahāpūrṇa. The latter, then sent Rāmānuja to learn certain subjects, worth learning, from Rāngāsa (Tiruvārangappār Mājarayar).

After this Rāmānuja returned to Mahāpūrṇa, having learnt from Rāngāsa, Saṭṭāri’s last work Tiruvōyomoji the essence of this, the work of Madhurakavi,\(^\text{12}\) Stotradevam\(^\text{13}\) with all its esoteric meaning.

Rāmānuja, of keen intellect, under command again of Mahāpūrṇa learnt from Mālādhara (Tirumālāyāνān) the meaning of the thousand of Saṭṭāri (Namāmālyar) and that of Parākāla Tirumangaiyāṉar.

Having heard from Rāmānuja that a certain other interpretation may also be suitable for a particular passage, the teacher (Mālādhara) informed both Mahāpūrṇa and Goshḍāpūrṇa of this. All three of them were well pleased with Rāmānuja for his interpretation.

In this manner having learnt from the college of preceptors, the Vedanta with all its esoteric and apparent significance, the prince of ascetics lived happily in Srirangam with Kūrēśa, Vātēśa and other disciples.

At this time, Aṭṭāya Prāṇathāthiḥāra (Raṭṭāmbāṭchēn) attained to the lotus-feet of Rāmānuja (arrived at Srirangam) bringing with him Pillān, the son of his aunt and Sṛt Sālāpūrṇa, the uncle of Rāmānuja.

He (Aṭṭchēn) told Rāmānuja of the boy’s good conduct ever since his birth, his devotion to Yatīśa (Rāmānuja) and his wish to serve him (Rāmānuja); and intimated the message of Sṛt Sālāpūrṇa that Rāmānuja would pay his worship to the God at Vēṅkaṭākāṛi.

Having seen the boy, Rāmānuja, then and there taught Prāṇathāthiḥāra all the Mantras with their interpretations. Thenceforward Prāṇathāthiḥāra became the immediate personal attendant of Rāmānuja.

\(^{12}\) A decade by Madurakavi in praise of Namāmālyar.

\(^{13}\) Two hymns of praise—one in praise of Kākshmi and the other in praise of Viṣṇu by Aḷāvandar.
68 On a certain occasion afterwards Yatīśa (Rāmānuja) coming to know of the poisoned alms given to him, remained fasting for three days. His two preceptors (Mahāpuruṣa and Ghoṣṭipuruṣa) hearing of this hastened to Srirangam.

69 They both told Rāmānuja (Yatīśa), who having gone forward to receive them, prostrated before them, that, thenceforward, he should take only such food as was tested by Praṇāthā-thihara, who thus became the caretaker of his person.

70 Those that he had sent forward to set right the mind of Govindabhaṭa returned and told him that he (Govindabhaṭa) having given up his linga (phallic emblem which had stuck to the palm of his hand while bathing in the Ganges) lived a bee at the lotus-foots of Śrī Saitapūrṇa (his uncle).

71 Rāmānuja, afterwards, composed Vedārthasamgraham (Vedārthasamkhyāpam), Vedantśāstra, Vedantadīpikā, the Bhaṣya (the commentary on the Brahma-Sūtra) and the commentary on the Gīta; these he taught to Vatsyeśa and other disciples.

72 Having made to the Vyaśa Sūtra, an appropriate commentary, in perfect keeping with the sense of the Vedas, Rāmānuja (Yatīndra) firstly, fulfilled the first wish of Yāmunārya.

73 On a certain occasion afterwards, in the astersim Ṣtara, in the month of Pūlaṇa, approaching Śri Rangaṇātha and Śri Rangaṇayikā (God and Goddess) when placed together after the pleasing ceremony of anointing had taken place, he (Yatīśvara) gave out the Gadyatrāya (three prose works).

74 To one, understanding the inwardness of things by means of the Bhaṣya, seeking refuge of Śrī Śa (Vishṇu), living in him and him alone, Yatīśa, by means of the work entitled Nīthya (Diary) sketched out his daily duties to the day of his death.

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14 Three prose works entitled Śaraṇagathagadāyam, Śri Rangagadāyam and Śrīgadāyam.
75 Then Yatīsa, followed by many disciples going to Tirupati by way of Kanchi and devoutly worshipping the adorable at the hill of Vēṅkaṭa, paid his respects to his guru Sri Sālāpurāṇa, having been regarded with favour by the God at Vēṅkaṭādri.

76 Having been favoured by him and devoting himself to Srinivāsa, from Sri Sālāpurāṇa, Yatīsa Rāmānuja, learnt, in the course of a year's residence, the Rāmāyana with all its varied interpretations.

77 At the command of Sri Sāla, his two sons, learnt there from Rāmānuja, all that was worth learning Sri Sāla gave over to Rāmānuja, the younger of the two, as being worthy of his place.

78 Having taken with him Pillān given by Sri Sāla, and Govinda Bhaṭṭa obtained at his own (Rāmānuja's) request, Yatīsa (Rāmānuja), with joy, returned to Srīrangam by way of Kanchi.

79 Seeing Govinda Bhaṭṭa, quite resigned, Rāmānuja made him an ascetic under the name of Embār. By the grace of God Rāganāṭha, to that Kūrāḍār (Kūrāḍār) had been born the son Bhaṭṭa.

80 Giving the name Parāśara to that Bhaṭṭa, Rāmānuja by his approval established the commentary on the Sahasranāma written by Bhaṭṭa and thus fulfilled the second of the desiderata of Yāmūnārya.

81 On a certain occasion seeing Rāmānuja (Yatīsa) contemplating the drift of a certain Prabandha (Poems in the Tamil Prabandha), that son of Pillān (Pillān, son of Sri Sālāpurāṇa) stated what Rāmānuja was in contemplation upon.

82 Struck with wonder at the young man giving out what he himself arrived at on contemplation, believing that the young man knew it because of his descent from Nāthamuni, Rāmānuja embraced him as his son in intellectual descent.
83 Kurukñavarya (Kurñhëppirñ Pillñ) having become known both as the son of Rñmûnja Yatiñ and his sandal (pâñkû), made the commentary on the last work of Satñari (Tirñvyomñ of Namûnîvarñ).

84 Giving Pillñ the name of Kurukñavara, accepting the six-thousand commentary of his (commentary in 6000 grants for the Tirñvyomñ), Rñmûnja fulfilled the third of the desiderata of Yâmunîya.

85 Under an agreement that the one that gets beaten should become the follower of the victor's conviction, there began between Yatiñvara and Yâgñmûrti, an eighteen-day controversy (in the Velanta).

86 By the grace of Varada, who appeared to Yatiñ in a dream, Yatiñ Rñmûnja vanquished in argument Yâgñmûrti who wished to establish mâyamûta (Advaita philosophy whose cardinal principle is mâyâ). He gave him (Yâgñmûrti) a name composed both of Varada's name and his own (Arañlapperrumñmûntumûnt) to the delight of the new disciple.

87 After this Rñmûnja Yatiñ, with a large following of disciples, going from place to place on a tour of conquest (in controversy) and overcoming the devotees of all other persuasions, at last reached Sarasvatiñta (Kâsim).
Having agreed, they then placed within the sanctum the disc and conch and the trident; and locked up the door. In the morning all of them together opened the door and examined.

The Saivas seeing Sri Srinivasa wear the conch and disc, having broken the trident were driven by Yatiśa (Rāmānuja); Sri Sailapūrṇa felt highly pleased.

Afterwards Yatiśa, with the full grace of his uncle (guru) having returned to Srirangam with all his disciples, lived actively working for the establishment of the Vedanta. The followers of other persuasions grew jealous of him.

The ill-advised Chola, then, compelled these good men to write down ‘there is nothing higher than Siva’ and sent messengers to fetch even Yatiśa (Rāmānuja). This came to the knowledge of his disciples.

Kūrapathi (Kūrattāḷrān), wearing the brown robes and bearing the triple end, started, with Mahāpūrṇa for the Chola Capital. With Yatiśa and other disciples, Rāmānuja, wearing white robes, went to the west.

At some spot in the west country, resuming with all the prescribed ceremonies the brown robes and rod, supplied to him by some that became his disciples, Rāmānuja devoted himself to the worship of God as before.

There some kings and some great ones among the Brahmans became his followers. Even the Jains had their bodies wrung12 and Rāmānuja displayed great powers.

Nārāyaṇa, approaching Rāmānuja in a dream, said, "I am now beneath the surface of the earth in Yadadvāri; establish me; take the white earth 

Yatiśa, delighted with this and pure after bathing early in the waters of the Kalyāṇi (tank) established God Nārāyaṇa in the Vimāna (shrine) that he discovered after search near the tank.

12 Referring to the story current that the Jains were ground in oil-mills after defeat. Regarding this matter see my Life of Rāmānuja, (G. A. Neumann & Co., Madras) and Mysoor Review for March 1905.
With his disciples, Rámánuja took the white earth and wore it (on his forehead) along with them; then going in search of the idol and finding it in the house of the daughter of the Delhi king, Rámánuja called out: "My son, Sampat, come."

Rámánuja having brought away Ránapr stocks to him (on being called as above) and having placed him along with Náráyaṇa made himself happy by worshipping these by festivals, etc., the daughter of the Delhi king, having arrived there, passed out of sight.

Considerably moved on hearing that both Púrpáya and Kúrésa had had their eyes hurt, Yathíśa (Rámánuja) felt pleased when he was told that Kúrésa came to no harm thereby and that the Chója King came to an evil end.

There was the Thírthá Kályáni and the town which became Náráyaṇa by name. There was Srtá (God) Sampatkumára and so, that place became the scene of victory of the king of ascetics (Rámánuja). Then again Srmán Yathírtha (Rámánuja) presented, for the prosperity of those that sought his protection, his own form in the shape of an idol. For that reason it is that the name of Yadugiri assumes the form Yatigiri.

Worshipping Sampatkumára and God Náráyaṇa with his consort Kamala of Yadugiri, giving his instructions to his disciples, Yathíśa, with some among them accompanying him, reached Srírangam. With great joy, his eyes full of tears, Rámánuja prostrated himself before God Sri Ranganátha. His disciples there then told him that the festivities connected with the annual recital of the work of Sañjámathana (Namýálavár) had been stopped.

There Srmán Yathíśa having set up some other image of Sañjáripu (Satári or Namýálavár), through him (i.e., the image of the Ájr) celebrated the twenty days' festival of Adhyajanótsava for God Ranganátha; and having collected, along with the Prabandha works of others, the poem relating to himself (Rámánujanúraññáödá) and having recited it before God Ranganátha, he set up the images of the other Ájvars and Gódá (Anjá).
106 In the same manner, setting up the images of the holy ones and Góda in the holy places of great merit, and arranging similarly for the Adháyana festival (festival where the prabhándhas are chanted), Srímána Rámañjárya lived elevated by the grace of Góda (as he fulfilled her wish) by providing on a large scale, for the dedication, for the special pleasure of God on the Rishabhagiri (Tirumáliirunuváñi) of rice prepared with an abundance of ghee and sugar.

107 Having set up at the foot of Venkaṭáddri, Govindaraja who had been brought there in secret from his place (i.e., Chidambaram), as also the images of the Álvárs, Yáthá with his disciples went to Srírangam and with a view to bringing into his fold those of other persuasions, he organised his disciples into a regular order and lived thereafter in happiness and without fear.

108 Srímána Rámañjá, prince of aseetics, a great Indra among preceptors, made 74 among his followers occupy apostolic seats; in the same manner, he made four among them successors in the apostolic seat in the teaching of the Bhaṣya; and among these latter, he made his son (in intellect; Píllán) occupy the highest place as teacher of the two Vedantas (Sánakrit and Tamil) and the Bhaṣya.

109 In the company of the 74 first disciples, of the 700 aseetic followers and of the 12,000 elect quite close to the Divine, Rámañjá of wonderful lustre, felt happy at seeing even the elder disciples like Kúraśá and others, conduct themselves in obedience to Píllán (Rámañjá’s son in intellectual descent) in the manner of elder adopted son towards the younger born son.

110 With the college of disciples ever under the control of conduct as prescribed by the Sástras and known only for their good conduct, Rámañjá (Yáṣapáti) at the importunate entreaty of some, embraced the three images of his (made on the occasion) and ordered that they be set up in Srírangam, Bhútpurú and Yádugiri. So saying he gave them to those disciples and protected the earth. May such a one protect me.
As you have driven me out everywhere and thus left me homeless, so when I get the opportunity, I shall bring about a revolution in your religion. This I assert most solemnly," said Kali (evil principle). Hearing this vow of Kali, Rāmaṇujo, saying, "May my teaching prevail unharmed," placed himself under the protection of the First One. May such a one protect me with his look of kindness.

Yatīśa, whose fame beautified the three worlds, who derived his greatness from Yāmunā and his disciples Mahāpūra, Gosaṭhīpūra, Śrī Saliapūra Rāgīśa and Mālādhana, gave to his adopted son the image of Varada, he had been long worshipping, and that of Hayagrīva he obtained from Vāsī. May he prosper.

May he prosper, who allotted to some of his more confidential disciples particular duties, and who set to me, most underserving among them, the duty of looking after the milk supply, he, Śrīmān Rāmaṇujo, who always protected me, servant of servants to those that sought refuge at his feet, as if I were his friend, near his heart.

Those that read this Yatīrījavaibhavas, which shines like a jewel to the Viabhavas (accounts of the greatness) of all the Gurus (preceptors) beginning with Kamaḷēsa (Vishnu) and which drives away sin, certainly gain the right to the two kinds of wealth (wealth of a good life here and of a good life hereafter).

NOTES AND QUERIES.

GREEK CEMETERY NEAR ATTOCK.

During the discussion which followed the reading of the late Mr. Simpson's paper entitled "The Classical Influence in the Architecture of the Indus Region and Afghanistan" (Trans. Roy. Inst. Brit. Architects, 1894, p. 110; the Hon. Secretary, Mr. Emerson, referred to the well-founded belief that Alexander crossed the Indus itself at a place called Attock, where there was till recently a bridge of boats, not very far from which some engineers, in making a railway, discovered an ancient Greek burial-ground. A note of the discovery was sent to the Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India, and it appeared, as was expected to appear, in one of the official reports."

I have never seen any notice of the alleged discovery. Can anybody give information concerning it?

VINCENT A. SMITH.

2nd April, 1909.

1 The actual crossing-place probably was Ohind (Und, Waikind), 16 miles above Attock (E. Hist. of India, 2nd ed., p. 55).
Wala clay seal of Pushyena.

Front view.

Side view.

Full-size.

From a photograph supplied by J. F. Fleet.
THE WALA CLAY SEAL OF PUSHYENA.

BY PROFESSOR E. HULTSCH, PH.D.; HALLS (SAALD).

The legend on this seal was published by Bühler in this Journal, Vol. XII, p. 274 f. The seal is now in the British Museum. At the desire of Dr. Fleet, who sent me an excellent photograph of the original, I subjoin a fresh transcript, to accompany the illustration which is given for the first time.

Regarding the provenance of the seal, its dimensions, and the alphabet of its legend, I may refer to Bühler's article. The letters of the inscription are sunk in and reversed. Consequently the letters of the metal or stone matrix, of which it is an impression on clay, must have borne raised letters which had not been reversed by the engraver. As stated by Bühler, the last letter of the fourth line is damaged, and the end of the third line is lost. Also at the end of the second line the photograph shows the beginning of a letter which is cut away, but can be supplied from the context.

There is only one important detail in which the subjoined transcript differs from Bühler's. In the first line of the seal the name of Pushyena's ancestor is not Jayaska[da]ka, but Jayadratha. According to the Mahābhārata this is the name of a mythical king of Sindhu-Sauvira, who was killed by Arjuna.

TEXT.  
1 Ā Jayadrathāda-avayavachechina-rāja-  
2 vāhāryāśya śīr-s-mahā[r]-ā[ḥ]ivarman . . .  
3 sūn[r] = mahārāja-mahā . . .  
4 pati-[Pushyena] [sya] [i[*]]

TRANSLATION.
(The seal) of the Mahārāja Mahā[sena] pāti Pushyena, the son of the glorious Mahārāja A[ḥ]ivarman, whose family of kings (i.e., whose pedigree of royal ancestors) is uninterrupted from Jayadratha downwards.

NOTE ON THE USE OF IMAGES IN ANCIENT INDIA.

BY STEN KONOW.

In the introduction to his well-known essay on Buddhist Art Dr. Grünwedel remarks that the art of ancient India owes its rise to Buddhism, and he, as well as other authorities, lays stress on the fact that it is essentially ornamental. M. Foucher says¹ that the ancient Indian sculpture did not know detached statues . . . it is a well-known fact that the later Indian school only counts some few ones which have not been placed against a wall or a pillar. The reason is that sculpture was considered as a purely ornamental art.² Dr. Grünwedel has also shown how wood-carving and the goldsmith's craft have existed in India from the oldest times and paved the way to an Indian school of sculpture. The oldest Indian sculpture known up to the present time is found on old

¹ [From the fact that the legend is reversed and sunk, and from the shape of the mass of clay which bears it, it would seem that the impression was made for the purpose of stamping the legend on documents, cloth, or any other non-metallic substance. In the accompanying illustration, the seal is presented so that the legend reads direct, not in reverse as it does on the original.—J. F. P.]
² See Prof. Jacob's Index, p. 209.
³ From a photograph supplied by Dr. Fleet.
Buddhist monuments. The Buddha himself is not, however, represented. It is only when a new school of art had been started under the influence of Greek artists on the North-Western Frontier, that we meet with statues of the founder of the religion. I think M. Foucher is right in maintaining (i.e. pp. 333 and ff.) that the Buddhist art of Gandhāra was not, at least originally, the work of Indian artists. It would, however, be unsafe to infer that the Indian learnt to worship images from the Greeks or that the practice of adorning images of the Buddha was inaugurated by the semi-Greek population of the Panjab, as maintained by Fergusson and Cunningham (see Foucher, l.c., p. 326). I do not intend to take up the question where and when the practice of making images of the Buddha was first started. My intention is only to remind of a few facts which show that the Indians had been making images before the rise of the Buddhist art of the Gandhāra school. It is probable that Professor Macdonell is mainly right when he says, "In the pre-Buddhist phase of Indian religion from which Hinduism is directly descended, carved images of the gods and temples for worship were equally unknown. It is hardly to be expected that the very rudimentary art of that early age should have attempted to represent in an anthropomorphic form gods which were still felt to be the deifications of natural phenomena, such as sun, fire, sky, wind. And in the absence of images, structural places of worship would not be wanted." I do not, however, think that this characterisation applies to the time immediately preceding the rise of Buddhism. The gods who repeatedly play a role in the career of the Buddha are very far remote from being "felt as the deifications of natural phenomena," and there are no a priori reasons to show that they were not represented in images. On the contrary, it is a well-known fact that we find representations of Hindū gods on Buddhist monuments from a time previous to the rise of the Gandhāra school, which, so far as we know, first introduced images of the Buddha. It is, for my present purposes, sufficient to mention the representations of the goddess Sāri in Udayagiri, Bharhut and Sunchi. The stereotype way in which she is everywhere represented points back to a long development and shows that there is no real objection against the theory that there existed images of Hindū gods at a comparatively early period.

The oldest Indian statues cannot, with any certainty, be ascribed either to Buddhism or to the Hindū Pantheon. They are the female statue found at Besnagar and the Parkham image, which is now in the Mathurā Museum. The former is described as follows by Cunningham: "Close by... there is a colossal female statue, 6 feet 7 inches in height. The figure was broken in two pieces, and half buried in the ground. The arms are unfortunately gone; and, as there is no trace of either of the hands resting on the figure, the action is extremely doubtful. There is a small fracture above the right hip, where the right hand may have rested, but the fracture seems too small for such a purpose. But the statue is otherwise interesting on account of its curious and novel costume. The head-dress is a kind of turban of ornamented cloth twined with the hair in the shape of a bowl, which completely covers the top and back of the head from the brows to the neck. At the back two long broad plaits of hair hang down to the loins. In the ears are large massive ear-rings, like those of the Bharhut sculptures. There are several garlands and necklaces round the neck, the former hanging low down in front between the breasts. The body is covered by a jacket rounded in front, and it is ornamented with a broad border. Below this, there is the usual female sāri, or sheer petticoat, with the gathers over the stomach, and hanging down in formal folds in front. But this petticoat reaches only to the mid-leg, and beneath it there appears a second, reaching down to the massive anklets on the feet. A broad sash or girdle passes round the body above the hips, and is tied in above in front of the stomach. Below it is the usual row of five strings of ornament resting on the loins. It is possible that this may be a portrait statue of Māyā Devi, for the profusion of ornament shows that it is not a religious figure. The similarity of the costume to that of many of the females in the Bharhut sculptures seems to point to the age of Asoka as the date of this statue, and this is

* Report L., p. 44.
confirmed by the decency of its clothing, which is undoubtedly earlier than the scanty costumes of the Sānchi and Mathurā sculptures, which belong to the Indo-Scythian period. From the pose of the figure, I think that it must originally have been placed on the top of a pillar. Altogether this is a very curious and interesting piece of sculpture, as it is the only specimen of a female statue in the round that has yet been discovered of so early a period."

The Parkham image has been described by Cunningham as follows:

"The statue is a colossal standing figure of a man cut in the round, 7 feet in height from head to foot and 2 feet broad across the shoulders. The left knee is slightly bent. Both arms are broken, and the face has been nearly obliterated by repeated libations and anointments with ghee and red lead, which have left a very hard and unsightly crust of dirt on the breast. The figure is clothed from head to foot in a loose flowing garment, which is secured by two broad bands, one round the waist, and the other round the loins. The whole body is much too bulky; and seen from the side the two bands look exactly as if they were intended to support its pot-belly.

The statue is made of grey sandstone, and still retains many traces of having been highly polished. The figure is called Devata, or "the God," and has been in its present position for an unknown length of time. All the other remains at Parkham are of red sandstone, and comparatively modern. Both arms being broken off just below the shoulders, it is difficult to say what was the action of the figure. But I suspect that the statue was that of a yaksha, or attendant demigod who carried a shari over the right shoulder. The dress is very peculiar, and has nothing whatever in common with that of the later figures of the Indo-Scythian period. There is a short garland or necklace round the neck, which is ornamented at the back with four dependent tassels.

But the most interesting point about this statue is an inscription in two lines on the upper surface of the base pedestal, one line outside the left foot, and the other line outside the right foot. As the characters are those of the Asoka period, the statue must belong to the 3rd century B.C. . . . The inscription I read as follows:

Left.—Nihadapugara . . . . . garata .

Right.—Kunikśeṣvāsina āgamātākena katā"%

I cannot see anything in these descriptions which can help us to decide which figures are meant. We can, however, safely assume that they are not intended to represent the Buddha or his mother Māyā. The oldest certain anthropomorphic representation of Hindū gods therefore are the images of Lakshmi Śrī mentioned above.

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6 Report XX, pp. 40 and 1, and plate VI.
7 There is a third line, between the two foot, which was not noticed by Cunningham. It seems to begin abha. I have not got sufficient materials for trying to improve upon Cunningham's reading of the inscription. The first sign, which he reads at, is very uncertain, and it is possible that the inscription begins with bhanda (bhadra). The last sign in the left hand line is perhaps at, and not te. Gomātaka perhaps corresponds to a Sanskrit Gaumataksa. I am not, however, certain of the reading. There is a small hook on the right hand side of the inscription, but it is possible that we should read Gomātaka. Compare the name Gomātika of old Mathurā rāja. I would, with every reserve, suggest the following reading of the inscription:

Left—Om Bhadapugarakā . . . . . ga-raka.

Centre—ākā . . . . . . . . ki .

Right—Kunikśeṣvāsina Gomātāko Katā from Bhadapugarakā made by Gomātaka (Gomātaka) the atśāsin (atśāsin) of Kunika in the 5th (year of) the King . . . . . ga, (in winter).
Now Dr. Bloch has shortly* maintained that the ancient Indians did not originally represent their deities in anthropomorphic form, but only by means of symbols. In the famous Jambhalgarh relief which represents the prince Siddhârthi in his palace and in the moment when he leaves his wife in order to renounce the world he identifies the animal which has hitherto been considered to be meant for a bull, as a boar, and this boar, he maintains, is the symbol of the god Vishnu. He further mentions the śāṅgī of Śiva, and he is inclined to explain the four animals on the capital of the Śārnâth Ashoka pillar as representations of Hindû gods. "It is," he says, "only hypercriticism to doubt that we have to see in the elephant a symbol of Indra, in the humped bull a symbol of Śiva and in the horse a symbol of Sūrya." With regard to the lion, Dr. Bloch is in doubt whether it should be explained as the oḍhāna of Durgâ or Pārvatī. The conclusions to which he arrives may be summed up as follows: the old Indians represented their gods by means of symbols, and they did not begin to represent them in an anthropomorphic form till a comparatively late date, when the Greeks had become their teachers in art.

I am unable to accept this theory, for several reasons.

In the first place, the representation of a stereotype Lakshmi on old monuments necessarily carries the anthropomorphic representation of at least this goddess back to a time when it is difficult to think of Greek influence. Professor Minayaïª7 has analysed the gods represented in the Bharhat sculptures. Kubâra and Virūdhaka, both designated as yakṣa (yaksha) are depicted in human form. I cannot help thinking that these figures, as also the gods represented in Sanchi, were taken over from older non-Buddhist models. We may here think of wood carvings or of roughly dressed logs, perhaps similar to those mentioned by Dr. Bloch (i.e., p. 652) from Puri. The Parkham image seems to me to be an evident imitation of such a log. I have not seen any representation of the Bernagar image, and cannot therefore judge about it. At all events, it seems to me that the Parkham image, whether it represents a Hindû god or a Buddhist saint, cannot possibly be explained as a result of Greek influence. The Greek influence on Indian sculpture can hardly be pushed farther back than the times of Menander, in whose days Dr. Bloch seems to place the best Gandhara art. The Parkham image, however, is apparently, to judge from the inscription, older. So far as I can see the existence of images in India can be proved for a much older time, as it is presupposed by Pānini, who, according to tradition which I see no reason to doubt, lived under the Nandas. In V-3-96 he teaches that the suffix kan gives the meaning of likeness when an imitation of a thing is to be expressed. Thus, asūka an imitation of a horse, V-3-99 then runs jivākñātha cā-dāpanad (an elision of the suffix kan takes place) also (when the figure is made) a means of livelihood, it being presumed that no traffic is driven thereby. The old scholia give as examples Vāsudēva Śiva, Skanda, Vishnu and Āditya, which words are here used in the sense of images of Vāsudēva. Śiva, Skanda, Vishnu and Āditya, respectively. I am unable to see how this can be explained otherwise than as a direct proof that Pānini knew of statues and images of the gods. The examples given by the old glossators do not, of course, prove anything for Pānini's time. But, so far as I can see, his rule itself proves that images existed in his times, that is to-day before we can well assume the influence of Greek art, it can be objected that these images may have represented animals and other symbols of the gods. This would, however, be against the explanations of later grammarians including Patañjali, and such an explanation is a priori very unlikely. The old Kâlidâsa to Pānini V-3-100 sums up the instances in which the suffix kan is elided as follows:—

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{arkævæ} & \text{ pājñārthāde} \text{ ektarkarmadājñē} \text{su cha} \quad 1 \\
\text{iev pra} & \text{kṛtta lōpan kanō} \text{ dēkapathād} \text{kāhu} \quad 2
\end{align*}
\]

the suffix kan denoting a likeness when the imitation of a thing is to be expressed, is elided when the imitation is (1) an image for worship, (2) a picture, or (3) a design on a flag, and (4) when the

suffix should be added after the gana dēvapatha, &c. As instances of images are given Sīva and Viśnū, and of pictures Ariana and Duryākhana. The juxtaposition of archā image, and citrakarma picture, shows that the author of the Kārikā thought of real images and not of symbols, and I feel no doubt that here he is in full accordance with Pāññi himself.

Patañjali's commentary on Pāññi V.3-99 has been fully discussed by the late Professor Weber and others. Patañjali says apanya ity-uṣhayat tat-varśāh na sīkhyati || Sīvah Skandah Viṣākha iti kim kāransam || Mauryās-hāraṇyaḥ-tāṁbhār-archāh prakalpiṇḍhābhakṣet-trādu na syād || gānd-vaś-gośdāvah sampratipuchādāh bhavishya || It is said (by Pāññi) provided that no traffic is driven thereby." In such cases the rule does not apply to (images of) Sīva, Skanda and Viṣākha. Why? The Mauryas had images made from greed. Well, the rule does not apply to such (images) but to such as are for immediate worship (i.e. such images which are made as means of subsistence by a low order of Brāhmaṇas, not by selling them, but by exhibiting them from door to door). There cannot be the slightest doubt that images of the gods made for the purpose of worship existed at the time of Patañjali, and that these images represented Hindū gods such as Sīva, Skanda, and Viṣākha, the god of war. The images which the Mauryas had caused to be made were called Sīvakā, Skandakā, &c., that is to say, the image was considered as a likeness as long as it was an article for sale. But the image of Sīva which the priest carried about and allowed to be worshipped for money was no more "an image of Sīva" it was "a Sīva." The fact that the Mauryas thought of making money out of the trade in images, shows that the demand was considerable. It is not, however, possible to infer anything about how long such images had been in use. All we can conclude is that at Patañjali's times, and most likely also in the days of Pāññi images of the Hindū gods were in existence in India.

THE TROUBLES OF LOVE.

A Panjabi Song.

BY H. A. ROSE.

(With an Introductory Note by the Editor.)

[This typical production of a Panjabi bard is interesting in many ways, but chiefly because it contains references to nearly all the love-tales that are familiar in every household in the Panjab. The list is delightfully eclectic as usual. Thus we have allusions to the Hindu medieval folktales of Pūran Bhagat and Nāmoder, the Dyer, and to the Hindu classical stories of Hiranyakāśipu, Prahlāda and Harīśchandra, and are favoured with a brief outline of the legend of the god of Sūk and Rāma, as it has descended to the modern Panjab. Then we have the Muhammadan classical tales of Yūsaf and Zulaikha and of Lalī and Majnūn and the more modern Shirīn and Farhād. Next we have the essentially Panjabi modern, but nevertheless classical, tales of Mirzā and Śāhībān and of Ḥır and Rānjhā and of the great story of the Southern Indus region, Sāst and Pūnān. And lastly there is an allusion to the characteristic Parjāi, "saintly" tale of Rōdē Shāh. All these tales will be found either given at length or explained in the Legends of the Panjab, but the allusion to the story of Milki and Kīṃ is new to me and I have never seen it before.—En.]

Text.

Ishqon nafī' kīsī ne na pāyā; sau ghar patke, ek na bassāyā.

Pūran baḍh kūh bich pāyā; Mirzā jau dī hēṭh marṛyāyā.

Yūsaf haṭṭo-haṭt bikhāyā; Lalī ne Majnūn te hāṭt garāyā.

Shīrīn dī khāṭīr Farhād nāhar lāyā.

Translation.

None has profited by love; destroying a hundred houses, it has filled not one.

It threw Pūran into a well: it killed Mirzā under a jau tree.

It sent Yūsaf for sale from shop to shop; Lalī made Majnūn talk to the well-wheel.

For Shīrīn's sake Farhād dug a canal.

5 Harināshak ghabbe dar de dhāyā; Pahlād tetyāh thambān de nāl bāhāyā.
Sassī ne Punnu bīch thallān de tapāyā.
Milhī ne Kīmā bāndh Mughalān de pāyā.
Nām De Chālpā dhare jhāl phirāyā.
Hari Chand Chuhāyā de ghar bikhāyā.

10 Rām Chand bīyāh ke Sītā nūn lāyā.
Āke bān bich kullā pāyā.
Sītā nūn chād ke shikār nū nā dhāyā.
Mūrakh ne jōgī dā bhes banāyā:
Dīnāsur chalan Sītā nūn āyā.

15 Leke bhīchbhandī nikī Sītā; Dīnāsur ne daḍgha kamāyā,
Chukke Sītā rath par letlā; Lankā de rastā pāyā.
Shikār khelke Rām Chand āyā; sūnī kutilā pāyā.
"Sītā, tā bich hai? " Nahīn! Itthī Rām Chand ghussā khāyā.
Hanumān, Mālī Anjānī kā betā, Sītā de bhalī charhāyā.

20 Hanumān ne rūp kāg dā banāyā.
Kol Sītā de āyā; mundrā Rām Chand dā jholī Sītā dī pāyā.
Uthōn urke Rām Chand de kol āgayā:
Sītā dī khabar lāyā,
Angad barge sadhīye jōdhe; Lankā nūn dhā kārīyā:
Rām Chand kā bahuti faujān pul sam. undar pāyā.

25 Bich Lankā ke Rām Chand āgayā; āke jōjī machāyā.
Dīnāsur dā sitr baddhiā. "Rannān da bhed kisi na pāyā."
Rām Chand, leke Sītā nūn, āyā.

Rānjha maggar majjīh de lāyā:
Bhukkā mardā put parāyā; Rānjhe ne Khera jake nād bājāyā.

30 Sahti ne khir chine dā pāyā:
Rānjhe haśā, bhaau ganwāyā.
Rođā bādī dāryā meh pāyā; mundrā Sulaimān nūn thāyā.

5 It caused Harināshak to be slain upon his threshold, and Pahlād to be bound to a red-hot pillar.
Sassī made Punnu wander through the deserts.
Milhī bound Kīmā and gave him up to the Mughals.
Nām Dev, the Stamper,1 became famous through the world.
Hari Chand was sold into the Scavengers' house.

10 Rām Chand brought Sītā home in marriage.
He went into the wilderness and built a hut.
Leaving Sītā, he went out to hunt.
Mūrakh put on the dress of a jōgī:
Dīnāsur came to Sītā in fraud.2

15 Sītā came out bringing alms; and Dīnāsur deceived her.
He picked up Sītā and laid her in his chariot, and took the road to Lankā.
After his hunt Rām Chand came home and found his hut empty.
"Art thou within, Sītā? " No! Whereon Rām Chand was angered.
Hanumān, the son of Mother Anjānī, went on the search for Sītā.

20 Hanumān assumed the form of a crow.
He came to Sītā and threw the ring of Rām Chand into Sītā’s lap.
Flying from thence he came to Rām Chand, and brought him news of Sītā.
Warriors, like Angad, were collected and Lankā was attacked.
Rām Chand led a great force by a bridge over the ocean.

25 Rām Chand entered Lankā, and joined battle.
He cut off Dīnāsur’s head. “None ever fathomed the secrets of women. ”
Rām Chand took Sītā and returned home.

Rānjha was set to graze buffaloes:
Dying of hunger he took to begging; Rānjha went to Khera and sounded his couch.

30 Sahti gave him a mess of pulse pottage:
Rānjha laughed and broke his cup of metal.
Rođā was cast into the river, and took the ring to Sulaimān.

1 I.e., the Calico Printer.
2 The reference is to Rāvaṇa.
No. X.—Aśoka in Fa-hien’s Travels—with notice of some Discoveries near Patna.

The facts and traditions concerning Aśoka recorded by the Chinese pilgrims are of such importance for the history of his reign that readers of the Indian Antiquary probably will be glad to have the relevant passages brought together in a convenient form. The earlier pilgrim, Fa-hien (399-414 A.D.), has not much to say on the subject. The present paper will be confined to the collection and brief discussion of his scanty observations, and on another occasion I hope to be able to treat in a similar way the much more voluminous notices of Huien Tsang (629-45 A.D.).

Aśoka may be assumed to have died in either 232 or 231 B.C. It is not possible, for various reasons, to fix the date with greater precision, but for all practical purposes it may be regarded as accurately known, and if 232 B.C. be assumed as the year of the great emperor’s decease no material error can occur. The visit of Fa-hien to India, therefore, occurred some 632 years after the death of Aśoka, and Huien Tsang’s 250 years later still. Thus, even at the time of the travels of the first pilgrim, the Maurya dynasty belonged to a remote and, in large measure, legendary past. During the interval the Sungas, Andhuras, and other dynasties had passed away, and many changes in language, script, customs, and political organization had taken place. The testimony of the Chinese pilgrims to the history of Aśoka, consequently, must be interpreted as the voice of tradition speaking of distant and half-forgotten antiquity. If we imagine an English chronicler at the time of the Norman Conquest trying to call up a vision of the Roman occupation of Britain we shall be able to appreciate the width of the gulf of time which yawned between Aśoka and Fa-hien, not to speak of Huien Tsang.

My quotations from Fa-hien are made in the first instance from Legge’s version, which is the best on the whole, but his rendering will be checked by comparison with the rival versions of Remusat and Klaproth as Englished by Laidlay, of Beal, in the revised form published in Records of the Western World, and of Giles as given in the little volume published at London and Shanghai without date, but issued, I believe, in 1877. The translation by Beal on which Prof. Giles showered such merciless criticism was published separately in 1869, which was superseded (except for the notes) by the corrected edition included in volume I of the Records. These preliminary observations may serve as sufficient introduction to the four passages in Fa-hien’s Travels dealing with Aśokan history which I now proceed to collect and annotate.

Passage No. 1.

Chapter X.—Dharma-vardhana, son of Aśoka.

‘The travellers going downwards from this [scil. the stūpa marking the place where Buddha ransomed the dove with a piece of his flesh] towards the east, in five days came to the country of Gaudhara, the place where Dharma-vardhana, the son of Aśoka, ruled.’ Legge notes that Fd Fi is the Chinese form representing Dharma-vardhana, and that this is the first mention of Aśoka.

si-lay gives the Chinese words as follows:—

wei = Gaudhara of Legge; Fa i, meaning ‘extension of the Law,’ = Dharma
vardhana; and Ayu, more frequently designated Wou-yu = Aśoka, whose name is also transcribed as A shou kia. The history of Aśoka, as known in 1848, is then discussed in long notes, which need not detain us now.
Giles' version is:—'From this point descending eastwards for five days, they arrived at the country of Chien-t'o-wei, which was governed by Fa Yi, the son of King Ya Yu.' *A Yu = Asoka.*

Beal translates:—'From this, descending eastward, journeying for five days, we arrived at the country of Gandhāra (Kien-to-wei). This is the place which Dharmavardhana, the son of Asoka, governed.'

The full name of Asoka, according to the Purāṇas, was Asoka-vardhana, and it seems to be plain that Laidlay and Beal are right in reading his son's name as Dharma-vardhana, not Dharma-vivardhana, as Legge does.

Watters (Chinese Review, VIII, 223) writes the geographical name Khian-tho-wei as Chien-t'o-wei and doubts its identity with Gandhāra. In Chapter XII Fa-hien notes that he and his companions after leaving Khian-tho-wei and going southwards arrived in four days at the kingdom of Purushapura. But Giles' version is discrepant, and runs thus:—'From the Chien-t'o-wei country travelling southwards two days, the pilgrims arrived at the country of Fo-lou-sha.' Beal agrees with Legge in making the journey one of four days. We may take it, therefore, that the principal place in the kingdom of Khian-tho-wei lay at a distance of four days' travel in a direction approximately north of Fo-lou-sha (Fo-lou-sha, Beal), which certainly must be rendered as Purushapura = Peshāwar. A distance of 60 miles, equivalent to about four days' travelling in hilly country, measured on Stanford's Sketch Map of the North-Western Frontier of India (scale nearly 10 miles to inch) brings us to the Malakand and neighbouring Passes NNE of Peshāwar. There is no definite spot due north to which such measurement can be made. The Swat River, running at this part of its course from east to west, passes to the north of the Shāhkā and Malakand Passes to join the Panjkora. It would seem, therefore, that Khian-tho-wei must mean the country to the north of the Swat river. But, if this be the case, where are we to place the kingdoms of Woo-chang and of Su-ho-to (Ch. VIII)? A detailed examination of Fa-hien's route would carry us too far from Asoka, and I must be content to leave in some uncertainty the exact position of the principality among the mountains where Asoka's son had ruled according to tradition. But it seems fairly certain that Gandhāra cannot be the correct equivalent of Khian-tho-wei. The existence of the doubt is a good illustration of the need for caution in interpreting the Chinese travellers' narratives and fully justifies Watters' scepticism concerning the plausible transliteration of *Khian-tho-wei* as Gandhāra.

**Passage No. II.**

**Chapter XVII.—Asoka's buildings at Sankṣāya.**

The pilgrim relates the legend of the *heavenly ladders or stairs of Sankṣāya*, and tells how, after Buddha's descent, 'the three flights all disappeared in the ground, except seven steps which continued to be visible.' He goes on to relate that afterwards King Asoka, *wishing to know where their ends rested, sent men to dig and see. They went down to the "yellow springs" without reaching the bottom of the steps and from this the king received an increase of his faith, and built a vihāra over the steps, with a standing image, sixteen cubits in height right over the middle flight. Behind the vihāra he erected a stone pillar about fifty cubits high, with a lion on the top of it. Let into the pillar on each of its four sides there is an image of Buddha, inside and out (i.e., all through) shining and transparent, and pure as it were of lapis lazuli.*

Legge explains that the words "yellow springs" are a common expression for the subsoil where water is found, and Watters adds that there the dead are supposed to go. 'Fifty cubits,' Legge says, is a paraphrase of "thirty chow," the chow being the distance from the elbow to the finger-tip, but why he turned 30 into 50 I do not know.
The passage concerning Aśoka's buildings is differently translated by Laidlay, who writes:—

He caused therefore a chapel to be raised over the steps, and upon the middle one erected a full length statue (of Po) six toises high. Behind the chapel was erected a pillar thirty cubits high, and thereon was placed a lion. Within the pillar on the four sides were images of Po. The interior and the exterior were polished and resplendent as crystal.

Concerning the measurements the notes state that six toises are equivalent to about 60 English feet, and that the chow (chow), or cubit, is variously estimated, some authorities making it out to be 0.610, and others to be 0.4575 of a mètre.

Giles paraphrases the 'Yellow Spring' as meaning the 'gate of hell,' and makes the image to be only 16 feet in height. The concluding clauses he renders thus:—'Inside the column at the four sides are images of Buddha. Both from inside and outside it is transparent (not shining), and as clean [*'clear'*] as glass.'

Beal too makes out the image to be 16 feet high, and the pillar 30 cubits. 'Within the pillar,' according to him, 'on the four sides are figures of Buddha, both within and without it is shining and bright as glass.'

Thus it appears that the four versions differ much in detail.

Legge's statement that the statue was 16 cubits high, and Laidlay's that its height was 6 French toises = 60 English feet, are contradicted by Giles and Beal who state the height as 16 (Chinese) feet. The Chinese 'foot,' I believe, does not differ much from the English. Perhaps we are justified in assuming the correct version to be 16 feet.' All translators are agreed that the pillar was 30 chow, or 'cubits,' in height, equivalent to somewhere about 45 or 50 English feet, an estimate in accordance with the known measurements of some of Aśoka's columns.

The monument evidently was composed, like the other Aśoka monolithic pillars, of fine grey sandstone polished, by an art now lost, as highly as glass. Travellers have mistaken the material of 'Firāz Shāh's pillar'—the Aśoka monument brought by him to Delhi—for iron, brass, and so forth. Similarly, the high polish of the Sankhāya pillar evidently puzzled the Chinese visitor and induced him to believe that like glass the stone was translucent. The base of the pillar probably was quadrangular, with an image of Buddha in a polished niche on each face. The niche containing the Jain image on one side of the hexagonal portion of the Kahaľ column of Gupta age may be compared (Cunningham, Reports, XVI, Pl. XXIX).

Cunningham (Reports I, 272) used Julien's translation of Huien Tsang, according to which the Aśoka pillar at Kapitha—that is Sankhāya (Seng-kia-sha) was 70 feet high, made of a hard fine-grained reddish stone, and brilliantly polished. The later pilgrim agrees with the earlier in stating that the animal on the top was a lion. But the capital found by Cunningham at Sankisa in the Farrukhābād District, U. P., which he identified with Sankhāya (Seng-kia-sha) has on it an elephant, not a lion. The capital found undoubtedly belongs to an Aśoka pillar, but Cunningham's theory (p. 278) that both the Chinese pilgrims mistook an elephant for a lion, seems to me, if I may express myself bluntly, simply incredible. Cunningham afterwards found the brick base on which the pillar had stood (Reports, XI, 22), but could not discover any trace of the shaft.

Watters (On Yuan Chwang, I, 334) translates Huien Tsang (=Yuan Chwang,) as stating that at Kapitha (=Sankhāya) 'there was an Aśoka pillar of a lustrous violet colour and very hard, with a crouching lion on the top facing the stairs; quaintly carved figures were on each side of the pillar, and according to one's bad or good deserts figures appeared to him in the pillar.' The 'lustrous violet colour' well describes the appearance of the polished grey sandstone when mellowed by age. Aśoka never used 'reddish' sandstone. The red
sandstone from the quarries near Agra and Mathurā first came into use in Kushān times. It is out of the question to believe that a 'crouching lion' could have been mistaken for a standing elephant by both pilgrims. Sankissa may or may not represent Sankāśya, but the elephant capital there certainly is not the lion capital seen by Fa-hien and Huen Tsang. Adequate discussion of the identity of the site would require a tedious topographical discussion and an essay of considerable length. I cannot go further into the matter here, and must content myself by remarking that the equation Sankissa = Sankāśya is by no means conclusively established. I observe that, according to Watters, Huen Tsang does not state the height of the pillar at all, but says that 'the present stairs were above 70 feet high with a Buddhist temple on the top, in which was a stone image of the Buddha.' This version, I expect, will prove to be correct, for a monolithic pillar with monolithic capital could not well be 70 feet in height. None of the extant Ashoka pillars has any figure sculpture on the shaft, and it is interesting to learn that the Sankāśya monument differed widely from any now known. The confused description by old travellers of Lāh Bhairo at Benares, which was destroyed by the Muhammadans during the riot of 1809, indicate that it too had carving on the shaft, but the records are not fully intelligible. The identity of that monument with one described by Huen Tsang is proved in an article which will appear in the Z. D. M. G. during the current year.

Passage No. III.

Chapter XXIII.—Ashoka's alleged proceedings at Rāmagrāma.

'East from Buddha's birthplace [i.e., the Lumbini Garden = Ramindō] and at a distance of five yojanas, there is a kingdom called Rāma. The king of this country, having obtained one portion of the relics of Buddha's body, returned with it and built over it a tope, named the Rāma tope. By the side of it there was a pool, and in the pool a dragon, which constantly kept watch over (the tope) and presented offerings at day and night.

When king Ashoka came forth into the world, he wished to destroy the eight topes (over the relics) and to build (instead of them) 84,000 topes. After he had thrown down the seven others, he wished next to destroy this tope. But then the dragon showed itself, took the king into its palace, and when he had seen all the things provided for offerings, it said to him, 'If you are able with your offerings, to exceed these, you can destroy the tope, and take it all away. I will not contend with you.' The king, however, knew that such appliances for offering were not to be had anywhere in the world, and thereupon returned (without carrying out his purpose).

Laidlay's version agrees substantially. He notes that the Chinese word rendered as Rāma is Lan-mo, which name is also used by Huen Tsang, who, however, writes the second syllable with a character different from that used by Fa-hien.

Giles differs by understanding that the dragon introduced Ashoka, not into his own palace under the waters, but into the interior of the stūpa.

Beal's rendering does not differ materially from that of Leggo.

Thus it is clear that Fa-hien heard a tradition that this Rāmagrāma stūpa was older than the time of Ashoka, and that it had escaped destruction (? rebuilding) by him, whereas the other seven great stūpas of Sārnāth, Bodh Gaya, etc., had suffered that fate.

Unfortunately, the exact site of the stūpa has not yet been identified because it lies in Nepalese territory and is difficult of access without tedious formalities. But its approximate position is known and a moderate amount of local research probably would fix it definitely. The one absolutely certain point in the itinerary of the pilgrims in the
Nepalese Tarai is Rammundh, the Lumbini Garden, a few miles beyond the north-eastern corner of the Bacti District and on the western bank of the Tilur river. Lan-no, or Ramagrama lay 5 yojanas, or 200 li, in a direction eastward from that fixed point. The distance of 200 li is stated by Huen Tsang, according to the versions of both Julien and Watters. The figure 300 given by Beal (Records, II, 25) is undoubtedly erroneous, because 40 li = 1 yojana. The figure 500 li given in the Life of Huen Tsang (Beal, p. 96) is a manifest blunder. Taking the li as equivalent to about one-fifth or one-sixth of a mile in level country and the yojana as 7½ miles, Rama-grama should be looked for in Nepalese territory a few miles from the British frontier at a spot between 35 and 40 miles eastwards from Ramundh. I have shown (J. R. A. S., 1902, pp. 151, 152) that Ramagrama must lie in or about 27°36' N. and 83°52' E. between the Little Gandak and Gandak rivers. Buddhist remains are known to exist in the neighbourhood, and I heard reports of a pillar. The work of a day or two on the spot should suffice to determine the site. Inasmuch as the stupa guarded by the dragon was older than the time of Asoka its identification and description would be of much interest. Perhaps the officers of the Archaeological Department may find an opportunity some day to make the necessary arrangements with the Magistrate of Gorakhpur and the Nepalese authorities for effecting the required local investigations in the locality indicated, which is not at all convenient of access. I have been at Ramundh twice, but never had the chance of travelling to the east of the Tilur river.

Passage No. IV.

Chapter XXVII.—Asoka and Pataliputra.

The town of Pataliputra, in the kingdom of Magadh, the city where king Asoka ruled. The royal palace and halls in the midst of the city, which exist now as of old, were all made by spirits which he employed, and which piled up the stones, reared the walls and gates, and executed the elegant carving and laid sculpture work in a way which no human hands of this world could accomplish.

King Asoka had a younger brother who had attained to be an Ariat, and resided on Gridhrakuta hill, finding his delight in solitude and quiet. The king by the aid of the spirits made a hill inside the city for his abode, causing them to form a hill with the large stones piled on one another; and also, at the foot of the hill, with five large square stones, to make an apartment, which might be more than thirty cubits long, twenty cubits wide, and more than ten cubits high.

By the side of the top of Asoka there has been made a Mahayana monastery, very grand and beautiful; there is also a Hinayana one; the two together containing six hundred or seven hundred monks. . . . when king Asoka destroyed the seven tops (intending) to make eighty-four thousand [see Passage No. III above], the first which he made was the great top, more than three le to the south of the city. In front of this there is a footprint of Buddha, where a vihara has been built. The door of it faces the north, and on the south of it there is a stone pillar, fourteen or fifteen cubits in circumference, and more than thirty cubits high, on which there is an inscription, saying, "Asoka gave the Jambudvipa to the general body of all the monks, and then redeemed it from them with money. This he did three times." North from the top 300 or 400 paces, king Asoka built the city of Ne-le. In it there is a stone pillar, which also is more than thirty feet high, with a lion on the top of it. On the pillar there is an inscription recording the things which led to the building of Ne-le, with the number of the year, the day, and the month.

The variations in the other versions are not important, except that Giles omits the words placing the palace in the midst of the city. The extracts raise the question of the topography of Pataliputra, on which a considerable volume might be written without any satisfactory result. A detailed survey and good map are preliminaries indispensable to fruitful discussion of the subject.
But it seems to be clear that there was a stone palace in the midst of the fortified city, and very probably its position is marked approximately by the buried stump of an Aśoka pillar which exists at Kalló Khan's Bagh in the Zanana premises of Amīr and Maulāvi Muḥammad Kabir in the Sadar Gall as ascertained by the late Babū P. C. Mukharji, and mentioned in his unpublished Report, dated 1898, of which I possess a proof. A few scanty remains of Maurya stone-work have been found within the city.

The 'great tope three lie to the south of the city' must, I think, be the Barī Pahārī, as supposed by Mukharji. It was damaged by stupid excavations conducted by Dr. Führer in 1894-5.

There can be little doubt that the town of Ne-le, not mentioned elsewhere, is represented by the village of Kumrāhār. Between the Kalló and Chāman tanks on the north-west of that village Mukharji found one large block and innumerable fragments of an Aśoka monolithic pillar, which had been deliberately broken up by the action of fire. This monument seems to have been the one mentioned by Huen Óng as standing near the 'hell,' or prison.

Mukharji found the remains of another Aśoka pillar to the south of Kumrāhār, but no trace of an inscription.

I have a strong suspicion that the alleged inscription recording the gift of Jambudvīpa never existed, that is to say, that the inscription really was of a different purport, and that the local monks made up the Jambudvīpa story. Even in Fa-hien's time the current script differed widely from that of the Maurya age, and probably few people, if any, could read the Aśoka inscriptions. Those known are most matter-of-fact compositions, and a statement that the emperor professed to give away the habitable world three times is not at all in accordance with the style of his records. The purport of the Ne-le pillar inscription may or may not have been rightly understood.

It may be of interest to note that Mukharji claimed to have traced no less than six Aśoka pillars at and near Patna. In the Kumrāhār mounds he seems to have found three, which he identified with the Jambudvīpa and Ne-le pillars of Fa-hien and the 'hell' pillar of Huen Óng. Two of these he specifies clearly, as already observed, but I cannot make out the third with certainty. He found two more at Lohānipur, and heard of the sixth, mentioned above, inside the city.

His report, unfortunately, was too crude for publication as it stood, and never got beyond the stage of proof. He gave me a copy. His intention was that it should be illustrated by 55 plates and 4 photographs, but those, if they still exist, presumably lie buried somewhere in the Bengal Secretariat, or they may be with his family. Some of them, I know, were of interest and value.

As his report will never see the light I may honour his memory and interest my readers by quoting some passages:

"On the north-west of the village of Kumrāhār, between two tanks, Kalló and Chāman, I exhumed, along with extensive brick buildings, innumerable fragments of an Aśoka pillar, of which I could discover no inscribed portion (p. 15). . . . On minutely examining the grounds at Kumrāhār, I saw indications of walls on the south bank of the Kalló tank and on the west bank of Chāman tank. The site between these two tanks is proposed by me to be identified with the 'earth-prison' of Kālasākā" (p. 17). He opened up certain old walls, and got down about 10 or 15 feet.

1 The Bihār believed in the separate existence of Kālasākā and advocated strange notions of Maurya chronology and history.
Below the foundation wall, I discovered a large fragment of a Maurya pillar about three feet in diameter. I also found several smaller fragments, especially on the floor of the western cells, which appear to have been paved with them. Continuing the digging he found a curious passage between two walls, 2'1" and 3'3" in breadth. It is 21'4" south of the northern range of cells. East of this narrow passage is a sort of flight of steps, made of large bricks. Here also fragments of the Aśoka pillar were found.

He also picked up close by a copper coin of Chandragupta II (cir. A.D. 400) of the 'bust' type, with Garuda reverse. 47 feet to the south he traced other walls, and then drove a tunnel, in which he found several fragments of the Aśoka pillar. But on the north of the [Muhammadan] tomb the stone fragments increased in number and size, of which three were between 2 and 3 feet in length and diameter. Below a stratum of yellowish or rather reddish soil, and about 10 feet deep, I came a cross a layer of blackish earth, composed of ashes, embers, and bits of lime [L], between 1 and 2 feet in depth. In this blackish stratum the fragments of the pillar were invariably found (see photograph, Plate IX a). I then began tunnelling the black stratum at the sides of the pit I had dug, especially towards the north and east, and brought to light innumerable fragments, large and small. In the northern tunnel I alighted on a heap of the stone fragments, of which some were more than 3 feet in height and diameter. The polished surface of all these fragments looked quite fresh and new. But no inscribed portion could I discover after all my attempts to search, which fact reminded me that the Chinese pilgrim [Hien Tsang] did not mention the 'prison' ['hell'] pillar as inscribed.

These interesting details prove that the Bābū discovered the actual site of one of the Aśoka pillars at Patāliputra, or more accurately at Ne-le to the south of the city, which appears to be the 'prison' or 'hell' pillar mentioned by Hien Tsang, and perhaps one of the two pillars described by Fa-hien. It is also clear that Mukharji was right in inferring that the monument had been deliberately destroyed by heaping up combustibles around it and so causing the stone to split by heat. During the great Benares riot of 1809 the Muhammadans destroyed the pillar known as Lāt Bhairo by the same method. The considerable depth at which the fragments were found indicates that the Patna catastrophe was of early date, and it may well be that the act of vandalism was the work of Bājā Saśānaka (cir. A.D. 600) as suggested by Mukharji. But it is also possible that the destroyers were the Muhammadans invader about A.D. 1193.

The Bābū's account of the second Ne-le or Kumrāhār monolith is much briefer. He merely says that he traced ancient masonry near an old well called Khārī Kuiyān to the south of Kumrāhār, and at a depth of about 15 feet was 'glad to discover a fragment of a Maurya pillar' (p. 29).

Although the connection with Fa-hien's narrative is slight, I may quote Mukharji's account of the fine sandstone capital of the Maurya period, which was dug up close to the railway on a bit of waste ground called Bulandibāgh ('High-grove'), and which I saw lying there. 'It is in yellowish sandstone, and very large in size, the different faces showing ornaments of honey-suckle, guilloche and other decorated bands' (p. 22). This remarkable object was figured in his unpublished Plate XLVII. So far as I remember, it was about 4 feet in diameter, and square.

In the fields at Lohānār, near the Bankipore railway station, he found 'two Maurya pillars of the Aśoka style,' a so-called 'Buddhist railing,' etc. Five posts of the railing, which was plain, were in situ. At a short distance to the south-west, at a depth of about 11 feet, he discovered 'several large fragments of a Maurya pillar, more than 3 feet in diameter (Plate XXXIV). Again, some 250 feet to the west of that object, his spade alighted on 'the top of the capital of the Aśoka pillar,' with a diameter of 3'7½". The capital appeared to be of a flattened vase form, in the centre of which was a hole for the reception of the mortise of the lion or

2 Guilloche is an ornament consisting of a band of twisted lines or strings.
some other animal, which must have originally crowned the pillar. Innumerable fragments of it, besides the capital, were found in the pit, some of which showed ornamental bands of lotus and guilloche. The base of the capital is square, being 3' 6" on each of the faces, of which one has an ornament of lotus flowers or an inscription in shell or eap-mark characters, which no scholar has yet deciphered.' (p. 29). I saw this remarkable object lying in a potato field.

These fragmentary discoveries are tantalizing, and it is a pity that excavation in some one promising spot was not persevered in. As they stand no use can be made of them. The Bengal Government might consider the propriety of publishing the more important of Mukharji's drawings and photographs.

The 'Jamuna Dith' mound on the south of the Mar-Son, or ancient bed of the Son, and to the west of Bankipore railway station, evidently was a monastery, as broken stone stools, such as were used by Buddhist monks, are found there (p. 25).

At Lohanjpur the Bābd also found 'the base of another pillar of the Asoka style but rather smaller in proportion. It is a circular stone, of which the diameter, 2 feet 10 1/2 inches, decreased in five steps to 2 feet 3 inches as it rose to a length of 1 foot 9 inches, and on the top of which is a circular hole about 7 inches [ 'feet in text, ] deep to receive the copper tenon of the shaft' (p. 29).

Mukharji says that he found stone railings of four distinct kinds, but he describes only three in detail. Lohanjpur yielded the perfectly plain one, about 3 1/2 feet in height. The second example, found at Dargah Arzāni in the city had stouter posts, and the bosses were carved with tigers and other animals. The railings were rectangular in section, not lenticular as usual. The third railing, specimens of which were found at Kumrāhār, was the most ornate of the four. The central bosses were sculptured in relief, 'one being a group of standing husband and wife, the latter horse-faced (kiaanī) and having a child on her lap. The other group is a seated gentleman, rather corpulent, clasping two children at his sides.'

The fourth railing was found on the south-west of the Sevai tank. They were all delineated in Plates XL—XLIII, which probably exist somewhere. I presume that the objects were sent to the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

After this long digression I will now return to Fa-hien.

The legend in Chapter XXXII, Passage No. V, concerning the meeting of Asoka in a former birth with 'Sākya Buddha,' according to Beal, Laidlay, and Giles (Shih-chia), or Kûṣapa Buddha, according to Legge, is mere folklore of the Jātaka kind, which need not be discussed. There is nothing more about Asoka in the Travels.

The amount of traditional history recorded by the pilgrim is not large.

Passage No. I informs us that a son of Asoka named Dharma-vardhana, ruled a principality in the hills some 50 or 60 miles to the north of Peshāwar.

Passage No. II is mythological, but is interesting for its bearing upon the generally-accepted, although doubtful identification of Sankṣaya or Kapiṭha with Sankisa in the Farrukhābād District. Fa-hien and Huen Teang both testify that the Asoka pillar at Sankṣaya or Kapiṭha was crowned by a lion, whereas the pillar at Sankisa is surmounted by an elephant, and cannot possibly be the same monument. Perhaps there were two Asoka pillars at the site. Mr. Marshall has recently proved the existence of two such pillars at Rāmpurwā in the Champsān District, one with a lion, and the other with a bull capital. The question of the identity of the site requires re-examination after local enquiry.

3 J. R. A. S., 1868, p. 7985. Plate I, fig. 1, 2.
The legend recorded in passage No. III shows that the stūpa at Rāmagrāma in the Nepalese Tarai was older than the time of Aśoka. The site probably is capable of identification.

Passage No. IV is by far the most important and tells us a good deal about Aśoka’s connection with Pātaliputra. It mentions two monolithic pillars to the south of the city, both inscribed. The Sankāśya monument is the third of the three such pillars mentioned in the Travels, none of which is identical with any now standing.

The remains of both those near Pātaliputra seem to have been found, but no trace of the inscriptions. Fa-hien, like Huien Tsang, describes Aśoka’s religious relative as being his brother; not his son. He is the person called Mahendra or Mahindo by Huien Tsang and the chroniclers of Ceylon. Although Fa-hien visited Ceylon, stayed there two years, and relates the legends locally current, he does not name Aśoka in connection with the island. He merely says (Chap. XXXVIII) that ‘a former king of the country had sent to Central India and got a slip of the patra [= 67] tree, which he planted by the side of the hall of Buddha, where a tree grew up to the height of about 200 cubits.’ He does not make any allusion to the story of the conversion of the island as told by the chroniclers.

A PRIMER OF DRAVIDIAN PHONOLOGY.

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Section I.

I.—Vowel system.

(1) From a comparative study of all the Dravidian dialects it is inferred that the Primitive Dravidian parent language had the following vowel system:

- Short vowels ... ... ... a, i, u, e, o.
- Long vowels ... ... ... ā, ī, ū, ē, ō, ā.
- Nasalised long vowels ... ... ... ō.

Note.—The Primitive Dravidian vowel system was simple. It had no diphthongs nor vocalic consonants.

(2) The pronunciation of these vowels is as in Italian. ā is the long form of the vowel in the English word ‘man.’

II. — Changes.

This system did not undergo many changes in the various separate Dravidian languages, but the few changes that it underwent may be summed up under the following headings:

(a) — Isolative changes.

(1) Prim. Drav.2 final ā > āi in Tam.3; ā in Mal.4; e in Can.5; and Tu.6 and ā in Te.7 — e, i.g.:

Tam. talai ‘head’ is Mal. tala; Can. and Tu. tale and tare respectively; and Te. has tala.

1 I shall give here only one example to illustrate each change, and more examples, if needed, will be found under the detailed treatment of the vowels.
2 Primitive Dravidian.
3 Tamil.
4 Malayalam.
5 Canarese.
6 Tulu.
7 Telugu.
THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY.

(2) Prim. Drav. \( \hat{a} \), \( \acute{a} \) in Tam. and \( \acute{a} \) in Mal.
\( \hat{a} \), rarely \( \hat{e} \), \( \hat{a} \) in Can.
\( \hat{e} \), sometimes \( \hat{a} \) in Tu.
\( \hat{e} \) in Te.

Tam. \( \ddot{a} \) \( \ddot{d}u \) (goat) is Mal. \( \ddot{a} \) \( \ddot{d}u \), Can. \( \ddot{a} \) \( \ddot{d}u \); Tulu \( \ddot{e}d\ddot{u} \) and Tel. \( \ddot{e}t\ddot{a} \).

(3) Prim. Drav. nasalised \( \tilde{a} \) y\( \hat{a} \), \( \hat{n} \), \( \hat{a} \) — Tam.
\( \hat{n} \), \( \hat{n} \), \( \hat{n} \) — Mal.
\( \hat{a} \), \( \hat{n} \), \( \hat{n} \) — Can.
\( \hat{a} \), \( \hat{n} \), \( \hat{n} \) — Tu.
\( \hat{e} \), \( \hat{n} \), \( \hat{n} \) — Te.

Tam. \( \ddot{y}d \ddot{a} \), \( \ddot{y}d \ddot{a} \), \( \ddot{y}d \ddot{a} \). 'I' is Mal. \( \ddot{a} \) \( \ddot{a} \) \( \ddot{n} \) \( \ddot{u} \). Can. \( \ddot{a} \) \( \ddot{n} \) \( \ddot{u} \) and \( \ddot{n} \) \( \ddot{n} \) \( \ddot{u} \) \( \ddot{u} \) Tu. \( \ddot{a} \) \( \ddot{n} \) \( \ddot{u} \); Te. \( \ddot{n} \) \( \ddot{n} \) \( \ddot{n} \) and \( \ddot{u} \).

In short this sometimes lost its nasalisation, sometimes its fronting, sometimes both.

4. Prim. Drav. initial \( a \), \( \acute{i} \), \( \acute{e} \) became aspirated in Mid and New Canarese, in some cases, and were represented by \( h\acute{a} \), \( h\acute{i} \), \( h\acute{e} \). This is probably due to the influence of Marathi, the northern neighbour of Canarese and Tulu, which has very many aspirated sounds. Tulu shows this tendency. For example. \( \ddot{A}d\ddot{a}p\ddot{p}m \) 'bar' in Tam. is \( \ddot{h}d\ddot{a}p\ddot{p}m \) in Can. and Tu; \( \ddot{a}p\ddot{p} \) 'a special Bengali gram cake' in Tam. is \( \ddot{h}p\ddot{a}p\ddot{a} \) in Can. and Tu.

(b) — Combative Changes.

(1) Change in quality.

(\( \alpha \)) \( i \) and \( u \) \( \sim \) \( e \) and \( o \) respectively in Can. Tu. and Te. and also in New Tam. and New Mal. before cerebrals and liquids and when followed by \( a \). This change, I shall call — \( a \)-umlaut.

Tam. \( \ddot{i}d \ddot{a}m 'l e f t ' \) is Mal. \( \ddot{i}d \ddot{e} \); Can. and Tu \( \ddot{e}d \); Te. \( \ddot{e}d \ddot{a}m \).

Note. — These \( i \) and \( u \) are always initial.

(\( \beta \)) Pr. Drav. initial \( a \) when followed by \( i \), sometimes becomes \( e \) in Te. Tam. \( a \) \( r i \) 'to know' is Te. \( c r u \).

Through the influence of an \( i \) in the stem an \( u \) in the inflexions may be changed to \( i \); e.g.: — puli Nom. case 'tiger' puliki Dat. but \( k\ddot{d}d\acute{a} 'child' \) and \( k\ddot{d}d\ddot{a}k\ddot{u} \).

This change I shall call \( i \)-umlaut. Dr. Caldwell calls all these changes harmonic sequence of vowels.

(\( \gamma \)) Very often in Can. and Tu., and mostly in Te. the final half pronounced enunciatative \( u \) of words changes an \( a \) of the preceding syllable into \( u \) and sometimes an \( i \) of the preceding syllable into \( a \). This change, I shall call \( u \)-umlaut. For example. \( \ddot{K}d\ddot{u}l\ddot{u} 't o s h a k e ' \) is \( \ddot{K}d\ddot{u}l\ddot{u}l \) in Can., Te. and Tu.

(\( \delta \)) By metathesis and by contraction due to accent change (see infra) with the following \( a \), \( i \), and \( u \) in Tulugu respectively became \( \acute{e} \) and \( \acute{e} \). Tam. \( \ddot{i}r\ddot{a}l\ddot{a}i 'd e e r ' \) is Te. \( \ddot{e}l\ddot{d} \). Here \( r \) and \( e \) have interchanged. Tam. \( \ddot{u}r\ddot{a}l 'm o r t a r ' \) Te. is \( \ddot{r}d\ddot{u} \).
(2). Change in quantity.

(a) By the loss of nasals, $h$ or $g, \nu$ or even $y$ (Pr. Drav. $g$ or $g'$) the vowels $a, i, e,$ were often lengthened.

Tam. $\text{shappai}'$ laddle is $\text{âpe}$ and $\text{hāpe}$ in Can., Tu.

Tam. $\text{svam}'$ this man is Tel. $\text{riḍa}$.

Note.—This change is often attended with metathesis in Telugu.

(b) These vowels, if long, became short when they were used as part of inflectinal particles, e.g., $\text{nān}$ or $\text{nān}'$ I became $\text{en}$ in indexions.

III. — The Great Accent change.

Before proceeding to a detailed treatment of the vowel changes in the various separate Dravidian languages, I shall give here an account of the Great Accent Change in Primitive Dravidian, which plays so important a part in the explanation of the difficult forms that most of the words of Telugu, Goṇi and the other North Dravidian languages have assumed.

In Early Primitive Dravidian, as it is even now in Tamil, Malayalam and Canarese, the accent rested on the root or stem syllable, which is almost always the first syllable.

But later on, in late Primitive Dravidian, before the great Tamil works, viz., $\text{Kurâl}$ and $\text{Dīvâkasirântâmâni}$ were written, perhaps about the beginning of the first century A. D., the accent showed a tendency to shift to the last syllable. As a result of this tendency, the final consonants of words began to be pronounced with distinct stress and with an enunciative half-pronounced $u$. The consonants that were thus affected in all the languages were $g, i, d, ə, ə, d$, and $\gamma$.

But with this only result, the tendency was more or less completely stopped in the Central and the South Dravidian dialects. Kumarila Bhața, who was the great controversial writer of the seventh century, uses “$\text{tʃōr}$,” “$\text{pampu}$,” “$\text{dǐ}$,” and “$\text{nayir}$,” which are exactly the Tamil words $\text{tʃōru}$, $\text{pampu}$, $\text{dǐ}$ and $\text{nayir}$, showing thereby that the tendency for the accent change had not developed till the close of the 6th century.

The tendency seems to have completely died out in the South Dravidian languages. For Malayalam, which branched off from Tamil as a separate language at the commencement of the 7th century A. D., began to develop a reaction against this tendency: so much so that at the present day all the inflexions are lost in the verbal forms in New Malayalam, the accent strongly resting on the root syllable. In Tamil, the tendency stopped at affecting only the consonants mentioned above.

In the Central-Dravidian languages, the tendency did not die out, but was only checked for a time. Dr. Kittel says that even in ancient literature there was a tendency to add a final $u$ to consonants and sometimes also $i$ (Kittel's Karnâda Grammar, article 54).

All this while, from the 1st to the 7th century, great changes were taking place in the North Dravidian languages. The accent had shifted to the last syllable: the initial and the medial syllables had become contracted; all the final consonants had taken an enunciative $u$ which was no more pronounced only half, but with full and clear stress. The final vowels in the extreme North dialects had become lengthened; where short originally.

The Central Dravidian was once more affected by its nearness to the North Dravidian languages. Canarese and Taļu, the four languages of this family, added a final $u$ to all words ending in any consonant, and this final $u$ began to affect the vowels of the preceding syllables as in the North Dravidian languages. But with these results the tendency had stopped in them.
I will now sum up and illustrate the results of the great accent shift:

(1) The lengthening of original final short vowels:

In Gondi, which is the extreme North dialect, the accent had completely changed to the last syllable and every vowel was lengthened; e.g.:

Tam. ṝivahu 'wood' is in Gondi ṛeṛuṛa.
Tam. ṝuḷu. Tel. ṛaru is Gondi ṛiṣa.
Tel. Tam. ṛdu 'wisdom' is in Gondi ṛla.
Tel. ṕrdnu 'tree' is in Gondi ṕrdna.
Tel. ṛlu 'house' is in Gondi ṛdda.
Tel. ṛla ṛ 'leg' is in Gondi ṛdā.

Examples may be multiplied, as almost every word has a long vowel at the end in Gondi.

(2) Dropping of initial vowels and contraction by metathesis:

This is characteristic of all the North Dravidian languages; and the words affected are mostly the unstressed post-positions and the pronominal forms; e.g.:

Tam. ṛl is in Tel. ṛḷu, in Gondi ṛla ṛ. in'.

Tam. ṛvāḷ is Tel. ṛḷu, Tam. ṛvāḷ is in, Tel. ṛḍa ṛ 'tender.' Tam. ṛvāḷ is Telugu ṛvāḷ 'this man,' etc.

(3) Voicing of initial consonants, through lack of stress and also of medial ones. This is characteristic of all except the South Dravidian family, viz., Tamil and Malayalam; and this change generally takes place when the initial consonants are followed by cerebrals, doubled consonants and liquids; e.g.:

Tam. ṛvāḷ 'head' is ṛvāḷu in Can., Tu., and Te.
Tam. ṛvāḷ 'screen' is ṛvāḷu in Can., Tu., and Te.
Tam. ṛvāḷ is ṛvāḷu in Can., Tu., and Te.

(4) Final enunciative:

This has been already explained in the general treatment of accent shift.

IV-a.

(1) The initial α of Primitive Dravidian remains in all its dialects:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 ahal (extend)</td>
<td>ahalu</td>
<td>ahalu</td>
<td>ahalu</td>
<td>ahalu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 adi (foot)</td>
<td>adi</td>
<td>adi</td>
<td>adi</td>
<td>adi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 ṛṭṭai (leech)</td>
<td>ṛṭṭe</td>
<td>ṛṭṭe</td>
<td>ṛṭṭe</td>
<td>ṛṭṭa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 ṛṭṭam (obstruction)</td>
<td>ṛṭṭam</td>
<td>ṛṭṭam</td>
<td>ṛṭṭam</td>
<td>ṛṭṭam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 aral (flower)</td>
<td>aral</td>
<td>aral</td>
<td>aral</td>
<td>aral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 atti (fig)</td>
<td>atti</td>
<td>atti</td>
<td>atti</td>
<td>atti</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(2) Primitive Dravidian medial a also remains:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tamil</th>
<th>Mal.</th>
<th>Can.</th>
<th>Tuļu</th>
<th>Telugu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 kal (stone)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>kul</td>
<td>kallu</td>
<td>kallu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 kannam (hole)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>kannam</td>
<td>kannamu</td>
<td>kanna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 tatʃ (to tap)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>tatʃu</td>
<td>tatʃu</td>
<td>tatʃu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 nohu (to laugh)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>nagu</td>
<td>nagu</td>
<td>nagu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 pottu (ten)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>pottu</td>
<td>hattu</td>
<td>padi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(3) Pr. Drav. final a in stem syllables becomes—

- (ai) (through æ) in Tamil,
- æ (written a) in Malayalam,
- e (in Canarese and Tuļu),
- a in Telugu.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tamil</th>
<th>Mal.</th>
<th>Can.</th>
<th>Tuļu</th>
<th>Telugu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 talai (head)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>talu</td>
<td>tale</td>
<td>tare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 kanai (shore)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>kara</td>
<td>kare</td>
<td>kare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 malai (hill)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 atʃai (sole of the feet)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>atʃe</td>
<td>atʃe</td>
<td>atʃe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 arai (half)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>ara</td>
<td>arc</td>
<td>arc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 valai (net)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>vale</td>
<td>bale</td>
<td>bale</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(4) Special development of a.

(a) Canarese.

(1) Can. initial a > p (h) a, and ha.

In Canarese the initial a mostly becomes aspirated through the influence of Marathi. Then it was written as pa, for p, at that period, was an aspirated consonant: (vide the development of p under consonants). And this p again became h. For example:

Tam. ahappai ‘ladle’ is in Can. ādpa.

Tam. adappan ‘bag’ is in Can. ādapa.

Tam. ṣṇai ‘approach’ is in Can. āṇe and hane.

Tam. atṭi ‘fig tree’ is in Can. hatti.
Tam. ari 'to cut' is in Can. hari (vide Kittel's Kannada Dictionary, page 2, for more examples).

(2) Pr. Drav. final a > e, later weakened to i, a.

Pr. Drav. final a which becomes e in Canarese and ei in Tamil, was further weakened in Canarese either to i or to a; e.g.:

Tam. kaḷai 'to weed' is in Can. kaleza and kaḷi.
Tam. kaṟai 'stain' is in Can. kaḷes and kaṟi.
Tam. kaṟai 'to call' is in Can. kares and kaṟi.
Tam. kaḷai 'to churn' is in Can. kaḍe and kaḍi.

again: Tam. maḷai 'mountain' is Can. maḷe and maḷa.

Tam. ilai 'leaf' . . . . eḷe and eḷa.
Tam. kaṉai 'stick' . . . . kaṇe and kaṇa.

It may be noted here that the weakening of e into i is found in verbal forms and the weakening of e into a in nouns.

(3) a > d, e in inflexionial forms of Canarese. The genitive and the accusative signs become lengthened. Gen. a > ā and the acc. es > d; again esam 'he' appears as əsəm. Plural sign ar > or. (vide Kittel's Canarese Grammar, pages 24, 189, 212 and 47, 51, 58, 58, 111, and 112).

(4) a > d by contraction; e.g.:— aqape 'ladle' becomes əpe and ḍpe.

(5) a> i (i shortened) in the formation of second person singular of the future and imperfect:— e.g., tuddi, truvi, etc. (vide Kittel's Kannada Dictionary, page 175).

(b) Tamil.

(1) In Tamil the medial a, which is not in the first syllable, is generally pronounced as ə, though written a:— e.g., maḍal is maḍal 'a petal'. It is also written as e by the vulgar people.

(2) Pr. Dravidian final a is preserved in Tamil in a few words as kara to milk, ira 'to beg', saḍa to walk. These have final e in Canarese and Tula and a in Telugu. This final a of Tamil is, hence, very probably a weakening of ai.

(3) a > ā, ē by contraction; e.g.:

viṇṇavaṛ > viṇṇōr 'gods,'
periyaṉvaṛ > periyaṉr and periyaṉr 'elders,'
ahappai > ḍappai. Here the contraction is due to the disappearance of medial h or v.

(4) The final ai > Pr. Dravidian a is always written as a and pronounced as ə, when it becomes medial by the addition of suffixes; e.g., maḷai 'hill,' but maḷanṭū 'a hilly country' (vide Nandvi-Sūtram, 123).
(c) Malayalam.

The medial \( a \) in Malayalam has a great tendency to become \( e \) and is written as \( e \) by the vulgar people. Again Pr. Dravidian final \( a \) which is written \( a \), but pronounced \( ḍa \) in Malayalam is regularly written \( e \) when it becomes medial by the addition of suffixes; e.g.: —

Tam. amai 'to fit' is ameyuṣa in Mal. Tamil aṣai to move is ayelku. Tamil talai 'head' is taleku dat. of taka. (Vide Gundert's Mal. Dict., page 1.)

(d) Telugu.

1. In Telugu initial \( a \) > e by i-mutation, e.g.: — Tam. ari, to know. Telugu eruγu.

(2) Initial \( a \) > u by u-mutation. Tam. mulaί 'to sprout' is Tel. moluṣu and moluṣu; Tam. mulaί 'to wander' is Tel. mulaγu and mulaγu; kadaί and kadaλu, to move.

(3) In the inflexional suffixes, \( a \) > a through the dropping of a nasal. Tam. aven is Tel. nāgu, and the \( ḍa \) of vādu is added in verbal inflexions. Again Tam. tanγu to remain, is Telugu ḍaγu.

Vr.—ā.

(1) Pr. Drav. initial \( d \) remains:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tamil</th>
<th>Mal.</th>
<th>Can.</th>
<th>Tuḷu.</th>
<th>Telugu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 ṭāḍu (play)</td>
<td>āḍu...</td>
<td>āḍu...</td>
<td>āḍu...</td>
<td>āḍu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 ṣāni (nail)</td>
<td>āni...</td>
<td>āni...</td>
<td>āni...</td>
<td>āni.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 āru (to be full)</td>
<td>āru...</td>
<td>āru...</td>
<td>āru...</td>
<td>āru.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 ā (cow)</td>
<td>ā...</td>
<td>ā...</td>
<td>ā...</td>
<td>āvu.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) Pr. Drav. medial \( d \) remains:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tamil</th>
<th>Mal.</th>
<th>Can.</th>
<th>Tuḷu.</th>
<th>Telugu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 kāḍu (forest)</td>
<td>kāḍu...</td>
<td>kāḍu...</td>
<td>kāḍu...</td>
<td>kāḍu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pāḷ (ruins)</td>
<td>pāḷ...</td>
<td>pāḷ...</td>
<td>hāḷ...</td>
<td>pāḍu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 tākku (attack)</td>
<td>tāκku...</td>
<td>tāku...</td>
<td>tāku...</td>
<td>tāgo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 nāṭṭa (fix)</td>
<td>nāṭṭu...</td>
<td>nāṭṭu...</td>
<td>nāṭṭu...</td>
<td>nāṭu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 vānām (sky and rains)</td>
<td>vānām...</td>
<td>vānām...</td>
<td>bāṇ...</td>
<td>bāṇe (hill)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(3) Pr. Dravidian final \( d \) is found in the following words:—(1) Tam. ḍ 'cow'; (2) ḍa 'to protect'; (3) ḍa 'to die'; (4) ḍa 'to give'; (5) ḍu 'song'; (6) ḍa 'to come.'

But the Pr. Drav. final \( d \) was later either shortened to \( a \) or received a formative suffix \( ku \), ḍu or ḍu, or ḍu; so that the above words appear as āvr; ḍpyu, ṣevu, pāḍu, garu in Can., Tel. and Tuḷu. In Tamil, we have ṣevu, ḍpyu, pāḍu and garu.
(4) The development of Pr. Drav, final \( d \).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tamil</th>
<th>Mal.</th>
<th>Can.</th>
<th>Telu.</th>
<th>Telugu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 å (cow)</td>
<td>å</td>
<td>åvu</td>
<td>åvu.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 kà (to defend)</td>
<td>kà</td>
<td>kàpù</td>
<td>kàpù.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 sà (to die)</td>
<td>tʃà</td>
<td>sà</td>
<td>sài</td>
<td>tʃntʃù, tè.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 tà (give)</td>
<td>tà</td>
<td>tà</td>
<td>tà</td>
<td>tʃntʃù, tè.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 pà (song)</td>
<td>pàtu</td>
<td>pàtu</td>
<td>pàtu.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(5) Special development of \( d \).

In Telugu initial \( d \) drops through accent-change and the next vowel is lengthened as a compensation; e. g., b gå lèdu (cf. Tam. ḍhāvillai) becomes ḍlèdu.

VI.-I.

(1) Pr. Drav. initial \( i \) remains in all the languages.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tamil</th>
<th>Mal.</th>
<th>Can.</th>
<th>Telu.</th>
<th>Telugu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 iḍu (place)</td>
<td>iḍu</td>
<td>iḍa</td>
<td>iḍe (a)</td>
<td>iḍa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 iru (two)</td>
<td>iru</td>
<td>iru</td>
<td>iru</td>
<td>iru.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 ili (house)</td>
<td>ḍl</td>
<td>ili</td>
<td>ili</td>
<td>ili.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 in’tʃa (shrink)</td>
<td>iʃg</td>
<td>iʃg</td>
<td>iʃg</td>
<td>iʃg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 irukku (squeeze)</td>
<td>iɾkku</td>
<td>iɾku</td>
<td>iɾku</td>
<td>iɾku.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) Pri. Drav. medial \( i \) remains in all the languages.

Note.—(Here the \( i \) is in the first syllable of the illustrating words).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tamil</th>
<th>Mal.</th>
<th>Can.</th>
<th>Telu.</th>
<th>Telugu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 ďiru (small)</td>
<td>tʃịṇu</td>
<td>kịru, kịri</td>
<td>kịru</td>
<td>kịri.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 tiri (twist)</td>
<td>tiri</td>
<td>tiri</td>
<td>tiri</td>
<td>tiri.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 kịl (parrot)</td>
<td>kịl</td>
<td>giʃi</td>
<td>giʃi</td>
<td>tʃiluk,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 tali (string)</td>
<td>tali</td>
<td>tali</td>
<td>tali</td>
<td>tali.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 vil (to sell)</td>
<td>vil</td>
<td>bel (n)</td>
<td>bile (n)</td>
<td>vilufs,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 migu (to exceed)</td>
<td>miʃu</td>
<td>miʃu</td>
<td>miʃu</td>
<td>miʃu.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(3) Pr. Drav. final \( i \) remains in all the languages.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tamil</th>
<th>Mal.</th>
<th>Can.</th>
<th>Tulu</th>
<th>Telugu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( \text{adži} ) (delay)</td>
<td>( \text{adži} )</td>
<td>( \text{adži} )</td>
<td>( \text{adži} )</td>
<td>( \text{adži} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{atti} ) (fig)</td>
<td>( \text{atti} )</td>
<td>( \text{atti} )</td>
<td>( \text{atti} )</td>
<td>( \text{atti} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{kattí} ) (knife)</td>
<td>( \text{kattí} )</td>
<td>( \text{kattí} )</td>
<td>( \text{kattí} )</td>
<td>( \text{kattí} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{taṭṭi} ) (screen)</td>
<td>( \text{taṭṭi} )</td>
<td>( \text{taṭṭi} )</td>
<td>( \text{taṭṭi} )</td>
<td>( \text{taṭṭi} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{paruttí} ) (cotton)</td>
<td>( \text{paruttí} )</td>
<td>( \text{pattí} )</td>
<td>( \text{partí} )</td>
<td>( \text{patti} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{yēvi} ) (ear)</td>
<td>( \text{tjevi} )</td>
<td>( \text{kbi} )</td>
<td>( \text{kbi} )</td>
<td>( \text{tjevi} )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(4) \( i \times e \) (by a - umlaut).

\( i \) before cerebals and liquids and followed by \( a \) becomes \( e \) in Classical Canarese, Tulu and Telugu and also in New Tamil and New Malayalam.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tamil</th>
<th>Mal.</th>
<th>Can.</th>
<th>Tulu</th>
<th>Telugu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( \text{idam} ) (place)</td>
<td>( \text{idam} )</td>
<td>( \text{eda} )</td>
<td>( \text{ida} )</td>
<td>( \text{eda} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{idadu} ) (left)</td>
<td>( \text{idam} )</td>
<td>( \text{eda} )</td>
<td>( \text{eda} )</td>
<td>( \text{eda} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{ipai} ) (couple)</td>
<td>( \text{ima} )</td>
<td>( \text{ene} )</td>
<td>( \text{ine} )</td>
<td>( \text{na} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{iravālu} ) (borrowing)</td>
<td>( \text{irāvu} )</td>
<td>( \text{erāvu} )</td>
<td>( \text{erāvu} )</td>
<td>( \text{erāvu} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{irāgu} ) (descend)</td>
<td>( \text{irāgū} )</td>
<td>( \text{eragū} )</td>
<td>( \text{eragū} )</td>
<td>( \text{eragū} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{ilai} ) (leaf)</td>
<td>( \text{ila} )</td>
<td>( \text{elo} )</td>
<td>( \text{elo} )</td>
<td>( \text{elo} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{ilai} ) (thread)</td>
<td>( \text{ila} )</td>
<td>( \text{ela} )</td>
<td>( \text{li} )</td>
<td>( \text{le} )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(5) Special developments of \( e \).

(a) Canarese.

(a) \( \text{iyā} \times i \) (1) as in the accusative singular; (2) in the genitive singular; (3) in the locative singular; (4) in the infinitive; (5) in the nominative plural.

The examples respectively are —

\( \text{bine} \) \( \text{takonda} \); \( \text{gāli} \) \( \text{soda} \); \( \text{hadi} \) \( \text{ṣi} \) \( \text{biru} \); \( \text{bragittūru} \) (vida Kittel's Kannada Grammar, page 204).
(b) The ancient dialect $i > e$ in some verbs. *tētu* (draw); *kētu* (scratch), etc. (Kittel's Can. Gr., art. 66.)

(a) In some verbs $i > a$: *kaḍir* $\neq$ *kaḍādū* (Kittel's Con. Gr., p. 95, art. 157.)

(d) Medial $i > u$ though final $u$-mutation: e.g., *kaḍiku* and *kaḍaku* 'a cut'; *kaṇiku* and *kaṇaku* 'the stalk of millet.'

(b) Telugu.

(1) $i > a$ by a (u)-umlaut: e.g., Tamil *el* is Tel. *elak* 'rat'. Tamil *ker* 'to bite' is Tel. *karas* and *karas*.

(2) $i > u$ by u-umlaut: e.g.: *ediy* 'front' in Tamil, becomes *edur* in Tel. and Canarese, and Tulu. Tamil *kaari* 'a spindle' is Tel. *kaari*.

(3) $i > e$ by contraction with a through metathesis of liquid consonants. Examples are:

1. Tamil: *itapu* 'two' is Tel. *rendu*;
2. Tamil: *irul* 'deer' is Tel. *ledi*;
3. Tamil: *ilai* 'not' is Tel. *ledu*;
4. Tamil: *ila* 'young' is Tel. *le*.

This change is sometimes found in New Tamil and Malayalam as in *rendu* 'two.'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Pr. Drav. initial $i$ remains:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tamil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>$i$ (fly)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>$itf$ (date)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>$in$ (to give birth)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>$iru$ (nit)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>$idu$ (match)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) Pr. Drav. medial $i$ remains in all the languages: 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Pr. Drav. medial $i$ remains in all the languages:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tamil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>$ipp$ (bunch)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>$kir$ (scratch)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>$triu$ (finish)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>$min$ (fish)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>$visu$ (to fan)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A PRIMER OF DRAVIDIAN PHONOLOGY.

3. I will give here the pronunciation of other signs, which I'll have to use elsewhere under.

(3) Pr. Drav. final i is found in the following words: - i (give), st (fire) st (purse) st (die), pi (human excrement).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tamil</th>
<th>Mal.</th>
<th>Can.</th>
<th>Tulu.</th>
<th>Telugu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1  i (give)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2  tli (sweet)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>sl</td>
<td>st</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3  ti, tu (fire)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>ti</td>
<td>tu and sl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4  pi (man's dung)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>pi</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5  tsli (sue)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>tsli</td>
<td>tsli</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

VIII-u,

(1) Pr. Drav. initial u remains.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tamil</th>
<th>Mal.</th>
<th>Can.</th>
<th>Tulu.</th>
<th>Telugu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1  umu (spit)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>ugi</td>
<td>ugi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2  upp (salt)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>upp</td>
<td>upp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3  urir (life)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>urir</td>
<td>usira</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4  unda (round)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>unda</td>
<td>unda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5  ulandu (black gram)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>uddu</td>
<td>uddu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) Pr. Dravidian medial u remains.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tamil</th>
<th>Mal.</th>
<th>Can.</th>
<th>Tulu.</th>
<th>Telugu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1  kuṭṭu (blow)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>kuṭṭu</td>
<td>kuṭṭu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2  kuri (aim)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>guri</td>
<td>guri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3  tumba (ancest)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>tumba</td>
<td>tumba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4  mudi (knot)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>mudi</td>
<td>mudi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5  tuṣ (end)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>tuṣi</td>
<td>tuṣi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above table and chart are used in the Laws of Dravidian Syllabation.
(3) Pr. Drav. initial \( u \) by a-units.

Pr. Drav. initial \( u \) becomes \( o \) when followed by \( a \) and before cerebrals and liquids. This change is found in classical Can., Tel. and Tel. and also in New Tamil and Malayalam:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tamil</th>
<th>Mal.</th>
<th>Can.</th>
<th>Telu.</th>
<th>Telugu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 udal (body)</td>
<td>udal</td>
<td>odala</td>
<td>odalu</td>
<td>( \text{odanal and odul} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 udai (kick)</td>
<td>udai</td>
<td>ode</td>
<td>.....</td>
<td>.....</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 upai (scabbard)</td>
<td>upai</td>
<td>ore</td>
<td>ore</td>
<td>ora</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 ulai (forge)</td>
<td>ulai</td>
<td>ode</td>
<td>ule</td>
<td>ula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 ujavu (secret)</td>
<td>ujavu</td>
<td>ojava</td>
<td>ojavu</td>
<td>ojavu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(4) Special developments of \( u \).

(a) Telugu.

In Telugu \( u \overset{\delta}{\rightarrow} \delta \) by contraction; e.g. — Tam. \( ukal \) 'grinding mortar' is Telugu \( \delta \text{ul} \); Tam. \( ufr \) (in) is Tel. \( l\delta \); Tam. \( ugr 'claw' is Tel. \( g\delta r \).

IX-\( \delta \).

(1) Pr. Drav. initial \( \delta \) remains:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tamil</th>
<th>Mal.</th>
<th>Can.</th>
<th>Telu.</th>
<th>Telugu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 u( \delta ) (blow)</td>
<td>u( \delta )</td>
<td>u( \delta )</td>
<td>u( \delta )</td>
<td>u( \delta )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 ur (village)</td>
<td>uru</td>
<td>uru</td>
<td>uru</td>
<td>uru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 ulai (howl)</td>
<td>u( \delta )</td>
<td>( \delta )</td>
<td>( \delta )</td>
<td>( \delta )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 ulizan (work)</td>
<td>uliyam</td>
<td>uliga</td>
<td>uliga</td>
<td>uligama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 un( \delta ) (to fix)</td>
<td>annu</td>
<td>uru</td>
<td>uru</td>
<td>annu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) Pr. Drav. Medial \( \delta \) remains:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tamil</th>
<th>Mal.</th>
<th>Can.</th>
<th>Telu.</th>
<th>Telugu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 k( \delta ) (nest)</td>
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(To be continued.)
A BALLAD OF THE SIKH WARS.

Taken down by M. Longworth Dames between Jhang and Chiniot in 1875.

Communicated by H. A. Rose.

Introductory Remarks by the Editor.

This Panjab Ballad, like most of its kind, contains a fine confusion of history, though it is, in point of date, close to the events it purports to record. It may be divided into two equal parts. Part I contains references to the First Sikh War of 1845-6 and to the Battle of Sobroaon, near Firozpur, on 10th Feb. 1846. Part II refers to the siege of Multan and to the Second Sikh War, both in 1848-9. To explain the allusions in the Ballad it is necessary to relate something of the real history of the time.

The series of dynastic troubles, astonishing even in the history of an Oriental State, which arose on the death of Baniit Singh in 1839, resulted eventually, in 1845, in the regency of his widow, Raji Jindah, on behalf of her son, Dalip Singh, the titular Maharaj of the Panjab. Her minister was her favourite and reputed paramour, Rajah Lal Singh, a Brar. They had abundant evidence that the Army of the Khals, or Sikh Commonwealth, was not only practically their master, but was also far from loyal to them, and, in pursuance of a deep scheme to break its power, they made every effort to involve it in a war with the British Government. They finally succeeded in inducing the Khals Army to cross the Satluj into British Territory. Strategically the object of the movements made was to separate the Cantonment of Firozpur, a strong but isolated outpost of the British Indian possessions at that time, from its supports at Ludhiana and elsewhere. This led to a series of important battles at Muktai on 18th Dec. 1845, at Ferozeshah (Pherushah) on the 21st Dec., at Aliwal on the 27th Jan. 1846, and finally at Sobroaon on the Satluj on the 10th Feb., followed the next day by the capture of Kasur on the Lohar side of the river. In these operations the Sikh Army was overwhelmed and for the time being crushed. All the above places, except Aliwal near Ludhiana, are near Firozpur.

The references in the Ballad to the Battle of Sobroaon are in the main correct. That fine old Sikh warrior, Sham Singh of Atari, strongly advised the Sikh Army not to interfere with so powerful a neighbour as the English, but finally, when they would not listen to him, he joined them at Sobroaon, and deliberately went to his death during the battle, in circumstances which have made his name cherished by the Sikhs to the present day.

When driven back from their entrenchments by the British, the Sikhs endeavoured to swim or ford the Satluj in their rear, but a rise of the river in the night had swept away their bridge of boats and made the crossing dangerous in any circumstances. It was during their retreat that the great slaughter at Sobroaon took place, and the river was so choked with corpses that Lord Gough, who commanded, is said to have remarked that he could have walked over to the other bank by stepping from one to the other.

Rajah Lal Singh behaved treacherously throughout all the fighting with the British, as part of the plan of securing the defeat of the Khals Army, and though he managed to keep his post of minister even after the disastrous treaty that followed on the defeat at Sobroaon, he was eventually convicted of treacherous conduct towards the English and banished to Benares in Dec. 1846.
One of the immediate effects of the defeat at Sobrān was to place the Dográ Chief, Maharaja Gulāb Singh of Jammū, a great figure of the time, in power over the Khalsā. He became the chief intermediary with the British and in the end their ally, receiving for his services from Lord Hardinge, the Governor-General, the great fief of Jammū and Kashmir, now held by his descendants, under the celebrated agreement, long afterwards known as the “Sale of Kashmir.”

The reference in the last line (St. V., 1. 4.) of the Ballad relating to the Battle of Sobrān is very obscure. Raja Lāl Singh is represented as saying that he has complained to Gulāb Singh about Sher Singh. This Sher Singh cannot be the Maharaja Sher Singh, as he had been, murdered three years previously. It might refer to Jawāhir Singh, the brother of Rānī Jindān, a notoriously evil genius of the Sikhs at that period, but he had been murdered more than a year before. The prominent Sher Singh of the time was Raja Sher Singh of Atārī, who was one of the Council of Regency on the banishment of Raja Lāl Singh in Dec. 1846, and afterwards the leader in the Second Sikh War of 1848-9. He must always have been a personage at all likely to have been friendly with Raja Lāl Singh.

The allusions in the second part of the Ballad are much more obscure than those in the first part, and require a good deal of explanation. The Second Sikh War was the direct outcome of the First, as the Sikh power had only been scotched, not destroyed, at Sobrān. The first fruit of the trouble that arose after the treaty ratified at Lahor on 26th Dec. 1846, was the rebellion of Mūl Rāj, the Diwan of Multān, in 1849, which began with the treacherous murder, on 19th April, 1848, of Messrs. Vans Agnew and Anderson, who had been sent to Multān to look after the administration at what may be fairly called Mūl Rāj’s own invitation. Vans Agnew exhibited a splendid courage in the circumstances of the attack that led to his murder, and managed to send news of it to Sir Frederick Currie, the Resident at Lahor, and to Sir Herbert Edwardes and General Cortlandt at Bānnū and Dera Ghâzū Khān, respectively. Edwardes raised a Muhammadan force at Bānnū, which steadily defeated Mūl Rāj’s troops in fight after fight, until he reached Multān itself on July 1st and invested it, while awaiting the arrival of General Whish on the 4th Sept. with a siege train. Then commenced regular operations to reduce the important fortress into which Mūl Rāj had converted the fort and city of Multān.

Part of the arrangements made at Lahor for assisting Edwardes was the despatch of a Sikh force under Raja Sher Singh of Atārī, which was disaffected from the commencement, and while Edwardes was investing Multān, Sher Singh’s father, Chhatar Singh of Atārī, had raised a formal revolt against the British in the North. After much hesitation Sher Singh threw in his lot with the rebellion, and went over with his forces to Mūl Rāj on the 14th Sept. Eventually he quarrelled with Mūl Rāj and took himself and his men off to his father, and finally became the leader of the Sikh armies in the Second Sikh War, until the crushing defeat at Gujrat on the 21st Feb. 1849.

A curious small fact of this episode is brought out in Stanza 9, in a manner not uncommon in Oriental ballads:—“From without Sher Singh wrote a letter and smuggled it inside—‘we are going into the fort: give us support.’” In the evidence adduced at the trials of Mūl Rāj and his fellow-rebels it was said by them that Raja Sher Singh “never wrote but one letter to the Dewan all the time he was at Mooltan and that was the night before he came over. We were astonished: for though we knew all the Rajah’s soldiers were our friends, we believed the Rajah himself was our enemy. . . . . when, therefore all at once he proposed to join us we suspected treachery and would not admit him within the walls, but made him encamp under the guns of the fort.”

The line in Stanza 9 which says — "You killed the Bājāh, Sher Singh, who can trust your word," seems, however, to refer to a totally different story of the time—the gallant death of Fāṭḥ Khān Tiwānā in Bānā when besieged at Dalipgarh. When it was no longer possible to go on he satiated out sword in hand and was recognised by the Sikhs as one of those who had caused the murder of Peshorā Singh, a reputed son of Ranjit Singh. Peshorā Singh was popular with the Sikh soldiery and claimed the throne in 1845. The story goes that Fāṭḥ Khān came out of the Fort and called out "I am Malik Fāṭḥ Khān Tiwānā. Don't shoot me like a dog, but if there are any two of you who are equal to a man, come on." The Sikhs replied: — "You are he who murdered our Prince, Peshorā Singh, and we will murder you"—, and shot him dead.

Sher Singh's defection caused the siege of Multān to be raised and it was not again commenced until the arrival of reinforcements from Bombay on Dec. 27th. Multān was finally reduced on 22nd Jan. 1849, when Mūl Bāj unconditionally surrendered.

The most difficult allusions in the Ballad are those to "Muhammad Bakhah," no doubt meant for "Muhammad Khān," a name so common as to afford hardly any clue for identification. There were several prominent Muhammad Khāns at the time connected with the movements of Sir Herbert Edwardes.

There was Muhammad Khān Khosah, who was killed in the first great defeat inflicted on Mūl Bāj's troops at Dera Ghāzī Khān by Gen. Cortlandt, the Khoṣahs being a Baloch tribe who supported General Cortlandt and forces. Then there was Shāh Muhammad Khān Dandputrā, one of the principal officers of the Nawāb of Bahāwalpur, who helped Edwardes throughout his operations. This officer was killed during Edwardes' victory at Sadasām, close to Multān. But the circumstances connected with these two names are anything but shameful, as the Ballad infer.

The actual Commander of the Bahāwalpur force was Fāṭḥ Muhammad Khān Ghori, an ineffective old man with doubtful antecedents and not altogether unsuspected of treachery at the various fights he was supposed to assist in, but his end, so far as this story is concerned, was merely removal from his post by the Nawāb.

The personage most likely to be referred to was Sādiq Muhammad Khān Badozai, a Multānī Pathān and one of Mūl Bāj's principal officers, who blew hot and cold all through the rebellion and finally joined and helped Edwardes.

Text. *

Qissa I.

1.

Chāṛh karāi Khālas; chā hast sandhūre:
Kaṇḍh dhar 'amāriyān, vāṅg gumbaz hanjīre.
Hath gāne badhe, Shām Singh; Sikh phiran amāre.
Murde vich daryā de ḍar bhane pūre.
Sikh ākhānā iṇ dihāre maun de bah kitchān pūre.

Translation.

Part I.

1.

The Khālsā army set out on its march with elephants dyed red,
And garlands hung on their khudāns, like the domes of mosques.
The affairs of Shām Singh went awry; the Sikhs tied his hands.
The corpses were swept down by the current of the river (Satluj).
The Sikhs say that on this day death came in the mud of the stream.

* [The dialect is that of the South-West Panjāb, and contains a number of words not traceable in the Panjāhi Dictionary of Bhai Maya Singh. E. g, chharā, dārāh, hakākh, etc., etc. The Panjāhi spelling of lakāh would be lakhā, of pay, pāyā, etc.; but of khātī, khāt.]

* The Khālsā was the term for the Sikh Commonwealth.
2.
Kūch tāiyāre Lawdanoū Sāhib chharak kaṭāi:
Gore, kāle, Ṛājput. Kar āhū dhāll!
Is takht Lāhor di Sikh audhar āū.
Chih āniyān liyā Angrezān; sab īn manāi.
Chhāoni vich Fīroz de ā gorīyān lāe.

3.
Sardār Mahān Singh ki lakk ūrd sipāhi.
Jihre naukar howān bādshāhān nūn sāmhne
unhān kīti buriyāī;
Sūddā-waliyān māryā Sher Singh; unhān kīti
buriyāī.
Likhe Bībī te Lāl Singh: — "Māī ñarzī
pahunchāī.
Is se takht Lāhor di māī hiṅjāk lāīh.

4.
Dālān dūhnā muqābīla sach ākhyā lāhiyān:
Is se takht Lāhor diyān māī hiṅjākān lahiyān."
Likhe Bībī te Lāl Singh: — "Māī araiyān
pahunchāiyān.

5.
Dere vich Lāhor di Sāhib Shālā Bāg;
Mīyā ān Angrez nūn Rājā Gulāb.
Sardār Mahān Singh di Sinkhān kīti kharāb.
Is māīRājā te Sher Singh di māī kīti fāryād."

2.
The Sāhībs (English) prepared their march
and led an expedition from London:
White and black and Ṛājputs. See how they
set forth!
Blindness came upon the Sikhs of this throne of
Lahore.
The English came and respected all the laws
(of war).
The white men came from the Cantonment of
Fīrozpur.

3.
The army of the Mahān Singh’s State was
a camp of a hundred thousand men.
All the servants who were before the King did
evil.
The Sindhānwāliyās slew Sher Singh: they did
evil.
Wrote Lāl Singh to the Queen: — "I sent
a petition.
By this I brought trouble on the throne of
Lahore.

4.
I have said truly that I raised the dense smoke
of war,
And by this I have brought disasters on the
throne of Lāhor;"
Wrote Lāl Singh to the Queen: — "I have
sent petitions,

5.
The Sāhīb is in camp at the Shālā (Shālimār )
Gardens at Lāhor.
Rājā Gulāb (Singh) has come and joined the
English.
The State of Mahān Singh the Sikhs (themselves) have destroyed.
Therefore have I complained to the Rājā about
Sher Singh."

*Mahān Singh, the founder of the Sikh State of the Panjāb, was the father of the great Ranjit Singh of the
Panjāb.

*Mahārajā Sher Singh, son of Ranjit Singh, was murdered by the Sindhānwāliyas during the shocking
tragedies of the 15th Sept. 1843 and the following days.

* Rāni Jindāi, the reputed mother of Dalip Singh by Ranjit Singh.
Qissa II.

6.
Charū hakkaūṃ Sālībaū ; tūn ākhe lag.

Part II.

6.
The Sālības set out on their march, as I will
relate to you.

Travelling night and day they arrived quickly.

They entered Multān and drank spirits and wine.

They made forts and courts. You know their
(way of) rule.⁴

7.
Muhammad Bakhsh sipāhi vich kīlē muṅh
dhūri pag.

Us kaḍhi dhrūh miyān vichoū ; alumbā ag,

Muhammad Bakhsh, the soldier, hid his face
with his turban in the Fort (?)⁷

Vālī kitosū ṭukre ḍo ṭotē ha;d.

Ghastār vich Multān de dhrājī sa adhrajja.

He drew his sword from its scabbard and lit the
fire.

He split the bone into pieces (?)⁸

Kīlā dīwānī hāthī āpne ; hun laḍgī lajī.

He burst into Multān with great violence.

Death came upon his head; in the fight was he
destroyed.

Mānt manbhyān sir te : laṛāī bhāiye phab.

Dhīrāh peyā Multān vich : do mare lāt.

Dhīrāh peyā Multān vich : do mare lāt.

7. Reference to the arrival of Vans Agnew and Anderson at Multān.

8. The reference here may be to a story of the siege, when MacMahon, a British volunteer, cut down the leader of the defending party, a powerful Sikh, in the presence of Sir Henry Lawrence. He killed him with one blow which divided his head. Edwards, A Year in the Punjab, Vol. II, 659, 733.

9. Reference to the deaths of Vans Agnew and Anderson.

10. Ifīṭ means Sir Herbert Edwardes, being an attempt to pronounce both names.

11. Allusion to the number of canals and water-courses about Multān.

12. Siwān Mall, Māl Bāj's father, had been Diwān of Multāk for 23 years and left an enormous hoard of money, to which his son succeded.
"Dalān dohān muqābila, kai phire chapād."

Angrezān mir leyā Kīlā Multān dā jihrā āhā yākā.
Singh Panjābī nikale ho tāpē udāsī.
Hukm hoā Angrezā dā; likh tōpe khātā.
Dātēn khābarān kitiyān, chār rāto-rātī.

"In the meeting of the two armies, the chapādis will circulate to-morrow."
The English slew all the rebels that were in the Fort at Multān.
The Sikhs passed out of the Panjāb in despair.¹²
The rule of the English was established, and the news of it was sent.
The post carried the news, travelling night by night.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

MEANING OF "BRAHMAN."

It appears to be generally believed (vide ante, Vol. XXVIII, p. 370) that the word Brahman throughout the Rigveda signifies without exception "prayer." There is at least one exception.

The word occurs in mandala 1, hymn 10, verse 4, and has been explained both by Yāska and Śāyaṇa as "food," and this appears to be the more appropriate meaning from the context.

S. SITARAMAIYA.

CORRESPONDENCE.

WAS TOBACCO IN VOGUE IN 1600?

Sta.—Mr. Vincent A. Smith published a query in Vol. XXXVII, p. 210, headed "Is tobacco indigenous to India?" with reference to the assertion made by an anonymous writer in the Times on the 22nd November, 1902, that there could scarcely be a doubt that certain varieties of tobacco were indigenous in India. He observed that the writer quoted gave no authority for statements which seemed to be opposed to well-known evidence. He regretted that nobody had answered his question, but proceeded to solve it himself on the basis of an article by Sir Ray Lankester which appeared in the Daily Telegraph of March 28th, 1908. Sir Ray referred to De Candolle's History of Cultivated Plants.

Mr. Smith says that new varieties of the tobacco plant produced artificially in parts of Asia have been erroneously supposed to be indigenous, and that no Asiatic language has any native word for the herb, which is not mentioned by any writer on China earlier than 1650. In answer to this Mr. Smith says, however, that this statement is not at all true. At any rate there is the Sanskrit word 'शङ्कु' (śaṅkū), and its Bengali abbreviated equivalent 'শংকু' (śaṅku). I can quote many Sanskrit verses in support of my statement, if necessary.

Now let me turn to another point. According to Mr. Smith tobacco was brought from America for the first time in 1558 and was then quickly spread over the world through the agency of the Portuguese, English and Spanish peoples. But this can hardly be correct, because the Sanskrit term above mentioned was used by the natives of India at a very early period, long before the reign of Akbar, which is practically the earliest European period in India.

In support of my views, the Chinese pilgrim, Hsen Tsang, relates that some of the columns at Sārnāth in the Benares Division were erected by Asōka the Great. And in fact the ruined columns and edifices there were erected by Asōka, Kaniṣka and Aśvaghosa from the 3rd century before Christ down to 12th century A.D. I visited Sārnāth in 1908. Among the ruins I saw two red earthen hukka or hubble-bubbles, carefully preserved by Mr. F. O. Oertel. Now Mr. Smith says that the hukkā is not mentioned before 1600, but if that were the case and if tobacco was not in vogue in ancient times, then why should the hubble-bubble appear at Sārnāth?

GANAPATI RAY,
Librarian,
Bengal National College.
Calcutta, 22nd January, 1909.

¹² Allusion to the departure of Šer Singh after his quarrel with Mūl Rdj.
THE GUMANI NITI.

COMPILED BY PANDIT Rewadhar Uperti.

(Communicated by C. A. Grierson, C.I.E., Ph.D., D.Litt.)

[Introductory Note.]

[In the Indian Antiquary for 1885 I published a few curious verses by a poet named Gumanl, which I had collected in Tirhut. The first of these will be found on p. 124 of that volume. I was at the time unable to give any information regarding their author, whom local tradition wrongly made out to be a native of Patna on the Ganges. A short time ago, through the kindness of Pandit Ganga Datt Uperti, the well-known author of several works on the languages, folklore, and ethnology of Kumar, I came into possession of a small pamphlet containing over seventy similar verses by the same poet.

It appears that his full name was Gumanl Pant, that he was a native of what is now the district of Almora, and that he flourished about a hundred years ago. He was a prolific author, both in Sanskrit and in Hindi. His works are still greatly admired in the land of his birth, but his reputation in the plains of India, which, as we have seen, extends to Tirhut, some five hundred miles away, depends, so far as I am aware, on the short verses of which I published a few in 1885.

A favourite literary diversion in India is known as Samasya-puri. It consists in one person setting a single line of a stanza, and challenging another to complete the whole. These verses, so completed, are sometimes in Sanskrit, sometimes in one or other of the modern vernaculars. The verses of Gumanl partake of the character of these samasyas, but have one peculiarity. The line, which is usually first composed by the setter of the competition, and on which the other lines are founded, is in this case some familiar Hindi or Kumarani proverb. He uses it as the last line of a four-lined stanza, and completes the latter by composing the three preceding lines in Sanskrit, in such a way that they poetically describe some situation which is aptly illustrated by the concluding apothegm. Each stanza, therefore, consists of three lines of Sanskrit, followed by one line in an Indian vernacular, and in adjusting most of his proverbs to the procrustean bed of Sanskrit prosody he has succeeded in displaying considerable ingenuity.

These verses are not always easy. Gumanl was a learned man and dearly loved a rare word, while an unusual aorist possessed an attraction that he was incapable of resisting. Pandit Rewadhar Uperti has been kind enough to send me, through Pandit Ganga Datt Uperti, as full a collection as possible of these verses of Gumanl, which it now gives me great pleasure to prepare for the pages of the Indian Antiquary. The last-named gentleman has added to his kindness by writing an English translation of the text. As this seemed to me to be of too detailed a character for the readers of this Journal, all of whom may be supposed to be familiar with the story of the Mahabharata, I have taken the liberty of preparing a fresh translation, largely basing my version on his. At the same time, as I have done this, I must accept the responsibility for any mistakes that may be noticed in what follows.—George A. Grierson.]

Translation.

1. Although the sons of Dhritarashtra were powerful and well-versed in strategy, still as they were sinful, they were all killed in the battle, and Yudhishthira alone became the ruler of their kingdom. "In this world, it is the good man's end that is good."

Text.

बलथिकामयमयमिव सप्ताहः
सत्त्वत हतो सत्त्वांस्यवभावते
शास्त्रेऽर्गिरहमुर्गस्य
वा वा च न न नस्य न नस्य ने || १ ||
2. Rāvana, the ten-headed, the sinner, the hater of others, the oppressor of others, the slanderer of others, the ravisher of another's wife, fell from his throne. "If there be not unselfish thoughts, whence can come the blessing?"

3. Although assiduously guarded in the forest by Rāma and Lakṣmanā, the masters of the world, still was Sītā ravished by the ten-necked Rāvana. "That which is destined cannot remain unfulfilled."

4. The Pāṇḍavas, though wise and heroic, wandered wretched in the forests for many a day, whereas the wicked Duryodhana became king (in their place). "In this world everything is but (a matter) of luck."

5. In a country in which there is no virtue and no common sense, in which there is nowhere any study of the Vedas or of the Scriptures, there let the wise man conduct himself as one void of wisdom. "In a one-eyed country let your sight be one-eyed."

6. The ten-headed Rāvana carried off the spouse of Rāma, and for no fault was the Ocean subjected to bonds (owing to its being near to Lāṅkā, Rāvana's abode). Manifestly was this the fruit of company with the wicked. "Never abide thou near an evil man."

7. Terrified by the warfare with the haughty Jarāsandha, Kṛṣṇa built a fort (Dwārakā) in the midst of the ocean. But even there did he remain full of apprehension. "Great is the fear caused by the wicked man."

8. When Vasudēva beheld Kamsa in his chariot, with sword drawn to slay the daughter of Dēvaka, still uttered he not a single harsh word. "Right is it to show patience when dealing with the wicked."

9. Although Kubera had all the virtues of kinship, although he was full of love for Rāvana, although he was his own brother, nathless did the Ten-headed bind him in the battle. "To the wicked man no one is a relative."
10. The crescent moon is worshipped, for it obtaineth honour by its homes on Siva's head. Even when full it is not so greatly reverenced. "Ever make thou thine association with the good."

11. With intent to purify (the ashes of his) ancestors did that king Bhagratasha bring down the Ganges to the earth. Thus, too, became he a supreme friend of the world: "The righteous man doeth good to everyone."

12. While he churned the ocean for the sake of nectar, Vishnu therefrom took out Lakshmi, the adored of the world, while Siva took out the death-manifesting kālokaṭa poison. "Whate'er be written in his fate, that doth man receive."

13. The offspring of Viṣravas (Hāvaṇa and Vībhṛṣaṇa), the sons of Rāja (?), those born of Kaśyapa (the demons), the Kauravas, and the Yādavas, all perished through mutual dissension. "Not good is family discord."

(Who those born of Rāja were, I do not know.—G. A. G.)

14. Spouse of the world-heroe king of Lāṅkā, mother of Mēghanāḍa, daughter of Maya, yet did Mandodari weo Vībhṛṣaṇa, her husband's brother. "A woman became a widow; all chastity went its way."

15. When Aśvatthāma became the general (of the Kauravas), on the battlefield in his army he had but two warriors left, Bhōja (i.e., Kṛitavarma) and The Master (i.e., Kṛipa). Only in these did the glory of his troops consist. "His Honour has but three articles of clothing: (1) his trousers, (2) the tape to tie them with, and (3) nothing else." (Utter poverty.)

16. (When Uttara, the son of Vīraṇa, was depayed by his father to fight the Kaurava army, he ran away. On this occasion Arjuna thus addressed him:—) Vairāṭi, now that thou art here, what hast thou to do with fear of the onslaught of thy foes? Fight thou with all thy might. She came out to dance. Why doth she veil her face?
17. At first the treacherous Bāna refused to give (Ushā or Anirudh), but afterwards, when conquered by Ḳrishṇa in the battle, he gave his daughter in marriage. "He killed a fish, and then had to eat the guts." (Killing a fish is looked upon as sinful.)

18. O Ganges, (thou sayest that) thou wilt not give me thy blessing till all the sins within my body, infected as it is by evil company, shall be destroyed. "When the father dies, the bullocks will be divided." (Waiting for a dead man's shoes. The point is that the speaker is similarly waiting for the death of his sins.)

19. Once upon a time Ḳrishṇa came to Kunti, as she was lamenting in the forest, and said to her, — Why art thou shedding tears from thine eyes? "Some time or other the Ganges will get across Soron." (He consoles her by saying that sometime or other she will ultimately get through all her troubles. Just as the Ganges will ultimately get across the whole of Soron, where the sixty-thousand sons of Sarga are buried.)

20. (Mandodari addresses Rāvaṇa:----) Before Rāma, the ponder forth of arrows, cometh here to attack thee, do thou restore to him his wife. "The more the blanket soaketh, the heavier doth it become."

21. When the ambassador said to Ḳrishṇa that Sisupāla of Chedā, who had abused him, now repenteth and desired peace, Ḳrishṇa replied: "That deep has now gone to a far country." (I. e., spoken words are past recall.) (Metre, Āryā).

22. (Bhima addresses Duryodhana:----) Quoth Bhima to the prince, — Abandon thou thy vain pride. Easy art thou to be conquered by thine enemies in the battle. Only in name, but not in truth, art thou Duryodhana (i. e., hard to conquer). "His name was Nayanasukha (eye-bliss), but he is blind of both eyes."

23. Horrible indeed is the nature of the wicked, and very hard is the disposition of their souls, though full of flavour and like to nectar are their words. "Rāma on the mouth, and a dagger in the armpit."
24. Although he knoweth that the grain is scattered beneath the snare in order to entangle him in the net, still doth the bird fall therein. "Greed is an evil calamity."

25. Although he was defeated many times, still did not Yudhipathira cease from gambling, but over and over again increased his stake. "Gambling losses are like sweetmeats" (and the player still wants more).

26. The boa hath not to beg for his food, nor hath the snake to build a house. The bird hath to serve none for wages. "God giveth all to all."

(This is a translation of Muluk Dās's famous Hindī composition:

Ajagāra karai na chākārī
apichālī karai na ādām,
Dīnum Mudikā kahi gai
saba ka dūtā Rāma.

27. (Addressed to the Ganges). Although thou wanderest past countless bathing places, and still retainest the pure water of thy Gangeshood; yet in the sea thou becomest undrinkable. "What God decreeth, that cometh to pass."

28. Three were we in family, and on the very day that my old mother died my wife bare a son. "The loss on the one hand (was balanced by) the gain on the other."

29. When once upon a time Hanumān, the son of the Wind, advised the starting on the search for Sītā, he was at once sent off to make that search himself. "He who speaks of ghi, is he who is told to go and fetch it."

30. (Virāṭa sent his son Uttara in charge of an army to pursue the Kauravas who had raided his cattle. Uttara showed signs of fear.) In the battle Arjuna addressed Uttara saying,— Here, before thee, are the enemy-destroying troops of the Kauravas, the raiders of thy cattle. Though thou art but a young lad, still shouldest thou not fear. Take thou deep courage. "Even though God has given weakness to a man, still should be cry out 'strike,' 'strike,'" (i.e., bluff often saves the situation).
31. On the death of Bāli, Tārā his spouse, became a hapless widow. Yet, even then, feared she not to let her heart incline to Sugrīva, and shamelessly did she proceed to adorn herself. “The noseless woman adorned her forehead with spots of sandal.” (Disgrace renders a person callous to further loss of reputation.)

32. Once did Nala sleep upon a golden bed. In the days of his misfortune that same Nala was glad to take in the forest a couch of withered grass. Saith Gumāni,—In this world is the power of fate invincible, “Brother, remain thou in that state in which it may please God to place thee.”

33. Saith Hari to Yudhishṭhira,—This Sakuni hath defeated thee by cheating. Look thou upon gambling as naught but a cause for thy misfortune (and cease therefrom). Replied Yudhishṭhira, “I regret not wealth taken from me at the cost of the taker’s honesty.”

34. Dhṛtarāṣṭra slept in proud content when he had seen the young Pāṇḍavas (banished and) in distress. But also did he witness the death of all his sons. “Sin is the father (the master, or punisher) of him who commits it.”

35. While Bāṇa was as yet undefeated by Kṛṣṇa in the battle (his mother Kottāri) Dēvi came naked before Kṛṣṇa, and in terror prayed for his life. To her said Hari hotly, — This day or the next must this son of thine, the molester of the world, be slain. “How long need a she-goat care for the welfare of its kids (destined for the butcher)?” (See Harivāṁśa, 10720 ff.)

36. (The Gōplas address Uddhava:)—O Uddhava, say thou to Kṛṣṇa,—If thou must desert the young Gōplas of Vraja who stole away thy heart, why didst thou entangle them in love? That man who proveth not love at all is better than he who awakeneth passion and then abandoneth it. “If it were to be arranged beforehand, a miser is better than such a giver.”
37. Hiranyakaśipu in anger said contemptuously to Saśā and Marka (to whom he had entrusted Prahlāda's education),
   —What fault is it of yours that this Prahlāda hath so little wisdom? It is my son's character that alone is vile.”
   "If my own gold be counterfeit, it is not the fault of the assayer.”

38. When the demon Mārlcha had already been maimed by Rāma's arrow (during Viśvāmitra's sacrifice), and had taken
   refuge in the sea, Bāwa arrived and addressed him as he lay there terrified (and with his wounds not yet healed),
   —O thou who carriest out my aims, be thou now my helper in the ravishing of Sītā. (To whom Mārlcha replied),
   "While the dog is still whining from the pain in his buttocks, his master calls him to the chase.”

39. Śiśupāla of Chédi, when in his presumption a claimant for the hand of Rukmī, suffered defeat at the hands of Kṛṣṇa,
   and then it was that he showed repentance. "Not till my Lord is vanquished, does he seize his beard.” (It requires
   a beating to humble him).}

40. When Kārṇa, the offspring of the Sun,
   had received the kingdom conferred upon him by Duryodhana, he strutted proudly, shouting in the battle-field. To him, on
   seeing him, cried out the Wind-born Bhīmasena, “He lives on scraps obtained by begging, and belches in the marketplace” (to make people think that he has
   just enjoyed a sumptuous feast).

41. In the city of Sūpitaspura, when in days gone by Aniruddha, the son of Sma, was bound in the noose (of snakes) by Bāgāsura, he called to mind his home and
   family and was distraught with grief; to Uṣiś, too, when she saw him thus bound, was born a burden of grief; and Bāgā's
   spouse, her mother, seeing her daughter in sorrow, mourned for her. "The mother weeps for her daughter, the daughter for
   her lover, and the lover for his house and home.”
42. (When Karna was appointed general of the Kaurava army, and asked for Salya as his charioteer), the latter said, (alluding to Karna's alleged low birth).—Thy words are raging as arrows. If I am to be thy charioteer, hard is it to be mild in speech. Forsooth, a new army leadership is this, and very eminent. (The concluding proverb will not bear translation. A decent parallel is nayi jh près aur gärjar ka saākh, "a jh près so new that he has only a carrot for his conch-shell.")

43. Heroism in battle and pride of splendour abounded in Drōga and his fellows, but it was in Bhishma that there was love and trust (and therefore he was the first commander of the Kauravas). "Gōvar-dhana Dāsa is the spiritual guide of all." (Cf. subhit bhūm Gōpāli kā, God is the God of all the world. According to the dictionaries, the aorist of the root yasy occurs only in the Aitārīya Āraṇyaka).

44. When Bhishma was asked at the Aśvamētha who was to be honoured first of all, he lovingly replied,—Without doubt Krīshna is to be worshipped. But there, though not asked, Siṁśūla objected that that was not his opinion, "Who asked for your opinion? I asked for it myself."

45. Sakuni, the king of Gāndhāra addressed all (the Kauravas), — Am I not worthy of being elected a general, that you have not counted me in the battle of heroes? Consider ye me as a hero, for I am the uncle of the king, ye charioteers. "I am the bride's step-mother. Regard me, regard me!"

46. While the Yādavas were distracted (with other things), Arjuna, in the guise of an ascetic, carried off Subhadra from Dvārakā. "As soon as a thing is out of sight, it becomes the property of my friends (the thieves)."

47. Become thou an ascetic, devoid of all worldly desire. Lift up thine arms towards the sky and go thou forth. First of all resign thou all this false (dream of the world). "Take not one, when thou givest two." (I.e., see that thou gittest the worth of thine actions).
48. Krishṇa, invited by Yudhiṣṭhira, went to the assembly of the sacrificers. And there also slew the Śaśāpāla in battle. "One journey, two things done" (two birds with one stone).

49. As Krishṇa loved the herd-maidens in Vraja, so loved he them not when he had gone to Mathurā. "Every one is in love with his own object." (I.e., the world is selfish).

50. Said Krishṇa.—Some herd-maiden hath carried off my flute. Sāncī answered Rādhā,—I found it in the forest. I will give to thee, but thou must give me a fine garland of pearls in return. Replied Krishṇa,—"My head is worth but a quarter of a pice, yet costs it two pices to be shaved."

51. A beggar feeds himself to repletion on the small offerings of many households. "Sticks collected by five or seven, make a full load for one."

52. (Indra had given Karna a magical "sakti"-weapon, which could not fail to kill him against whom it was directed, but which could only be used once. Karna intended to employ it in killing Indra's son, Arjuna, but actually used it in slaying Ghaṭotkacha, the son of Bhīmaśēna, Arjuna's brother.) When Ghaṭotkacha was killed by Arjuna in the battle, and Indra saw that the virtue of his sakti-weapon was exhausted, full of joy he exclaimed,—Good Luck! Now Arjuna will live long. Better, I ween, is the death of this son of Bhīma than the slaying of my son. "May my friend's son die rather than my own."*

53. (Another reference to Uttara's cowardice). With a chariot loaded with weapons, also with a mighty army, with Bhīrahaṇḍa (Arjuna) for his charioteer, and himself armed with a bow, still Uttara did not dare to fight the Kauravas. "Who can teach a woodān cat to mew?"*
54. (After the conclusion of the war of the Mahābhārata), Alas! Dhṛtarāṣṭra was compelled to take refuge, like a house-dog, with his enemies the Pāṇḍavas, who ordained that he should do them homage.

"No shame is there to a noseless man, and no soot is there from a (burning) rag (hantaro)," (I. e., so low had he sunk).

55. (Another version of the foregoing.) Dhṛtarāṣṭra lived helplessly under the protection of that mighty (Bhimaśena) who had slaughtered, one by one, his hundred sons, like so many brute beasts. "No shame is there, &c."

56. The treachery of burning the lachenone that was practised by the wicked Duryodhana upon the Pāṇḍavas, resulted in the death of the family of Nishadas. "It is the oppression (ānipāti) of the poor that (people) again and again (ritiphārti) desire (chānī) (in this world)."

57. It was those (princes) who, distracted by fear, saved their own dear lives, and went not into battle, that Jarāsandha slew. "A collection (kṣitak kōḍhā) of worthless sons (kṣitān)," 2

58. When Uṣā fell fainting on account of the dream-seen Aniruddha, her father, Bāga, asked of her the cause (but on account of shame, she could not tell). (Like a woman who has) "a pain in a place she cannot mention, and the only doctor is her husband's elder brother" (towards whom she is bound to be exceptionally modest). 3

59. When his young son (Abhimanyu) was killed by the Kauravas, Arjuna, mourning for him, took his head upon his lap and wept. Then did Kṛiṣṇa, the son of Vasudeva, thus address him, "How long (kab lēg) (into the night) dost thou weep for him who died in the evening (sāvāj) (i.e., in early life)."

* Proverb again in Kumauni.
60. When destiny is against a man, his best-laid schemes "gang aft agley". "(The mighty) Rāvana could in no way withstand the monkeys."

61. The Brāhmaṇa reads the Veda to the exact extent of his fee. "My song is just as long as your (gifts of) sesame and rice."

62. When Rāvana's city was burnt down, he rescued but one scorched chariot. "When the hut takes fire, whatever is saved is profit."

63. Vaśishṭha cursed King (Nimi), and Nimi cursed Vaśishṭha in return. "The priest seizes the hand of his sinking client (to rescue him), and is drowned himself."

64. The child says to his father,—Give me an elephant. The father has not even a single she-goat. "The son asks for spiced hotch-potch and yūh and in the house there's not even a pinch of salt."

65. King Saṁhati was dethroned by his ministers who conspired with his enemies. "When the thief and the watchdog have become friends, who will do the guarding?"

66. On a holy day, when the shopkeeper saw the Brāhmaṇa, he hastened into the inner rooms of his house, for fear that he should be asked for a present. Next day (he has no hesitation) in greeting him in public with, "Let me fall at your Reverence's feet."

(look the other way when the collection plate comes round).

67. When he sees anyone well supplied with wealth of elephants and horses, then does the needy Brāhmaṇa furnish him with blessings, saying "My client, may God bless you with health and wealth."

68. Rādhā says, "The son of Nanda (i.e., Krishna) has cut a bit of bamboo out of our jungle. He made holes in it, so that it gave forth pretty music. Then he gave it a grand name and called it "flauto."

"(It is just as if) a woman had taken fire from my house, and (when she brought home with her) called it The Devouring Element."
A PRIMER OF DRAVIDIAN PHONOLOGY.

BY K. V. SABBAYIA, M.A., L.T.,
Lecturer, Rajahmundry College.
(Continued from p. 170.)

(3) Pr. Dravidian final ḍ remains in all the languages; but there are only three examples. Even these often take a final enunciative ḍ; thus ḍ > ḍu.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tamil</th>
<th>Mal.</th>
<th>Car.</th>
<th>Telu</th>
<th>Telugu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 pū (flower)</td>
<td></td>
<td>pū, pūvu</td>
<td>pū</td>
<td>pū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 tū (fire)</td>
<td></td>
<td>iū</td>
<td></td>
<td>tū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 kū (cry)</td>
<td></td>
<td>kū</td>
<td>kūga</td>
<td>kūga</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Proverb in Kamaṇi.
(1) Pr. Drav. initial e remains:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Tamil</th>
<th>Mal.</th>
<th>Can.</th>
<th>Telugu</th>
<th>Telugu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>en (count)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>en</td>
<td>engu</td>
<td>ennu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>edir (front)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>edir</td>
<td>ediru</td>
<td>eduru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ellām (all)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>ella</td>
<td>ella</td>
<td>ella</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>erudu (ox)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>erudu</td>
<td>eddu</td>
<td>eddu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>ettu (to lift)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>ettu</td>
<td>ettu</td>
<td>ettu</td>
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</table>

(2) Pr. Drav. medial e remains:

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<th></th>
<th>Tamil</th>
<th>Mal.</th>
<th>Can.</th>
<th>Telugu</th>
<th>Telugu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>kevi (ear)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>tjevi</td>
<td>kobi</td>
<td>tjevi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>teppam (float)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>teppa</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>veppu (heat)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>veppu</td>
<td>bem</td>
<td>veppu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>veppu (madness)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>veppu</td>
<td>beragu</td>
<td>beragu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>perubu (to grow)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>perubu</td>
<td>pettju</td>
<td>perugu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(3) Primitive Dravidian e was not finally used.

Note: e > o occasionally in Telugu: Tamil veppu ‘silver’ is bolli; cennum ‘wanted’ is bodhi.

Special developments of e.

(a) Canarese.

(1) As an initial it is very often pronounced as ye or ye and written accordingly.

(2) eya > e in (1) the genitive; (2) the accusative; (3) in the locative; (4) in the affix aneya;
(5) in the infinitive. (vade Kittel’s Kannada Dict. p. 287.)

(3) The initial e is connected with pe and he, i.e., it is often aspirated (vade Kittel’s Dict. p. 262),
e.g., ettu ‘to increase’ > heuttu: ettu ‘a blow’ > hefttu and ‘pefttu.

(b) Telugu and Tulu.

In Telugu and Tulu, too, initial e is often pronounced and written ye by the vulgar people
(vade Manner’s Tulu Dict., page 78).

(c) Malayalam.

(1) In Malayalam initiale is pronounced distinctly with y, and Dr. Grundert in his Dictionary
always writes ye for e.

(2) In Malayalam e > i or u: e.g., erumbu, irumbu and urum ‘ant;’ this is after r.
XI-o.

(1) Pr. Drav. initial \( e \) remains.

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( \text{ēṇa} ) (to rise)</td>
<td>( \text{ēṇa} )</td>
<td>( \text{ēṇa} )</td>
<td>( \text{ēṇu} )</td>
<td>( \text{ēṇ} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{ēḷu} ) (seven)</td>
<td>( \text{ēḷu} )</td>
<td>( \text{ēḷu} )</td>
<td>( \text{ēḷu} )</td>
<td>( \text{ēḷu} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{ēṇi} ) (ladder)</td>
<td>( \text{ēṇi} )</td>
<td>( \text{ēṇe} )</td>
<td>( \text{ēṇi} )</td>
<td>( \text{ēṇi} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{ēṭālamu} ) (much)</td>
<td>( \text{ēṭālamu} )</td>
<td>( \text{ēṭālamu} )</td>
<td>( \text{ēṭālamu} )</td>
<td>( \text{ēṭālamu} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{ēgu} ) (go)</td>
<td>( \text{ēgu} )</td>
<td>( \text{ēgu} )</td>
<td>( \text{ēgu} )</td>
<td>( \text{ēgu} )</td>
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</table>

(2) Pr. Drav. initial \( e \) remains.

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( \text{kōḍu} ) (loss)</td>
<td>( \text{kōḍu} )</td>
<td>( \text{kōḍu} )</td>
<td>( \text{kōḍu} )</td>
<td>( \text{tēḷpadu} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{kēḷ} ) (to hear)</td>
<td>( \text{kēḷ} )</td>
<td>( \text{kēḷ} )</td>
<td>( \text{kēḷ} )</td>
<td>( \text{kēḷ} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{tēkku} ) (teak)</td>
<td>( \text{tēkku} )</td>
<td>( \text{tēgu} )</td>
<td>( \text{tēgu} )</td>
<td>( \text{tēku} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{tēr} ) (chariot)</td>
<td>( \text{tēr} )</td>
<td>( \text{tēru} )</td>
<td>( \text{tēru} )</td>
<td>( \text{tēru} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{tēḷ} ) (scorpion)</td>
<td>( \text{tēḷ} )</td>
<td>( \text{tēḷ} )</td>
<td>( \text{tēḷ} )</td>
<td>( \text{tēḷ} )</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

XII-o.

(1) Pr. Drav. initial \( o \) remains:

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( \text{ōṭtu} ) (press)</td>
<td>( \text{ōṭtu} )</td>
<td>( \text{ōṭtu} )</td>
<td>( \text{ōṭtu} )</td>
<td>( \text{ōṭtu} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{ōṛri} ) (pledge)</td>
<td>( \text{ōṛri} )</td>
<td>( \text{ōṛri} )</td>
<td>( \text{ōṛri} )</td>
<td>( \text{ōṛri} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{oṭṭu} ) (total)</td>
<td>( \text{oṭṭu} )</td>
<td>( \text{oṭṭu} )</td>
<td>( \text{oṭṭu} )</td>
<td>( \text{oṭṭu} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{oḍuṅga} ) (to shrink)</td>
<td>( \text{oḍuṅga} )</td>
<td>( \text{oḍuṅga} )</td>
<td>( \text{oḍuṅga} )</td>
<td>( \text{oḍuṅga} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{ōḷuḥa} ) (lone)</td>
<td>( \text{ōḷuḥa} )</td>
<td>( \text{ōḷuḥa} )</td>
<td>( \text{ōḷuḥa} )</td>
<td>( \text{ōḷuḥa} )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(2) Pr. Drav. Medial \( \delta \) remains:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tamil</th>
<th>Mal.</th>
<th>Can</th>
<th>Teju</th>
<th>Telugu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 kombu (stem)</td>
<td>kombu</td>
<td>kombu</td>
<td>kombu</td>
<td>kombu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 koḷ (to hold)</td>
<td>koḷya</td>
<td>koḷ</td>
<td>koṇa</td>
<td>koṇu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 toḍu (touch) dress</td>
<td>toḍukka</td>
<td>toḍu</td>
<td>toḍu</td>
<td>toḍu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 pon (gold)</td>
<td>pon</td>
<td>ponau</td>
<td>ponau</td>
<td>ponau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 poruha (to fight)</td>
<td>poruva</td>
<td>pordu</td>
<td>.......</td>
<td>pordu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(3) In Primitive Dravidian \( \delta \) was not used at the end of words.

(4) Special development of \( \delta \).

In Canarese and Teju initial \( \delta \) is often pronounced and written as \( v, rv \).

In Canarese initial \( \delta \) is often aspirated and becomes \( po \) or \( ho \); e.g. — odd-like 'union' is hold-like.

(1) Pr. Drav. \( \delta \) remains initially:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tamil</th>
<th>Mal.</th>
<th>Can.</th>
<th>Teju.</th>
<th>Telugu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 ṣḍama (boat)</td>
<td>ṣḍam</td>
<td>ṣḍamu</td>
<td>ṣḍa</td>
<td>ṣḍa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 ṣḍu (run)</td>
<td>ṣḍuya</td>
<td>ṣḍu</td>
<td>ṣḍu</td>
<td>ṣḍu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 ṣḍmbu (protect)</td>
<td>ṣḍmana (fond-)</td>
<td>ṣḍva</td>
<td>ṣḍmana</td>
<td>ṣḍmu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 ṣḍuha (read)</td>
<td>ṣḍuya</td>
<td>ṣḍu</td>
<td>ṣḍu</td>
<td>.......</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 ṣḍlam (cry)</td>
<td>ṣḍlam</td>
<td>.......</td>
<td>.......</td>
<td>.......</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) Pr. Drav. medial \( \delta \) remains:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tamil</th>
<th>Mal.</th>
<th>Can.</th>
<th>Teju.</th>
<th>Telugu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 kōṭṭai (fort)</td>
<td>kōṭṭae</td>
<td>kōṭe</td>
<td>kōṭe</td>
<td>kōṭa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 kōḍi (corner)</td>
<td>kōḍi</td>
<td>kōḍi</td>
<td>kōḍi</td>
<td>kōḍi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 kōḷu (stick)</td>
<td>kōḷu</td>
<td>kōḷu</td>
<td>kōḷu</td>
<td>kōḷu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 kōru (desire)</td>
<td>kōru</td>
<td>kōru</td>
<td>kōru</td>
<td>kōru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 kōli (fowl)</td>
<td>kōli</td>
<td>kōli</td>
<td>kōli</td>
<td>kōli</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(3) Pr. Dravidian final \( \ddot{a} \) remains:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tamil</th>
<th>Mal.</th>
<th>Can.</th>
<th>Tuɔ.</th>
<th>Telugu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( p\ddot{u} ) (go)</td>
<td>( \cdots )</td>
<td>( \cdots )</td>
<td>( \ddot{p} \ddot{u} )</td>
<td>( \dddot{h}\ddot{u}\ddot{g}u )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**XIV-æ.**

The Primitive Dravidian long front \( \ddot{a} \) develops into \( y\ddot{u} \), \( \dddot{a} \) and \( \ddot{e} \); Telugu as a rule has \( \ddot{e} \); Canarese and Tuɔ have \( \dddot{a} \) and \( \ddot{a} \); Malayalam has mostly \( \ddot{a} \) and in a few cases has \( \dddot{a} \); Tamil has \( y\ddot{u} \) and \( \dddot{a} \); \( y\ddot{u} \) is characteristic of old Tamil and old Canarese. It is to be noted that \( y \) in \( y\ddot{u} \) shows the front character of the original vowel. Examples are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tamil</th>
<th>Mal.</th>
<th>Can.</th>
<th>Tuɔ.</th>
<th>Telugu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( y\dddot{a}\dddot{u} ), ( \dddot{a}\dddot{u} ) (goat)</td>
<td>( \cdots )</td>
<td>( \dddot{a}\dddot{u} )</td>
<td>( \dddot{e}\dddot{u} )</td>
<td>( \dddot{a}\dddot{u} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( y\dddot{a}\dddot{n}\dddot{u} ), ( \dddot{a}\dddot{n}\dddot{u} ) (year)</td>
<td>( \cdots )</td>
<td>( \dddot{a}\dddot{n}\dddot{u} )</td>
<td>( \dddot{e}\dddot{n}\dddot{u} )</td>
<td>( \dddot{e}\dddot{n}\dddot{u} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( y\dddot{a}r\dddot{u} ), ( \dddot{a}r\dddot{u} ) (river)</td>
<td>( \cdots )</td>
<td>( \dddot{a}r\dddot{u} )</td>
<td>( \dddot{e}\dddot{r}\dddot{u} )</td>
<td>( \dddot{e}\dddot{r}\dddot{u} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( y\dddot{n}\dddot{a}\dddot{i} ), ( \dddot{a}\dddot{n}\dddot{i} ) (elephant)</td>
<td>( \cdots )</td>
<td>( \dddot{a}\dddot{n}\dddot{i} )</td>
<td>( \dddot{a}\dddot{n}\dddot{i} )</td>
<td>( \dddot{a}\dddot{n}\dddot{a} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \dddot{n}\dddot{a} ) (turtle)</td>
<td>( \cdots )</td>
<td>( \dddot{a}\dddot{n}\dddot{e} )</td>
<td>( \dddot{e}\dddot{n}\dddot{e} )</td>
<td>( \dddot{a}\dddot{n}\dddot{e} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \dddot{n}\dddot{a} ) (to rule)</td>
<td>( \cdots )</td>
<td>( \dddot{a}\dddot{l}\dddot{u} )</td>
<td>( \dddot{a}\dddot{l}\dddot{u} )</td>
<td>( \dddot{a}\dddot{l}\dddot{u} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( y\dddot{a}r\dddot{r}, \dddot{a}r ) (who)</td>
<td>( \cdots )</td>
<td>( \dddot{a}\dddot{r} )</td>
<td>( \dddot{e}\dddot{r}, \dddot{y}\dddot{u}r )</td>
<td>( \dddot{e}\dddot{r}, \dddot{e}\dddot{r} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( y\dddot{a}k\dddot{k}i ), ( \dddot{a}k\dddot{k}i ) (body)</td>
<td>( \cdots )</td>
<td>( \dddot{e}\dddot{t}\dddot{f}\dddot{u} )</td>
<td>( \dddot{e}\dddot{t}\dddot{f}\dddot{u} )</td>
<td>( \dddot{e}\dddot{t}\dddot{f}\dddot{u} )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**XV-æ.**

The Primitive Dravidian long front nasalised \( \ddot{a} \) had different developments. Sometimes it lost its nasalisation and developed into \( \ddot{e} \) or \( y\ddot{u} \), the \( y \) showing here the front character of \( \dddot{a} \). Sometimes the nasalisation was preserved, but its front character was lost as in the development \( n\ddot{e} \). In some cases both were preserved as in \( n\ddot{e} \); only here the fronting was greater than in Pr. Dravidian. Again its front character and nasalisation were represented as in \( n\ddot{a} \). To sum up,

Pr. Dravidian \( \ddot{a} \)

- \( y\ddot{a} \) (old Tamil).
- \( n\ddot{a} \) (New Tamil).
- \( \dddot{a} \) (old Tamil).
- \( \dddot{n} \) (Malayalam).
- \( n\ddot{a} \) (Canarese). and \( n\ddot{e} \)
- \( n\ddot{e} \) (Tuɔ) and \( y\ddot{a} \)
- \( n\ddot{a}, \dddot{e} \) (Telugu) and \( \dddot{a} \).
Note. — The developments marked * are only rare in those languages, and found only in one instance.

Pr. Drav. ø > yā, ū, nā (Tamil.)
> nā, ū (Malayalam.)
> a, ū, n̄ (Canarese.)
> yā, ū, n̄ (Telugu.)
> e, n̄, n̄ (Telugu.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>yān, n̄ān, nān (I)</td>
<td>n̄ān</td>
<td>ān, nānu</td>
<td>yānu</td>
<td>ūnu, nēnu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>yām, n̄ām, nām (we)</td>
<td>n̄ām</td>
<td>ām, nāvu</td>
<td>nama</td>
<td>šnu, mema.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>n̄ān, nāq (rope)</td>
<td>n̄ān</td>
<td>nēu</td>
<td>nēnu</td>
<td>nēnu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>n̄ūyīru, n̄ūyīru (sun)</td>
<td>n̄ūyīru</td>
<td>nēsaru</td>
<td>nēsaru</td>
<td>nēsaru.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>nāru (young plant)</td>
<td>nāru</td>
<td>nēdu</td>
<td>nēdu</td>
<td>nēdu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>n̄ăluḍaḷ, n̄ăluḍaḷ (hang)</td>
<td>n̄ăluḍaḷ</td>
<td>nēlu</td>
<td>nēlu</td>
<td>nēlu.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Section II.

I. — System of consonants.

(1) The Primitive Dravidian parent-language had the following system of consonants:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>p</td>
<td>ʰ</td>
<td>k̥</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stops.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1) voiceless</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>g̥</td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) voiced</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continuants.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1) voiceless</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) voiced</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>ʰ</td>
<td>ʰ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liquids</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Semi-vowels |        |        | y      |        |
(2) Pronunciation.

(a) The lip consonants p, b and m are all pronounced like the English p, b, m in pin, but and mad.

w is voiceless and a bilabial. It is pronounced like the Scotch wh in which, when, etc.

w is voiced and a bilabial. It is like w in literary English wet, wait, etc. (See Wrights, Dialect Grammar, pp. 19 and 20).

(b) The teeth consonants t, d and n are pronounced exactly like the Sanskrit dentals त्, द्, and न्; i.e., by bringing the point of the tongue against the very edge of the upper front teeth. There are no English letters answering to these. The English dentals are formed at the gums and not at the point of the upper teeth.

l is like the English l in lip, lad, etc.; and is a gum dental.

r is like the English r in ring, risk, etc.

The dental n has two pronunciations. When initial, it is a pure point dental like the Sanskrit न्. When medial and final it is gum dental like the English n.

(c) The Roof-consonants r, ɬ, र, ठ, ट, are also called cerebrales. These are all formed by curling back the tongue and forcibly striking the under part of it against the roof of the mouth. The Prim. Dravidian r, ɬ, र, ठ, ट, are pronounced exactly like the Sanskrit र्, ठ्, ट्, and ठ्.

l and r are sounds peculiar to the Dravidian languages alone. l is formed by curling back the tongue and pronouncing the English letter r; e.g., in the word farm in a rather liquid manner. (Caldwell's Gr. of Drav., p. 28: see also Kittel's Can. Gr., p. 10).

r is a very hard rough sound, and is formed at the roof by the curled point of the tongue. It comes nearer to the so-called Northumberland burr, but the latter is more uvular than cerebral (Wright's Gr. of Dialects, p. 19).

(d) The front consonants k, k', and ɳ, are also called palatales. These are identical with the Primitive Indo-Germanic palatales in pronunciation; and are formed by the middle of the tongue and the hard palate. These have a soft guttural pronunciation almost like the English h and ɬ in kid, get, etc.

ɳ is exactly like the Sanskrit ɳ.

y is like the English y in literary English, yellow, yield, etc.

(e) The back consonants h, g and ɬ, correspond to Sanskrit ɦ, ɡ and ɬ. ɦ or ɬ has the sound of ng in the English word king.
3. I will give here the pronunciation of other symbols, which I shall have to use hereafter under 'dialectal changes':

(a) — $d$. Is like $j$ and $dg$ in literary English judge, and the $g$ in such words as gem, etc.

(b) $j$ is like the $sh$ in literary English ship, fashion, etc.

(c) $tj$ is like the $ch$ in literary English cheese, church, etc.

(d) $s$ is voiceless and is like $s$ in sit.

(e) $h$ is like the $h$ in hand, head, etc.

(f) $y$ is a velar-voiced spirant and corresponds to the pronunciation of $g$ after $a$ — vowels in some parts of Germany, as in the word Lage. This is the development of medial $g$ in Malayalam. Tamil $aham$ is Malayalam $ayam$.

(g) $te$ is affricate like the German $s$ in sahm, and this sound is found in Telugu as a development of initial $k'$.

(h) $v$ is labio-dental and is like Sanskrit $v$.

II. — Laws of Dravidian Syllabation.

(1) Only a voiceless stop or a nasal can commence a word, and it can, in no case, be a roof consonant or cerebral.

(2) No voiceless stop is admissible in the middle of a word or even at the end, except when it is doubled.

(3) Any consonant may end a word.

(4) Compound consonants can never begin a word; and the only compound consonants that are admissible in a word, are:

(a) Voiceless stops doubled.

(b) Combinations of nasals.

(c) Nasal and consonant of the varga.

(d) $y$ or $l$ with a voiced consonant or $y$ or $l$, plus nasal and consonant of the dental varga.

III. — The Influence of Accent-change on the Laws of Dravidian Syllabation.

Through the influence of accent-change referred to in Section I, the above laws of Dravidian syllabation underwent the following modifications:

(1) Some medial doubled consonant were voiced in Canarese, Tulu and Telugu: e. g., Tamil tappai 'a slit of bamboo' is dabbage in Canarese and Tulu and dabba in Telugu. Tamil kappa 'bad smell' is gabbu in Can., Tulu and Telugu.

(2) Some initial consonants in Canarese, Tulu and Telugu were voiced especially when followed by a voiced consonant or liquid.

In the examples given above we find that $bb$ influenced the initial $t$ and $k$ and changed them into $d$ and $g$. Tamil $k&l$ 'wind' is Canarese and Tulu $g&l$ and Telugu $g&l$. 
Tamil kōndai 'a tuft of hair' is gondé in Canarese and Tulu and gondā in Telugu.

(3) The final consonant took an enunciative rawer very short and only half-pronounced. All the languages were affected in various degrees.

(a) In Tamil, Malayalam and old Canarese, the final k, t, l, r, ī, and the representative of Prim. Drav. g, ī, ī, ī, d ē or ē, took this final short ē.

(b) In Mid. and New Canarese the rest of the final consonants were also affected and took this ē.

(c) In Tulu and Telugu all the final consonants end in ē.

(d) In New Tamil and New Malayalam, there is a great tendency for all the other final consonants, except ma to take this ē. Thus—kal 'stone' is kalla in New Tamil and New Malayalam.

IV. The developments of the Primitive Dravidian Consonants in its various dialects:

A.—The Labials.

1. p. remains in all the languages:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Tamil</th>
<th>Malay</th>
<th>Can.</th>
<th>Tulu</th>
<th>Telugu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>pahal (day)</td>
<td>payal</td>
<td>pagalū</td>
<td>pagalū</td>
<td>pagalū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>pahal (hat)</td>
<td>pāyā</td>
<td>pāge</td>
<td>pāge</td>
<td>pāge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>paḍahū (boat)</td>
<td>paḍāyu</td>
<td>paḍaju</td>
<td>paḍāvu</td>
<td>paḍāva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>paṭtu (ten)</td>
<td>paṭtu</td>
<td>paṭtu</td>
<td>paṭtu</td>
<td>paṭtu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>pal (tooth)</td>
<td>pal</td>
<td>pālu</td>
<td>pālu</td>
<td>pālu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>palli (lizard)</td>
<td>pali</td>
<td>palli</td>
<td>palli</td>
<td>palli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>pāḍu (sing)</td>
<td>pāḍu</td>
<td>pāḍu</td>
<td>pāḍu</td>
<td>pāḍu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>pāl (milk)</td>
<td>pāl</td>
<td>pāl(u)</td>
<td>pār</td>
<td>pār</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>paḍai (army)</td>
<td>paḍa</td>
<td>paḍe</td>
<td>paḍe</td>
<td>paḍe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>pūha (smoke)</td>
<td>pūya</td>
<td>pāge</td>
<td>pūge</td>
<td>pūga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>pulu (worm)</td>
<td>pulu</td>
<td>pulu &amp; pulu</td>
<td>puru</td>
<td>purugn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>pandu (ball)</td>
<td>pandu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>paṭṭi (cloth)</td>
<td>paṭṭi</td>
<td>baṭṭa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>padil (exchange)</td>
<td>padil</td>
<td></td>
<td>badulu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>pattai (a bit)</td>
<td>pattae</td>
<td>badda</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>pār (alive)</td>
<td>pār</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>āru</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2. $p \rightarrow h$ initially through the influence of accent in the case of examples 12 to 15 given above. This obtains only in Telugu as in Cau and Tulu $p \rightarrow h$ initially.

3. $p \rightarrow h$ in Mid. and New Canarese, and also in New Tulu. This change seems to be due to the influence of Marathi, the neighbour of Canarese and Tulu on the north. In Marathi, the aspirated stops become $h$, e.g. bhutus 'I was,' became hōtū. Similarly in Mid and New Canarese and in Tulu $p$ seems to have first become aspirated as $ph$ and then changed to $h$.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tamil</th>
<th>Malay</th>
<th>N. Can.</th>
<th>N. Tulu</th>
<th>Telugu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pahal (day)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>pagaln.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pāḷu (rain)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>hālu</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pahāi (hate)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>hōṭe</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pāḷu (boat)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>paṇa</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>hāḍagu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pāṭṭu (ten)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>pāṭṭu</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>hattu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pāllu (lizard)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>pālli</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>hali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pāruttī (cotton)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>pāruttī</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>hatti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pāni (mist)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>pāni</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>hani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pāmbu (snake)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>pāmbu</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>hāvu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note.**—(For authority, see Sabdamani-darpana, art. 159 and 160, and Kittel’s Canarese Dictionary, p. 1618; Manner’s Tulu Grammar, pp. 669-682).

2. This change $p \rightarrow h$ is not universal in Tulu. There are some exceptions.

3. The following words in Canarese have $pp \rightarrow h$. [Vide Sabdamani-darpana (Smd.), art. 160].

These words are: — (1) intappam, untappam and antappam which become severally intaham, untaham and antaham.

4. Sometimes the $h \rightarrow p$ is lost and the vowel alone is left as initial, Thus:

- pagaln. $\rightarrow$ hagalu $\rightarrow$ agalu (dog).
- hanṭu $\rightarrow$ hanṭ $+$ Telugu penku (tile).
- parti $\rightarrow$ patti $\rightarrow$ atti (cotton).
- pāvu $\rightarrow$ hāvu $\rightarrow$ āvu (snake).
- pūppu $\rightarrow$ pūppu $\rightarrow$ ungu (sore).

**b) Medial.**

1. Primitive Dravidian had $b$ only after the nasal $m$. Even here it was pronounced with a nasal twang; so that it easily changed into $m$; e.g. (1) pāṭi Telugu 'ten' becomes mīṭi in tom-mīṭi. For tom-mīṭi $\rightarrow$ tom-bīṭī $\rightarrow$ ton-bīṭī $\rightarrow$ tol-padi—compare this with Tamil on-pāṭu $\rightarrow$ ton-pāṭu $\rightarrow$ tol-pattu i.e. 'old ten'; (2) In pāmbu 'snake' $m$ is pronounced mostly as a nasal in Tamil and Malayalam. And in Telugu it is pāmu, $b$ completely dropping. In Cau and Tulu $m \rightarrow v$ and we have pāvu and hāvu.
(1) Initial m remains in all the languages:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tamil</th>
<th>Mal.</th>
<th>Can.</th>
<th>Tulu</th>
<th>Telugu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 māṇu (dim)</td>
<td>māṇu</td>
<td>māṇu</td>
<td>māṇu</td>
<td>māṇu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 māṭam (level)</td>
<td>māṭa</td>
<td>māṭa</td>
<td>māṭa</td>
<td>māṭa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 māṭu (measure)</td>
<td>māṭa</td>
<td>māṭu</td>
<td>māṭu</td>
<td>māṭu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 madil (wall)</td>
<td>madil</td>
<td>madil</td>
<td>madulu</td>
<td>madulu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 maṇi (jewel)</td>
<td>maṇi</td>
<td>maṇi</td>
<td>maṇi</td>
<td>maṇi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 maṇ (mud)</td>
<td>maṇ</td>
<td>maṇ</td>
<td>maṇ</td>
<td>maṇu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 marundu (medicine)</td>
<td>marundu</td>
<td>marudu</td>
<td>marudu</td>
<td>marudu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) Medial m \ \( \prec \) m (in Tamil).
\( \prec \) m and v (in Caṇ and Tulu).
\( \prec \) m in Telugu.
\( \prec \) m in Malayalam.

Tamil tāmarai 'lotus'; Malayalam tamar, Telugu tāmara is both tāmare and tāmara in Canarese and Tulu.

Tamil iṃai (eyelash) is eme and eve in Canarese.

Tamil tīmīr 'to rub' is timir and vitir in Canarese.

Tamil pāmbu 'snake,' Telugu pāmnu is ādmī in Can. Tulu Tamil ndm 'wo' is ndvu in Canarese.

The change of medial m into v is not so common in Tulu as in Canarese.

(3) Final m \ \( \prec \) m (Malayalam).
\( \prec \) m and n (Tamil).
\( \prec \) nu or drops in Telugu.
\( \prec \) drops in Tulu.
\( \prec \) drops in Canarese, except in the nominative and accusative cases.

For example.

(a) In old literary Tamil final m generally becomes n; e. g., maram \( \prec \) maran; aram \( \prec \) aran;
    kalam \( \prec \) kalum. But modern Tamil uses only m.

(b) In Telugu in a few cases m \( \prec \) nu, maram \( \prec \) mānu, but idam place \( \prec \) eda, vānām \( \prec \)
    vāna = rain.

(c) In Tulu, maram and vānām \( \prec \) mare and vāna.

(d) In Canarese the m is preserved in the nominative, and in the accusative it is n, but it is dropped in all other cases. Maram, nominative case; maranam, acc., but marake.

In Tulu too, m is preserved as n in the accusative; e. g., maronu acc. of mara.
mb

\( \text{mb} \) (in Tamil and Malayalam).
\( \text{mb} \) after short vowels, and \( \text{mu} \) or \( \text{nu} \) after long vowels, in Canarese and Tulu.
\( \text{mmu} \) and \( \text{mu} \) (in Telugu) after short and long vowels.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>kombu (horn)</td>
<td>kombu</td>
<td>kombu</td>
<td>kombu</td>
<td>komm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>kembu (red)</td>
<td>kembu</td>
<td>kempu</td>
<td>kempu</td>
<td>kem.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>nambu (trust)</td>
<td>nambu, ya</td>
<td>nambu</td>
<td>nambu</td>
<td>namm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>tumbu (sneeze)</td>
<td>tumbuya</td>
<td>tumbula</td>
<td>tumbu</td>
<td>tammu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>kambu (stem)</td>
<td>kambu</td>
<td>kâmu, kâv</td>
<td>kâm., kâv.</td>
<td>kâm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>pambu (snake)</td>
<td>pambu</td>
<td>hâmu, hâv</td>
<td>hâv.</td>
<td>pâm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>nombu (feast)</td>
<td>nombu</td>
<td>nömpu</td>
<td>nömpu</td>
<td>nômu.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note.—In Canarese and Tulu mb is sometimes also preserved, after long vowels.

w

(1) Primitive Dravidian \( w \) has regularly become the labio-dental \( v \) in Tamil, Malayalam and Telugu; but in Canarese and Tulu, it was first voiced to \( w \) and then became the bilabial voiced stop \( b \). For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>vandi (cart)</td>
<td>vandi</td>
<td>bandi</td>
<td>bani</td>
<td>bandi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>vayal (field)</td>
<td>vayal</td>
<td>bayalu</td>
<td>badjül</td>
<td>bayalu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>varu (come)</td>
<td>varu</td>
<td>baru</td>
<td>baru</td>
<td>vâfsj.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>vay (month)</td>
<td>vay</td>
<td>bâyi</td>
<td>bâyi</td>
<td>vâyi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>vidu (let)</td>
<td>vidu</td>
<td>bidu</td>
<td>bidu</td>
<td>vidu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>vittu (seed)</td>
<td>vittu</td>
<td>bittu</td>
<td>bittu</td>
<td>vittu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>varai (seed)</td>
<td>varae</td>
<td>bare</td>
<td>bare</td>
<td>vrây.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>viral (write)</td>
<td>viral</td>
<td>berelu</td>
<td>berelu</td>
<td>vrêlu.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note.—(1) In a few cases as 1 and 2, Telugu too has \( b \) for \( v \).

(2) Initial \( w \) sometimes drops in Canarese as \( wândis > ondis \) ‘to cook,’ \( wâqi > onki \) ‘a hook.’

w (medial).

(1) This undergoes the same changes as \( w \) and \( v \) in Tamil, Malayalam and Telugu, and it becomes \( b \) in Canarese and Tulu.

For example:

\( \text{irvar} \) ‘two men’ is \( \text{irvar} \) in Tamil and Malayalam, and \( \text{irbar} \) in Canarese and Tulu.
Again, \( \text{sevi} \) ‘ear’ in Tamil is \( \text{sevi} \) in Malayalam and Telugu, but \( \text{hebi} \) in Canarese and Tulu.
V.—Teeth Consonants, t, d, n.

\( t \) (Initial).

(1) \( t \) remains initially in all the languages:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tamil</th>
<th>Mal.</th>
<th>Can.</th>
<th>Tulu</th>
<th>Telugu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 tahudal (hit)</td>
<td>tayu</td>
<td>tagu</td>
<td>takku</td>
<td>tagu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 tanj (to cool)</td>
<td>tani</td>
<td>tan</td>
<td>tanj</td>
<td>tanju.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 tatru (to tap)</td>
<td>tatru</td>
<td>tatu</td>
<td>tatu</td>
<td>tatu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 talai (head)</td>
<td>tale</td>
<td>tale</td>
<td>tare</td>
<td>tala.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 tavolu (bran)</td>
<td>tavolu</td>
<td>tavada</td>
<td>tavatu</td>
<td>tavalu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 tala (to bear)</td>
<td>talu</td>
<td>tali</td>
<td>tali</td>
<td>tali.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 tulja (frisk)</td>
<td>tulju</td>
<td>tulju</td>
<td>tulja</td>
<td>tulju.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 tini (food)</td>
<td>tini</td>
<td>thi</td>
<td>thi</td>
<td>thi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 tirun (finish)</td>
<td>tiru</td>
<td>tiru</td>
<td>tiru</td>
<td>tiru.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) \( t \) \& \( d \) (in Can., Tel., and Tulu) before voiced and doubled consonants and liquids and through accent change.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tamil</th>
<th>Mal.</th>
<th>Can.</th>
<th>Tulu</th>
<th>Telugu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 tanu (stalk)</td>
<td>tanu</td>
<td>daṇju</td>
<td>daṇju</td>
<td>daṇju.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 tapai (a slit of bamboo)</td>
<td>tappu</td>
<td>dabbe</td>
<td>dabbe</td>
<td>dabbe.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 tuari (way)</td>
<td>…</td>
<td>dari</td>
<td>dari</td>
<td>dari.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 tihil (fear)</td>
<td>…</td>
<td>digulu</td>
<td>digulu</td>
<td>digulu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 tussi (coin)</td>
<td>…</td>
<td>duṇdu</td>
<td>duṇdu</td>
<td>duṇdu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 tuḍukku (rashness)</td>
<td>tuḍukku</td>
<td>duḍuku</td>
<td>duḍuku</td>
<td>duḍuku.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 toṭti (cowpen)</td>
<td>toṭti</td>
<td>doṭṭi</td>
<td>doṭṭi</td>
<td>doṭṭi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 tonnai (a cup)</td>
<td>tonnai</td>
<td>donne</td>
<td>donne</td>
<td>donne.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(3) \( t \) \& \( t \) sometimes in Canarese, Tulu, and Telugu.

(a) In Canarese, 
- tagar 'ram' becomes tagar;
- tolle 'hollow' \( \sim \) tolle.

(b) In Tulu, 
- tappa and tappa \( \sim \) tappa;
- tār 'riverlet' becomes tār;
- tolle 'hollow' becomes diojū.

(c) In Telugu, 
- takku 'cheating' comes from Thug, the historic robbers, whom Lord Hastings subdued. 
  - Tāru, 'place' becomes also tāpu;
  - tēku 'teak' and tenkēya 'cocoanut' become tēku and tenkēya.

(To be continued.)
A PRIMER OF DRAVIDIAN PHONOLOGY.

BY K. V. SUBBAIYA, M.A., L.T.,

Lecturer, Rajahmundry College.

(Continued from p. 200.)

**d** (medial).

(a) This is rare in pure Dravidian words. It is generally preserved in all the languages without change, as *kadir* 'ear of corn,' *kudi* 'heel,' *vidai* 'seed,' etc.

(b) *d* ≠ *r* in the language of children in Tamil. There is one instance in which the change has become literary: *vidai* 'seed' is also *vira*.

(c) **d** ≠ **t**: this is very common in Tamil. This takes place after front vowels; *e.g.*, *peridu* big ≠ *peridu*; *palayadu* 'old thing' ≠ *palatu*.

(d) **nd** ≠ **ndʒ**: this is also after front vowels. This change is mostly new Tamil and colloquial. *Aindu* 'five' is *andʒu*. This is a literary form. *Kudandadu* (dried) ≠ *kandʒadu*.

**n**.

The history of this nasal is very interesting. In Primitive Dravidian it was pronounced as a pure point-dental when it was initial, but as a post-dental mostly resembling the English *n*, but formed a little higher at the gum, when it was medial and final.

In Tamil, **n** is point-dental as an initial, but post-dental as a medial and final consonant. That is to say, the Prim. Drav. pronunciation is preserved faithfully. Hence *nd* develops into *ng* in Tamil, as *r* is nearer to medial *n* than *d*.

In Canarese and Tulu, all the *n*'s initial, medial and final, have become point-dentals; so that corresponding to *nd* of Can. we have *NG* of Tamil. But in Tulu the old pronunciation is seen in some cases, as *nd* ≠ *ndʒ* (See developments of *r*).

In Telugu, while the medial *n* became a pure point-dental, the final *n* continued to be pronounced as a post-dental. Hence, later on, a *d* was added to it for the sake of easy pronunciation. Subsequently, the nasal dropped, leaving only *d*, but after having lengthened the preceding vowel. For example: Tam. *avan* 'he' was in Old Tamil *avanju* ≠ *vandu* ≠ *ed(n)du*, New Telugu *vedu*.

The other North Dravidian dialects added either *d* or *dʒ*. Tam. *avan* 'he' is in Goqidi *avandʒa*. Tam. *ivan* 'he' is in Goqidi *ivandʒa*. In Kui Tam. *ivan* 'he' is *ibandʒa*. In Kurukh it is *n*; i.e., a dental spirant is added and the nasal has dropped. In Korvi and Kaikadi it is *deča* and *du*, showing only the loss of the nasal without the dentalisation or cerebralisation.
n (initial).

(1) Initial n remains in all the languages:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tamil</th>
<th>Mal.</th>
<th>Can.</th>
<th>Telugu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>naṉa (to walk)</td>
<td>naṉa</td>
<td>naṉa</td>
<td>naṉa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nambu (believe)</td>
<td>nambu</td>
<td>nambu</td>
<td>nambu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nurukku (to cut)</td>
<td>nūrku</td>
<td>nūrku</td>
<td>nūrku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>narai (grey)</td>
<td>nārə</td>
<td>nare</td>
<td>nara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nāṉa (city)</td>
<td>nāṉa</td>
<td>nāṉa</td>
<td>nāṉa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nār (before)</td>
<td>nārə</td>
<td>nārə</td>
<td>nārə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neṉa (long)</td>
<td>neṉa</td>
<td>niṉa</td>
<td>niṉa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) n (medial) remains in all:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tamil</th>
<th>Mal.</th>
<th>Can.</th>
<th>Telugu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kaṉavu (dream)</td>
<td>kaṉavu</td>
<td>kasa</td>
<td>kala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>knrai (point)</td>
<td>kone</td>
<td>kone</td>
<td>kona</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuni (bond)</td>
<td>kuni</td>
<td>kuni</td>
<td>kuni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kani (to pity, to ripen)</td>
<td>kani</td>
<td>kani</td>
<td>kani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tinî (food)</td>
<td>tinî</td>
<td>tinî</td>
<td>tinî</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kannam (hole)</td>
<td>kanna</td>
<td>kanna</td>
<td>kanna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>śinai (pregnant)</td>
<td>ṭiṆa</td>
<td>dʒina</td>
<td>dʒina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vāna (sky-rain)</td>
<td>vāṇa</td>
<td>bāna</td>
<td>vāna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Primitive Dravidian l is preserved in all the languages.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tamil</th>
<th>Mal.</th>
<th>Can.</th>
<th>Telugu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>alai (wave)</td>
<td>ale</td>
<td>ale</td>
<td>ale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alai (flower)</td>
<td>alar</td>
<td>alar</td>
<td>alar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>il (house)</td>
<td>il</td>
<td>il</td>
<td>ilu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eli (rat)</td>
<td>ili</td>
<td>ili</td>
<td>eli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pāḷ (milk)</td>
<td>pāḷ</td>
<td>pāḷu</td>
<td>pāḷu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>talai (head)</td>
<td>tāḷe</td>
<td>tāle</td>
<td>tāre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>valai (net)</td>
<td>vala</td>
<td>bāle</td>
<td>bāle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kol (kill)</td>
<td>kol</td>
<td>kole</td>
<td>kollu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(2) \( l > r \).

(a) In Tulu this change is common:

Tamil *tala* 'head' is Tulu *tare*.

Tamil *kul* 'bark' is Tulu *kore*.

Tamil *kol* 'leg' is Tulu *kuru*.

Tamil *ilai* 'leaf' is Tulu *ire*.

Tamil *pat* 'tooth' is Tulu *paru*.

(b) In literary old Tamil this change is found: *e.g.* (1) *kul* 'bark' is also *kurai*;

(2) *koliyai* 'a spoon' is also *koriyai*.

(3) Again \( l \) before \( k, s, t \) and \( p \) becomes \( r \) in Sandhi;

*e.g.*, *pirpaḍu* 'after'.

(c) In Canarese we have *maral* and *melal* 'bad', *kare* and *kale* 'call'. *Ar* and *al* 'cry.'

(3) — \( l > n \).

(a) In Tamil, \( i l \) and \( in \) are ablative case signs derived from \( il \); house, \( al \), the instrumental sign becomes \( œn \). *Nīl* 'stand' becomes *nīra\( r\)u* 'stood.'

(4) — \( l > d \) or \( ñ \).

(a) This change is common in Gōṇḍi:

Tamil *pāl* (milk) is *pāḍu* in Gōṇḍi.

Tamil *pat* (tooth) is *pāḍu* in Gōṇḍi.

Tamil *il* (house) is *iḍu* in Gōṇḍi.

Tamil *kalla* (leg) is *kāḍu* in Gōṇḍi.

Sometimes especially in North Gōṇḍi, this \( d < l \) \( d \) (L. 8., p. 459).

(b) In Kurukh also \( l > d \); *e.g.*, Tamil *kall* 'leg' is *khash* in Kurukh. In Maltō \( l > d \),

*e.g.*, *kāll* becomes *ged* (leg).

(3) \( l > ñ \)

(a) In Tamil we have the following words: — *kollidam* and *kollidam* 'a river'; *kalippu* and *kalippa* 'pungent'.

(b) In Canarese this is common: —

Tamil *tala* 'head' is Can. *tale* and *talla*.

Tamil *toll* 'neck ornament' is Can. *toll* and *toll*.

(b) Tamil *aral* 'flower' is Can. *aral* and *aral*.

(4) \( l > n \) (through \( l \)).

This is found in Canarese: *e.g.:* — Tamil \( ñìi \) (hailstone) also Tulu and Malayalam, is Canarese \( ñìi \) and \( ñìi \).

(5) Metathesis of \( l \) and \( r \).

(a) In Canarese we have: —

Mūlar (flower) and *maral* and *mālal*; *aral* (bloom) and *ālar*; *slar* and *erat* (wind).

(b) In Gōṇḍi we have *fōn* and *fōn* = house. (L. 8., p. 478).
(1) Primitive Dravidian r mostly remains in all the languages:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tamil</th>
<th>Mal.</th>
<th>Can.</th>
<th>Telu.</th>
<th>Telugu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>neraḍu (rough)</td>
<td>neraḍu</td>
<td>naraḍu</td>
<td>naraḍu</td>
<td>neri.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>narai (grey)</td>
<td>mare</td>
<td>nare</td>
<td>nare</td>
<td>nara.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marum (tree)</td>
<td>maram</td>
<td>mara</td>
<td>mara</td>
<td>mirũnu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aral (floral)</td>
<td>aral</td>
<td>aralu</td>
<td>aralu</td>
<td>aralu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aruvi (river)</td>
<td>aruvi</td>
<td>aravi</td>
<td>aruvi</td>
<td>aruve.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kari (soot)</td>
<td>kari</td>
<td>kari</td>
<td>kari</td>
<td>kari.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karai (shore)</td>
<td>kare</td>
<td>kare</td>
<td>kare</td>
<td>kara.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) (r and vowel and consonant) developments.

(a) In Tamil r and vowel and consonant is most common; but sometimes in literary Tamil the vowel drops and we have r and consonant; e.g., ेṛudal 'being tired' and ेṛdaḷ; ेṛudal 'leaning' and ेṛtṭāḷ. Here the vowel is generally u.

(b) In Telugu, too, r and vowel and consonant becomes often r and consonant: e.g., kurudu 'blind' and kurdu; kurubu and kurbu 'the eye-brow'; parake and parke 'bedding'; parati and parti 'cotton' etc.

(b) In Telugu we have all the stages.

I.e., r and vowel and consonant > r and consonant or consonant and consonant. Examples are:

1. Tamil tiruppu 'turn' is Telugu truppu.
   Tamil sırudal 'spread' is Telugu sirudulu.
   Tamil karaṇgu 'bend' is Telugu kruṇgu.
   Tamil karaṇgu 'sound' is Telugu kraṇgu.
   Tamil paratu 'spread' is Telugu prapu.

2. Tamil tirumaṇu 'to correct' is Telugu tiḍdu.
   Tamil erdu 'bull' is Telugu eddu.
   Tamil perumpli 'big tiger' is Telugu bebbuli.

3. Sometimes r disappears with the vowel: — narumdu and manda 'medium'.
   Tamil neruppu 'fire' is Telugu nippu.
   Tamil vrippu 'wish' is Telugu rippu.
   Tamil karuppa 'black' is Telugu kappu.
   Tamil paruttu 'cotton' is Telugu patti and parti.

4. In Canarese, r and vowel and consonant becomes in Mid.Canarese r and consonant and in New Canarese consonant doubled.
   For example:
   Tamil kuruvu 'sparrow' is Can. gurbi and gubbi; Tamil paruttu 'cotton' is parti and patti. karūfu 'to bite' is karīsu and karīsū.
(3) \( r > r. \)

(a) In Tamil we have \( kāraḷ \) and \( kāraj \) ‘bitter’; \( sāraḷu \) and \( sāraḷu \) ‘a string’; \( taruṟṟu \) and \( taruṟṟu \) ‘white stone’, etc. \( kāraḷu \) and \( kāraḷu \) (praying) . . .

(b) In Telugu we have the following examples:

\begin{align*}
\text{Tamil} & \text{raḷi ‘hill’ is Telugu \textit{vera}.} \\
\text{Tamil} & \text{tēn ‘car’ is Telugu \textit{tēn}.} \\
\text{Tamil} & \text{tari ‘cut’ is Telugu \textit{tariy}.} \\
\text{Tamil} & \text{eṟi ‘blood’ is Telugu \textit{erupu}.} \\
\text{Tamil} & \text{teṟi ‘woman’ is Telugu \textit{terava}.} \\
\end{align*}

(c) In Gōḍi the cerebralisation of \( r \) is very common (\textit{vide L. S., p. 478}) \textit{varā} and \textit{varā} come; \( ork ‘they’ \textit{mattoṇ} ‘we were’.

VI. — The Roof Consonants.

\( \text{t, d, n, l, r.} \)

None of these consonants are used initially. Except \( s, l \) and \( l \), the others could not end a word. Even \( s, l \), and \( l \) in the modern dialects take an enunciative \( u \). These possess a very great tendency for mutual interchange.

(1) \( t \) (medial) remains in all the languages.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>kaṟtu (to build)</td>
<td>kaṟtu</td>
<td>kaṟtu</td>
<td>kaṟtu</td>
<td>kaṟtu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>taṟṟai (flat)</td>
<td>taṟṟai</td>
<td>taṟṟai</td>
<td>taṟṟai</td>
<td>taṟṟai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>tottu (begin)</td>
<td>tottu</td>
<td>tottu</td>
<td>tottu</td>
<td>tottu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>naṟtu (fix)</td>
<td>naṟtu</td>
<td>naṟtu</td>
<td>naṟtu</td>
<td>naṟtu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>maṟṟam (measure)</td>
<td>maṟṟam</td>
<td>maṟṟam</td>
<td>maṟṟam</td>
<td>maṟṟam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>taṟtu (tap)</td>
<td>taṟtu</td>
<td>taṟtu</td>
<td>taṟtu</td>
<td>taṟtu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) \( t \ t \ d \ d \) (in Tel., Can. and Tulu).

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<tr>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>aṟṭi (obstacle)</td>
<td>aṟṭi</td>
<td>adḍi</td>
<td>adḍi</td>
<td>adḍi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>kaṟṭa (beard)</td>
<td>kaṟṭa</td>
<td>gaḍḍa</td>
<td>gaḍḍa</td>
<td>gaḍḍa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>kaṟṭu (mass)</td>
<td>kaṟṭu</td>
<td>gaḍḍe</td>
<td>gaḍḍa</td>
<td>gaḍḍa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>kuṟṟai (cloth)</td>
<td>kuṟṟai</td>
<td>guḍḍe</td>
<td>guḍḍa</td>
<td>guḍḍa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>tuṟṟu (coin)</td>
<td>tuṟṟu</td>
<td>duḍḍu</td>
<td>duḍḍu</td>
<td>duḍḍu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>o or (a rustic people)</td>
<td>oṭṭar</td>
<td>oḍḍaru</td>
<td>oḍḍaru</td>
<td>oḍḍaru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>oṭṭu (to fix)</td>
<td>oṭṭuṇa</td>
<td>oḍḍu</td>
<td>oḍḍu</td>
<td>oḍḍu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3 ḍ remains in all the dialects.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>kaḍal (sea)</td>
<td>kaḍal</td>
<td>kaḍalu</td>
<td>kaḍalu</td>
<td>kaḍalu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>paḍahu (boat)</td>
<td>paḍaya</td>
<td>paḍagu</td>
<td>paḍa</td>
<td>paḍavāy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>naḍu (centre)</td>
<td>naḍu</td>
<td>naḍu</td>
<td>naḍu</td>
<td>naḍumu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>kaḍai (verte)</td>
<td>kaḍa</td>
<td>kaḍe</td>
<td>kaḍa</td>
<td>kaḍa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>iḍam (place)</td>
<td>iḍam</td>
<td>eḍa</td>
<td>eḍa</td>
<td>eḍa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>kāḍu (forest)</td>
<td>kāḍu</td>
<td>kāḍu</td>
<td>kāḍu</td>
<td>kāḍu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(4) ḍ  ḍ  ḍ (in the North-Dravidian dialects).

(a) "In Telugu," Dr. Caldwell says, "there are some instances of the change of ḍ into the hard, rough ḍ—e.g.—ṭṛṣṭu 'to spoil' (Tam., Can. keṇu), should have for its transitive ṭṛṣṭu answering to the Tamil keṇukku; whereas ṭṛṣṭu is used instead."

(b) In Gōṇḍ ḍ regularly becomes ḍ; and this ḍ in some cases becomes ḍū. Hence the change is ṭ  ḍ ḍū.

Tamil ḍōḍi 'pair' is Gōṇḍ ḍōḍi.

Tamil nāḍu (country) is Gōṇḍ nāḍu.

(c) In Brāhmi (L. S., p. 621) ḍ  ḍ; ḍē 'he' answering to the Telugu rāḍa becomes ḍē and also ḍē and ḍē becomes ḍē.

(1) n (Tamil, Mal., Can. and Tuḷu.) and n (Telugu).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>kaṇ (eye)</td>
<td>kaṇ</td>
<td>kaṇṭu</td>
<td>kaṇṭu</td>
<td>kaṇu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>maṇ (earth)</td>
<td>maṇ</td>
<td>maṇṭu</td>
<td>maṇṭu</td>
<td>maṇṭu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>vengai (butter)</td>
<td>vengæ</td>
<td>......</td>
<td>......</td>
<td>vennu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 ( ).

(1) The Prim. Drav. ḍ has undergone many changes. It is preserved only in Tamil, Malayalam and Old Canarese. New Canarese, Telugu and Tuḷu have lost this altogether. Telugu uses ṭ instead as the Canarese and Tuḷu use ḍ.

(2) ḍ not only changes into ḍ and ḍ, but into ṭ, ṭ, and ṭ. In some cases it is even dropped.
(3) Even in Tamil which uses / most largely, it has changed in some few cases into these sounds:

(a) / > d.

This change is found in the solitary example, viz., *tāppāṭ* which is also written and pronounced as *tāṭḍāṭ* 'a bolt.'

(b) / > l.

*talavai = talavai = tulai* 'hole.'

*tahali = tahali* 'a small crucible.'

*ilai = ilai* 'phlegm.'

*uji = uji* 'place.'

*uju = uju* 'black gram.'

*nalvar = nalvar, 'toddy sellers.'

Both the forms are in use and are considered literary.

(c) / > r or r.

*nūlal = nūral* 'ruining.'

*tavildal = tavirdal* 'falling.'

*kavildal = kavirdal 'capsizeing.'

*iḷu = ir* 'to draw out.'

(d) / > y

*mālḥudal = maydal* 'die.'

*olīdal = oydal = oyyal* 'passing.'

(e) / is dropped.

*umil = umi* 'to spit.'

*polulu = pōdu* 'time.'

The above examples are all classical; and all the forms are in use. In colloquial Tamil, especially amongst the rustics, / is always pronounced as i or y. / is common in the South, and y in Madras; e.g., *villappalam* 'plantain fruit' is pronounced as *villappalam* in the South and as *villappalam* in Madras. Sometimes the dropping of i is common amongst all classes in colloquial speech; e.g., *tāppāṭ* = 'bolt' is *tāṭḍāṭ*; *tālvaram* in *tālvaram,* 'eaves'; *kēvarah* is *kēvarah, i.e., raggi.'

(4) In Malayalam, too, the final / is mostly written and pronounced as / (see Gundert's Mal. Dictionary, page 1082). But / is the standard sound. In some few cases, middle / has changed into y: e.g., *kāṭam, koyam, field; kāṭēka, kayakka, 'to shake.'
(5) In Old Canarese till about 900 A. D. 醑 was throughout in use. From about 900 till about 1200 A. D. 醑 was changed into ṛ when it was followed by a consonant, and into ṛ in all other cases. After 1200 A. D. 醑 became obsolete and was regularly replaced by ṛ and ṛ, under the conditions stated above. For instance, in Śāmanas as old as 700 A. D. we find ेल्पतु ‘seventy’; ेल्य ‘to destroy’; ेल्त’s ‘to wash.’ In those from 900 to 1200 A. D., we find: — गते (for गते), ‘staff’; एल (for एल), ‘to destroy’; and पेल, ‘to speak’; एल, ‘place’ and अल्लोल’bird’ for बिल्दु ‘fallen’.

醑 + consonant after passing through the stage of ṛ + consonant in Mid. Canarese, became the consonant doubled; e. g., ेल्दे (ass) = ेर्दे = ṛदे. बिल्दु (fallen) = बिल्दु = बिल्दु and so on.

Further, as a rule, in Old Canarese, final ṛ becomes ṛ in Sandhi; e. g., किल्पुरा = किल्पुरा.

In the formation of the present participle, a similar rule exists: मल्वा becomes मल्वा. (See Kittel’s Grammar, Art. 234). For a detailed history of 醑 in Canarese see Dr. Fleet’s article in the Indian Antiquary. Dr. Kittel’s notes thereon in p. 15 of his Grammar; and also Salhadadarpasa, art. 21, 23, 24.

(6) In Tulu, 郇 regularly changes into ṛ or ṛ. In some few cases it is also found as ṛnd ṛ.

(a) 郇 ṛ. (This is most common).

Tamil: েल (to weep) + ṛ+ Tulu ar.
Tamil: ेल (to grieve) + ṛ+ Tulu arate.
Tamil: ेल (to plough) + ṛ+ Tulu ara.
Tamil: ेल (to leave) + Tulu ori.
Tamil: ेल (to pass) + Tulu kari.
Tamil: ेल (ploughshare) + Tulu koru.
Tamil: ेल (pit) + Tulu guri.
Tamil: ेल (worm) + Tulu paru.
Tamil: ेल (close) + Tulu kru.
Tamil: ेल (old) + Tulu para.
Tamil: ेल (to pour) + Tulu kori.
Tamil: ेल (plaintain) + Tulu kare.

(b) 郇 郇 (very common).

Tamil: ेल (to perish) + ṛ+ Tulu aṭi.
Tamil: ेल (depth) + Tulu ṛla.
Tamil: ेल (to slide) + ṛ+ Tulu ṛṭi.
Tamil: ेल (service) + Tulu ṛṭige.
Tamil: ेल (seven); + ṛ+ Tulu ṛṭi.
Tamil: ेल (pebble) + ṛ+ Tulu kṭi.
Tamil: ेल (low) + ṛ+ Tulu kṭi.
Tamil: ेल (a tube) + ṛ+ Tulu kolave.
Tamil: ےल (work) + ṛ+ Tulu tōla.
Tamil: ेल (whirl) + ṛ+ Tulu sūli.

(c) Sometimes the 郇 郇 becomes softened to ṛ.

Tamil: ेल (to perish) + ṛ+ Tulu aṭi.
Tamil: ेल (to stand) + ṛ+ Tulu lak.
Tamil: ेल (tube) + ṛ+ Tulu kolave.
Thus sometimes double, and sometimes treble forms exist:—

Tamil: kālu (gruel) + Tuḷu kālu, kālu, kāru.
Tamil: tāḷ (to sink) + Tuḷu tāḷu, tāḷu, tāru.
Tamil: vaḷi (way) + Tuḷu kali, kali, kari.
Tamil: kōḷi (fowl) + Tuḷu kōḷi and kōri.
Tamil: aḷi (to perish) + Tuḷu aḷi and aḷi.
Tamil: kudāy (tube) + Tuḷu kolave and kolave.

(d) \l \and \d. (There is only one instance).
Tamil: kīḷ \and (low) + Tuḷu kēḷu.

(e) \l \and y: Tamil: puḷḷuḍi; Tuḷu poye = dust.

(7) In no period of Telugu is \l found. Instead of it, we find mostly \d, often \r, sometimes \l, and rarely \y. In some few cases it is dropped.

(a) \l \and \d:
Tamil: kāḷuḷu (to wash) + Tel. kadugu.
Tamil: aḷai (to call) + Tel. adugu.
Tamil: viḷi (to squeeze) + Tel. piṇḍu.
Tamil: pāḷ (ruins) + Tel. paḍu.
Tamil: kāḷi (gruel) + Tel. kūḍu.
Tamil: kōḷi (fowl) + Tel. kōḍi.
Tamil: iḷu (to pull) + Tel. īḍu.
Tamil: sūḷi (to turn) + Tel. sūḍi.
Tamil: īḷai (palm) + Tel. īḍa.
Tamil: pāḷa (fruit) + Tel. pāḍu.
Tamil: viḷa (service) + Tel. viḍya.
Tamil: ēḷu (seven) + Tel. ēḍu.
Tamil: kīḷ (low) + Tel. kīḍu.

(b) \l \and \r:
Tamil: puḷḷu (worm) + Tel. purugu.
Tamil: pāḷaṇgu (to handle) + Tel. para(n)yu.
Tamil: muḷaṇgu (proclaim) + Tel. mro(n)yu.
Tamil: pāḷaṇgenu (old ruby) + Tel. prē(l)ngeṇu.
Tamil: kīḷ (low) + Tel. kīṇḍa.
Tamil: aḷi (perish) + Tel. aru.
Tamil: oḷu (to flow) + Tel. uriyu.
Tamil: kōḷu (ploughshare) + Tel. korru.
Tamil: muḷam (cubit) + Tel. mūre.

(c) \l \and l:
Tamil: qāḷ (weeping) + Tel. qulugu.
Tamil: dī (to sink) + Tel. lēugu.
Tamil: iḷu (to draw) + Tel. lāḍu.
Tamil: eḷu (to rise) + Tel. lē.
Tamil: kāḷ (bright) + Tel. kālu.
Tamil: qāḷam (depth) + Tel. qulugu.
(d) \( \frac{1}{y} \) or \( yy \).

Tamil: pulai (pole) + Tel. goya.
Tamil: káli (pit) + Tel. goya.
Tamil: nulai (enter) + Tel. nuy.

Note. — \( yy \) is found after short and \( y \) after long vowels.

(e) \( 1 \) is dropped lengthening the preceding vowel:

Tamil: nulangal and Tel. mokalu (knee-pan).
Sometimes, also without compensation-lengthening:

Tamil: kil (low) + Tel. kinda.
Tamil: kilin\( d\)su (torn) + Tel. tsin\( d\)su.

\( y \) (pron.

1. In Primitive Dravidian \( r \) was only medial and final and not initial.

2. In Canarese, Telugu \( r \) has come to be initial through the dropping of original initial vowels — e.g., Tamil iravikai (boil) is ravike in Can. and Telugu and ravuka in Telugu; Tamil irakka (wing) is in Canarese rakke and in Telugu rekka. This tendency is also found in Colloquial Tamil.

3. Primitive Dravidian \( r \) is preserved in Tamil, Malayalam and Canarese, and also in Old Telugu. In New Telugu as also in vulgar Canarese and Tamil, it is replaced by \( r \). In Telugu, \( d \) or \( dz \) (\( j \)) is found instead. It is also sometimes dropped.

4. In Tamil \( r \) is faithfully preserved; but sometimes:

(a) \( ? \) \( r \). (both forms are found).

karuppai and karu (black).
kirudai and kirudai (vanity).
kurudai and korudai (praying).
kóri and korai (tale-bearer).
tarai and tarai (ground).
taruppu and taruppu (white stone).
taruvai and taruvai (proper time).

(b) \( ? \) \( d \).

ka\( r \)i and ka\( r \)i (to bite).
tarai and ta\( r \)i (stick).

(c) \( ? ? \) \( tt \).

körpam and kotram (triumph).
körpudai and kottulai (digging).

In Colloquial Tamil \( r \) regularly \( tt \).

(d) \( nr \) \( tt \) (literary) and \( nn \) (Colloquial).

inrû and irrai, innu (to-day).
enrû and erî, ennù (when).
kanru and kar\( ð \)a, kannu, (calf).
onrû, orrai, onnu (one).
tirî, tirî, thî (food).
nanî, nannî (good).

In New Tamil the distinction between \( r \) and \( r \) is fast disappearing.
5. In Malayalam Primitive Dravidian डै is faithfully preserved, but though written as such, is pronounced only as ट, and Tamil மாி regularly becomes நூஞ ; e.g.---

Tamil: kaṇu (call) + Malay. kannu.
Tamil: onu (one) + Malay. unu.
Tamil: paṇu (pig) + Malay. panni.
Tamil: śīru (fix) + Malay. śīnu.

6. In Canarese, too, Primitive Dravidian डै is preserved, as in arēva 'knowledge,' kēru 'call.'

But डै + vowel + consonant often becomes डै + consonant, e. g., arēva 'to cry' becomes arēfu.
In New Canarese as in New Tamil and Telugu, the distinction between डै and डै is fast vanishing; and it is not infrequently represented by a double डै.

7. In Telugu it is preserved in the old dialect and is found often in the New dialect. But the tendency in New Telugu is to replace it by डै.

(a) डै remains :—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tamil</th>
<th>Telugu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>vēru</td>
<td>vēru (other).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tēru</td>
<td>tēru (hiss).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tēru</td>
<td>tēru (small).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>āru</td>
<td>āru (river).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tīru</td>
<td>terāsu (open).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>māru</td>
<td>māru (chau).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dīru</td>
<td>dīru (six).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>śīra</td>
<td>śīra (prison).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) In some words डै अ डै.

Tamil: vēra (hill) is Tel. vēra.
Tamil: terēva 'woman' is Tel. terēva.
Tamil: tēru 'eat' is Tel. tēru.
Tamil: erēva 'blood' is Tel. erēpu.
Tamil: tēri 'cut' is Tel. tēriy.
Tamil: tīru (finish) is Tel. tīru.

(c) डै + vowel + voiceless consonant becomes डै + consonant.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tamil</th>
<th>Telugu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ārēfu</td>
<td>ārēfu 'to cry'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mārēfu</td>
<td>mārēfu 'to change'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kūrēfu</td>
<td>kūrēfu 'to sit'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pārēfu</td>
<td>pārēfu 'to look'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tārēfu</td>
<td>tārēfu 'to close'.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note—C. P. Brown uniformly uses डै for both डै and डै in his Dictionary.

(d) डै of tēru and kēru (small) changes into टै in Sandhi :—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tamil</th>
<th>Telugu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tēru + elu = tēṭeluka, 'small rat.'; kēru + asu = kētu suru 'small life'.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
8. In Tulu wherever τ is not changed into r, it is replaced by d or dʒ.

(a) τ > r (very common).
   Tamil: mαri 'ram' is Tulu mαri.
   Tamil: kόru 'to string' is Tulu kόr.
   Tamil: kόra 'defect' is Tulu kόre.
   Tamil: kόru 'scratch' is Tulu kόru.
   Tamil: kόru 'vomit' is Tulu kόr.

(b) τ > d.
   Canarese: kατike 'a grass' is Tulu kαtike.
   Canarese: gαri 'wing' is Tulu kαdi.
   Canarese: tαrα 'small' is Tulu tαdi.
   Tamil: mαrα 'turn' is Tulu mαdα.
   Tamil: mαrαi 'screen' is Tulu mαdα.
   Tamil: nαrα '100' is Tulu mαdα.

(c) ττ > tt.
   Tamil: sυτυ round is Tulu sυτυ.
   Tamil: mυτυ full is Tulu mυτυ.
   Tamil: iυτυ 'now' is Tulu iυτυ.

(d) τ > dʒ.
   Tamil: nανα 'three' is Tulu nαdʒi.
   Tamil: iυρα 'without' is Tulu dʒαdʒi.
   Tamil: dαrα 'six' is Tulu dądʒi.
   Tamil: kανα 'call' is Tulu kαndʒi.

(c) ττ > tt.
   Tamil: sυτυ round is Tulu sυτυ.
   Tamil: mυτυ full is Tulu mυτυ.
   Tamil: iυτυ 'now' is Tulu iυτυ.

9. In Gōḍi as in Tulu τ > dʒ.

The following examples are taken from Major Smith's Handbook of Gōḍi:
   Tamil: sεραku 'wood' is Gōḍi vεsαzγu.
   Tamil: iυrα 'to-day' is Gōḍi nεnδζu.
   Tamil: pαnα 'pig' is Gōḍi pαdζα.
   Tamil: tονα 'to appear' is Gōḍi tοnδζα.

The Primitive Dravidian l is preserved in all the languages though in some of them it is often changed to the post-dental liquid l.

(1) In Telugu it is preserved in the following words:

(a) Tamil Telugu.
   kαfli (a plant) kαfli.
   kαfli (gram) kαfli.
   tαlαku (flash) tαlαku.
   tαlα (to rush) tαlα.
   tαdυ (to bear) tαdυ.
   sεfαlku (lamp) bεlαgu.
   tαlαm (army) dαlαm.
   pαfαm (piece) pαfαm.
A PRIMER OF DRAVIDIAN PHONOLOGY.

(b) \( f > l \) (in Telugu).

Tamil   Telugu.

tafir (bud)   tāliru.
tēf (scorpion)   tēl.
tulai (hole)   tola.
tulamū (move)   tulu.
esi (twist)   mēli.
kafti (toddy)   kāli.
vēf (knife)   vēlu.

(c) \( f > d \) (common).

Tamil: nāfū 'day' is Telugu nēdu.
Tamil: kofai 'weed' is Telugu gudatiṇa.
Can. gōf 'weep' is Telugu gōdu.

(d) \( f > l > n \) (sometimes).

Tamil: kof 'to get' is Telugu konu.
Tamil: tulakka 'to stir' is in Telugu botu, tobuku, and tomuku.

(e) \( d̂l̂u > f̂l̂a \) (in plural form)

nā̂lu has plural nā̂llu (days)
tā̂lu has plural tā̂llu (palms).

(2) In Tamil \( f \) is preserved in all cases. But in some cases, especially in:

(a) Compounds \( f > d \); e.g., naffai \& naffi 'friendship'; nifippe \& nifippa (length).

(b) Before a nasal \( f > n \).

el (sesamum) is enna (oil).

(c) Sometimes \( f > n \) independently 'tif strong'; but tīnīl 'strong shoulder' = tif + ti
(Compare the change of \( l > n \)).

(3) In Telugu \( f \) is preserved; but is in some cases changed to \( l \); in some cases both forms exist.

In some few cases \( f > l > r \).

Tamil.     Telugu.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tamil</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>d̂l̂u 'to rule'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naffai 'butter-milk'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>afař 'measure'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ulf 'chisel...'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uffai (deer)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kitappu 'theft'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kof 'toddy'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taffu (push)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taffu (frisk)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tēf (scorpion)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paffi (acidity)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tellu (winnower)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taffi (rope)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In Malayalam / remains in all cases where it is found in Tamil.

To sum up, Tamil, Mal. and Canarese preserve /, Tulu and Telugu soften it to l. But Tulu does it in fewer cases than Telugu. Sometimes / > ? (a) in Tam., Tul., Telugu and Canarese.

We shall give here a few examples where / > ? in Canarese:

\[ \text{gil} \text{ and gil} \text{ 'parrot'.} \]
\[ \text{aile and aile.} \]
\[ \text{kosa and kosa.} \]
\[ \text{malal and maqal.} \]

(Vide Kittel’s Kannada Grammar, p. 190, art. 228)

VII. — The Front Consonants (k', g', n').

(1) These consonants k' and g' along with those derived from original velars k and g followed by front vowels, underwent many changes in the different Dravidian languages, viz.:

k' (initial) > s, (vulgar s) in Tamil.

> tš, in Malayalam.

> tʃ, s and d ʒ in Canarese.

> tʃ, s and t in Tulu.

> tʃ, ts and s in Telugu; and d ʒ in a few cases.

(2) In Tamil s is the standard pronunciation; but s is the one used by the illiterate and the vulgar. It is also the pronunciation of the Madras dialect. s̄ol ‘say’ is sol.

(3) In Malayalam k' uniformly becomes tʃ.

(4) In Canarese s and tʃ are initial through accent-change and through the influence of neighbouring voiced consonants and liquids. S is the most common; and there are only a few words with tʃ.

(5) In Tulu tʃ is very common; but s becomes initial through the influence of accent-change and the neighbouring voiced consonants and liquids. This s constantly changes into t, so that we have double forms in Tulu, words with t and ʃ being both used.

(6) In Telugu k' before back vowels regularly becomes ts as an affricate, and before front vowels becomes tʃ; and before voiced consonants and liquids and through the influence accent-change becomes s.

(7) That Canarese and Tulu show a greater tendency towards s than Telugu is shown by the following:

(a) Canarese and Tulu have s even when Telugu has tʃ before voiced consonants and liquids.

(b) Canarese and Tulu have s where Telugu has tʃ, before voiceless consonants.
We shall now illustrate the above laws:

(1) Before back vowels.

\[ k' \& s (Tamil); tl (Mal., Can., Tuł); ts (Telugu). \]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tamil</th>
<th>Mal.</th>
<th>Can.</th>
<th>Tuł.</th>
<th>Telugu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 śatți (vessel)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>tśatți</td>
<td>tśatți</td>
<td>tśatți</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 śalı (cold)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>tśalı</td>
<td>tśalı</td>
<td>tśalı</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 sāppai (mat)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>tśāppe</td>
<td>tśāpe</td>
<td>tśāpa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 sōkkai (pure)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>tśokka</td>
<td>tśokka</td>
<td>tśokka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 sappu (suck)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>tśappu</td>
<td>tśappu</td>
<td>tśappu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) Before front vowels.

\[ k' \& s (Tamil) and ts (in all the rest). \]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tamil</th>
<th>Mal.</th>
<th>Canarese</th>
<th>Tuł.</th>
<th>Telugu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 śippa (comb)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>tśippa</td>
<td>tśipa</td>
<td>tśippa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sīlara (change)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>tśillare</td>
<td>tśillare</td>
<td>tśillare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 seppi (shell)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>tśeppe</td>
<td>tśeppe</td>
<td>tśeppe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 sikkka (lean)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>tśekka</td>
<td>tśekka</td>
<td>tśikka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 śittu (note)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>tśittu</td>
<td>tśittu</td>
<td>tśittu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(3) Before voiced consonants and liquids.

\[ k' \& s (Tamil); sl (Mal.); s and dś (Can., Tuł and Telugu). \]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tamil</th>
<th>Mal.</th>
<th>Can.</th>
<th>Tuł.</th>
<th>Telugu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 kuragū (to contract)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>tśuragū</td>
<td>surgu</td>
<td>sura (n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sul (eddy)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>tśulu</td>
<td>sul</td>
<td>sul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 kābudal (dying)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>tśāyu</td>
<td>sāgu</td>
<td>sāgu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 sōruba (to leak)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>tśōruba</td>
<td>sōru</td>
<td>sōru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 kudu (to burn)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>tśudu</td>
<td>suđu</td>
<td>suđu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 salli (bit)...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>tśall</td>
<td>dżalli</td>
<td>dżalli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 savaḷi (cloth)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>tśavaḷi</td>
<td>dżavaḷi</td>
<td>dżavaḷi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 sārīvu (alope)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>tśarīvu</td>
<td>dżarugu</td>
<td>dżari</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(A (torch).
(4) In Tulu initial s and t derived from the Primitive Dravidian g' easily change into t; and hence we have the following double forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tamil</th>
<th>Tulu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>san'tdi (a bag)</td>
<td>san'tdi and tan'tdi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>san'dai (trouble)</td>
<td>san'te and tan'te.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sandu (lane)</td>
<td>sandu and tandu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sanmaťi (a pick-axe)</td>
<td>tsa'moḷi and tamboḷi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anil (squirrel)</td>
<td>tsa-nil and tan-nil.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sinai (pregnant)</td>
<td>sane and tane.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>savai (taste)</td>
<td>sabi and tabi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saraku (goods)</td>
<td>saraik and taraku.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tappu (mistake)</td>
<td>sappu and tappu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saralai (gravel)</td>
<td>saraḷe and taraḷe.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(5) In Malayalam too we find vādil 'a door' for Tamil vaḍai and Telugu vābili.

(g' medial).

Primitive Dravidian g' undergoes the following changes:

- g' > s (Tamil) and also y.
- y (Malayalam).
- s in Can., Tulu and Telugu.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tamil</th>
<th>Mal.</th>
<th>Canarese</th>
<th>Tulu</th>
<th>Telugu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 vayiru (belly)</td>
<td>vayaru</td>
<td>basiru</td>
<td>.....</td>
<td>.....</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pāy (mat)</td>
<td>pāy</td>
<td>hāsige</td>
<td>hāsige</td>
<td>.....</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 payaru (gram)</td>
<td>payaru</td>
<td>hesaru</td>
<td>hesaru</td>
<td>pesalu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 payir (corn)</td>
<td>payir</td>
<td>pasiru</td>
<td>pairu</td>
<td>pasarn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 kayaru (rope)</td>
<td>kayaru</td>
<td>.....</td>
<td>tseru</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 nyir (life) uśir</td>
<td>nyir</td>
<td>usiru</td>
<td>usiru</td>
<td>usaru.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 aśai (to move)</td>
<td>ayakka</td>
<td>ase</td>
<td>ase</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 kasaru (dregs)</td>
<td>kayar</td>
<td>kasaru</td>
<td>kassaru</td>
<td>kassaru</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) In Tamil y and s easily interchange. For example, we have the following double terms: ugarucal and ugarucal 'to be tired'; iśiśāṇ, iśiśāṇ 'union', kaśikku, kayakku, 'bitter'; kavar and kuyar 'dregs'; mūna and mīyam, 'friend.' Muśal and mū yal 'a rabbit'; ucor and ugar 'High.' Kaśikku and kayam, 'tank.' Pariśam and pariṇam.

(2) Sometimes the y is lost as in pēyar \ pēr, 'name.' Tamil kayar, 'rope.' Telugu
VIII. — The back Consonants (k, g, J.)

k.

The present Dravidian k is most faithfully preserved by Canarese and Tulu. Telugu has a great tendency for palatalisation; and Tamil stands midway between Telugu and Canarese-Tulu.

(1) k is preserved in all the languages.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tamil</th>
<th>Mal.</th>
<th>Can.</th>
<th>Tulu</th>
<th>Telugu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kañcal (sea)</td>
<td>kañcal</td>
<td>kañcal</td>
<td>kañcal</td>
<td>kañcal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kañju (extreme)</td>
<td>kañju</td>
<td>kañju</td>
<td>kañju</td>
<td>kañju</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>katti (knife)</td>
<td>katti</td>
<td>katti</td>
<td>katti</td>
<td>katti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kañrai (shore)</td>
<td>kañra</td>
<td>kañra</td>
<td>kañra</td>
<td>kañra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kañtju (bind)</td>
<td>kañtju</td>
<td>kañtju</td>
<td>kañtju</td>
<td>kañtju</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kañ (eye)</td>
<td>kañ</td>
<td>kañ</td>
<td>kañ</td>
<td>kañ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kari (black)</td>
<td>kari</td>
<td>kari</td>
<td>kari</td>
<td>kari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kala (mix)</td>
<td>kala</td>
<td>kala</td>
<td>kala</td>
<td>kala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kavi (cover)</td>
<td>kavi</td>
<td>kavi</td>
<td>kabi</td>
<td>kavi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kàval (guard)</td>
<td>kàval</td>
<td>kàval</td>
<td>kàval</td>
<td>kàval</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) k > g in Canarese, Tulu and Telugu through the influence of accent-change and of the neighbouring voiced consonants and liquids. Out of 300 words in my Comparative Dictionary, about 30, i.e., 10 per cent. have g (initial) in Canarese, Tulu and Telugu.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tamil</th>
<th>Mal.</th>
<th>Can.</th>
<th>Tulu</th>
<th>Telugu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>keñu (fixed time)</td>
<td>keñu</td>
<td>gañu</td>
<td>gañu</td>
<td>gañu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kunru (hill)</td>
<td>kunru</td>
<td>guñda</td>
<td>guñda</td>
<td>koñja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuñju (nest)</td>
<td>kuñju</td>
<td>guñu</td>
<td>guñu</td>
<td>guñu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kulai (banch)</td>
<td>kulai</td>
<td>gole</td>
<td>gole</td>
<td>gole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kañ’dzi (gruel)</td>
<td>kan’ni</td>
<td>gan’dzi</td>
<td>gan’dzi</td>
<td>gan’dzi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kañdan (malo)</td>
<td>kañdan</td>
<td>gañdan</td>
<td>gañta</td>
<td>gañda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koñti (hard)</td>
<td>koñti</td>
<td>gañti</td>
<td>gañti</td>
<td>gañti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kàl (wind)</td>
<td>kàlta</td>
<td>gali</td>
<td>gali</td>
<td>gali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kiru (scratch)</td>
<td>kiru</td>
<td>gìru</td>
<td>gìru</td>
<td>gìru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kilì (fear)</td>
<td>kilì</td>
<td>gili</td>
<td>gili</td>
<td>gili</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuri (mark)</td>
<td>kuri</td>
<td>gùri</td>
<td>gùri</td>
<td>gùri</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(3) \( k > k' \) when followed by \( i \) and \( \dot{e} \) and falls together with the original \( k' \) and undergoing the same further developments as the latter: i.e., \( k \) followed by

\[
\begin{align*}
&i \text{ and } \dot{e} > k' > \dot{e} \text{ (Tamil),} \\
&> t\dot{s} \text{ (Malayalam),} \\
&> t\dot{s} \text{ and } s \text{ (Telugu).}
\end{align*}
\]

Or, in other words, it becomes a dental-spirant in Tamil, Malayalam and Telugu.

(3) \( k > k' > \dot{e} \text{ (Tamil); } t\dot{s} \text{ (Malayalam); } t\dot{s} \text{ and } s \text{ (Telugu): but remains in Canarese and Tulu.} \)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 kiru (small)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>kiru</td>
<td>šīru</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 kevi (ear)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>kobi</td>
<td>ŋevi</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 kiru (hiss)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>kiro tanners</td>
<td>šīru</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 gīda (tree)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>gīda</td>
<td>ŋedi</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 koṣaka (anger)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>koṣaka</td>
<td>ŋinuka</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 kedaru (bit, scatter)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>kettu</td>
<td>šīdaru</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 kеlн (bit)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>kеln</td>
<td>šīlа</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 kеtin (pare)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>kеtin</td>
<td>šettu</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 key (hand)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>kеi</td>
<td>šеy (verb)</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note (1).**—It should not be inferred from the above that Canarese and Tulu were not affected by the influence of the front vowels, though in them, this influence was not great. It is likely that most of the \( t\dot{s} \)-words in Canarese and Tulu that are followed by \( i \) or \( \dot{e} \) have originally come from Primitive Dravidian \( k \). We give below some words which have \( k \) in Tamil, but \( t\dot{s} \) in Canarese and Tulu:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 kilai (branch)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>kilа</td>
<td>sеla</td>
<td>sele</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 kađi (fear)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>kađi (pain)</td>
<td>džаdižа</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note (2).**—Telugu shows palatalisation in cases where the other languages do not: e.g.:

(a) Tam., Mal. and Tulu kеi, Can. kеi is in Telugu tšеy, 'hand.'

(b) Tamil, Mal., Can. and Tulu kеdu 'bad,' is tšедu in Telugu.

(c) Tam. and Mal. kеlа 'parrot'; Canarese and Tulu gина is tšiluka in Telugu.
Note (3)—Tamil and Malayalam show palatalisation in the following words, while the other languages have k.

(a) Tamil, கோவி 'a village; Mal. tfi; Can. keri; Tal. gero.
(b) Tamil kulum 'verdigris' is kilu in Can.; kilembo in Telu.
(c) kiri 'greens' in Tamil becomes tirr in Malayalam, while Telugu has bhra.

Note (4)—k (initial) is sometimes lost.

(a) Mal. karuya 'grass' and Can. karike; Talu. kudike, Telu. garika is aruha in Tamil; so that Tamil has lost k initial.
(b) Tamil k 'give' and Can. k and Telu. itte seem to have lost the initial k for, in Gondi, it is h or st; In Kui, it is simu; In Malto tsiya and in Kurukh tsiu (vide L. S.).
(c) Tam., Mal., Can., Talu. un 'to eat' is in Brahui meta (vide L. S., p. 628).

Note (5)—Special developments of k in some of the North Dravidian languages:

(a) Tamil kai 'hand' is in Korvi kai; in Kandali kai, in Kurukh kheka.
(b) Tamil kai 'foot' is in Gondi kai; in Korvi kai; in Kandali kai; in Kurukh ked; in Malto quel.
(c) Tamil kan 'eye' is in Korvi kanna; in Kandali kanna; in Kurukh khan; in Malto yanuk; in Kui kama; in Gondi kai; in Brahui khan.
(d) Canarese kai 'ear' is in Korvi saa; in Kandali saa; in Kurukh khabla; in Malto gwnata; in Gondi kati; in Brahui khab.

Dr. Grierson says that kh is pronounced as the Scotch ch in Lock; i.e., it is x, the voiceless velar spirant (vide L. S., p. 412). The Malto q too seems to have the same pronunciation, but is a little labialised. Hence it may be said that k > x or ӡ in Brahui and Kurukh, and in Malto. Korvi and Kandali show that k > s or ʃ through the influence of palatal vowels.

G. (medial).

Primitive Dravidian g is written and pronounced g, i.e., voiced velar stop in Canarese Talu and Telugu. But in Malayalam and in the non-Brahman dialect of Tamil it is written k, but pronounced γ as the voiced velar spirant. But the literary pronunciation of γ is an aspirate in Tamil, i.e., k. Examples of these are:

(1) γ > g (Can., Talu, and Tel.); ɭ γ (Mal.) > h (Tamil).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tamil</th>
<th>Mal.</th>
<th>Can.</th>
<th>Talu.</th>
<th>Telugu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 abal (to go away)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>ayalua</td>
<td>agala</td>
<td>agela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 ahappai (a spoon)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>ayappan</td>
<td>agape</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 nahai (language)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>maye</td>
<td>nage</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 mahan (son)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>mayan</td>
<td>maga</td>
<td>mage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 pahal (day)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>payal</td>
<td>hagalu</td>
<td>hagalu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 pahudi (tribute)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>payn</td>
<td>pagadi</td>
<td>pagudi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 pahai (hate)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>payn</td>
<td>page</td>
<td>page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 tahu (fit)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>taye</td>
<td>taga</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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(2) $g > v$ before back vowels.

(a) In Tamil, padhu 'boat,' is also padhu. In vulgar conversation this process is very common. kadhu, dhum, phal, maham meaning 'mustard,' will become, 'day' and 'son,' respectively, are pronounced vulgarly as kadhu, dhum, phal, mawam. In Madras this is the standard pronunciation.

(b) In Malayalam arr 'bud' becomes also ara (vide Gaudert's Mal. Dict., p. 188), tari and tari 'dram.'

(c) In Telugu, $g$ often becomes $w$ and both the forms are literary: (1) poyadaunu and poyadamu 'coral'; (2) puga and pava 'a sandal'; (3) poga and pova 'smoke'; (4) poyal and poyoda 'to praise'; (5) pugal and pavalu 'grieve'; (6) madugu and madu 'to be kept down'; (7) migation and milaku 'to remain'; (8) mugguru and mwuru 'three men'; (9) moruru and moru 'to bark'; (10) towaku and tawalu 'to happen'; (11) digu and divu 'to get down.' These and some more are found in Brown's Telugu Dictionary.

(d) Canarese and Tulō preserve the guttural form so faithfully that this change $g > v$ is not illustrated in any of them.

(3) $g > y$ before front vowels.

(a) This change is very common in New Tamil. ohi 'beet' is pronounced and written ogyii; unhik 'cloth' is hoyii; Bhojirath 'the Ganges' is Bhojirath; kotha 'a spoon' is also koythi in literary Tamil.

(b) In Malayalam, Dr. Gaudert (p. 188, Mal. Dict.) gives the example ariyattu and ariyatu.

(c) The word vaipu 'belly,' which is found in Tamil and Malayalam is basiru in Canarese; but is varag in Korvi; and vardo in Kalkelci; thus showing that $y$ in vaipu has come from an original $g$. Korvi varag $\equiv$ vagara $\equiv$ vaipu by metathesis. It is very likely that words having $yi$ in Tamil and Malayalam and $si$ in Canarese, Tulō and Telugu, had originally $g$.

(d) In Telugu too, this change is common. Agn 'to become' has aginai 'it become,' but amsumadi 'it becomes.' Hence, a back vowel changes $g$ into $r$, and a front vowel into $y$.

IX. — Laws of doubled consonants (kk, tt, ff, tt, pp, rr).

1. Primitive Dravidian had doubled consonants in the middle of a word. But these have undergone changes and simplification in Can., Tulō, Telugu, though they are faithfully preserved in Tamil and Malayalam.

2. The Primitive Dravidian doubled consonants, which are preserved in Tam. and Mal. are in Can., Tu, and Tel: (1) either preserved; (2) or simplified to a single voiceless consonant; (3) or sometimes simplified and voiced.

3. Where the doubled consonants are preserved, the preceding vowel is always short.

4. When they are simplified in Can., Tu, and Tel., the preceding vowel is always long. If it is short in Prim. Drav. and therefore in Tam. and Malayalam, it is lengthened in Can., Tu, and Tel., before simplification takes place.

5. But, if the doubled consonants belong to a syllable other than the first and the second of a polysyllabic word, then the preceding syllable may be short and yet the doubled consonants may be simplified.

6. Very often the simplified, single voiceless consonants are voiced, in the neighbourhood of voiced sounds.
### Examples.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>nakkan (fox)</td>
<td>nakkya</td>
<td>nakke</td>
<td>nakka (v)</td>
<td>nakka.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>pakkam (sido)</td>
<td>pakkæ</td>
<td>pakke</td>
<td>pakke</td>
<td>pakka.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>pokkal (navel)</td>
<td>pokki</td>
<td>pokki</td>
<td>puvolu</td>
<td>pokkili.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>tattu (tonch)</td>
<td>tattu</td>
<td>tattu</td>
<td>tattu</td>
<td>tattu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>tappu (fault)</td>
<td>tappu</td>
<td>tappu</td>
<td>tappu</td>
<td>tappu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>nat tfu (trust)</td>
<td>nat tfu</td>
<td>nat tfu</td>
<td>nat tfu</td>
<td>nat tfu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>takku (beat)</td>
<td>takku</td>
<td>takku</td>
<td>takku</td>
<td>takku.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>tottan (garden)</td>
<td>tottan</td>
<td>tota</td>
<td>tota</td>
<td>tota.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>toppa (grove)</td>
<td>toppu</td>
<td>toppu</td>
<td>toppu</td>
<td>toppu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>natu (fix)</td>
<td>natu</td>
<td>natu</td>
<td>natu</td>
<td>natu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>nokku (pash)</td>
<td>nokku</td>
<td>nuggu</td>
<td>nuku</td>
<td>nuggu, nuka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>pakku (dirt)</td>
<td>.....</td>
<td>.....</td>
<td>.....</td>
<td>paku.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>madakku (fold)</td>
<td>mañkku</td>
<td>madagu</td>
<td>madgu</td>
<td>madagu.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### CONTRIBUTIONS TO PANJABI LEXICOGRAPHY.

*Continued from p. 109.*

**SERIES II.**

By H. A. Bose, I.C.S.

This Series is a compilation from most of the available Gazetteers and Settlement Reports relating to Districts in the Eastern half of the Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province.

**Abbreviations.** S. R. = Settlement Report; Gr. = Gazetteer; Monty. = Montgomery (District); Mgarh. = Musaffargarh (District); Chenab Col. Gr. = Chenab Colony Gazetteer, 1904.


**Ada**: a catch that prevents the chaki of a well from going backwards. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xiii.

**Adhalla**: (i) a single crop field labourer who is found in everything by the proprietor and receives as his wage a small share of the produce; (ii) a tenant who supplies half the seed and half the plough oxen, and all the labour, and receives about one-half of the produce. Dannu S. R., 1873, p. xxxvii.

**Adhjogia**: a farm servant paid by a share in the produce. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xii.

**Adhmit**: a half share in land. Cf. mît.
Adh-sera man; lit. ½ ser per man: a specific rate of haqq samindari or superior proprietor's share of the produce. Mgarh. S. R., p. 92.

Agotri: early, (of cultivation), i.e., sowing before 15th Saman. Cf. puchhetri: Chenab Col. Gr., p. 75.

Agwán: property made over in lieu of that stolen: the converse of saywa, q.v. wagwá.


Ahl: manure, put on the land. Cf. kollur.


Allah nami: a kind of marriage in which money is paid for a bride. Mgarh. S. R., p. 68.

Amínah: a kind of marriage paid to the pay of the proprietor's amlah or accountants. Multán S. R. 1873-80, p. 45.

Amlok: a tree, found in the upper valleys. Kohat S. R., 1884, p. 30; (Desyprys Lutea).


Ánt-guggu: a bird of ill-omen. Its cry when heard devastates the country for 10 miles round. Sháhpur—applied to a Settlement Collector who imposed a heavy assessment in that District.


Anwanda: the share of the produce taken by others than the owner or tenant of the land. D. G. K. Gr., p. 82.


Appar: land which has been lain fallow for a year. Jhang S. R., p. 152.

Ar: (i) a pretext; (ii) the cogs of a chakli. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xiii.

Ara: remains of a canal or water-course. Multán Gr., p. 4.


Armush: a camel at the commencement of its ninth year. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xv. a camel which is more than eight years old. Jhang S. R., p. 111.

Aroe: a birth custom performed in the fifth month of a woman's first pregnancy: sweetmeat is prepared by her parents, and a little put in her lap, the rest being divided among relations. Multán Gr., p. 89.
At: rubbish of all kinds for filling up a well. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xii.
Atan: an amusement in which women move in a circle, clapping their hands and singing in concert. Kohāt S. R., 1884, p. 75.
Athān: a man specially employed to attend to tobacco crops and paid a share of the yield before division between landlord and tenant: = cheogi: D. G. K. Gr., p. 108.
Bachwā: a variety of fish. Multān Gr., p. 23.
Badza: a plant which bears a white flower and grows to a height of 3 or 4 feet. Kohāt S. R., 188, p. 30.
Baharbadi: a small jhadār having only a few pots, but those of large size, and worked by a single bullock: see orat. Multān Gr., p. 295.
Bambli: an inferior variety of rice. D. G. Khan Gr., p. 112.

Band: (i) an embankment: (ii) an embanked field. D. G. Khan Gr., p. 103.


Banera: the parapet of a well, the portion above ground. Monty. S. R., Gloss., p. xii.


Bankhor: the wild chestnut, used for making furniture and hardware. Hazará S. R., 1874, p. 11.


Barangi: the Quercus dilatata, the wood is hard and brittle and makes excellent charcoal. Hazará S. R., 1874, p. 11.

Barghand: the act of increasing the width of two or more pattis or khuláhs or divided strips of land by cutting off from their length and adding to their width. This is often done in vesh villages, for purposes of convenience. Bannú S. R., p. xxxvii.


Barmi: the yew: the wood is used for uprights and is very durable. Cf. thuni. Hazará S. R., 1874, p. 11.


Batáláb: (lit., '12') an exaction, the proprietor sometimes claimed to have his share weighed at 42 seng to the maund. Múltán S. R., 1873-89, p. 45.


Batūr: a disease of moth, māh, māng and ēil, the first three are attacked in Asū and Kālāk, the last also in Bādron. It generally occurs when there has been much rain. The plant shrivels up, and the pods do not fill. The whole field is not attacked, but scattered plants. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. viii.

Bedāna: hit, 'seedless,' a superior kind of grape. Hazārā S. R., 1874, p. 94.


Bel: the second ploughing. D. G. Khan Gr., p. 106.


Bera: ghori: a wedding observance, at which the barber makes a dōlah or small palanquin of lāndā grass and puts in it 8 lamps made of flour paste. Gujrat S. R., p. 47.

Bera: a rag (tied to a tree as an offering). Shāhpur Gr., p. 86.

Bhā didh bhā: one share and 1 ½ shares, i.e. (rent) 4ths and 3ths. Multān Gr., p. 181.

Bhagar: a variety of cotton, which lasts for three years: the first year it yields a half crop, and for the next two years, if watered, a full crop. D. I. Khan S. R., 1879, p. 343.


Bhāīwāl: a partner in cultivation, but not in proprietary right.


Bhakal: crushed bājra, ears. Multān.


Bhandā: (?) a granary. Multān Gr., p. 211.

Bhangrā: a plant of two kinds, one bears blue flowers: the other grows on the banks of water courses. Mgarh. S. R., p. 34.


Bhārattā: the wild cherry, used for building sheds; a good turning wood, leaves used for manure on rice-fields. Cf. kalākhāth. Hazārā S. R., 1874, p. 11.


Bhāth: s. fem.: damage to a well. Multān Gr., p. 196.


Bho: a due paid by a cultivator to one who cleared the land. Multān Gr., p. 173.

Bhochha: the present sent by a bride's parents to the bridegroom's family among the middle classes = ākā. Gujrat S. R., p. 43.
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[August, 1909.

Bhîr : good land, generally manured, close to a village = dehwas in the Marwat and warba

Bhu'ênhô'ôr : a weed with waxy unwholesome-looking flowers (see Jukes, s. v.). Multân Gr.,
p. 208.


Bhûrûni : the horizontal beam below the bhûrfal or vertical pole of a well. (Cf. bharûvání
Juke's Dicty. of W. P., p. 39); bûjûn, Multân Gr., p. 197.


Bîjû : (i) a nursery for seedlings. D. G. Khân; (ii) a seedling. Multân Gr., p. 216.


Bîndî : a sack made of palm-leaf fibre. D. G. Khân Gr., p. 108; (ii) a bag made of the
pinnas of a date tree. Mgarh. S. R., p. 30; (iii) a bag. Multân Gr., p. 227; (iv) = bëla, a large

Bîrût : a cash îndôn or grant. Cf. bûrdît (Jukes' Dicty. of W. P., p. 32). Kohât S. R., 1884,
p. 189.

Bîshû : poisonous, of soil; a term applied to the black kallur soil which is fatal to plant life.

Bîswâtû : the fee which a potter or carpenter receives from a land-owner for helping him to
carry seed to the field at sowing time. Gujrat S. R., p. 41.

Bîttûlah, see bâttûlah.

Bîtûhûrû : D. G. Khan Gr., p. 108.


Bolû : a song of a sententious or suflistic character, s. q. bûfûf, described in Multân Gr., pp. 112.


Brakûhû : a lot or share of land. Cf. bakhûra.


Budhû : a disease of goats, the same as sâri, but not very fatal. Hazûrà S. R., 1874, p. 98.


Bûhû : (i) a hole in the top of a pûlû, by which grain is put in. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xix;
(ii) a door way or entrance; bûhû is a kâmûnûrah rate levied in Pakhûr. Bannû S. R., p. xxxvii.

Bùhûrû : a fruit-stalk after the fruit has been taken off; of dates: opp. to gosha.


Bûlbûlû : see atûm.

Bûlûkû : the flowers of the tîfû, the upper part of the stem of saccharum sara. Cf. makhûn sawûdû.

Bara: pollen. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xi; (ii) a ball of dates, the small white waxy bud, which is the flower-bud. Multân Gr., p. 227.

Bâri: (i) the fruit of the kândar plant. Multân Gr., p. 20; (ii) a pudding made of the down of the bur, q. v.


Bhâta: stool; produce of one grain; a general name for any green plant. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xi.

Bhâtmâr: a man who by clearing the jungle and by bringing land under cultivation has acquired a permanent right to cultivate. Mgarh. S. R., p. 94.


Châch: a loamy soil, see ban.


Châhak: dim., a little well. D. G. Khan.


Chak chingal: a game in which girls take each other's hands and whirl round. Multân Gr., p. 99.


Chakor: an open basket in which chûpdîs are served. Kohât S. R., 1334, p. 74.


Châman: the splash-board which prevents earth from falling into the well. Multân Gr., p. 197.

Châna: manure, when pulverized and applied by top-dressing to growing crops. Mgarh, S. R., p. 75.


Changhol: a bridegroom; Peshâwar, S. R., 1878, p. 137. Penn. -s, a bride; Kohât S. R. 1884, p. 81.


Channa = katora. Multân Gr., p. 83.


Chápe: (7) a piece of cloth. Gujrát S. R., p. 43.


Charai: unirrigated manure land; see bāri.

Chāri: a large wooden spade tipped with iron. Hazára S. R., 1874, p. 94.

Chārikār: a tenant to whom the proprietor supplies a plough and seed and gives a share of the produce. Cf. sharif. Kohát S. R., 1884, p. 92.


Charr: pakindaha (migratory Pathán) who have no belongings and come down to the plains as labourers. D. I. Khán S. R., 1872-79, p. 184.


Chatti: (/) a sack used for carrying grain on donkeys, etc. Monty, S. R. Gloss., p. vii.; as much land as can be sown with an ox-load of wheat seed. D. I. Khán S. R., 1872-79, p. 139.

Chattis: a fine: an arbitrary tax or penalty imposed on a village in Sikh times.

Chattiri: see karhd. Multán Gr., p. 83.


Chawāra: a kind of date. Multán Gr., p. 228.

Chel-o-yak: a rate on sheep (Re. 1 per 40 head of the flock). Kohát, S. R. 1884, p. 101.

Cheogli: see athais.


Chhāhwela: the time from sunrise to about 10 a. m. Jhelum S. R., p. 56.


Chhān-pint: the process of drawing out, extracting, e. g., milking. Mgarh.

Chhāp: a temporary dam on a small water-course. Multán Gr., p. 325.

Chhapāki: an ash-coloured bird, the size of a dove. Mgarh S. R., p. 33.


Chhattr: a camel from 3 to 4 years old. Multán Gr., p. 236.

Chhātt: broadcast. Multán Gr., p. 207.

Chhato: the age at which the front hair of a small girl is cut straight across the forehead and the back hair is allowed to hang loose. Mgarh S. R., p. 63.

Chhauda: the overlapping bark of the trunk of the palm tree. Multán Gr., p. 227.


Chik: a rope made of mānj used to fasten the yoke to a gādi or driving seat of a well. Jhang S. R., p. 83.

Chilki: an ornament of silver worn round the waist by Hindu women. D. G. Khān Gr., p. 46.

Chilwa: a variety of fish. Multán Gr., p. 23.


Chiratta, a weed like a dandelion. Multán Gr., p. 208.


Chita: lit. 'mad.' a side channel of the Indus which leaves the river a little south of Mārtā where it emerges from the Salt Range, and is nearly continuous to about the middle of the Muzaffargarh Dist. Mgarh. S. R., p. 15.


Cho: a loamy soil see ban: an unirrigated deep loam soil; cf. bela.


Choti-phul: an ornament. Multán Gr., p. 89.


Chukānna: a small portion of land given in excess of the tribal share to make up for its inferior quality. Hazāra S. R. 1874, p. 156.


Chula: a house-tax introduced in recent times with the object of preventing the acquisition of any permanent right in land. Chenab Col. Gr., p. 25.
Chung: a marriage ceremony which consists in grinding a few grains of wheat. Multān Gr., p. 93.


Chupānā: to munch. Chenab Col. Gr., p. 84.

Churait: a tenant-at-will, who can be ejected at the end of an agricultural year. D. G. Khān Gr., p. 86.

Churh: a small torrent, Cl. lari. D. G. Khān, Dīack's S. R., p. 3.


Dāchā: a she-camel, which has brought forth her first calf. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xv.


Dāg: (Pachito), dagar (Hindī also): waste land bearing little herbage; a rain drainage catchment area lying above a cultivated plot. Bannū S. R., p. xxxvii.


Dahna: a word used before chād (well), to express an unit: e.g. Vin dahna chād, '3 wells'. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. v.


Dak: a form of acquisition of land. D. G. Khān Gr., p. 78.


Dal (dāh): a holding or estate of which the wells have fallen in. D. G. Khān Gr., p. 105.


Dāla: lit.: a child's skirt; a due similar to jhātī—see dāllā. Multān S. R. 1880, p. 44.

Datiyyā: coarsely ground grain. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xxv.

Dāla: (dāll?), a child's skirt: hence a due. Multān Gr., p. 182.

Dalla: in the villages of Swāt, Dir and Bājaur there are two (or more) parties called dāllā, each with its own jirga. The party in power is called band dāllā, that in opposition and out of power lande dāllā.


DAR: the custom of distributing money (from one anna to a rupee each) to mirāzis at weddings; cf. rātarchāri. Gujrat S. R., p. 42.

DAR: a school. Multán Gr., p. 112.

DARI: ?a, a cess in D. G. Khan: Gr., p. 84.


DASTAR: a certain portion of the property which devolves on the successor to a chiefship ordinarily the eldest son. Hazara S. R., 1874, p. 307.

DAND KHANI: a kind of wheat, indigenous to a cold climate; it ripens slowly, and can only be grown in the higher valleys. Cf. spin and tirāli. Kohat S. R., 1884, p. 121.


DEHNATAKLA: wheat or barley when the ear is forming, but has not come out of its sheathing leaves. Monty. S. R. Gloss., xi.

DEHIA: an unopened bud of the karin tree. Cf. bulta. Multán Gr., p. 84.


DEHSWA: good land generally manured, close to a village. Cf. bhora.


DESTI: (i) a variety of Indian corn. Monty S. R. Gloss., p. x: (ii) a variety of cotton. Cf. aman.


DHAQÀ, MAUL KÁ: a skein of red thread, with a knot in it, sent as a token that the wedding is to take place on a certain day. Gujrat S. R., p. 44.

DHAKWAN: a vessel with a cover. Multán Gr., p. 83.


DHANGERA: lit., a kicking-strap tied on a cow before milking; a marriage consisting of the bare nikāh, without any of the usual ceremonies. Mgarh. S. R., p. 69.

DHANIA: coriander. Multán Gr., p. 223.
Dhāoni: (i) a bathing festival held chiefly on Sunday in river-worship, Multan Gr., p. 116; (ii) the bathing season, ib., p. 86.

Dhar = 4 kandaks = 23 khulas; Marwat. Bannū S. R., 1892, p. xxxvii.

Dhāra: a walled enclosure at the corner of a field in which cattle are folded. Cf. dhon. Chenab Col. Gr., 1894, p. 68.

Dhārawa!: kālpāni lands: so-called from the dhāras or shares on which they are held. D. I. Khān S. R., 1872-79, p. 162.


Dhāya: (i) the old high bank of a river. Chenab Col. Gr., p. 2; (ii) the ledge of the Sandal Bār. Jhang S. R., p. 2.

(TO BE CONTINUED.)

MISCELLANEA.

EUROPEAN GRAVES AT KĀBUL.

The following passage from Masson's Narrative of Various Journeys in Balochistan, Afghanistan, and the Punjab (London, 1842), Vol II, p. 275, is probably unfamiliar to most readers:—

There are many head-stones in the Kābul burial-grounds, which have an antiquity of several centuries; many of these may have been removed from their original sites, but they bear inscriptions in antiquated Arabic and Persian characters. I am not aware that stones with Cufic epitaphs exist, which, however, would not have been deemed strange, looking at the long period the Caliphs dominated in these countries.

In the grave-yards of the hill Assa Māhi a neglected stone, distinguished by a sculptured mitre, denotes the place of rest of a Georgilian bishop, who it would seem died at Kābul three or four centuries since. In the Armenian cemetery likewise a mitre on one of the stones points to the rank of the person deposited beneath it, although tradition is silent as to him or his age.

But the more curious, and to Englishmen the most interesting grave-stone to be found about Kābul, is one commemorative of a countryman, and which bears a simple epitaph and record, in large legible Roman characters. The monument is small, and of marble, not of the very frequent description of upright head-stone, but of another form, which is also common and which imitates the form of the raised sod over the grave. It is to be seen close to the ziārat, or shrine of Shāh Shāhid, in the burial-ground east of the gate of the same name, and within some two hundred yards of it. It is rather confusedly engraved around the sides of the stones, but runs as follows:—


The date carries us back to the commencement of the reign of Aurangzīb [acc. 1656], when Kābul was held by one of his lieutenants. An old grave-digger, Masson goes on to say, stated that 'the monument commemorated an officer of artillery, who stood so high in the estimation of the governor, that they were buried close each other on a contiguous mound. This, and the monument raised over the governor were pointed out to me by the venerable depository of funeral lore, and he assured me that the monument placed over the Feringhi (European) or of Mr. Hicks, had been removed, before his memory, from its correct locality, and placed over the grave of a Māhomedan; such transfers, however indecorous or indelicate, being sometimes made. On a tappa, or mound, some distance to the south, is another monument of the same form, but of larger dimensions, which is also believed to rest on the grave of a Feringhi. The inference is here drawn from the direction of the stone, which is from east to west, no epitaph being present to render the fact certain.'

I wonder if these interesting monuments still exist. Masson's notes of his travels in Afghanistan seventy years ago, partially preserved in Ariana Antiqua, show that the country is full of ancient remains, Buddhist and other, and that at that time no objection was raised to the presence of an Englishman, or to his antiquarian explorations. It is a pity that Lord Auckland's blundering policy should have resulted in the closing of the country.

VINCENT A. SMITH.
THE PALA DYNASTY OF BENGAL.

BY VINCENT A. SMITH, M.A., I.C.S., Retd.

THANKS to the labours of the late Professor Kielhorn, whose sudden death is so deeply deplored, I was able in the second edition of The Early History of India (pp. 367-70) to give an authentic outline of the history of the leading kings of the Pāla dynasty from about A.D. 785 to 1193; and in J. R. A. S. 1909, when dealing in two articles with the Gurjaras of Rājputāna and Kanauj, to publish a Synchronistic Table showing the relation between the Pālas and the contemporary dynasties. In the same articles (pp. 258-62) I worked out the history of Dharmapāla so far as it touches on that of the Gurjaras. The publications cited, although giving the references needed to guide readers interested in pursuing the enquiry, could not provide a full treatment of the epigraphic evidence for the Pāla history, which requires considerable space.

The present paper sets forth in detail all the Pāla inscriptions known to me, and gives a trustworthy dynastic list, with the necessary justification of the entries. I had hoped to continue it with a complete discussion of Tāranāth’s evidence and everything else bearing on each reign, but various circumstances compel me to drop the pursuit of the subject for the present, and to content myself with offering a dry statement of the facts upon which the history of the Pālas must be founded. It is clear that the beginning of the dynasty must be placed in the first half of the eighth century, and that sufficient fixed dates are known to reduce chronological uncertainties to moderate dimensions.

I abstain from discussing the views expressed by other students in various essays. The outline now presented rests upon a firm epigraphic foundation, and needs no controversial support. With this brief preface I submit:

I.—List of the 35 inscriptions of the Pāla dynasty;

II.—Genealogy of the dynasty;

III.—Dynastic list; and

IV.—Explanation of the reasons for inserting or omitting names.

Perhaps on another occasion I may be able to resume the investigation, and clothe these bare bones with some narrative flesh. The history of the Sēnas, who succeeded the Pālas, also needs elucidation; but that too must stand over for the present.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Serial No.</th>
<th>Stone or copper-plate or other material</th>
<th>Locality</th>
<th>King</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Purport</th>
<th>References and Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>S.</td>
<td>Bôdh Gayâ: on image of 4-faced Mahâdeva.</td>
<td>Dharmapâla</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Dedication of image and tank costing 3,000 dramanas, by a private person.</td>
<td>Proc. A. S. E., 1880, p. 80; and Cunningham, Mahâbodhâ, Pl. xxviii, 3; but never properly ed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>C. P.</td>
<td>Mungir; found about 1780, and since lost.</td>
<td>Dévapâla; also the yuvardja, Râjya-pâla.</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>Royal grant made at Mudagâri (Mungir) of a vill. in the Kûmilâ vihâya of the Srinagara bhakti († = Pâtnâ); genealogy of the k. from Gopala, the first k.; list of officials, &amp;c.; marriage of Dharmapâla with dau. of Parâbala Rasâtrakûta.</td>
<td>Transcribed from Wilkins' lithograph, and analyzed by K. in Ind. Ant., XXI, 255-6. A rough pioneer ed. and transl. by Sir Ch. Wilkins in As. Res., 1, 123, 122. That transl. reprinted with amended spelling in Rep. III, 114. For Parâbala see Pathârî inscr. dated 917 = 861 A. D., ed. by K. in Ep. Ind., IX, 248; also ibid., p. 26 n.; but that Parâbala cannot be Dharmapâla's father-in-law, unless he reigned a very long time. The date of Dharmapâla's inscr. is about 813 A. D.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 K. = Kielhorn; Rep. = Cunningham, Archaeol. Survey Reports.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Serial No.</th>
<th>No. in K's List</th>
<th>Stone or copper-plate or other material</th>
<th>Locality</th>
<th>King</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Purport</th>
<th>Reference and Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>636</td>
<td>S.</td>
<td>Ghosrawa, about 7 miles S.-E. of Bihär, Patna Dist., on a slab now in Bihär Mus.</td>
<td>Dévapāla (mentioned as reigning king)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Records erection by Vira-deva, abbot of Nalanda, of an edifice to cover a vaj pie mona; and gives many interesting details, but no royal genealogy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>S.</td>
<td>Not stated</td>
<td>Sūrapāla (I or II).</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>? Dedication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>S.</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>? Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>S.</td>
<td>Bihar town; on pedestal of a Buddha</td>
<td>Vigrāha Pāla I (but might be of V., II or III).</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>? Do.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*List = K's 'List of Northern Inscriptions' in App. to Ep. Ind. V. His dynastic list of the Pālas is in the App. to ibid. vol. viii.*
Inscriptions of the Pala Dynasty of (Gaura or Gauda) Bengal—continued.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Serial No.</th>
<th>Locality</th>
<th>King</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Reference and Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>S. Gayā; lying near the Akahay-bat temple.</td>
<td>Vīgrahapāla I. (but might be of V., II or III).</td>
<td>Not known</td>
<td>There is a long inscription of this king, 27 inches long by 21 inches high, now lying near the Akahay-bat Temple at Gayā. Unfortunately, the lower right corner is broken off, leaving the unfinished word samvat to show that it once had a date. It is generally in very bad condition, and I doubt if it can be deciphered satisfactorily (Rep. XV, 123). Noted in Rep. III, 120, No. 6; with incorrect reduced facs. in Pl. xxxvi, but never ed. or transl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>S. Gayā; on slab in court-yard of Vishaṇupad temple.</td>
<td>Nārāyaṇapāla</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Official grant by the king of a village in Tira-bhakti; genealogy of k. from Gopaṇa; Dharmapāla's installation of Chakrāṇḍha; list of officials, etc.; issued from Mādāgarī.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Inscriptions of the Pāla Dynasty of (Gaura or Gauḍa) Bengal—continued.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Serial No.</th>
<th>No. in K’s List</th>
<th>Stone or copper-plate or other material</th>
<th>Locality</th>
<th>King</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Perpet.</th>
<th>Reference and Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>631</td>
<td>S.</td>
<td>Nālandā (Bārgāo) on base of four-armed female statue</td>
<td>Gopāla (prob. II)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>7 or?</td>
<td>Private dedication of image of Sri Vāgīṣṭhārī at Nālandā. Rubbing and partial transcript in Broadley, <em>Ruins of the Nālanda Monasteries at Bārgāo</em> (Calcutta, 1872; also in J. A. S. B., Vol. XLII). Roughly ed. with imperfect face. in <em>Rep.,</em> Vol. I, Pl. XIII, 1; and III, p. 123, No. 4. The m is the looped form, and the script cannot, I think, be referred to Gopāla I in the eighth cent.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>632</td>
<td>S.</td>
<td>Bōlī Gayā; on an image.</td>
<td>Same king</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Apparently private dedication of image. Cunningham, <em>Mahābhodhi,</em> Pl. XXXVIII; 2, as quoted by K.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>S.</td>
<td>Nālandā (Bārgāo); removed to Bihār Mus, from the jamb of inner doorway of great temple ascribed to K. Bālāditya</td>
<td>Mahāpāla (I)</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Private dedication of (?) the doorway by Bālāditya, a follower of the Māhāyāna, son of Gūrudaṭta, grandson of Haratāta, who had removed from Kauśāmbī to Telāḍhā (see <em>Rep.,</em> XI, 165). The record ends with the customary formula:—yadatra puṇyama tattahvatu sarvata rājar anuttara jñānaṃparīptaye-iti. The same formula recurs in the next inscr. No. 15. Rubbing, imperfect, by Broadley, op. cit., App. B; misread and mistranslated by Hājendralā Mahāra, ibid.; noticed in <em>Rep.,</em> III, p. 122, No. 10; also noticed in <em>Ep. Ind.,</em> V, App., p. 66, note 6, by K., who possessed impressions taken by Fleet. But the record has never been properly edited.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. in</td>
<td>Stone or copper-plate or other material.</td>
<td>Locality.</td>
<td>King.</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Purpose.</td>
<td>Reference and Remarks.</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td>Bódh Gaya; on base of statue of Buddha.</td>
<td>Mahipála (I)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Dedication of image...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td>Saránáth, N. of Benares; on base of a broken figure of a seated Buddha; now at Queen's College, Benares.</td>
<td>Same king</td>
<td>1026</td>
<td>1037</td>
<td>Official commemoration by the brothers Shhitr-pála and Vasánatápa (C relatives of the k.) of the pious acts done by their sovereign, Gaudá-dhipa Mahipála, who established in Benares temples of Itám and Chitrghana, besides hundreds of other monuments; restored Aśoka's sthápa (dharmarajitä) with the Wheel of the Law completely, and built the new temple at which the inscr. was placed with stone brought from the &quot;eight holy places.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This imperfect inscr. is transcribed without translation, in the review by (? Burgess of H.Shouldala Mitra's *Buddha-Gayá* in *Ind. Ant.* IX (1886), p. 114; noticed in *Rep.* III, 123, No. 9, with a bad face in Pl. XXXVII, 5.

Transcribed and trans. by Hultsch in *Ind. Ant.* XIV, 139; but with erroneous readings of Itám and Chitrghana, which have been corrected in *Annals Rep. A. S.* 1880-4, p. 223, with revised transcript and trans. Pl. LXIII, 3.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Serial No.</th>
<th>No. in R. A. L. List</th>
<th>Stone or copper-plate or other material</th>
<th>Locality</th>
<th>King</th>
<th>Date A. D.</th>
<th>Date Indian</th>
<th>Purport</th>
<th>Reference and Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
<td>Brass figures</td>
<td>Imādpur, Muzaffarpur District; two brass figures found in a field.</td>
<td>Mahipāla (I)</td>
<td>48</td>
<td></td>
<td>Dedications</td>
<td>The inscriptions, which are identical, are engraved below two groups of brass figures, and the date runs as follows: — Sītāman-Mahipāla deva-rāja vamati 48 jeha dinaṃkātā pahka 2 (Hercul, Ind. Ant., XIV (1885), p. 165, note 17). Also mentioned in Rep., III, 152. Discovery recorded in Proc. A. S. B., 1861, p. 98, but with imaginary readings.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>640</td>
<td>C. P. Dināpur</td>
<td>Same king</td>
<td>Illegible</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Royal grant of a village named Kuratapallika in Punchavardhīna bhūtā (province) to a learned Brahman, “in order to please Buddha,” etc.; issued from Viśāvat paraph; gives royal genealogy from Gopāla I.; notes that Mahipāla obtained his father’s kingdom which had been snatched away by people having no claim to it”; gives list of officials as in No. 10.</td>
<td>Ed, with transcript and partial trunal, but no facsimile, by K. in J. A. S. B., Part I, Vol. LXI (1892), pp. 75-77. This important document should be studied along with the Angāchhī plate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
<td>S. Titarāvā (Tetārāvā), Patna District; on base of colossal statue of Buddha</td>
<td>Same king</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Dedication</td>
<td>Never published or ed., but briefly alluded to in Rep., I, 39, and III, p. 123, No. 11.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serial No.</td>
<td>No. in Kālikā</td>
<td>Stone or copperplate or other material</td>
<td>Locality.</td>
<td>King.</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Purport</td>
<td>Reference and Remarks</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>S.</td>
<td>Gayā; exact locality not stated.</td>
<td>Same king</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>S.</td>
<td>Bihār; on pedestal of statue of Buddha, Angāchīhl; Dināpur Dist.; now in A. S. B.</td>
<td>Vigrahapāla (prob. III).</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>643</td>
<td>C. P.</td>
<td>Bihār; on pedestal of female statue, Chandimān, in Patna Dist. 7 miles S. E. of Nālandā.</td>
<td>Vigrahapāla (III) or ?</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>S.</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Rāmapāla</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>S.</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Same king</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serial No</td>
<td>No. in K’s List</td>
<td>Stone or copper-plate or other material</td>
<td>Locality</td>
<td>King</td>
<td>Date A.D.</td>
<td>Regnal</td>
<td>Era</td>
<td>Purport</td>
</tr>
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<td>-----------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>644</td>
<td>C. P.</td>
<td>Kamauli, near Benares, now in Lucknow Mus.</td>
<td>Kumārapāla of Gauda, mentioned as suzerain of the donor, Vaidyadeva, king of Assam.</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td><strong>Royal grant of two vill. in the ṯEkhaṛya of Bāgū, bhūkti of Prāgyotīsha, maddala of Kāmarāṇa, to a Brāhmaṇa, whose father and grandfather had been ministers respectively of Kumārapāla’s father and grandfather, Rāmacpāla and Vīgrahapāla. Mentions conquest of Mithilā by Rāmacpāla, and other wars of his, etc.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>C. P.</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Same king</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>8</td>
<td><strong>Royal grant of a vill. in the Kōṭyvarsha ṯEkhaṛya of the Pundravarman bhūkti to a Brāhmaṇa as reward for having read the <em>Mahābhārata</em> to Queen Chitrakutikā. Gives full royal genealogy from Gōpāla I. incl. Mahipāla II and Sūrapāla, brothers of Rāmacpāla, whose reigns are noticed in the Rāmecharita. The name of Gōpāla III occurs in this inscr. only. Issued from Rāmavatī on the bank of the Ganges.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Royal Line No.</td>
<td>Locality</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Indian Era</td>
<td>King</td>
<td>Remark</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>645</td>
<td>Jajayer</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1233</td>
<td>V. E</td>
<td>P. 77, 6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>Jajayer</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1234</td>
<td>V. E</td>
<td>P. 77, 6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State or Locality</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>A.D.</td>
<td>Remarks</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Mahendrapāla</strong> (prob. king or ruler)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Gaṅga</td>
<td>646</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Erection of temple, etc. by Yakṣhapāla.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The only reference is Cunningham’s remark (P. III, p. 134) that 'Kittāc" is the name of a second inscription of this king, also dated in his 19th year of reign (C. J., S. B., 1848, p. 234). The date should be corrected and in fact No. 33. This was probably a mistake. The inscription No. 32, Yakṣhapāla’s composition, was placed late in the reign of Ramādēra, as the inscription reports. Yakṣhapāla was to Ramādēra, as a subordinate chief or governor. According to the text, Yakṣhapāla was son of Ramādēra. The date of this inscription must be about 1132.
GENEALOGY OF THE PALA DYNASTY.

[Diagram of genealogy: The text is not legible due to the nature of the diagram.]
## The Pala Dynasty (T. = Taranāth).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Known Dates</th>
<th>Approximate acc. A.D.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Indian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. — Gopāla I ...</td>
<td>......</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. — Dharmapāla, son of I</td>
<td>840 V. E.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(contemp. of Īndradeva and Chakravinda, k. of Kauāj, of Dhuva, Rāshrakīta, and Khırmarong-de-san of Tibet; Tribhuvanapāla yuvardja did not reign).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. — Devapāla, son of II</td>
<td>......</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Rājyapāla yuvardja apparently did not reign).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. — Vigrāhapāla I, alias Surapāla I, grandson of brother of II</td>
<td>......</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. — Narāyanapāla, son of IV</td>
<td>......</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI. — Rājyapāla, son of V</td>
<td>......</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII. — Gopāla II, son of VI</td>
<td>......</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII. — Vigrāhapāla II, son of VII</td>
<td>......</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX. — Mahāpāla I, son of VIII</td>
<td>1083 V. E.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(mission of Dharmpāla)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(mission of Atiśā).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X. — Nayapāla, son of IX</td>
<td>......</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(mission of Atiśā).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XI. — Vigrāhapāla III, son of X</td>
<td>......</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12 or 13 y. (inscr.); see Nos. IV and VIII.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

1 Cunningham prefers to regard Sūrapāla I. as a son of Devapāla, and distinct from Vigrāhapāla I.

The Pala Dynasty (T. = Taranath).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Known Dates</th>
<th>Approximate acc. A. D.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>A. D. approximate</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>XII. — Mahipala II, son of XI.</th>
<th>1080</th>
<th>Short reign. For this and next two reigns, see the Ramacharita.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>XIII. — Surapala II, son of XI.</td>
<td>1082</td>
<td>Short reign: the third brother, Ramaapala, had a long reign.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIV. — Ramapala, son of XI.</td>
<td>1084</td>
<td>46 y. (T.); 12 y. (inscr.) (T.) and ? inscr. 35.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>? XIVa. — Yakshapala, relation and colleague of XIV.</td>
<td>1130</td>
<td>Short reign; No. XVII was his brother.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XV. — Kumrapala, son of XIV.</td>
<td>1136</td>
<td>Must have had a short reign, as his uncle succeeded him.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVI. — Gopala III, son of XV.</td>
<td>1140</td>
<td>19 y. (inscr.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVII. — Madanapala, son of XIV.</td>
<td>1232 V.E.</td>
<td>1175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVIII. — Govindapala, ? son of XVII.</td>
<td>1235</td>
<td>1178</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note.—The dynasty having lasted from about 735 to 1193, its duration was for 458 years. If we assume the identity of Surapala I, with Vigrapala I, there were 19 reigns, with the average length of 24 years. If we consider Surapala and Vigrapala to be distinct, the average length of reign was 23 years. This unusually high average, on either supposition, is due to the exceptionally long reigns of the first three kings as well as of Mahipala I, who is verified for 48 years, and of Ramapala. The six fixed dates given in the list above, when considered in connexion with the details of the genealogy and the traditions recorded by Taranath and the Ramacharita, do not allow much room for error in the dynastic chronology, although the exact date of accession cannot be determined in the case of any king.
Before it will be practicable to discuss in due order the historical events which mark the Pāla rule during a period of more than four centuries and a half, the ground must be cleared by a justification in detail of the entries in the dynastic and genealogical lists. The names are determined chiefly by the eight inscriptions in which genealogies are given, more or less fully. These are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Serial.</th>
<th>No. in List of Inscriptions</th>
<th>Locality</th>
<th>King.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Khālimpur, copper-plate (c. p.)</td>
<td>Dharmapāla.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Mangir (c. p.)</td>
<td>Devapāla.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Bhāgalpur (c. p.)</td>
<td>Nārāyanapāla.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Badāl pillar.</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Dinājpur (c. p.)</td>
<td>Malāpāla I.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Âṃgāchāhi (c. p.)</td>
<td>Vigrāhapāla III.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Kamāuli (c. p.)</td>
<td>Kūmārapāla.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Manahali (c. p.)</td>
<td>Madanapāla.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The names of Sri Vāpyata, the father, and Daykavishṇu, the grandfather of Gōpāla I, the first king of the dynasty, are given only in No. 1 of the above list. Nothing else is on record concerning those two persons.

The genealogy from Gōpāla is given in Serial Nos. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6 and 8. The last-named record, being the latest in date, is, of course, the fullest extant statement on the subject.

All the documents are agreed that Dharmapāla, the second king, was the son of Gōpāla I; but there is an apparent discrepancy concerning the parentage of Devapāla, the third king.

When Dharmapāla, in the year 32 of his reign, made the grant officially recorded in the Khālimpur copper-plate, his son Tribhuvanapāla was alive, and held the dignity of Yavaraśa, or Crown Prince. But the king enjoyed an exceptionally long reign, 64 years according to Tūrānāth, and evidently survived the son who was intended to succeed him. His immediate successor undoubtedly was Devapāla, who is expressly described in the Mangir copper-plate as the son (nā) of his predecessor by Rāṇuḍāvī, the daughter of Parabala, the Rāṣṭrakūta ruler, and is said to have 'inherited the kingdom of his father free from troubles' (ṛṛyam īśā nīripapātavam pitar). This official declaration by Devapāla of his own parentage, conclusive on the face of it, seems however, at first sight, to be contradicted by the language of the Bhāgalpur copper-plate of Nārāyaṇapāla, which in words apparently equally plain seems to describe Devapāla as the elder brother (pūrvaja) of Jayapāla, who was the son of Vākāla, younger brother of Dharmapāla. Thus, according to the obvious meaning of the Bhāgalpur record (with which the Âṃgāchāhi grant agrees), Devapāla was the nephew (brother's son) of Dharmapāla, and not his son. In his earlier publication the late Prof. Kielhorn, while accepting as superior the authority of Devapāla himself in the Mangir grant, was not able to offer any explanation of this apparent conflict of epigraphic testimony. But at a later date, when drawing up the Pāla dynastic list, he hit on the correct explanation, and perceived that in the Bhāgalpur and Âṃgāchāhi grants the term pūrvaja as applied to Devapāla signifies that that prince was 'the son of the elder brother' (ēcīl. Dharmapāla) of Jayapāla's father, Vākāla (Ep. Ind., V, App. I, p. 15, note 4 and p. 17, note 6). This interpretation is not invalidated by the fact that in line 6 of the Bhāgalpur grant Jayapāla is described as conquering the lord of the Utkalas 'under his brother's orders' (bhāvarnānātāh), for, at the present day Hindūs constantly speak of first cousins on the father's side as 'brothers,' and scarcely recognize any distinction between 'a son' and 'a brother's son.' The table therefore exhibits three sons of Dharmapāla, namely, Tribhuvanapāla, who was Crown Prince in the regnal year 32, but must have predeceased his father Devapāla, who succeeded to the throne; and Vākāla, whose progeny became kings.
Rājyaśāna, who, according to the Mungir plate, was Crown Prince in the year 33 of Dēvapāla's reign, must also have predeceased his father, who, like his predecessor, enjoyed a long reign. The succession next passed to the grandsons of Dharmaśāna's younger brother Vāhāpāla (his son Jayāpāla, mentioned above, apparently having died), and thereafter continued in the junior branch of the family.

The Bādāl pillar inscription of the reign of Nārāyaṇaśāna represents Śūrapeśa as being the predecessor of that prince and the successor of Dēvapāla, whereas the Bhāgalpur plate places Vignaśāna I in the line of succession between Dēvapāla and Nārāyaṇaśāna. The particulars given in that document permit no doubt that Vignaśāna was the son of Dēvapāla and the father of Nārāyaṇaśāna. The substitution of the name Śūrapeśa in the Bādāl pillar inscriptions has been explained by the hypothesis that Śūra was another name of Vignaśāna. But it is not absolutely necessary to adopt that view, and it is possible to follow Cunningham in holding that Śūrapeśa having died childless, was succeeded by his brother Vignaśāna, through whose line the succession was transmitted. The Bādāl pillar record does not profess to give the genealogy of the kings. It is devoted to the praises of a family of Brahman ministers, and merely mentions incidentally that they served Dēvapāla, Śūrapeśa, and Nārāyaṇaśāna. The objection to this view is that if Vignaśāna came between Śūrapeśa and Nārāyaṇaśāna, the Brahmans naturally would have been in his service also, whereas he is not mentioned. It is perhaps safer therefore to follow Hoernle and Kidhorn in regarding Śūrapeśa and Vignaśāna I as being identical, not brothers. Nārāyaṇaśāna, consequently, must be reckoned as the fifth king, not the sixth.

The Bhāgalpur plate carries on the genealogy and succession from father to son, through Rājyaśāna, Gopaśa II, and Vignaśāna II, to Mahā śaṇa I, the ninth king. The Bāgāchhi plate adds two more generations and reigns, those of Nayeśa and Vignaśāna III. The Kamaṇi plate traces the descent of Kumārapāla from Rāmāṇaśa, the youngest son of Vignaśāna III, but omits to mention the elder sons of that prince, namely Mahāpāla II and Śūrapeśa, whose existence is ascertained only from the testimony of the Manahalī plate and the Rāmājīvarī. They evidently died without leaving heirs, after short reigns, and were followed by their brother Rāmāṇaśa, who carried on the succession.

Rāmāṇaśa was succeeded by his elder son Kumārapāla, who was followed by his son, Gopaśa III. He having died without heirs, the throne passed into the possession of Madanaśa, the younger son of Rāmāṇaśa by Madana-devī.

Assuming the identity of Śūrapeśa I with Vignaśāna I, Madanaśa was the seventeenth king of the dynasty. His descent from Gopaśa I is fully ascertained without a break, and reckoning Gopaśa III, Madanaśa's nephew, who came to the throne before his uncle, the number of generations from Gopaśa I to Madanaśa, inclusive, is fourteen.

The next king appears to have been Gōvindapāla, whose succession is fixed in 1161 A.D. by inscription No. 30 of my List, which places his year 14 in 1232 (Y. E.), equivalent roughly to 1175 A.D. His parentage is not recorded, but he may be presumed to have been the son of his predecessor, Madanaśa.

The last of the line appears to have been Mahāṇḍrapāla (inscriptions 32-4), who can come in only in this place. He may be identified with the Indradynyana of tradition. The names are almost synonymous.

Yakṣaśāna, who, according to Tāranaśa, was the son of Rāmāṇaśa, and colleague of that king during the last three years of his long reign, is apparently commemorated by the title narendra in inscription 35. Most likely he was a near relative of Rāmāṇaśa. He certainly was not his son, because the inscription names both Viśvarūpa, the father and Śūdrakṣha, the grandfather, of Yakṣaśāna.

The generations of the dynasty are 15, with an average of nearly 30½ years, which is abnormally high.

* For an incomplete notice of this historical poem, see Proc. A. S. B., 1901, p. 23.
CONTRIBUTIONS TO PANJABI LEXICOGRAPHY.

(Continued from page 232.)

SERIES II.

BY H. A. ROSE, I.C.S.

Dhī dhī: a game in which boys amuse themselves by splashing water about. Multān Gr., p. 100.


Dhokwāli: unirrigated manured land; see ḍdrī.


Dhon: a walled enclosure. Cf. dhāra.


Dhūḍi: a kind of wheat, small-eared and white. Multān Gr., p. 218.


Dōṁt-dhāra: a tax levied as a payment for wood used for building a cabin. Čenab Col Gr., 1894, p. 23.

Digar-wela: time from 4 to 6 p.m. Jhelum S. R., p. 56.


Dohā: an abusive song. Cf. ṕikhā and ṕithri. Multan Gr., p. 93.


Dol: a revolving arrangement in the form of a capstan for clearing out silt at the bottom of a well. Cf. ura. Multān Gr., p. 196.


Dopīhar: the time from noon to 2 p.m. Jhelum S. R., p. 56.

Dopahar-dhalle: 2 p.m. Cf. pichādhown dhalle. Multān Gr., p. 256.


Drażkar: an inferior soil composed of sand and silt mixed, or of a sandy sub-soil and a shallow deposit of pure silt on top. Bannā S. R., p. xxxvii.


Dūrī: a kind of field-mouse very destructive to crops. D. I. Khān S. R., 1879, p. 35.


Dumbīr: an accountant or agent = muḥdsīl. Multān Gr., p. 187 (I Pers. duhr.)


Dūngī: a deep loam soil free of stones; see bēla.


Gaōhi: the cluster of leaves at the top of the date-palm. Multān Gr., p. 228.


Gaddi-odi: small presents which the khādīm of a mosque receives at harvest times. Hazāra, S. R., 1874, p. 73.


Gadōhar: the upper portion of the cylinder of a well. Multān Gr., p. 196.

Gadrī: the refuse fruit of the date-palm. Multān Gr., p. 228.

Gadhwā-ī: among Hindus = tawdlī, the lotā of the Panjāb Proper. Multān Gr., p. 83.

Gah: threshing, of two kinds; (i) munīvedīlā, in which a stake (munī) is driven in and one or more yoke of cattle are tied to the stake by a rope and driven round and round over the crop; (ii) pharsavēldīl, in which a heavy mass of wood and straw (pharsa) is yoked behind each pair of cattle and driven round, working gradually inwards. Hence gahēra, a thresher. Multān Gr., p. 210.


Gahī: a square box-like receptacle of unbaked clay placed inside a dwelling-house. Chenīb Colony Gr., p. 72.

Gahrē: intimate, e.g. gahre dost, an intimate friend.

Gail: the portion of a wall which projects above the ground. Multān Gr., p. 196.


Gam: a tall grass. D. G. Khān Gr., p. 15.


Gand jējāna: to inform all the relations of a wedding. Gujrat S. R., p. 41.
Ganda: a thick-set camel, but smaller than the sohdâa, with a large coarse head and thick skin. Chenâb Col. Gr., p. 98.


Gap: Jukes’ Dicty. of W. P., p. 247:—gap daryâd, the sticky, uneven soil caused by the long standing of water in places where new alluvial matter has been deposited. Multân Gr., p. 183.


Garîrâ: an irrigated land of the poorest character. See gâr.

Gari: the terminal cabbage-like head in the heart of a gâchâ or cluster of leaves at the top of a palm. Mgarh. S. R., p. 31.

Garmâ: (i) a yellowish and late sown Indian corn. Kohât S. R., 1884, p. 122; (ii) a kind of date. Multân Gr., p. 223.


Garri: a disease of kine, very fatal. The principal symptom is the formation of large boils on the quarters. Hazâra S. R., 1874, p. 98.


Ghâl: a present given to a boy at his wedding. Multân Gr., p. 93.

Ghanda: a wooden cylinder fitting closely inside the circle of a well, and laid above the tâlwâng to support the sides of the masonry cylinder. Cf. kothi. Multân Gr., p. 196.


Ghari gharauti: the ceremony at a wedding of carrying an earthen vessel, with songs, to the well and bringing it back full of water. Gujrat S. R., p. 45.


Gharolo: land which is all sand-heaps, or cut up by ravines. Cf. tibba. Chenâb Col. Gr. 1894, p. 63.


Ghasaâb: possession taken forcibly. D. G. Khân Gr., p. 79.

Ghassa: as far as a man can run without taking breath; a spurt. D. G. Khan.

Ghassar: a mark blurred, but not indistinguishable.


Ghēsh: a young goat from 6 months to one year old. Multān.


(Ghīhal: add s. v. at Jukes' Dicty. of W. P., p. 258, to 3:—) It is lighter than the mehrā, or heavy wooden roller. Multān Gr., p. 207.


Ghokht: a sort of millet. Cf. kāngāt. Kohāt S. R., 1884, p. 120.


Ghp: a knife or dagger = hul. D. G. Khan.


Ghorīán: plural of ghōrt (a marriage song), sung at the boy's house—opposed to sohāg. Gujrat S. R., 1874, p. 44.


Ghurā: a rough field cart. Multān Gr., p. 211.


Ghutti: the observance of squeezing liquor from ass' dung into a child's mouth, before allowing it to suck, in order to make it firm in battle (among Balochis). Mgarh. S. R., p. 67.

Ghwaye: a unit of measurement. Dir, etc.

Gidāriān: dates which grow spontaneously. Cf. apere jamān; fr. gīdar, jackal, because they are supposed to have sprung up from stones which jackals have thrown away after eating the fruit. Mgarh. S. R., p. 30.


God-kash: a tenant who has cleared jungle. Multān Gr., p. 179.


Gor-kafn: savings, fr. gor, a grave and kafn, a winding sheet, the idea being that savings should be kept for times of real need. Hazara S. R., 1874, p. 84.

Gruhan: the cane-borer, fatal to sugarcane and maize, eating up the buds as the plant sprouts above ground. Chenab Col. Gr., 1894, p. 73.

Gujhai: a deep loam soil free of stones; see bela.

Gujrat: a deep loam soil free of stones; see bela.


Gundi: a loamy soil; see ban.


Gurang: an old and narrow creek. D. G. Khan Gr., p. 16.


Gustan: goristdn, a grave-yard. Multan Gr., p. 125.


Habub: a cash rate of Re. 1-4 per madai. Gujrat S. R., p. 117.


Halohuri: a cash charge, which falls at between 2 and 4 annas per acre, per plough, paid to the proprietor in addition to a grain rent. Hazara S. R., 1874, p. 162.


Hamohor: a wooden spade used to clear snow off the roofs, or to make the smaller irrigation cuts in rice fields. Cf. kirkin. Hazara S. R., 1874, p. 96.


Haqq-sambh: the quarter share in a mare to which the rearer of a foal is entitled in addition to his original share in the remaining three-fourths. Jhang S. R., p. 110.

Haqq-tora: the expenses at a wedding payable to the Khan or mulik of the kanzi in which the bride resides; it includes fees to the village servants. Peshawar S. R., 1878, p. 137.


Hårwan: a sheaf of corn; lit. ‘the loser’, or ordinary sheaf, as opposed to *dhårwaš*, the reaper’s sheaf. Jhang S. R., p. 88.

Hatha: a rake handle; also the handle of a scraper or pitchfork. Cf. *dandi*. Monty S. R. Gloss., p. iii.

Hathal: a cow or buffalo which allows only one person to milk her. Monty, S. R. Gloss., p. xviii.


Hathrâkhâd: a nominee of the individual, the trustee of his privilege, to take the proprietary share of the produce and pay the revenue, as opposed to the *mashkâhâd* or *mustâfîr*. Jhang S. R., p. 67.

Hazara: poppy; the red variety. Monty, S. R., Gloss., p. x.


Hûrâmal: a wild fig. Hazara S. R., 1874, p. 94.

Ijâb-kabûl: the last ceremony of the betrothal, in which the father of the bridegroom and the father of the bride successively declare the betrothal in a loud voice; the declaration is repeated three times. Cf. *shara jawd*. Hazara, S. R., 1863-74, p. 299.


Iktâla: a fee; an extra *ser.*, (the 41st) taken in the manda. Jhang S. R., p. 114.

Indzâr: the wild fig. Kohat S. R., 1884, p. 29.

Iska: Pashto, a lot, the casting of lots =*uska* and *hissi* (? cf. Balochi *hishti*). Bannu S. R. 1899, p. xxxviii.

Itsit: a synonym for *visd*. Mgarh. S. R., p. 82.

Jabba: a deep-loam soil free of stones. See *bela*.

Jâch: information (= *paté*). (Add to Jukes’ *Dicty. of W.* P. 103.)


Jâkh = *rasil aurâd*, a due paid to a *mullah* for charms, etc. Multan Gr., p. 188.


Jâla: a raft formed by planks or *charpatis* placed on a foundation of inflated skins; fastened together, used for crossing a river. Peashwar S. R., 1878, p. 8.


Jān: a horse, comprising all the classmen and dependants of a rādī. Chenāb Col. Gr., p. 18.


Jandra: (i) the amount of water required to work a water-mill; (ii) generally, as much water as can irrigate a chatti of land in a 12 hours' flow. D. I. Khān S. R., 1879, p. 139.

(To be continued.)

BOOK NOTICE.


We much regret that we have not been able to introduce this interesting book to our readers at an earlier date. We hope, however, that the present notice of it, though so late, may not be without its uses.

The issue of this book, as the first volume of a series the title of which means "Lives of Kannada or Kanarese Poets", inaugurates a scheme for exhibiting the history of Kanarese literature from the earliest time to which it can be traced back. Some studies in this line of research have been given to us by the Rev. F. Kittel and by Mr. Rice. The present writers, however, aim at a much more exhaustive treatment; and, basing their work on various important collections of manuscripts and also on the inscriptions of Southern India as far as they have been exploited, they have made an excellent start: they have brought the matter in detail down to the end of the fourteenth century A. D.; and they have given supplementary lists, century by century, of works belonging to the subsequent period, down to the present time, which they will hereafter treat in similar detail. In compiling the present volume, they have succeeded in tracing out and bringing to light a variety of authors and works not previously known. In addition to that, and to the inclusion of many new facts about such writers and works as were already known, they claim to have established the following points. Mr. R. Narasimhachar had already, in the introduction to his edition of the Kāvyāvalāchāra, published in 1903, brought out clearly the fact that there were two writers named Nāgarvarma; one belonging to the close of the tenth century, the other to a period about a hundred and fifty years later. The authors now show that there were also two Guṇavarmanas and two Margaśaras. They have added evidence that the literary activity among the Vira-Saivas or Lingāyats began in the middle of the twelfth century, at an appreciably earlier time than had previously been supposed. And they have shown that the poet Rudrabhaṭa, who was previously referred to the sixteenth century, flourished four centuries sooner. We hope that future researches by them may result in the discovery of works dating from before the time to which belongs the earliest Kanarese literary production that is at present known.

That the Kannarese language was cultivated from a decidedly early date, is shown by the fact that it is found in a short inscription, outside the Vaishnava cave at Bādāni in the Bijāpur District. Bombay, which is of the time of the Chalukya king Māgalāśa, A. D. 597—608. Kannarese is, in fact, the earliest vernacular of Southern India, apart from Prākrit, that is met with in the inscriptional records. Its literary history, however, has not been traced back so far; the earliest recovered work is a treatise on poetics, entitled Kaviśaṁyāra, which was written in the period A. D. 814—577. That work, indeed, mentions previous writers.—Vimala, Udāya, Nāgarjuna, Jayabhadrabu, Durvilla, "the supreme" Śrivijaya, Kaviśvara (or "the supreme Śrivijaya, lord of poets"), and some others: and we may note, in passing, that it classes the writings of Śrivijaya as adya-kāvyā, "initial or prior poetry." Beyond their names, however, little, if anything, was yet
known about those writers. And the point remains, that the earliest extant Kanarese literary production is the Kavirajamarga, dating from the ninth century.

In view of the position that the Kavirajamarga is the earliest extant Kanarese work, it is of interest, as there is a difference of opinion regarding the authorship of it, to note what the authors of the Kavirajakakavicha rite have to say on the point. Mr. Rice and Professor K. B. Pathak have maintained that the Kavirajamarga was written by the Rashtrakuta king Nripatunga-Amighavarsha I, who reigned from A.D. 814 to 877. The present writer, on the other hand, holds that it was written, not by the king, but, under his patronage, by a person styled Kavivara, and that the latter based it on a work by the Srivijaya, who, as stated above, is mentioned in the work itself in an enumeration of previous writers. The authors of the Kavirajakakavicharite have classed the Kavirajamarga as a composition by the said king Nripatunga. But they have qualified by saying that, though the accepted understanding (pratiti) is to that effect, there is room for a doubt as to whether the work is not a composition of a Srivijaya. And, pointing out that no authority is found, either in inscriptions or in the work itself, for thinking that Srivijaya was a secondary appellation of Nripatunga, they have suggested that the case may be that the author was that same Srivijaya who has been mentioned above, and that he became the court-poet of Nripatunga and composed the work and issued it with the impress of Nripatunga (Nripatungena aukitadi da). In view of the inductive opinion thus expressed by the authors of the Kavirajakakavicharite, who have given the latest consideration to the matter after seeing the full arguments on both sides, it may be said that the question cannot be regarded as settled either way. But there remain the following points, which seem instructive. The Kavirajamarga is adulatory of Nripatunga all through. Its colophons distinctly describe it, not "as composed by Nripatunga," but as "approved by Nripatunga." It is not easy to see how Srivijaya, if he wrote it, could reasonably claim himself among the previous writers who are mentioned in it, and could speak of other writings of his own as adhya-krtya, "initial or prior poetry." And the last verse of the second chapter, as translated by Professor Pathak, tells us that "the great poet caused to himself the great joy of Srivijaya by the one poem composed by these (means); having thought over the established conventionality of the essence of words, having studied expression which has for its object all language, having carefully perceived the excellence of the good qualities shining in the compositions of ancient great poets, and having called from them ": here, the term rendered by "the great poet" is Kavivara, which we consider is obviously to be applied as a personal appellation. In these circumstances we see, so far, no reason for modifying the conclusion at which we arrived: namely, that the Kavirajamarga was written by a person who bore or assumed the name Kavivara; that he wrote it under the patronage and partly under the inspiration of king Nripatunga; and that he based it on a work by Srivijaya.

The authors of the Kavirajakakavicharite had to decide whether they would write their book in English or in Kanarese. Their English introduction shows that they would not have had the slightest difficulty in writing in English: that language is thoroughly at their command. They elected, however, to write in Kanarese; because, they tell us, the work would not otherwise be properly available to their compatriots, the great majority of whom do not know English. Their decision is, no doubt, a commendable one: it is certainly desirable that the Kanarese people at large should have the opportunity of learning all that is known about the history of their language and its literature. But we would ask the authors to bear in mind that there are in Europe many scholars—and the number of them is always increasing—who are greatly interested in the vernaculars of India, but who do not themselves read these vernaculars, and to whom, therefore, books such as the present one must remain sealed books: also, that even a European scholar who does read any particular Indian vernacular (or perhaps more than one), cannot always spare the time to peruse and note down the contents of a vernacular work; he wants a work to the contents of which, when he has once read it, he can at any time refer quickly at a glance, instead of having to wade again through the intricacies of Indian type. We would express the hope that Mr. R. Narasimbachar and his collaborator may see their way to giving us, some day, an English epitome of their present volume, and of those which, we trust, they will bring out in succession to it.

J. F. Fleet.

1 See his Kavirajakakavicharite, introd. pp. 7, 23.
THE ARTHASAstra OF CHANAKYA (BOOKS V — XV),

Translated by

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Librarian, Government Oriental Library, Mysore.

[Note.—The first four books have been published in the Mysore Review, 1906—1908.]

Book V.

The conduct of Government officers (Yogavrittam).

Chapter I.

Concerning the awards of punishments (Dāndakārmikam).

MEASURES necessary to remove the thorns of public peace both in fortified cities and country parts have been dealt with. We shall now proceed to treat of measures to suppress treason against the king and his kingdom.

With regard to those chiefs who, though living by service under the king, are inimically disposed towards him, or have taken the side of his enemy, a spy with secret mission or one in the guise of an ascetic and devoted to the king's cause shall be set to work as described before; or a spy trained in the art of sowing the seeds of dissension may set to work, as will be described in connection with the "invasion of an enemy's villages." ¹

The king in the interests of righteousness may inflict punishment in secret on those courtiers or confederacy of chiefs who are dangerous to the safety of the kingdom and who cannot be put down in open daylight.

A spy may instigate the brother of a seditious minister, and with necessary inducements, take him to the king for an interview. The king, having conferred upon him the title to possess and enjoy the property of his seditious brother, may cause him to attack his brother; and when he murders his brother with a weapon or with poison, he shall be put to death in the same spot under the plea that he is a parricide.

The same measure will explain the proceedings to be taken against a seditious Pārāśava (one who is begotten by a Brāhman on a Śādra wife), and a seditious son of a woman-servant.

Or instigated by a spy, the brother of a seditious minister may put forward his claim for inheritance. While the claimant is lying at night at the door of the house of the seditious minister or elsewhere, a fiery spy (tīkṣha) may murder him and declare "Alas! the claimant for inheritance is thus murdered (by his brother)." Then taking the side of the injured party, the king may punish the other (the seditious minister).

Spies in the presence of a seditious minister may threaten to beat his brother claiming inheritance. Then "while the claimant is lying at the door of, &c." . . . . as before.

The same proceedings will explain the quarrel fraudulently caused to crop up between any two seditious ministers, in whose family a son or a father has had sexual intercourse with a daughter-in-law, or a brother with the wife of another brother.

¹ Book XIII.
A spy may flatter to the vanity of a seditious minister’s son of gentle manners and dignified conduct by telling him “Though thou art the king’s son, thou art kept here in fear of enemies.” The king may secretly honour this deluded person and tell him that “apprehending danger from the minister, I have put off thy installation, though thou hast attained the age of heir-apparent.” Then the spy may instigate him to murder the minister. The task being accomplished, he, too, may be put to death in the same spot under the plea that he is a parricide.

A mendicant woman, having captivated the wife of a seditious minister by administering such medicines as excite the feelings of love, may through that wife contrive to poison the minister.

Failing these measures, the king may send a seditious minister with an army of inefficient soldiers and fiery spies to put down a rebellious wild tribe or a village, or to set up a new superintendent of countries or of boundaries in a locality bordering upon a wilderness, or to bring under control a highly-rebellious city, or to fetch a caravan bringing in the tribute due to the king from a neighbouring country. In an affray (that ensues in consequence of the above mission) either by day or at night, the fiery spies, or spies under the guise of robbers (pratirodhaka) may murder the minister and declare that he was killed in the battle.

While marching against an enemy or being engaged in sports, the king may send for his seditious ministers for an interview. While leading the ministers to the king, fiery spies with concealed weapons shall, in the middle enclosure of the king’s pavilion, offer themselves to be searched for admittance into the interior, and, when caught with their weapons by the door-keepers, declare themselves to be the accomplices of the seditious ministers. Having made this affair known to the public, the door-keepers shall put the ministers to death, and in the place of the fiery spies, some others are to be hanged.

While engaged in sports outside the city, the king may honour his seditious ministers with accommodation close to his own. A woman of bad character under the guise of the queen may be caught in the apartment of these ministers and steps may be taken against them as before.

A sauce-maker or a sweetmeat-maker may request of a seditious minister some sauce and sweetmeat by flattering him — “thou alone art worthy of such things”. Having mixed these two things and half a cup of water with poison, he may substitute these things in the luncheon (of the king) outside the city. Having made this event known to the public, the king may put them (the minister and the cook) to death under the plea that they are poisoners.

If a seditious minister is addicted to witchcraft, a spy under the guise of an accomplished wizard may make him believe that by manifesting (in witchcraft) any one of the three beautiful things — a pot containing an alligator, or a tortoise or crab — he can attain his desired end. While, with this belief, he is engaged in the act of witchcraft, a spy may murder him either by poisoning him or by striking him with an iron bar, and declare that he brought his own death by his proclivity to witchcraft.

A spy under the guise of a physician may make a seditious minister believe that he is suffering from a fatal or incurable disease and contrive to poison him while prescribing medicine and diet to him.

Spies under the guise of sauce-makers and sweetmeat-makers may, when opportunity occurs, contrive to poison him.

* Some one deserving death seems to be substituted for the cook.
Such are the secret measures to get rid of seditious persons.

As to measures to get rid of seditious persons conspiring against both the king and his kingdom:

When a seditious person is to be got rid of, another seditious person with an army of inefficient soldiers and fiery spies may be sent with the mission: "Go out into this fort or country and raise an army or some revenue; deprive a courtier of his gold; bring by force the daughter of a courtier; build a fort; open a garden; construct a road for traffic; set up a new village; exploit a mine; form forest preserves for timber or elephants; set up a district or a boundary; and arrest and capture those who prevent your work or do not give you help." Similarly the other party may be instructed to curb the spirit of the above person. When a quarrel arises between the two parties at work, fiery spies under cover may throw their weapons and murder the seditious person; and others are to be arrested and punished for the crime.

When with reference to boundaries, field-produce, and boundaries of houses, or with reference to any damage done to things, instruments, crops, and beasts of burden or on occasions of witnessing spectacles and processions, any dispute, real or caused by fiery spies, arises in seditious towns, villages, or families, fiery spies may hurl weapons and say: "This is what is done to them who quarrel with this man"; and for this offence others may be punished.

When there arises a quarrel among seditious persons, fiery spies may set fire to their fields, harvest-grounds, and houses, hurl weapons on their relatives, friends and beasts of burden, and say that they did so at the instigation of the seditious; and for this offence others may be punished.

Spies may induce seditious persons in forts or in country parts to be each other's guests at a dinner in which poisoners may administer poison; and for this offence others may be punished.

A mendicant woman may delude a seditious chief of a district into the belief that the wife, daughter, or daughter-in-law of another seditious chief of another district loves the former. She may take the jewelry which the dejected chief gives her (for delivery to the wife, daughter, &c.), and, presenting it before the other chief, narrate that this chief in the pride of his youth makes love to the other's wife, daughter, or daughter-in-law. When at night a duel arises between the two chiefs, &c., as before.

The prince or the commander of the army may confer some benefit upon such inimical persons as have been cowed down by a seditious army, and may declare his displeasure against them afterwards. And then some other persons, who are equally cowed down by another seditious army of the king, may be sent against the former along with an army of inefficient soldiers and fiery spies. Thus all the measures to get rid of seditious persons are of the same type.

Whoever among the sons of the seditious persons thus put down shows no perturbation of mind shall receive his father's property. It is only thus that the whole of the country will loyally follow the sons and grandsons of the king, and will be free from all troubles caused by men.

Possessed of forbearance and apprehending no disturbance either in the present or future, the king may award punishments in secret both upon his own subjects and those who uphold the enemy's cause.

* In *Nāka* metre.
Chapter II.

Replenishment of the Treasury (Kosibhisamhkarapan).

The king who finds himself in a great financial trouble and needs money may collect (revenue by demand). In such parts of his country as depend solely upon rain for water and are rich in grain, he may demand of his subjects one-third or one-fourth of their grain according to their capacity. He shall never demand of such of his subjects as live in tracts of middle or low quality; nor of people who are of great help in the construction of fortifications, gardens, buildings, roads for traffic colonisation of waste lands, exploitation of mines, and formation of forest-preserve for timber and, elephants; nor of people who live on the border of his kingdom or who have not enough subsistence. He shall, on the other hand, supply with grain and cattle to those who colonise waste lands. He may purchase for gold one-fourth of what remains, after deducting as much of the grain as is required for seeds and subsistence of his subjects. He shall avoid the property of forest tribes, as well as of Brâhmans learned in the Vedas (Srotriya). He may purchase this, too, offering favourable price (to the owners). Failing these measures, the servants of the collector-general may prevail upon the peasantry to raise summer crops. Saying that double the amount of fines will be levied from those who are guilty (among peasants), they (the king’s employés) shall sow seeds in sowing seasons. When crops are ripe, they may beg a portion of vegetable and other ripe produce except what is gleaned in the form of vegetables and grains. They shall avoid the grains scattered in harvest-fields, so that they may be utilised in making offerings to gods and ancestors on occasions of worship, in feeding cows, or for the subsistence of mendicants and village employés (grâma-brâhmesa).

Whoever conceals his own grain shall pay a fine of eight times the amount in each kind; and whoever steals the crops of another person shall pay a fine of fifty times the amount, provided the robber belongs to the same community (suvarga); but if he is a foreigner, he shall be put to death.

They (the king’s employés) may demand of cultivators one-fourth of their grain, and one-sixth of forest-produce (tenya) and of such commodities as cotton, wax, fabrics, barks of trees, hemp, wool, silk, medicines, sandal, flowers, fruits, vegetables, firewood, bamboos, flesh, and dried flesh. They may also take one-half of all ivory and skins of animals, and punish with the first amercement those who trade in any article without obtaining a licence from the king. So much for demands on cultivators.

Merchants dealing in gold, silver, diamonds, precious stones, pearls, coral, horses, and elephants shall pay 50 karas. Those that trade in cotton threads, clothes, copper, brass, bronze, sandal, medicines, and liquor shall pay 40 karas. Those that trade in grains, liquids, metals (loha), and carts shall pay 30 karas. Those that carry on their trade in glass (kacha); and also artisans of fine workmanship shall pay 20 karas. Artisans of inferior workmanship, as well as those who keep prostitutes, shall pay 10 karas. Those that trade in firewood, bamboos, stones, earthen-pots cooked rice, and vegetables shall pay 5 karas. Dramatists and prostitutes shall pay half of their wages. The entire property of goldsmiths shall be taken possession of; and no offence of theirs, shall be forgiven; for they carry on their fraudulent trade while pretending at the same time to be honest and innocent. So much about demands on merchants.

Persons rearing cocks and pigs shall surrender to the Government half of their stock of animals. Those that rear inferior animals shall give one-sixth. Those that keep cows, buffaloes, mules, asses, and camels shall give one-tenth (of their live-stock). Those who maintain prostitutes (kâdhaka-pôshaka) shall, with the help of women noted for their beauty and youth in the service of the king, collect revenue. So much about demands on herdsmen.

4 A kara seems to mean 10 payas.
Such demands shall be made only once and never twice. When such demands are not made, the collector-general shall seek subscriptions from citizens and country people alike under false pretences of carrying this or that kind of business. Persons taken in concert shall publicly pay handsome donations and, with this example, the king may demand of others among his subjects. Spies posing as citizens shall revile those who pay less. Wealthy persons may be requested to give as much of their gold as they can. Those who, of their own accord or with the intention of doing good, offer their wealth to the king shall be honoured with a rank in the court, an umbrella, or a turban or some ornaments in return for their gold.

Spies, under the guise of sorcerers, shall, under the pretence of ensuring safety, carry away the money, not only of the society of heretics and of temples, but also of a dead man and of a man whose house is burnt, provided that they are not Brāhmans.

The Superintendent of Religious Institutions may collect in one place the various kinds of property of the gods of fortified cities and country parts and carry away the property (to the king's treasury).

Or having on some night set up a god or an altar, or having opened a sacred place of ascetics or having pointed out an evil omen; the king may collect subsistence under the pretence of holding processions and congregations (to avert calamities).

Or else he shall proclaim the arrival of gods, by pointing out to the people any of the sacred trees in the king's garden which has produced untimely flowers and fruits.

Or by causing a false panic owing to the arrival of an evil-spirit on a tree in the city, wherein a man is hidden making all sorts of devilish noises, the king's spies, under the guise of ascetics, may collect money (with a view to propitiate the evil-spirit and send it back).

Or spies may call upon spectators to see a serpent with numberless heads in a well connected with a subterranean passage and collect fees from them for the sight. Or they may place in a bore-hole made in the body of an image of a serpent, or in a hole in the corner of a temple, or in the hollow of an ant-hill, a cobra, which is, by diet, rendered unconscious, and call upon credulous spectators to see it (on payment of a certain amount of fee). As to persons who are not by nature credulous, spies may sprinkle over or give a drink of such sacred water as is mixed with anaesthetic ingredients and attribute their insensibility to the curse of gods. Or by causing an outcast person (abhītyākta) to be bitten by a cobra, spies may collect revenue under the pretext of undertaking remedial measures against ominous phenomena.

Or one of the king's spies in the garb of a merchant, may become a partner of a rich merchant and carry on trade in concert with him. As soon as a considerable amount of money has been gathered as sale-proceeds, deposits and loans, he may cause himself to be robbed of the amount.

This will explain what the Superintendent of coins and the State-goldsmith may also do.

Or else a spy, in the garb of a rich merchant, or a real rich merchant famous for his vast commerce, may borrow or take on pledge vast quantities of gold, silver, and other commodities, or borrow from corporations bar gold or coined gold for various kinds of merchandise to be procured from abroad. After having done this he may allow himself to be robbed of it the same night.

Prostitute spies, under the garb of chaste women, may cause themselves to be enamoured of persons who are seditious. No sooner are the seditious persons seen within the abode of the female spies than they shall be seized and their property confiscated to the Government. Or whenever a quarrel arises between any two seditious parties of the same family, poisoners, previously engaged for the purpose, may administer poison to one party; and the other party may be accused of the offence and arrested.
An outcast, under the guise of a high-born man, may claim from a seditious person a large amount of money professed to have been placed in the latter's custody by the claimant, or a large debt outstanding against the seditious person, or a share or parental property. (An outcast) may pretend to be the slave of a seditious person; and he may represent the wife, daughter, or daughter-in-law of the seditious person as a slave-woman or as his own wife; and when the outcast is lying at the door of the seditious person's house at night or is living elsewhere, a fiery spy may murder him and declare "The claimant (of his own property or wife) has been thus killed." And for this offence others (i.e., the seditious person and his followers) shall be arrested.

Or a spy, under the garb of an ascetic, may offer inducements to a seditious person of wealth to acquire more wealth by taking in aid the art of witchcraft, and say:—"I am proficient in such witchcraft as brings inexhaustible wealth, or entitles a man to get admission into the king's palace, or can win the love of any woman, or can put an end to the life of one's enemy, or can lengthen the duration of one's life, or can give a son to any one if desired." If the seditious person shows his desire to carry on the process of witchcraft securing wealth, the spy may make rich offerings, consisting of flesh, wine, and scent, to the deity near an altar in a burial-ground wherein a dead body of a man or of a child with a little quantity of money has been previously hidden. After the performance of worship is over, the hidden treasure may be dug out and the seditious person may be told that as the offerings fell short, the treasure is proportionately small; that the richest of offerings should be made to acquire vast amount of treasure, and that he may purchase with the newly-acquired wealth rich offerings. Then he may be caught in the very act of purchasing commodities for offering.

A female spy, under the garb of a bereaved mother, may (in connection with the above case) raise an alarm, crying that her child was murdered (for the purposes of witchcraft).

When a seditious person is engaged in sorcery at night or in a sacrificial performance in a forest, or in sports in a park, fiery spies may murder him and carry away the corpse as that of an outcast.

Or a spy, under the garb of a servant of a seditious person, may mix counterfeit coins with the wages (he has received from his master), and pave the way for his arrest.

Or a spy, under the garb of a goldsmith, may undertake to do some work in the house of a seditious person, and gather in his employer's house such instruments as are necessary to manufacture counterfeit coins.

A spy, under the garb of a physician, may declare a healthy person of seditious character to be unhealthy (and administer poison). Or a spy, attending as a servant upon a seditious person, may not only call for an explanation from another fraudulent spy as to how certain articles necessary for the installation of a king and also the letters of an enemy came into the possession of his master, but also volunteer an explanation himself.

Measures such as the above shall be taken only against the seditious and the wicked and never against others.

Just as fruits are gathered from a garden as often as they become ripe, so revenue shall be collected as often as it becomes ripe. Collection of revenue or of fruits, when unripe, shall never be carried on, lest their source may be injured, causing immense trouble.4

4 In śloka metre.
Chapter III.

Concerning subsistence to Government servants (Bṛityabharṣapāṇyam).

In accordance with the requirements of his forts and country parts, the king should fix under one-fourth of the total revenue the charges of maintaining his servants. He should look to the bodily comforts of his servants by providing such emoluments as can infuse in them the spirit of enthusiasm to work. He should not violate the course of righteousness and wealth.

The sacrifice priest (ṛiteva), the teacher, the minister, the priest (purohita), the commander of the army, the heir-apparent prince, the mother of the king, and the queen shall (each receive) 48,000 (paṇas per annum). With this amount of subsistence, they will scarcely yield themselves to temptation and hardly be discontented.

The door-keeper, the superintendent of the harem (antarvānśika), the commander (pradēṣṭrī), the collector-general, and the chamberlain, 24,000. With this amount, they become serviceable.

The prince (kumāra), the nurse of the prince, the chief constable (nāyaka), the officer in charge of a town (paurā), the superintendent of law or commerce (vagyāhāra), the superintendent of manufactories (kārmāntika), members of the council of ministers, the superintendents of country parts and of boundaries, 12,000. With this they will be loyal and powerful supporters of the king’s cause.

The chiefs of military corporations, the chiefs of elephants, of horses, of chariots and of infantry and commissioners (pradesēsthrakh), 8,000. With this amount they can have a good following in their own communities.

The superintendents of infantry, of cavalry, of chariots, and of elephants, the guards of timber and elephant forests, 6,000.

The chariot-driver, the physician of the army, the trainer of horses, the carpenter (vardhakī), and those who rear animals (yoniṃposhaka), 2,000.

The foreteller, the reader of omens, the astrologer, the reader of Purāṇas, the story-teller, the bard (nāyakha), the retinue of the priest, and all superintendents of departments, 1,000.

Trained soldiers, the staff of accountants and writers, 500.

Musicians (kuśita), 250. Of these, the trumpet-blowers (tṝyakara) shall get twice as much wages as others. Artisans and carpenters, 120.

Servants in charge of quadrupeds and bipeds, workmen doing miscellaneous work, attendants upon the royal person, body-guards, and the procurer of free labourers shall receive a salary of 60 (paṇas).

The honourable play-mate of the king (ṭṛayukta), the elephant-driver, the sorcerer (mānavakas), miners of mountains (imilabhanaka), all kinds of attendants, teachers, and learned men shall have honorarium ranging from 300 to 1,000 (paṇas) according to their merit.

A messenger of middle quality shall receive 10 paṇas for each yojana he travels; and twice as much when he travels from 10 to 100 yojanas.

Whoever represents the king in the rājaśoga and other sacrifices shall get three times as much as is paid to others who are equal to him in learning; and the charioteer of the king (in the sacrifices), 1,000.

*Samudayapādena* is a better reading than samudayavādena, which gives no meaning.
Spies such as the fraudulent (kāpaṭika), the indifferent (uddeshita), the house-holder, the merchant, and the ascetic, 1,000.

The village-servant (grāmabhrītaka), fiery spies, poisoners and mendicant women, 500 (paṇas).

Servants leading the spies, 250, or in proportion to the work done by them.

Superintendents of a hundred or a thousand communities (pṛṣṭha) shall regulate the subsistence, wages, profits, appointment, and transference (vīkshepa) of the men under them.

There shall be no transference of officers employed to guard the royal buildings, forts, and country parts. The chief officer employed to superintend the above places shall be many and shall permanently hold the same office.

The sons and wives of those who die while on duty shall get subsistence and wages. Infants, aged persons, or diseased persons related to the deceased servants shall also be shown favour. On occasions of funerals, sickness, or child-birth, the king shall give presentations to his servants concerned therein.

When wanting in money, the king may give forest-produce, cattle, or fields along with a small amount of money. If he is desirous to colonise waste lands, he shall make payments in money alone; and if he is desirous of regulating the affairs of all villages equally, then he shall give no village to any (of his servants).

Thus the king shall not only maintain his servants, but also increase their subsistence and wages in consideration of their learning and work.

Substituting one dūkha for the salary of 60 paṇas, payment in gold may be commuted for that in kind.

Footmen, horses, chariots, and elephants shall be given necessary training in the art of war at sunrise on all days but those of conjunction; on these occasions of training, the king shall ever be present and witness their exercise.

Weapons and armour shall be entered into the armoury only after they are marked with the king's seal.

Persons with weapons shall not be allowed to move anywhere unless they are permitted by a passport.

When weapons are either lost or spoiled, the superintendent shall pay double their value; an account of the weapons that are destroyed shall be kept up.

Boundary-guards shall take away the weapons and armour possessed by caravans unless the latter are provided with a passport to travel with weapons.

When starting on a military tour, the king shall put his army in action. On such occasions, spies, under the garb of merchants, shall supply to military stations all kinds of merchandise for double the quantity of the same to be repaid in future. Thus not only is there afforded an opportunity for the sale of the king's merchandise, but also is there a way opened for a good return for the wages paid.

Thus, when both the receipts and expenditure are properly cared for, the king will never find himself in financial or military difficulties.

Such are the alternatives with regard to wages and subsistence.

Spies, prostitutes, artisans, singers, and aged military officers shall vigilantly examine the pure or impure conduct of military men.

(To be continued.)

* In dūkha metres.
CONTRIBUTIONS TO PANJABI LEXICOGRAPHY.

(Continued from p. 255.)

SERIES II.

BY H. A. BOSE, I.C.S.


Jarab: an implement consisting of four iron blades tied together with cotton thread wound all round and over them, and used for puncturing poppy capsules. D. G. Khán Gr., p. 108.


Jetī mustāq: literally the "Jat's tooth-brush," a small plant with pink flowers, which grows on land subject to inundation. Mgarh. S. R., p. 84.


Jhābra: the land near Kachha Khun, and Khanewalīh, from jāmban, the fruit of the jāl tree, which the people pluck. Multán Gr., p. 193.


Jhajhri: (i) fee levied from the bridegroom's party by the land-owners of a village at a wedding. Multán Gr., p. 186; (ii) alms distributed to the bards, jahārs and quacks in attendance, and to kāms, such as the Mirāśī, Kumhār, Chāhra, etc., who bring flowers, ibid., p. 95.

Jhal: the log on which the nisār or conduit of a well rests. Multán Gr., p. 197.


Jhāmbna: to thresh by beating the ears against a log or the sides of a plastered hole in the ground. Monty. S. R., Gloss., p. vii.


Jhāngar: the well-wooded tract south of Talamba, so-called from jhāng, a clump of trees. Multán Gr., p. 195.

Jhāranā: shaking off by hand, used of til stalks. Multán Gr., p. 211.


Jhok: (i) a settlement of camel-owning graziers, Chenāb Col. Gr., 1894, p. 19; (ii) a hamlet, the head-quarters of a camel owner, as opposed to rānd, q.v. Jhang S. R., p. 58.

Jholi: *ikut*, the skirt of a coat; a due (after a partition of the crops at which the proprietor was present in person he held out the skirt of his coat and asked for a present, and the tenant generally put in 4 or 5 *ārās*). Muktān S. R., 1880, p. 44. — *A census*, D. G. Khān Gr., p. 84.


Jīn khēdān: to play the *jīn* (used of a woman possessed by a *jīn*). Mgarh. S. R., p. 66.


Jōrī: a variety of rice. D. G. Khān Gr., p. 112.

Joh: (i) a pair of oxen, hence (ii) a quarter of a well, which is divided into 4 jogs, each of which may be said to consist of 10 acres. D. G. Khān Gr., p. 87.


Jor: the golden eagle. Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 16.


Jōt: a light, maintained before a pitcher of water or a canal. Muktān Gr., p. 116.

Jōtkī: a leather strap, in well yokes only passing through a hole in the lower cross-bar into which the *relan* falls, and then slipped over the *gīṭhrā*. Monty. S. R., Gloss., p. iv.

Jowān: a weed, with a purple cruciform flower. Muktān Gr., p. 203.


Jung = *do chakha*: a *jhaldr* with two wheels. Muktan Gr., p. 205.

Junj: the food distributed by the bride's party to the bridegroom's. Muktān Gr. p. 93.


Kahātī: (i) a deep loam soil free of stones, see *bela*; (ii) an irrigated soil, see *bāhārdī*.


Kafgī: a large iron stirrer. Muktān Gr., p. 88.

Kāfī: a song; see *lot*. Muktān Gr., pp. 113-11

Kāhi: see *jhamb*. 
Kahū: a fibrous substance something like cotton, produced at the lower part of the ear of the künde or bulrush. Mgarh. S. R., p. 9.


Kāin: the large-leaved elm, the wood is used to make shoes and furniture and its leaves given to cattle as fodder. Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 11.

Kāj ganetra: a custom, the Brahman gives to the boy and girl's party a paper showing the exact date and hour which is auspicious for each part of the marriage ceremony. Multān Gr. p. 93.


Kak: a cake. D. G. Khan Gr., p. 43.


Kakora: a wild bitter gourd. Multān Gr., p. 20.

Kāla-bānā, a fish, the Labeo calbasu = machani. Bannū S. R., 1899, p. xxxvi.


Kalachōth: the wild cherry, see bharatta.


Kalangan: a late-growing rice. Multān Gr., p. 216.

Kalāpāṇi: (i) the perennial supply of water in a stream. D. I. Khan S. R., 1879, p. 5; (ii) a perennial flow; also (iii) the land to which the perennial flow is applied. D. G. Khan Gr., p. 5 and 98; (iii) flood water, when it has deposited its silt and flows on over salt land, and thereby becomes full of salt. Mgarh. S. R., p. 7.

Kal chigāri: a red wheat with a handsome ear, thick and garnished with a beard that is black at the root. Jhang S. R., 1880, p. 87.


Kallang: a sort of wheat which requires plenty of manure and water. Kohāt S. R. 1884, p. 120.

Kalī bhannā: to break off the young shoots from the stems of tobacco plants. Jhang S. R., p. 95.


Kalohra: a rope made of mānj, used to fasten the yoke to the gūrlī, or driving seat of a well. Cf. chik. Jhang S. R., p. 83.

Kalsi: a very bad soil which consists of narrow-terraced fields cut out of the hill sides. Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 197.


Kaanū: the tall stem of the buds (Saccharum zara). Mgarh. S. R., p. 35.


Kandāhāri: the earlier tobacco crop. Multān Gr., p. 221.

Kandak: a share of 7 Kulaas (q. e.). Marwat.

Kandar: (i) the tenement of a family. Peshāwar S. R., 1878, p. 86; (ii) a custom of levying ground rents, ordinarily from non-agriculturists, and occasionally from a tenant living in a house belonging to a proprietor other than the person whose land he cultivates. Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 139.


Kandari: a plant with thorns on its stem, leaf stalks, and leaves, with a fruit like potato apples. Mgarh S. R., p. 33.


Kangar: a hill tree (pistacia integerrima). Jhelum S. R., p. 18; the wood, which is hard and lasting, is used for roofing, furniture and spinning wheels. Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 11.


Kant: smut, of wheat. Multān Gr., p. 221.

Kanjun: see bhurm = (also kañjë, acc. to Jukes’ Dic. of W. P., p. 215).

Kanjār: the beard of the wheat plant. Cf. kth. Multān Gr., p. 219; -f, the bearded red wheat, p. 218.


Kannowalt topt: a wadded cap coming over the ears. Multān Gr., p. 37.


Kappar: a very hard soil, in which nothing but rice or sawānk will grow — worse than rappar, q.v. Multan Gr., p. 192.


Karāyā: a cess taken in commutation of the government claim to have the mahuł share of the crop conveyed to the head-quarters of the tahsil or ilāha. D. I. Khán S. R., 1872-72, p. 82.


Kargānt: a superior kind of grape. Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 94.


Karwā = wadhā.


Kaslab: the little earthen dyke and trench which conducts rain drainage from higher lying waste to lower lying cultivation. Cf. warrur (used by the Marwats). Bannū S. R., p. xxxviii.

Kasul: endive. Multan Gr., p. 223.

Kastār: (i) a deduction, in grain, from the mahuł or government share of the produce, paid to certain grantees. Mgarh. S. R., p. 93.

Kastür sil chāh: a portion of the gross produce, generally ½ ser in the mand, given by a zamindār to the sinker of well. Multan S. R., 1880, p. 40.

Kata: a rent of fixed amount. Hazara S. R., 1874, p. 156.
Kata: an irrigated soil. see bagh.
Katha: a variety of sugar-cane. Chenab Col. Gr., 1894, p. 84.
Katti: indigo refuse. D. G. Khan Gr., p. 100.
Kaudi kabaddi: see pir kandi. Multan Gr., p. 100.
Kauravata: a food which friends send to a deceased's house for his family and the visitors who come to offer condolences. Mgarh. S. R., p. 71.
(Konur; Add s. v. on p. 247 of Jukes' Diet. of W. P.) — a screen of wattles with a rake at the bottom. Multan Gr., pp. 207-8.
Kharinja: a plant very like the wild fig (iwizar). Kohat S. R., 1884, p. 29.
Kharpoti: a kind of snake, so-called from the hardness of its skin. Cf. jalebi. Mgarh.
S. R., p. 42.
Khasanre: (pronounced -ne) = vesh.


**Katara**: a cow or buffalo that refuses to let herself be milked. *Monty. S. R., Gloss.*, p. xviii.


**Khattaki**: a hard red wheat. *Kohat S. R.*, 1884, p. 120.

**Khauncha**: a plate without a rim. *Multan Gr.*, p. 83.

**Khau piha**: the time after dinner. *Jhelum S. R.*, p. 56.


**Khoe**: a grass (*Sporobolus orientalis*). *Multan Gr.*, p. 19.

**Khur**: sowing by dropping seeds from the hand one by one into the furrow. *Chenab Col. Gr.*, 1894, p. 66.


**Khin**: a fodder grass. D. G. Khan *Gr.*, p. 15.

**Khindi**: a rough home-spun cotton quilt. Cf. *leph* and *sawwar*. *Multan Gr.*, p. 82.


**Khok**: Cf. *khog*.

**Khor**: an enclosure into which picked dates are taken. *Mgarh. S. R.*, p. 31.


**Khulah, Pashto**: a mouth; an opening in a canal; an individual share of land. *Bannu S. R.*, p. xxx.

**Khulkhi**: a tenant-at-will, opposed to *mulk*. *Peshawar S. R.*, 1874, p. 166.


**Khura**: a grass. D. G. Khan *Gr.*, p. 15.


**Khutti**: see *vastus tich*: a proprietary due; *Isa Khe land Indus villages*. *Bannu S. R.*, 1879, p. xxxix.


**Khwarr**: the feasting at the bride’s house at a wedding. *Kohat S. R.*, 1884, p. 31.
Kiárhá: from kídt, a flower bed, a patch of ground; a form of rent; *if the proprietor lived near, he sometimes took 2 or 3 marálahs of dry grass for fodder.* Multán S. R., 1880, p. 45.


Kihan: a large shovel dragged by oxen, used in making embankments. D. G. Khan Gr., p. 103-105.


Kiráyá: a due; exacted in some villages on the pretext that the tenant was bound to carry the proprietor's share of the produce home for him. Multán S. R., 1880, p. 45.


Kôhu: a variety of sugarcane. Chenab Col. Gr., 1894, p. 84.


Kokan ber = mala.


Koni: a kind of wheat, white, with a beardless long ear, which has a square unpointed end. The grain is small, but whiter than the chittí rodi variety. Jhang S. R., p. 87.


Kothi: (i) an earthen receptacle large enough to hold from 5 to 10 mounds of grain. Hazará S. R., 1874, p. 81; (ii) a wooden cylinder like the ghandá, but laid below the tilwaing to prevent the intrusion of sand. Multán Gr., p. 196.


Kuár: a betrothed girl. Multán Gr., p. 95.

Kúdan: a stick. Multán Gr., p. 211.

Kuhmar: a tenant, the same as the adhiyád proprietor. D. G. Khan Gr., p. 86.
Kahni: a kid's skin. Multan Gr., p. 83.


Kundi: a wild vegetable. Kohat S. R. 1884, p. 73.

Kundna: a variety of cotton which yields a three-fourth crop the first year, and a full crop the second: the third year's crop is poor. D. I. Khan S. R., 1879, p. 348.


Kungi: commonest form of blight in wheat; the grain becomes black and the stem yellowish. Bannu S. R., p. 3xxix.

Kunj: a kind of wheat. Multan Gr., p. 218.


Kur: a shed for cattle in the summer. Cf. banadi.


Kurha: a dwelling; a thatch of reeds supported by three sticks, one in the middle and one at each end. The sides of the thatch fall down on either side to the ground. Chenab Col. Gr., 1894, p. 23.


Lachha: an anklet. Multan Gr., p. 89.


Lahu: (i) a hot furnace blast, D. G. Khan Gr., p. 9; (ii) land which is easily commanded by a canal. Multan Gr., p. 325.

Lai: a bush. D. G. Khan Gr., p. 11.

Lai gada: a heap or bundle of corn paid to the labourer at harvest. Multan S. R., 1873-80, p. 44.


Lah: the bed of a canal or its branch. Multān Gr., p. 313.


Lathi: the shaft that connects the two wheels of a well. Multān Gr., p. 197.

Latmar: a tenant who erects embankments for irrigation. D. G. Khān Gr., p. 86.


Lauhde wola: the time from 3 to 4 p. m. Jhelum S. R., p. 56.

Lāwā = laihar.


Likī: lines; narrow divisions of land. Hazāna S. R., 1874, p. 156.

Likī, lirki: a nick or notch in a camel’s ear.


Lori-wola: the time, about 2 p. m., when a little parched gram or other light food is taken. Jhelum S. R., p. 45.

Lotā: an earthen pot or bucket in which the water is raised. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xiii.

Lotā: a due paid to shrines. Multān Gr., p. 188.


Lundā: a form of divorce in which the wife obliges her husband to divorce her. She relinquishes her dower, and sometimes pays a sum to him in consideration of his divorcing her. Mgarh. Customary Law, xx, p. 22.

Lundi: a kind of wheat not often found. Jhang S. R. 1880, p. 87.

Lungī: lit., a turban. See jhūri.


Mahar: dower. Maharmiâ: the dower given to a bride of lower origin than the bridegroom, in which he promises her not the dower ordinarily fixed for women of his own tribe, but that current in her own family. Hazârâ S. R. 1874, p. 300.

Mahl: the ropes of a well. Multân Gr., p. 197.


Majhola: a cooking-pot. Multân Gr., p. 82.


Makhralâ: a broad-bladed succulent grass. D. G. Khân Gr., p. 15.


Mal: a loamy soil. See ban.

Mal: a deep loam soil free of stones. See bela.


Mala band: a leather belt to which is attached the tatwâr and pistol. Peshâwar S. R., 1878, p. 136.

Malhin, malhir: a variety of rice. D. G. Khân Gr., p. 112.

Malhatar: an armed retainer among the Pažhâns of Swât and Bâjaur, included among the Fâqir class.


Mandhwa: Cf. mandhal.

Mangan: a marriage ceremony; the bride is rubbed by the nân or barber woman with a cosmetic. Multân Gr., p. 95.
Manjah wali; a man who sweeps down the dirt, unthreshed ears, etc., off the heap of winnowed grain. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. vii.

Manja: a kind of board used as a shovel. -mâr, the man who makes a bank with a manja, i.e., one who clears land and embanks it (i.e., q. lathmâr), Mianwâli. Bannû S. R., 1879, p. xxxix.


Mannu: the small-leaved elm: used like the kâh. Hazârâ S. R., 1874, p. 11.

Man-tukhmi: a cultivator generally estimates the area of his holding by the number of mounds of seed-grain it requires. He knows no other land measure; hence eman-tukhmi or man-tukhmi means an area requiring one mound of seed. Bannû S. R., p. xxxix.


Mashki: the owner of land, whose share of land is a mashak. Bannû S. R., p. xxxix.


Mast (adj.): rank (used of wheat). Kohat S. R., 1834, p. 121.

Mat: silt; the finest soil in the Kachi. Bannû S. R., p. xxxix.

Matâ ráni: see mudi-ráni.


Mendhiânâwâli: a kind of wheat. Multan Gr., p. 218.

Mothu: a variety of sugar-cane. Chenâb Col. Gr., 1894, p. 84.

Motra: a betrothal given in exchange for blood or seduction (udhâldâ), but land is generally given along with the girl, so the term has come to be applied to the land so given (Bol tract principally). Hazârâ S. R., 1874, p. 156.


(To be continued.)
THE ARTHASAstra OF CHANAKYA (BOOKS V — XV),

Translated by
R. SHAMASASTRY, B.A.,
Librarian, Government Oriental Library, Mysore.

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(Continued from p. 264.)

Chapter IV.

The Conduct of a Courtier (Anujtivirrtam).

W H OEVER possesses enough experience of the world and its affairs may, through the influence of an interested friend, seek the favour of a king who is endowed with amiable qualities and is possessed of all the elements of sovereignty. He may court the favour of any king provided he thinks: — Just as I am in need of a patron, so this king possessed of a taste for good advice and is of amiable character. He may even court the favour of such a king as is poor and destitute of the elements of sovereignty, but never of such a one as is of a depraved character: whoever, as a king, is destitute of good temper and amiable character cannot, by reason of his habitual hatred of the science of Polity and an inborn proclivity to evil ways, maintain his sovereignty, though he is possessed of immense sovereign power.

Having obtained admittance to an amiable king, he shall give the king instructions in sciences. Absence of contradiction from the king will render his position secure. When his opinion is sought about present or future schemes needing much thought and consideration, he may boldly and sensibly, and with no fear of contradiction from the assembly of ministers, pronounce his opinion so as to be in harmony with the principles of righteousness and economy. When required, he may answer questions on points of righteousness and economy (and tell the king: —)

"Following the rule that there should be no delay in putting down by force even a strong confederacy of wicked people, you should apply force against the wicked, if they have a strong support; do not despise my advice, character and secrets; and by means of gestures, I shall prevent you from inflicting punishments on any one, when you are going to do so either willfully or under provocation."

With such agreements with the king, he (a courtier) may enter on the duty assigned to him. He shall sit by the side of, and close to, the king and far from the seat of another courtier. He shall avoid speaking slyly against the opinion of any member of the assembly; he shall never make incredible or false statements; nor loud laughter with no cause for jest, and loud noise and spittle. He shall also avoid talking to another in secret, mutual conversation with another in the assembly (of ministers), appearing in royal dress in the public, haughtiness, buffoonery, open request for gems and promotions, seeing with one eye, biting the lips, brow-beating, interrupting the king while speaking, enmity with a strong party, association with women, pimps, messengers of foreign kings, enemies, inimical parties, dismissed officers, and wicked people, stubborn adherence to a single purpose, and contact with any confederacy of men.

(a) Without losing the opportune moments, he should speak of the king's interest; of his own interests when in company with persons friendly to him; and of others' interests in a suitable time and place, and in conformity to the principles of righteousness and economy.

(1) Regal qualities, (2) a good minister, (3) a good territory, (4) strong forts, (5) sound finance, (6) a powerful army, (7) an ally.
(b) When asked, he should tell the king what is both good and pleasing, but not what is bad, though pleasing; if the king is pleased to listen, he may secretly tell what, though unpleasant, is good.

c) He may even keep silence, but should never describe what is hateful; by abstaining from talking of what the king hates, even undesirable persons have become powerful when, seeing that the king likes only pleasant things without caring for their evil consequences, they have followed his will.

d) While laughing in jest, he should avoid loud laughter; he shall avoid evil aspersions against others, nor ascribe evil to others; he shall forgive evil done to himself and have as much forbearance as the earth.

e) Self-protection shall be the first and constant thought of a wise man; for the life of a man under the service of a king is aptly compared to life in fire; whereas fire burns a part or the whole of the body, if at all; the king has the power either to destroy or to advance the whole family, consisting of sons and wives, of his servants.

Chapter V.

Time-serving (Samayacharikam).

When employed as a minister, he (the courtier) shall show the net revenue that remains after all kinds of expenditure are met with. He shall also give the exact particulars — as this is thus — of whatever work is external, internal, secret, open, costly, or negligible. He shall follow the king in his pursuits after hunting, gambling, drinking, and sexual pleasures. Ever attending upon the king, he shall, by flattery, endeavour to arrest his fall into evil habits and save him from the intrigues, plots and deceptions of enemies. He shall also endeavour to read the mind and appearance of the king.

By way of collecting his wandering thoughts into a resolve, the king exhibits in his appearance and movements his inclination, anger, pleasure, sorrow, determination, fear, and change in the pairs of opposite feelings.

"By cognising wisdom in others, he is pleased; he attends to the speech of others; he gives a seat; allows himself to be seen in private; does not suspect in places of suspicion; takes delight in conversation; spontaneously looks to things without being reminded; tolerates what is said agreeably to reason; orders with smiling face; touches with the hand; does not laugh at what is commendable; commends the qualities of another behind him; remembers (the courtier) while taking luncheon; engages himself in sports accompanied by (the courtier); consults (the courtier) when in trouble; honours the followers of the courtier; reveals the secret; honours the courtier more and more; gives him wealth; and averts his troubles; — these are the signs of the king's satisfaction (with the courtier)."

The reverse of the above indicates his (the king's) displeasure. Still, we shall describe them in plain terms:

Angry appearance when the courtier is in sight; evading or refusal to hear his speech; no inclination to give him a seat or to see him; change in syllables and accents while talking to him; seeing with one eye; brow-beating; biting the lips; rise of sweat; hard breathing and smiling with no palpable cause; talking to himself; sudden bending or raising of the body; touching the body or the seat of another; molestation to another; contempt of learning, caste, and country (of the courtier); condemnation of a colleague of equal defects; condemnation of a man of opposite defects; commendation of his opponent; failure to acknowledge his good deeds; enumeration of his bad deeds; attention to whoever enters into the chamber; too much gift; uttering falsehood; change in the conduct and attitude of visitors to the king; nay, the courtier shall also note the change in the life of animals other than men.

* a, b, c, d, e are in sthāna metre.
Kātyāyana holds that this (king) showers his favours broad-cast.

Kaṅkṣa Bhārādvaśa says that Kraunche (a bird) has moved from right to left.

Dirgha Cārāyana says that this (king) is (like) a grass.

Ghośāmukha says that (he is like) a wet cloth.

Kinejaka says that (he is like) an elephant pouring over water.

Pīśuna is of opinion that one should declare him to be a chariot-horse.

The son of Pīśuna says that mortification ensues when his opponent is courted.9

When wealth and honour are discontinued, such a king may be abandoned; or by recognising the character of the king as well as his own defects, he may rectify himself; or he may seek the protection of one of the best friends of the king.

Living with the king’s friend, the courtier has to endeavour to remove, through the medium of his own friends, the defects of his master, and then come back to his original place, no matter whether the king is alive or dead.10

Chapter VI,

Consolidation of the kingdom and absolute sovereignty.

(Hājyapratisandhanaśaikāśvarāyaḥ cha.)

The minister shall thus avert the calamities in which the king is involved; long before the apprehended death of the king, he shall, in concert with his friends and followers, allow visitors to the king once in a month or two (and avoid their visits on other occasions) under the plea that the king is engaged in performing such rites as are calculated to avert national calamities, or are destructive of enemies, or capable of prolonging life or of procuring a son.

On appropriate occasions, he may shew a pseudo-king not only to the people, but also to messengers coming from friends or enemies; and this (false) king shall make the minister his mouth-piece in conversing with them as deserved. And through the medium of the gate-keeper and the officer in charge of the harem, the minister shall (pretend to) receive the orders of the king. Displeasure or mercy to wrong-doers shall be shewn only indirectly.

Both the treasury and the army shall be kept under the command of two reliable and confidential persons and in a single locality, either within the fort or at the boundary of the kingdom.

Cognates, princes, and other chiefs of the royal family may be employed in works such as the capture of a chief who, employed as a commander of a fort or the tracts of wilderness, has turned inimical along with a strong band of supporters; or they may be sent on an expedition full of difficulties, or to visit the family of the king’s friend.

Whoever, among the neighbouring kings, seems to threaten with an invasion may be invited for some festival, marriage, capture of elephants, purchase of horses, or of merchandise, or for taking possession of some lands ceded to him, and captured; or such an enemy may be kept at bay by an ally till an agreement of not condemnable nature is made with him; or he may be made to incur the displeasure of wild tribes or of his enemies; or whoever among his nearest relatives is kept under guard may be promised a portion of his territory and set against him.

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9 The meaning of the above six passages is not clearly known.  
10 This is in Vêca Narića.
Or with the help of nobles and princes of the king's family, the minister may have the heir-apparent installed and shew him to the public.

Or having, as pointed out in the chapter\(^1\) concerning the awards of punishments, removed the throne of the kingdom, he may conduct the administration.

Or if a chief among the neighbouring kings seems to give trouble, the minister may invite him, saying "come here and I shall make thee king," and then put him to death; or he may be kept at bay by taking such measures as can ward off dangers.

Or having gradually placed the burden of administration on the shoulders of the heir-apparent, the minister may announce the death of the king to the public.

In case of the king's demise in an enemy's land, the minister, having brought about an agreement between the enemy and a friend pretending to be an enemy of the dead king, may withdraw himself; or having installed in the king's fort any one of the neighbouring kings, he may withdraw himself; or having installed the heir-apparent, he may set the army against the enemy; and when attacked by the enemy, he may take, as detailed elsewhere, such measures as can ward off dangers.

"Thus," says Kautilya,\(^1\) "the minister shall invest himself with the powers of sovereignty."

"Not so," says Bhāratavājī; "The king lying on his death-bed, the minister may set up the princes and other chiefs of the royal family against one another or against other chiefs. Whoever attacks the kingdom may be put to death under the plea of disturbance and annoyance to the people; or having secretly punished the chief rebels of the royal family and brought them under his control, the minister shall himself take possession of the kingdom, for on account of the kingdom the father hates his sons, and sons their father; why then should the minister who is the sole prop of the kingdom (be an exception to it)? Therefore he shall never discard what has, of its own accord, fallen into his hands; for it is a general talk among the people that a woman making love of her own accord will, when discarded, curse the man.

"An\(^1\) opportunity will only once offer itself to a man who is waiting for it, and will not come a second time when he may be desirous of accomplishing his work.\(^1\)"

"But it is," says Kautilya, "unrighteous to do an act which excites popular fury; nor is it an accepted rule. He shall, therefore, install over in the kingdom such a son of the king as is possessed of amiable qualities. In the absence of a prince of good character, he may place before himself a wicked prince, or a princess, or the pregnant queen, and tell the other ministers: — This is your cast (kahepa); look to the father of this (boy) as well as to your own valour and descent; this (boy) is merely a flag; and yourselves are the lords; pray, how shall I act?"

As he is saying this, others, taken in confidence before, shall say in reply: — "Who else than the one of your race is capable of protecting the mass of the people of the four castes of the king"? Then the other ministers will certainly agree to it. Accordingly he shall install a prince, a princess, or the pregnant queen, and shew him or her to all the royal relations as well as to the

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\(^1\) Chapter I, Book V.

\(^1\) The words 'Kautilya' and 'Chāpikya' are also spelt as 'Kautalya,' and 'Chāpakya,' derived as they are from kuta or kutila, and chašaka.

\(^1\) In śloka metre.
messengers coming from friends or enemies. He shall provide the ministers and military officers with increased subsistence and salary, promising them that “This (boy) will, after attaining full age, increase your emoluments still more.” He shall likewise promise the chief officers in charge of the forts and country parts as well as the parties of both the friends and enemies. He shall then take necessary steps to educate and train the prince.

Or he may install a child begotten on the princess by a man of the same caste.

He shall keep as a representative of the prince one who is of the same family, of little valour and of beautiful appearance, lest the mother’s mind may be agitated with wild apprehensions. He shall justly protect her. He shall not provide himself with luxurious means of enjoyment. As to the king, he may provide him with new chariots, horses, jewels, dress, women, and palaces.

When the prince comes of age, he may request the prince to relieve him from the intellectual worry. He may abandon the king, if he (the king) is displeased; and follow him if he is pleased. If he is disgusted with the ministerial life, he may go to a forest or a long sacrifice, after having informed the queen of the safeguards and persons that are employed to bring up the princes. Even if the king is held by the chiefs under their influence, the minister may, through the medium of the king’s favourites, teach him the principles of polity with illustrations, taken from the Itihāsa and Purāṇa. Having taken the garb of an accomplished ascetic, the minister may ingratiate himself with the king; and having brought the king under his influence, he may take coercive measure, against seditious.

Book VI.

The Source of Sovereign States (Mandālayonīth).

Chapter I.

The Elements of Sovereignty (Prakritiśampadah).

The king, the minister, the country, the fort, the treasury, the army, and the friend are the elements of sovereignty.

Of these, the best qualities of the king are:—

Born of a high family, godly, possessed of valour, seeing through the medium of aged persons, virtuous, truthful, not of a contradictory nature, grateful, having large aims, highly enthusiastic, not addicted to procrastination, powerful to control his neighbouring kings, of resolute mind, having an assembly of ministers of no mean quality, and possessed of a taste for discipline;—these are the qualities of an inviting nature.

Inquiry, hearing, perception, retention in memory, reflection, deliberation, inference, and steadfast adherence to conclusions are the qualities of the intellect.

Valour, determination of purpose, quickness, and probity are the aspects of enthusiasm.

Possessed of a sharp intellect, strong memory, and keen mind, energetic, powerful, trained in all kinds of arts, free from vice, capable of paying in the same coin by way of awarding punishments or rewards, possessed of dignity, capable of taking remedial measures against dangers, possessed of foresight, ready to avail himself of opportunities when afforded in respect of place, time, and many efforts, clever enough to discern the causes necessitating the cessation of treaty or war with an enemy, or to lie in wait keeping treaties, obligations and pledges, or to avail himself of his enemy’s weak points, making jokes with no loss of dignity or secrecy, never brow-beating and casting haughty and stern looks, free from passion, anger, greed, obstinacy, fickleness, haste and back-biting habits, talking to others with a smiling face, and observing customs as taught by aged persons;—such is the nature of self-possession.
The qualifications of a minister have already been described.\textsuperscript{15}

Possessed of capital cities both in the centre and the extremities of the kingdom, productive of subsistence not only to its own people, but also to outsiders on occasions of calamities, repulsive to enemies, powerful enough to put down neighbouring kings, free from miry, rocky, uneven, and desert tracts as well as from conspirators, tigers, wild beasts, and large tracts of wilderness, beautiful to look at, containing fertile lands, mines, timber and elephant forests, and pasture grounds, artistic, containing hidden passages, full of cattle, not depending upon rain for water, possessed of land and waterways, rich in various kinds of commercial articles, capable of bearing the burden of a vast army and heavy taxation, inhabited by agriculturists of good character, full of intelligent masters and servants, and with a population noted for its loyalty and good character; — these are the qualities of a good country.

The excellent qualities of forts have already been described.\textsuperscript{16}

Justly obtained either by inheritance or by self-acquisition, rich in gold and silver, filled with an abundance of big gems of various colours and of gold coins, and capable to withstand calamities of long duration is the best treasury.

Coming down directly from father and grandfather (of the king), ever strong, obedient, happy in keeping their sons and wives well contented, not averse to making a long sojourn, ever and everywhere invincible, endowed with the power of endurance, trained in fighting various kinds of battles, skilful in handling various forms of weapons, ready to share in the weal or woe of the king, and consequently not falling foul of him, and purely composed of soldiers of Kshatriya caste, is the best army.

Coming down directly from father and grandfather, long-standing, open to conviction, never falling foul, and capable of making preparations for war quickly and on a large scale, is the best friend.

Not born of a royal family, greedy, possessed of a mean assembly of ministers, with disloyal subjects, ever doing unrighteous acts, of loose character, addicted to mean pleasures, devoid of enthusiasm, trusting to fate, indiscreet in action, powerless, helpless, impotent, and ever injurious, is the worst enemy. Such an enemy is easily uprooted.

\(a\) Excluding the enemy, these seven elements, possessed of their excellent characteristics are said to be the limb-like elements of sovereignty.

\(b\) A wise king can make even the poor and miserable elements of his sovereignty happy and prosperous; but a wicked king will surely destroy the most prosperous and loyal elements of his kingdom.

\(c\) Hence a king of unrighteous character and of vicious habits will, though he is an emperor, fall a prey either to the fury of his own subjects or to that of his enemies.

\(d\) But a wise king, trained in politics, will, though he possesses a small territory, conquer the whole earth with the help of the best-fitted elements of his sovereignty, and will never be defeated.\textsuperscript{17}

\textsuperscript{15} Chapter 9, Book I. \textsuperscript{16} Chapter 2, Book II. \textsuperscript{17} a, b, c and d are in ida meter.
Chapter II.

Concerning Peace and Exertion.

(Samavyayamikam.)

Acquisition and security (of property) are dependent upon peace and industry.

Efforts to achieve the results of works undertaken is industry (vyāyāma).

Absence of disturbance to the enjoyment of the results achieved from works is peace.

The application of the sixfold royal policy is the source of peace and industry.

Deterioration, stagnation, and progress are the three aspects of position.

Those causes of human life which affect position are policy and impolicy (ayagha and apaya); fortune and misfortune (aya and anaya) are providential causes. Causes, both human and providential, govern the world and its affairs.

What is unforeseen is providential; here, the attainment of that desired end which seemed almost lost is (termed) fortune.

What is anticipated is human; and the attainment of a desired end as anticipated is (due to) policy.

What produces unfavourable results is impolicy. This can be foreseen; but misfortune due to providence cannot be known.

The king who, being possessed of good character and best-fitted elements of sovereignty, is the fountain of policy, is termed the conqueror.

The king who is situated anywhere immediately on the circumference of the conqueror's territory is termed the enemy.

The king who is likewise situated close to the enemy, but separated from the conqueror only by the enemy, is termed the friend (of the conqueror).

A neighbouring foe of considerable power is styled an enemy; and when he is involved in calamities or has taken himself to evil ways, he becomes assailable; and when he has little or no help, he becomes destructible; otherwise (i.e., when he is provided with some help), he deserves to be harassed or reduced. Such are the aspects of an enemy.

In front of the conqueror and close to his enemy, there happen to be situated kings such as the conqueror's friend, next to him, the enemy's friend, and next to the last, the conqueror's friend's friend, and next, the enemy's friend's friend.

In the rear of the conqueror, there happen to be situated a rearward enemy (pardhaghrada), a rearward friend (dkranda), an ally of the rearward enemy (pardhaghradiksara), and an ally of the rearward friend (dkrandaksara).

That foe who is equally of high birth and occupies a territory close to that of the conqueror is a natural enemy; while he who is merely antagonistic and creates enemies to the conqueror is a factitious enemy.

He whose friendship is derived from father and grandfather, and who is situated close to the territory of the immediate enemy of the conqueror is a natural friend; while he whose friendship is courted for self-maintenance is an acquired friend.
The king who occupies a territory close to both the conqueror and his immediate enemy in front and who is capable of helping both the kings, whether united or disunited, or of resisting either of them individually is termed a Madhyama (mediatory) king.

He who is situated beyond the territory of any of the above kings and who is very powerful and capable of helping the enemy, the conqueror, and the Madhyama king together or individually, or of resisting any of them individually, is a neutral king (uddāsa). — these are the (twelve) primary kings.

The conqueror, his friend, and his friend's friend are the three primary kings constituting a circle of states. As each of these three kings possesses the five elements of sovereignty, such as the minister, the country, the fort, the treasury, and the army, a circle of states consists of eighteen elements. Thus, it needs no commentary to understand that the (three) circles of states having the enemy (of the conqueror), the Madhyama king, or the neutral king at the centre of each of the three circles, are different from that of the conqueror. Thus there are four primary circles of states, twelve kings, sixty elements of sovereignty, and seventy-two elements of states.18

Each of the twelve primary kings shall have their elements of sovereignty, power and end. Strength is power, and happiness is the end.

Strength is of three kinds: power of deliberation is intellectual strength; the possession of a prosperous treasury and a strong army is the strength of sovereignty; and martial power is physical strength.

The end is also of three kinds: that which is attainable by deliberation is the end of deliberation; that which is attainable by the strength of sovereignty is the end of sovereignty; and that which is to be secured by perseverance is the end of martial power.

The possession of power and happiness in a greater degree makes a king superior to another; in a less degree, inferior; and in an equal degree, equal. Hence a king shall always endeavour to augment his own power and elevate his happiness.

A king who is equal to his enemy in the matter of his sovereign elements shall, in virtue of his own righteous conduct or with the help of those who are hostile or conspiring against his enemy, endeavour to throw his enemy's power into the shade; or if he thinks: —

"That my enemy, possessed as he is of immense power, will, yet in the near future, hurt the elements of his own sovereignty, by using contumacious language, by inflicting severe punishments, and by squandering his wealth; that though attaining success for a time, yet he will blindly take himself to hunting, gambling, drinking, and women; that as his subjects are dissatisfied, himself powerless and haughty, I can overthrow him; that when attacked, he will take shelter with all his paraphernalia into a fort or elsewhere; that possessed as he is of a strong army, he will yet fall into my hands, as he has neither a friend nor a fort to help him; that a distant king is desirous to put down his own enemy, and also inclined to help me to put down my own assailable enemy when my resources are poor; or that I may be invited as a Madhyama king." — for these reasons, the conqueror may allow his enemy to grow in strength and to attain success for the time being.

(a) Throwing the circumference of the circle of states beyond his friend's territory, and making the kings of those states as the spokes of that circle, the conqueror shall make himself as the nave of that circle.

(b) A reducible or a conquerable enemy will, when placed between a conqueror and the conqueror's friend, appear to be growing in strength.19

(To be continued.)

18 (1) The conqueror's circle of states; (2) the enemy's circle of states; (3) The Madhyama king's circle of states; (4) the neutral king's circle of states. As each of the twelve primary kings has five elements of sovereignty, the total number of elements is sixty. There sixty elements with the twelve kings amount to seventy-two elements.

19 a and b are in sloka metre.
CONTRIBUTIONS TO PANJABI LEXICOGRAPHY.

(Continued from p. 276.)

SERIES II.

BY H. A. ROSE, I.C.S.

Mithâ kallar: a synonym for kallardhi soil.

Moghul: a kind of date. Multán Gr., p. 228.

Moh: a variety of fish. Multán Gr., p. 23.


Moyajara: *the share of the dead pair,* — a due taken by the lathband on account of the cren, supposed to be dead, by which the field was originally lathed; D. I. Khân S. R., 1879, p. 107. *Murtahin:* the share out of the rekham paid by old cultivators to the niwâlder; Ibid., p. 150.


Mukat: a silver crown put on the bridegroom's head on his wedding day. Multán Gr., p. 93

Mulkî: a hereditary or permanent tenant, opp. to khülki. (g.v.)


Mund: the head of a torrent or distributary. Cf. saropa. D. G. Khân Gr., p. 103.


Mundi: indigo plants in their second year. D. G. Khân Gr., p. 111.


Munnakka: a superior kind of grape. Hazâra S. R., 1574, p. 94.

Munnâ: the pillars on which the upper beam of a well rests. Multán Gr., p. 197.
Muninwala gāh: threshing a crop by fixing a stake in the middle and tying one or more yoke of cattle by a rope to it and driving them round and round over the crop. Multān Gr., p. 210.

Mūra: a small present of money received by the boy’s relations from those of the girl to complete the betrothal. Multān Gr., p. 93.

Murkhai = bunga.


Mustājiri: the lease of land. Multān Gr., p. 179.


Mūthaiya: a peglet fastened into the upright shaft of the handle of a plough, which the ploughman grasps. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. iii.


Nagarai: an iron tripod on which the cooking pot is placed over the fire. Kohat S. R. 1884, p. 74.

Nagha: the fine or commutation charged for absence at the time of a canal clearance. Bannū S. R., p. xi.


Nain: a large torrent. { Diack’s S. R., p. 3.) Cf. khaur. D. G. Khān Gr., p. 3.


Nalla: a deep loam soil free of stones. See bela.

Nallī: a variety of date. Multān Gr., p. 228.


Nandabāna: lit., ‘pressing in the damp’: the process of ploughing land again and again and thus enabling it to absorb the rainfall and economise moisture. Kohat S. R., 1884, p. 121.


Nangni: kūdr or mandwa. D. G. Khān Gr., p. 112.


Nāri: See bela.


Nāsib: the tenant, of a garden, who does the whole planting and construction in return for a share of the produce. Multān Gr., p. 225.


Nawīghri: adoration of the planets at a wedding. Multān Gr., p. 93.

Nawin sam: 9th share, i.e., a rent of four-ninths. Multān Gr., p. 181.


Negar: a deep loam soil free of stones. See bela.

Nīlu: the spring crop usually called hārēt.


Nīl būtt: wild indigo. Mgarh. S. R., p. 34.

Nīmāsha: the time from sunset to twilight. Jhelum S. R., p. 56.

Nīmbā: half a sale, i.e., a mortgage. Bannū S. R., p. xl.

Nīmkai: a unit of measurement, Dir, etc.

Nīmkara: a rent of half the produce. Peshāwar S. R., 1878, p. 159.


Nīrās: lit., 'small;' the ordinary sheaf, as opposed to saras, the reaper's sheaf. Cf. also kārwān. Jhang S. R., p. 28.


Nīrwārū: a man who assists in the division of grain, clearing it off as it is weighed out by the dhanwādi: from nīrādr, justice. D. I. Khān S. R., 1872-79, p. 370.


Nīwarū: a cess. D. G. Khān Gr., p. 84.

Nonak: a grass \((sporobolus
diander)\). Multān Gr., p. 19.


Ogi: see odi.

Orah = "baharbadī, q. v.: a ḫalār having a few pots only, but of a large size. Multān Gr., p. 205.


Pačhheti: late (of cultivation, i. e., sowing after 15th Sawan). Cf. agreti.

Pačhhi: a man specially employed in puncturing the capsules of the poppy and manufacturing opium; he is paid one-fifth of the opium made before its division between landlord and tenant. D. G. Khān Gr., p. 108.

(?) Pačhhu: a receptacle for ornaments.

Padam: a kind of snake. Mgarh, S. R., n. 49

Pag: see ḫārī.

Pān: add to Jukes’ Dīcty. of W. P., p. 56: ordinary cattle manure, while on the well before it is put in the land. Multān Gr., p. 208. Cf. ḥīl.


Painā; Puahto = pand: tail. See saropā-painā. D. G. Khān Gr., p. 103.

Pai path: lit., one pai in the path; a specific rate of haqq samāndārī. Cf. adh-seva man.

Pail: a single-headed pick, with a wooden handle, used to break up soil on narrow hill terraces where the plough cannot work. Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 96.
Pair pakrah: a custom at weddings; the bride's family tie a rope to the bridegroom's leg until he is bought off by his father for Rs 1-4, 2 or 5. Gujrát S. R., p. 48.


Pakkapāṇi: water in a well that remains constant and does not diminish much when the well is worked. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. v.


Palla log: the Gujar owners who pay a tax called rama-thumāri (flock counting) are locally, so-called. Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 252.

Palla: a wattleed stack. Cf. bhusa. Multán Gr., p. 82.


Panā: (i) clay from the canal spoil banks; (ii) sand from the Thal sand-hills. Mgarh. S. R., p. 75.

Pand: tail, of a torrent or distributary. D.G. Khán Gr., p. 103.

Pānt: canal water only. Multán Gr., p. 199.

Panjā: a rake with wooden teeth used in dressing the boundaries of fields. Cf. panjhatī and jandra. Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 96.

Panjādu: a division of produce, so that the proprietor gets two shares and the cultivators three. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. viii.

Panjhatī: a rake. See pānta.


Pāpra: a small plant, about a foot high, with purple flowers. Multán Gr., p. 208.


Parchhī: i. q.: phāri and traddi, q. v.
Parohhā : the small conduit into which the pots on a Persian wheel pour the water. Multān Gr., p. 197.


Parrot : a fish, the motoptherus kapirot. Banu S. R., 1892, p. xxxvi.


Patūn (division of land) : acquisition of land by original tribal division. D. G. Khān Gr., p. 78.


Pattadārs : lessees who paid fixed sums in cash for the wells cultivated by them. Mgarh S. R., p. 84.

Pattari : a kind of bhāsa made of the leaves of pulses, such as moth. Jhang S. R., p. 93.

Pawanji : a tax of 5 per cent. on sales of cattle, levied by the rīd for providing protection in time of danger. Chenab Col. Gr., 1894, p. 18.


Peshiwela : the time from 2 to 3 p.m. Jhelam S. R., p. 56.


Pete : an account of: in sabukars' language.


Phakkah : grain which a blacksmith or cobbler receives at the spring and autumn harvests. Gujarāt S. R., p. 41.


Phalai: (Grewia asiatica), a small currant-like bush yielding a small acid berry about the end of May. D. G. Khán Gr., p. 113.

Phalstra: a concoction of sirā and sugar, cooked in ghī. Multān Gr., p. 90.

Phamban: a kind of wheat (not often met with). Jhang S. R., 1874-80, p. 87.

Phambil: a soil, somewhat richer than the gas, q. v. Multān Gr., p. 92.

Phara-bhūtrā, q. v.: the pinnae of the date-palm. Multān G. R., p. 228.


Phirikhi: a disease of sheep and goats. See phikari.


Phūl: a charm. Multān Gr., p. 117.

Phūl chunnan: a ceremony in which the mīrdan places a flock of cotton on the bride's head and the bridegroom blows it away seven times. Mgarh. S. R., p. 70.


Phūrī: a coarse palm mat, i. q. pārehī and traddī. Multān Gr., p. 82.

Phus: dates which fall from the tree. Multān Gr., p. 227.

Phuta kā rupiā: a fee of Rs. 10 taken by the chief of a tribe for recovering the stolen property of a dependent. Chenab Col. Gr., 1894, p. 18.


Pichhawan dhallo: 2 p.m. Cf. dopahar dhallo. Multan Gr., p. 266.


Pilwahan: a grass. Cf. pilahan.

Pin: a socket and iron plate by which the blade is attached to the handle of a plough. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. iii.

Pinin: a pot of butter. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xviii. Cf. the verse. Jad charhiyl Agath, nau nesa pand hath; Mdhin pinin waleti, wogin godh hath. When Agath arose the water, which was nine spears deep, sank to one cubit; the female buffalo herds were rolling about pots of butter; the female cowherds but nothing but cow-dung. Agath is said to be a star that rises in Asū. The Dictionary says, it is a storm that usually winds up the rainy season. The meaning is that, cows milk well only in the rains; while buffaloes' milk yields little butter till after them.

Pinn: dates pressed together into a lump. Multan Gr., p. 228.

Plotra: paternal. (?) share of property by right of agnatic descent. D. G. Khan.


Pish: the dwarf palm (chamaecros Ritchiana). D. G. Khan Gr., p. 15.

Piskot: a four-handed variety of playing-cards. Multan Gr., p. 100.


Poris: proprietorship acquired by manual labour. D. G. Khan Gr., p. 79.

Pourch: a bracelet. Multan Gr., p. 89.


Pranj: a disease of kine. See mal mail.

Pacha: (i) a lot or share of land. Cf. bakhra and brakha. (ii) an unit of measurement, Dir, etc.


Putreeda: a bridegroom's near relation. Multan Gr., p. 96.

Rafa: the grain that remains after the heap of corn has been removed. Cf. angani and talwera. Multan S. R., p. 21.

Rafad: water thick with mud; karnā; to plough up rice-fields when under water, preparatory to sowing broadcast. Monty. S. R., Gloss., p. vi.

Rāhna: (i) a hamlet, the head-quarters of a camel grazier, as opposed to jhok, q. v., (ii).


Rātīn: wild goat (= gorāl). Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 11.

Rakab: an earthen dish in which cooked food is served. Kohat S. R., 1884, p. 74.


Rakah: a watcher hired to watch the fruit of a date tree; a forest guard in Kānga. Mgarh, S. R., p. 30.


Ramak: true white wheat. Multan Gr., p. 216.

Rām rām: the same as milāt. Multan Gr., p. 93.

Rang ku bāz: a three-handed variety of playing-cards. Multan Gr., p. 100.


Rappar: a very hard clay soil, only slightly better than the kappar. (Cf. rap, raper, Jukes' Dicty. of W. P., p. 173). Multan Gr., p. 192.

Rārī: a vetch-like creeping plant which grows among Rabi crops. Multan Gr., p. 208.

Rārī: a piece of wood between the nasdār and pācheha on which the latter rests. Monty, S. R. Gloss., p. xiii.


Rātachar (= rātarchār?): Gujrāt S. R., p. 49.

Ratti-chigāri: a red-bearded wheat, the commonest of all, especially on sailāb lands. Jhang S. R., p. 87.

Rāwa: a synonym for the Bār tract. Good soil if supplied with water is called rāwa suhāwa or 'married,' and bad soil is called rāwa ranā, or widowed. Multān Gr., p. 193.

Rerā (pl. ān): the sticks that connect the ropes of a well. Multān Gr., p. 197.


Richh: a variety of date-palm. Multān Gr., p. 228.


Rīsa-tallī: a share admitted by consent; a share transferred from the branch of the tribe, to which it genealogically belongs, to another branch. Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 156.

Bod kohī: land irrigated by channels from hill torrents in the flood season, D. I. Khān S. R., p. 6; pānt, an autumn flood, D. G. Khān Gr., p. 98.


Rota lagānā: to plant out young plants of rice, etc. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. vi.

Rottā weia: see dopra. Mulān Gr., p. 256.


Sain: a common grass, like phīsāin, q. v.


Sākhi: see dohā. Multān Gr., p. 93.

(To be continued.)
THE SONG OF SINDHU BIR.

A Song of the Gakdi women, the Shepherds of the outer Himalayas, Panjâb.

BY H. A. ROSE.

Text.
1. Lohe Lohan Pâl!  
2. Ghat ghat Pâl! meriyâ,  
3. Ghat pâhlâr thân, mere devâ,  
4. Ghat dâjhre thân, mere devâ,  
5. Phir Kâsi Kâshmirâ, mere devâ,  
6. Ghat tîrje thân, mere devâ,  
7. Ghat bârin phâstân de Râje devâ,  
8. Ghat dâviân mâyân, mere devâ,  
9. Ghat Rârâ Brârî, mere devâ,  
9a. Ghat Andilâ Sandiâ mâyân,  
10. Châhrî, Chhattrâhrî, mere devâ,  
11. Ghat labul nachdiyân Lahtiyân,  
12. Ghat satyo Banîspariyân màl,  
Teri jàtrâ jo âiyânà.

Translation.
1. O thou, Lohan Pâl!  
2. O thou, Bhumi Pâl!  
3. O thou, my Pâl, at every place,  
4. O thou, Sângin Pâl!  
3. In the first place, my god,  
4. Thou residest in the seventh Pâtâl.  
5. In the second place, my god,  
6. Thou livest in flat Kashmir.  
7. Then in Kâsi, and, again in Kashmir, my god  
8. Thou settlest in Kâsi and Kashmir.  
9. In the third place, my god,  
10. Thou fixedst thy lodging at Kukti.  
11. There Râjâs of the twelve phâdjas,  
12. Came to worship thee.  
1. goddesses and mothers, my god,  
2. Came as pilgrims to thee.  
3. Rârâ and Brârî, my god,  
4. Came on a pilgrimage to thee.  
5. Andilâ and Sandlâ, goddesses,  
6. Came to visit thee O god, came to visit thee.  
10. Châhrî and Chhattrâhrî, my god,  
11. Came to adore thee.  
11. Women of Lahul dance in Lahul,  
12. The goddess Bhârmâni dances in Bhat.  
12. All the seven Banîspariyân,  
13. Came for adoration to thee.  

1. Sindhu Bir or the Whistling Hero is doubtless an emanation of Siva. For an account of his cult, see the Punjab Census Rep., 1902, p. 120; the Kangra Dist. Gazetteer, 1904 or the forthcoming Gazetteer of Chamba.
2. Lohan: pl. of loh, metal and Loha or Lohâ Pâl is said to mean 'Lord of Metals.'
3. Sângin Pâl: the snail is an iron chain used in flagellating devotees. Sindhu Bir is said to have a chain always with him, and his votaries also keep one at their homes. Hence Sindhu is Lord of Chains, as well as of Metals, and of the earth as Bhumi Pâl.
4. 'Thou dwellest in all the seven lower regions,' and the poem goes on to describe the Bir's flittings from Kashmir to Benares, etc.
5. Kukti: the well-known pass in Chamba. Sindhu's votaries are numerous in its neighbourhood.
6. Phâdja: a parâyâna. The term is also used in Kullâ for the subdivision of a kûhl or parâyâna. Here it appears to mean a principality.
7. Rârâ and Brârî are two goddesses worshipped in Chamba, but subservient to Sinhâhu.
8. Andilâ and Sandilâ are also goddesses in the hills, but the exact locality of their cult is not known.
9. Châhrî and Chhattrâhrî are also two goddesses worshipped in Chamba. The duality of these three pairs of goddesses calls to mind the duality of the Bhûsa, the two wives of the Mîn, see Is the Cult of Mîn Bibî Phallic? Indian Antiquary Vol. XXXVI, ante, p. 32. For the phallic origin and aspect of Siva, see the recent article in Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, VIII, pp. 121, et seq. (1909).
10. Sindhu Bir is said to be well-known and worshipped in Lahul and he affects mountainous regions generally. He also becomes emamoured of fair maidens, and they dance with him.
11. Bhârmâni a goddess of Barmaur in Chamba. She has also a temple in Bhâtân and she too dances with Sindhu. Bhât (sic) = Bhatân.
13 Sūhā sūhā mai sāluā lāndiyān,
   Ksar tik hai īd.
14 Būrā Būhārī mere bāwā,
   Khūnā dā bhārī.
15 Ghāt hārān serān dā dhārā merā,
   Āthārān serān dā choliā.
16 Dākhā13 nawārī mere mitrā,
   Dandīrēn dawārī.
17 Ghāt ghāghhī topī lāndā,
   Ghāghhī topī hai lāī.
18 Ghāt dhārān14 bhānkharān mere devā,
   Sināhūnī rakhānī.
19 Bhejīōn lakhānī, mere devā,
   Bakhrīn chāndā.
20 Ghāt thandē thandē nālēn, mere devā,
   Bānrī bājāndē.
21 Jān kālāsān lāndā, devā,
   Jān kālāsān lāndā.
22 Ghāt chhūā chhūā merā lāhuā,
   Ghāt chhūa chhūhārī lāndī.
23 Chhārūrūn pānī plāndē, devā,
   Chhārūrūn tānā pānī plāndē.
24 Ghāt bādhānī ghamālī, mere chachān,
   Lāhānēn desān delīn.
25 Lāhānēn desān bāsdā Lakhnū Gadețā,
   Lakhnū jō delīn, mere chachān, Lakhānēn jō delīn.
26 Ghāt thāthuā ghrātā,
   Tēra landhār chalī ātā.
27 Ghāt sat path sattūn phakdī,
   Angān phīdī pānī.
28 Ghāt chhočīrī Gadețrī,
   Dāhī lambī landī bīnī.
29 Ghāt pathkī lāndī kodhāndā,
   Bhumbhak15 rasādī bīnī.

13 Bērā : having small ears — or none at all; buhārī a broom. Sināhūnī Bīr has small ears and often carries a broom on his back.
14 Dērā : a woolen girdle worn by the Gaddis, as chālā is the loose woolen garment worn by them.
15 Dākhā : waist, loins; Sināhū Bīr wears a girdle which is usually of cotton. Navādīr : Sināhū Bīr wears the Gaddi costume, but instead of the jōrā he wears a belt of cotton webbing (navādīr).
16 Dānīrēs : (dānīrēś, lit. a window) 'in thy teeth.' Singhūhī's teeth are set close together, but somewhat apart.
17 Ghāghhī topī : the long pointed conical cap worn by the Gaddī.
18 Dārā : a low range of hills; bhānkārī, barren, arid, devoid of vegetation. Over the hills Sinēhū wanders and then descends into the valleys, which are surrounded by hills on all sides.
19 Chhūhī chāhī : the sound which he makes when not whistling. Gaddīs often utter this sound when grazing their sheep, or when resting after a journey, or when overtired after carrying a heavy load.
20 Bestow me in marriage upon some one in Lahul. This proves that it is a girl's song.
21 Lakhnū : another name for Sinēhū Bīr, with whom the singer is in love.
22 Water-mills are favourite places for assignations.
23 The path is a wooden grain measure — holding some 5 ārī kūchā. Sattū, parched barley flour.
24 Bhumbhak : a pendant ornament often made of small cowries, or coloured woollen threads. It is generally worn by women of all classes even in the plains, and is also called prāddā. It is tied to the braided locks which hang down the bride's back.
ARCHAEOLOGICAL NOTES DURING EXPLORATIONS
IN CENTRAL ASIA IN 1906-8.

BY DR. M. AUREL STEIN.

Preface by the Editor.

My old friend, Dr. Aurel Stein, has been kind enough to enable me to extract at the earliest opportunity the archeological matter contained in his account of his last great journey in Central Asia, which he first read before the Royal Geographical Society in March last and subsequently before the Royal Asiatic Society and elsewhere.

The extraordinary success that attended his journey from the antiquarian and archeological points of view is indicated in the extracts now printed. The great variety of hardships endured will be found in some detail in the full account as published by the Royal Geographical Society, as will also the extremely valuable geographical results of the journey.

I gladly take this opportunity of testifying to the admiration that all cognizant of what Dr. Stein has achieved and endured, feel in respect of the pluck, endurance, skill and knowledge that he has once again exhibited in this last splendid effort of travel.

The Sketch Map accompanying this paper has been prepared by my son, Lieut. R. D. Temple, F. R. G. S., King's Royal Rifles.

Introductory Remarks.

Ever since I had returned in 1901 from my first journey into Chinese Turkestan, happy recollections of congenial labour spent in its mountains and desert had made me long for a chance of fresh explorations. There was reason to hope that the ruins of sites long ago abandoned to the desert would yield more relics of that ancient civilization which, as the joint product of Indian, Chinese, and classical influences, had once flourished in the oasis fringing the Tarim basin, and upon which it had been my good fortune to throw light by my former excavations. But the scientific elaboration of the results then secured cost time and great efforts, having to be carried on largely by the side of exacting official duties, and it was not until the summer of 1904 that I was able to submit to the Government of India detailed proposals about another journey which was to carry me back to my old archeological hunting-grounds around the Taklamakan Desert and thence much further eastwards, to Lop-nor and the Great Wall of China.

I had originally tried hard for permission to start during the summer of 1905. But the freedom from official routine work which I needed for the completion of my Detailed Report on the previous journey, itself an indispensable preliminary to fresh work, could not be secured until the following autumn and winter. So it was only in April, 1906, that I could set out from Kashmir, where by six months' incessant desk-work, more fatiguing to me than any hard marching or digging, I had managed to finish—and even to see through the press in distant Oxford—those two stony quarto volumes of Ancient Khotan. For my entry into Chinese Turkestan I had chosen this time a route singularly interesting for the student of early geography and ethnography, but practically closed now to the European traveller. It was to take me from the Peshawar district, on the Indian administrative border, through the independent tribal territory of Swat and Dir, into Chitral and thence across the Baroghil to the Upper Oxus Valley and the Afghan Pamirs.

1. Extracts from a paper read at the Royal Geographical Society, March 8, 1909, and printed in full in the Geographical Journal, for July and September, 1909.
In the end a hint from His Excellency, the present Viceroy, Lord Minto, who favoured me with an interview at Peshawar, and who subsequently followed my travels with the kindest interest, helped to clear the way for me. So it was not until on April 28, 1906 that I was able to leave Fort Chakdara, the scene of much hard fighting during the last great tribal rising. In the meantime I had been joined by my Indian assistant, Rai Ram Singh, the excellent native surveyor who had accompanied me on my former journey, and by worthy Naik Ram Singh, a corporal of the First (Bengal) Sappers and Miners, who through effective special training provided by his regimental authorities, had qualified to assist me in photographic work, making of plans, and similar tasks requiring a "hasty man." With the Rai Sahib came Jasvant Singh, the wiry little Rajput, who had acted as his cook on my previous journey, and who in the meantime had enlarged his extensive practical experience of Central Asia by crossing Tibet on Major Ryder's expedition. Never have I seen an Indian follower so reliable in character and so gentlemanly in manner, and how often have I regretted that his high caste precluded his giving to myself the benefit of his ministrations. Our little party, besides, included my faithful old Yarkandi caravan man, Muhammadju, who had braved the wintry passes in order to join me, and had narrowly escaped with his life early in the month, when an avalanche swept away and buried half a dozen of his fellow travellers on the Burzil, and an Indian Muhammadan, who was supposed to act as my cook, and about whose qualities, professional and personal, the less said, the better. Taking into account that our equipment comprised a considerable quantity of scientific instruments, several thousands of photographic glass plates, a raft floated by numerous goatskins which were to be utilized also for transport of water in the desert, and indispensable stores of all kinds, likely to last for two and a half years, I had reason to feel satisfied at fourteen mules sufficient for the whole baggage.

My journey was to take me not to distant regions alone, but also far back into the ages. So it was doubly appropriate that its first stages should lead through trans-border valleys which twenty-two centuries ago had seen the columns of Alexander the conquering Macedonian pass by, and where now the possibility of fanatical outbreaks still obliges the European officer to move with tribal escort and armed. There were ruins of Buddhist times to be surveyed and interesting ethnographic observations to be gathered already on the rapid marches which carried me up to Dir.

I received also the services of a qualified Chinese secretary in the person of Chiang-su-yieh. For the work before me, the help of a Chinese scholar had appeared from the first indispensable. Having always had to carry on my scholarly labours amidst struggles for leisure, I had never had a chance of adding to my philological equipment by a serious study of Chinese, however much I realized its importance. It was a piece of real good fortune which gave me in Chiang-su-yieh not merely an excellent teacher and secretary, but a devoted helpmate ever ready to face hardships for the sake of my scientific interests. Chiang's exceedingly slight knowledge of Turki counted for little in the lessons I used to take in the saddle while doing long desert marches, or else in camp whenever it was pitched early enough in the evening. But once I had mastered the rudiments of conversational practice in Chinese, his ever-cheerful companionship was a great resource during long months of lonely travel and exertion. With the true historical sense innate in every educated Chinese, he took to archaeological work like a young duck to the water, and whether the remains to be explored were Chinese or foreign in origin, he watched and recorded everything with the same unfailing care and thoroughness. Slight and yet wiry of body, he bore the privations and discomforts of desert life with a cheerful indifference quite surprising in a literatus accustomed during all his life to work near the fleshpots of the Yemens. And with all his interest in remains dead and buried, the faithful companion of my labours had a keen eye for things and people of this world and an inexhaustible stock of humorous observations. How often have I longed since we parted for my ever alert and devoted Chinese comrade.
1. Chitral.

The Chitral capital is a charming little oasis in a maze of barren steep mountains. During the few days of halt there through the kind help of my friend, Captain Knollys, Assistant Political Agent for Chitral I was able to gather an ample anthropometrical harvest. In its autochthonous population Chitral holds an important branch of that "Dard" race, which by its antiquity and ethnic and linguistic affinities may well claim the special interest of the historical student and ethnographer. But the mountain fastnesses of Chitral have again and again offered shelter also to remnants of tribes unable to hold their own elsewhere, and thus it came that among the many exact anthropological measurements I was able to take with my assistants, those of Iranian-speaking hill-men from across the Hindu-kush and of wild-looking immigrants from Kafiristan were also largely represented. The physical affinity between these tribes, all approximating the Homo Alpinus type, as seen more or less purely in the inhabitants of the high valleys drained by the Oxus, seems marked, and this helps to throw light on more than one problem connected with the early ethnology of Central Asia and the Indian North-West.

The survival of much ancient lore in customs, traditions, crafts, and even in domestic architecture, as seen in this interior, makes Chitral and the adjacent valleys a fascinating field for the student of early civilization. It was with regret, therefore, that I yielded to a variety of cogent practical reasons urging me onwards, to the Oxus and the "Roof of the World." But rapidly as my marches up the Yarkhun River and through Mastuj had to be, I was able, thanks to local information carefully collected before, to trace and survey an interesting series of early Buddhist rock carvings, sites of pre-Muhammadan forts, etc. It was curious to note how often local tradition connected the latter with dimly remembered periods of Chinese over-lordship—a significant fact in view of what the Chinese Annals tell us of the temporary extension of imperial power under the T'ang Dynasty right across the Pamirs and even to the south of the Hindu-kush. The accuracy of these records with regard to local topography was strikingly illustrated by the discovery that a large stretch of arable land now almost completely waste but showing ample evidence of ancient cultivation in the shape of terraced fields, stone enclosures, etc., still bears the name of Shugiat, the Chinese reproduction of which is applied by the T'ang Annals to the chief place of the territory of Shang-mi or Mastuj in the eighth century A. D. It is true that this tract, far larger than any other actually cultivated area in Mastuj, seems at present not exactly inviting, its elevation, circa, 10,000 feet above the sea, probably in combination with the recent advance of a huge glacier in the side valley opposite, making its climate distinctly cold. But whether or not this part of the Mastuj Valley had been affected by important climatic changes during the last twelve hundred years, there remains the interesting fact that since the British pacification of the country, the incipient pressure of population is now leading to the reoccupation of this, as well as other but smaller areas, where cultivation has ceased for centuries.

But it was on far more interesting ground that I was soon able to verify the accuracy of those Chinese annalists, who are our chief guides in the early history and geography of Central Asia. Reasons, which cannot be set forth here in detail, had years before led me to assume by which, in 749 A. D., a Chinese army coming from Kashgar and across the Pamirs had successfully invaded the territories of Yasin and Gilgit, then held by the Tibetans, that the route, led over the Baroghil and Darkot Passes. I was naturally very anxious to trace on the actual ground the route of this remarkable exploit, the only recorded instance of an organized force of relatively large size, having surmounted these passes the formidable natural barriers which the Pamirs and Hindu-kush present to military action. The ascent of the Darkot Pass, circa, 15,400 feet above the sea, which I undertook with this object on May 17, proved a very trying affair, for the miles of magnificent glacier over which the ascent led from the north were still covered by deep masses of snow, and only after nine hours of toil in soft snow, hiding much-crevassed ice, did we reach the top of the pass. Even my hardy Mastuji and Wakhi guides had held it to be inaccessible at this early season. The
observations gathered there, and subsequently on the marshes across the Baroghil to the Oxus, fully bore out the exactness of the topographical indications furnished by the official account of Kao-hsien-chen's Expedition. As I stood on the glittering expanse of snow marking the top of the pass and looked down the precipitous slopes leading some 6,000 feet below to the head of Yasin Valley, I felt sorry that there was no likelihood of a monument ever rising for the brave Corean general who had succeeded in moving thousands of men across the inhospitable Pamirs and over such passes.

2. The Baroghil Pass.

On May 19 we crossed the Hindu-kush main range over its lowest depression, the Baroghil, circ. 12,400 feet into the barren Upper Wakhan. Regard for the hardships already so long undergone by my military host—and touching applications from the peaceable Wakhi villagers upon whom they were largely subsisting—urged me onwards, yet not before I had surveyed interesting ruins of fortifications intended to guard the route leading from the Baroghil, and probably of early Chinese origin.

3. The Route of Hsüan-tsang in the Pamirs.

Moving down the Taghdumbash Pamir, nine marches from Chitral, I found myself once more on the ancient route which Hsüan-tsang, the great Chinese pilgrim, had followed when returning in 649 A.D. from his long travels in India. I had traced his footsteps before to so many sacred Buddhist sites, and was now setting out to follow them up so much further to the east, that I felt special gratification at being definitely able to identify here the rock fastness, where a curious local legend, related by the pilgrim, supposed an imperial princess from China to have been imprisoned in ancient days. The fortifications which I traced on the top of the almost completely isolated rock spur of Kizkurghan, "the Princess's Tower," rising with precipitous crags fully 500 feet above a gloomy defile of the Taghdumbash River, must have been long in ruins already in Hsüan-tsang's days. Yet such is the dryness of the climate in these high valleys that the walls defending the only possible approach to this ancient place of refuge could still be clearly traced, in spite of the material being mere sun-dried bricks with regular layers of juniper twigs embedded between their courses.

At Tashkurghan, where I revisited the site of the old capital of Sarikol as described by Hsüan-tsang, I divided our party. Rai Ram Singh was sent off to carry on survey work in the eastern portion of the Muztagh-ata range, supplementary to our labours of 1900, while I myself moved on to Kashgar by the direct route across the high Chichiklik Dawn and a succession of minor passes. Rapid as my marches had to be—I covered the distance of close on 180 miles in six days in spite of serious difficulties on account of melting snows and flooded streams—I was able to ascertain by unmistakable topographical evidence that the route was the same which my Chinese guide and patron-saint, Hsüan-tsang, had followed more than twelve centuries ago.

4. The Pakhpo Nomads of the outer Kun-lun Hills.

We turned eastwards from Yarkand and made our way through hitherto unsurveyed ground along the right bank of the Tian-si River to the outer Kun-lun hills about Kôk-yar. There, with my tent sheltered in a shady garden of the small oasis, with the barren mountains around assuming relative coolness, and yet near enough to the desert to receive almost daily a steady rain of fine dust carried up by the winds from the dunes and deposited here to form fresh loess, I worked hard for a fortnight. Besides finishing off the last literary tasks which bound me to Europe, I found my hands fully occupied with collecting anthropological measurements and data about the people of Pakhpo. It was no easy matter to get hold of these interesting hill nomads. At first they fought terribly shy of leaving their high valleys, just as if real live heads were to have been taken instead of mere measurements and photographs with perfectly harmless instruments. But the
trouble was amply repaid by the evidence that this small tribe in its alpine isolation had preserved remarkably well the main physical features of that race, represented by the present Galchas of the Pamir region, and probably like those of Iranian speech, which in ancient times appears to have extended right through to Khotan and even further east.

5. Khotan and the Tatis.

By September 9 I had returned to Khotan, where preparations for my archaeological campaign and the examination of miscellaneous antiquities brought in by treasure-seekers detained me for some days. Hard at work as I was, I could not help attending a great feast which Chien-Darin, the obliging prefect, was giving in my honour to the assembled dignitaries of the district. In spite of the time it cost to get through some thirty strange courses, I appreciated the kindness of the mandarin, to whom I had devoted years past to the elucidation of the history and geography of Khotan. Then I set out for the desert adjoining the oasis north-eastward, where I succeeded in tracing much-eroded, but still clearly recognizable, remains proving ancient occupation well beyond the great Rawak Stupa. I found the court of the latter even more deeply buried under dunes than when I carried on excavations here in 1901, and also, the fine stucco reliefs then brought to light completely destroyed by treasure-seekers in spite of careful re-burial. But when I subsequently surveyed the extensive debris-strewn areas known as tatis fringing the north edge of the tract of Hunguya, where potsherds, fragments of bricks, slag, and other hard material cover square miles of ground once thickly occupied, but long centuries since abandoned to the desert, I had the satisfaction of recovering by excavation a mass of interesting small reliefs in hard stucco, which had once decorated the walls of a large Buddhist temple, dating probably from the fifth to the sixth century A.D. In their style, unmistakably derived from models of Graeco-Buddhist art, these relief fragments closely resembled the Rawak sculptures. Curiously enough, of the temple itself and the larger sculptures once adorning it, but the scantiest remains had survived in the ground. The probable explanation is that the site had continued to be occupied for some time after the temple had become a ruin, evidently through fire, and that only such smaller stuccos as had become hardened by the latter into a likeness of terra-cotta could survive in soil constantly kept moist through irrigation.

The finds possessed special interest as proving that even sites so much exposed to erosion by wind and havoc wrought by human agency, as tatis generally are, may preserve antiquarian relics of interest in lower strata, which neither the slowly scooping force of driven sand, nor the burrowings of treasure-seekers, etc., from the still inhabited area close by, had reached. Another important and curious feature was the prevalence of richly girt pieces. This furnished strong confirmation of the hypothetical explanation I had given years before of the origin of the leaf gold washed from the culture strata of the old Khotan capital at Yotkan. I may notice in passing that, just as elsewhere along the edges of the Khotan oasis, cultivation in the fertile Hunguya tract is now steadily advancing in the direction of the areas previously abandoned to the desert. The present favourable economic conditions and the consequent increase in the population seem the chief cause for this extension of the cultivated area, which struck me again and again on revisiting portions of the oasis surveyed six years before, and which may yet, given a continuance of those factors, lead to the recovery of a considerable portion of the desolate tati overrun by dunes and elsewhere undergoing wind-erosion. But it appears to me equally certain that the water-supply at present available in the Yurung-kash could under no system whatever be made to suffice for the irrigation of the whole of the large tracts now abandoned to the desert, and for this broad fact desiccation alone supplies an adequate explanation.
6. The Domoko Oasis.

From the Hanguya Tati I passed on to a group of small ruined sites exhibiting in a typical form the fate of destruction, to which ancient remains are exposed in the belt of sandy jungle often intervening between the still cultivated areas of the Domoko Oasis and the open desert of drift-sand. In 1901, I had passed some completely eroded dwellings, forming the northernmost of those sites, in a maze of tamarisk-covered sand-unes not far from the village tract of Domoko, on the route from Khotan to Keriya. But information about the rest had become available only since, a few years later, an enterprising village, stimulated by my old desert guide, Ahmed "the Hunter," had begun to prospect there for "old papers" to sell in the antique market of Khotan. The site of Khadalik, from which one of my old treasure-seeking guides had extracted some manuscript remains of interest, and to which the promise of a good reward now induced him to take me, seemed disappointing at first sight; for its principal ruin, which soon proved to be that of a large Buddhist temple, presented itself merely as an extensive low débris heap covered with sand. But scarcely had we begun systematic clearing of it, when pieces of paper manuscript began to crop out in numbers. It soon became evident that the destructive operations of those who in early days had quarried the ruined temple for timber, and the more recent burrowings by "treasure-seekers" like my guide Mullah Khoja, had failed to disturb the votive offerings of the last worshippers, which, being mainly deposited on the floor, had long before passed under a safe cover of sand. So we were able to recover here, in spite of the almost complete disappearance of the superstructure, a large number of manuscript leaves in Sanskrit, Chinese, and the "unknown" language of Khotan, besides many inscribed wooden tablets in the same language, and some in Tibetan. Most of them probably contain Buddhist texts, like some excellently preserved large rolls, which on one side presents the Chinese version of a well-known Buddhist work, with what evidently is its translation into the "unknown" language on the other. The clue thus offered for the decipherment of the latter may yet prove of great value. Plentiful remains of stucco relieves and fresco pieces once decorating the temple walls, together with painted panels, had also found a safe refuge in the sand covering the floor. Their style pointed clearly to the same period as that ascertained for the Buddhist shrines I had excavated six years before at the site of Dandan-Oilik in the desert northward, i.e., to the latter half of the eighth century A.D. It was gratifying when the subsequent discovery in a second shrine close by of stringed rolls of Chinese copper pieces, no doubt deposited by some of the last worshippers, amplified definite numismatic confirmation of this dating.

We worked hard here with a large number of diggers, and in spite of heat and smothering dust, practically without interruption from daybreak until nightfall. Yet it took us fully ten days to clear these temples together with some smaller adjoining shrines and dwellings. I was eager to move on to the east towards sites farther away in the desert, and hence likely to have been abandoned far earlier. Yet I was doubly glad in the end to have spared time and labour for Khadalik at the outset, for when I returned to this tract nearly eighteen months later I found that the area containing the ruins had just been brought under irrigation from the stream which passes within three miles of it. I cannot do more than allude here to a problem of geographical interest presented by Khadalik and another small site, Mazar-toghrak, near the opposite (southern) edge of the Domoko oasis, where I subsequently excavated a considerable number of records on wood both in Chinese and the Brahmi script of old Khotan, indicating, as at Khadalik, abandonment about the end of the eighth century A.D. Now it is noteworthy that the large ruined settlement of Dandan-Oilik, which I explored in 1900, and which, as duly recognized also by my friend Mr. Huntington, who has carefully studied since the physiography of this whole region, must have received its water from the same drainage system, was deserted about the same period. Dandan-Oilik is situated fully 65 miles further north in the desert, and if shrinkage of the water-supply needed for irrigation were to be considered as the only possible cause of abandonment of these sites, the chronological coincidence in the case of localities dependent on the same streams and yet so widely separated would certainly be curious.

(To be continued.)
THE ARTHASAstra OF CHANAKYA (BOOks V — XV).

Translated by

R. Shamasastri, B.A.

Librarian, Government Oriental Library, Mysore.

(Continued from p. 281).

Book VII.

The end of the six-fold policy. (Shādgunyassamuddesāh.)

Chapter I.

The six-fold policy, and determination of deterioration, stagnation and progress.

(Shādgunyam Kāhayasthañavṛddhinīchayastha.)

The Circle of States is the source of the six-fold policy.

My teacher says that peace (sāndhi), war (vighraha), observance of neutrality (dasna), marching (yāna), alliance (samrāga), and making peace with one and waging war with another are the six forms of state-policy.

But Vātāvyudhi holds that there are only two forms of policy, peace and war, inasmuch as the six forms result from these two primary forms of policy.

While Kautilya holds that as their respective conditions differ, the forms of policy are six.

Of these, agreement with pledgers is peace; offensive operation is war; indifference is neutrality; making preparations is marching; seeking the protection of another is alliance; and making peace with one and waging war with another, is termed a double policy (dvaidhābhida). These are the six forms.

Whoever is inferior to another shall make peace with him; whoever is superior in power shall wage war; whoever thinks "no enemy can hurt me, nor am I strong enough to destroy my enemy," shall observe neutrality; whoever is possessed of necessary means shall march against his enemy; whoever is devoid of necessary strength to defend himself shall seek the protection of another; whoever thinks that help is necessary to work out an end shall make peace with one and wage war with another. Such is the aspect of the six forms of policy.

Of these, a wise king shall observe that form of policy which, in his opinion, enables him to build forts, to construct buildings and commercial roads, to open new plantations and villages, to exploit mines and timber and elephant forests, and at the same time to harass similar works of his enemy.

Whoever thinks himself to be growing in power more rapidly both in quality and quantity (than his enemy), and the reverse of his enemy, may neglect his enemy's progress for the time.

* The first four books have been published in the Mysore Review, 1906—1909.
If any two kings hostile to each other find the time of achieving the results of their respective works to be equal, they shall make peace with each other.

No king shall keep that form of policy, which causes him the loss of profit from his own works, but which entails no such loss on the enemy; for it is deterioration.

Whoever thinks that in the course of time his loss will be less than his acquisition as contrasted with that of his enemy, may neglect his temporary deterioration.

If any two kings hostile to each other and deteriorating, expect to acquire equal amount of wealth in equal time, they shall make peace with each other.

That position in which neither progress nor retrogression is seen is stagnation.

Whoever thinks his stagnancy to be of a shorter duration and his prosperity in the long run to be greater than his enemy's may neglect his temporary stagnation.

My teacher says that if any two kings, who are hostile to each other and are in a stationary condition, expect to acquire equal amount of wealth and power in equal time, they shall make peace with each other.

"Of course," says Kanṭilya, "there is no other alternative."

Or if a king thinks:

"That keeping the agreement of peace, I can undertake productive works of considerable importance and destroy at the same time those of my enemy; or apart from enjoying the results of my own works, I shall also enjoy those of my enemy in virtue of the agreement of peace; or I can destroy the works of my enemy by employing spies and other secret means; or by holding out such inducements as a happy dwelling, rewards, remission of taxes, little work, and large profits and wages, I can empty my enemy's country of its population, with which he has been able to carry on his own works; or being allied with a king of considerable power, my enemy will have his own works destroyed; or I can prolong my enemy's hostility with another king whose threats drove my enemy to seek my protection; or being allied with me, my enemy can harass the country of another king who hates me; or oppressed by another king, the subjects of my enemy will immigrate into my country, and I can, therefore, achieve the results of my own works very easily; or being in a precarious condition due to the destruction of his works, my enemy will not be so powerful as to attack me; or by exploiting my own resources in alliance with any two (friendly) kings, I can augment my resources; or if a Circle of States is formed by my enemy as one of its members, I can divide them and combine with the others; or by threats or favour, I can catch hold of my enemy, and when he desires to be a member of my own Circle of States, I can make him incur the displeasure of the other members and fall a victim to their own fury," — if a king thinks thus, then he may increase his resources by keeping peace.

Or if a king thinks:

"That as my country is full of born soldiers and of corporations of fighting men, and as it possesses such natural defensive positions as mountains, forests, rivers, and forts with only one entrance, it can easily repel the attack of my enemy; or having taken my stand in my impregnable fortress at the border of my country, I can harass the works of my enemy; or owing to internal troubles and loss of energy, my enemy will early suffer from the destruction of his works; or when my enemy is attacked by another king, I can induce his subjects to immigrate into my country," then he may augment his own resources by keeping open hostility with such an enemy.
Or if a king thinks:—

"That neither is my enemy strong enough to destroy my works, nor am I his; or if he comes to fight with me like a dog with a boar, I can increase his afflictions without incurring any loss in my own works," then he may observe neutrality and augment his own resources.

Or if a king thinks:—

"That by marching my troops it is possible to destroy the works of my enemy; and as for myself, I have made proper arrangements to safeguard my own works," then he may increase his resources by marching.

Or if a king thinks:—

"That I am strong enough neither to harass my enemy’s works nor to defend my own against my enemy’s attack," then he shall seek protection from a king of superior power and endeavour to pass from the stage of deterioration to that of stagnancy and from the latter to that of progress.

Or if a king thinks:—

"That by making peace with one, I can work out my own resources, and by waging war with another, I can destroy the works of my enemy," then he may adopt that double policy and improve his resources.

Thus[21], a king in the circle of sovereign elements shall, by adopting the six-fold policy, endeavour to pass from the state of deterioration to that of stagnation and from the latter to that of progress.[21]

Chapter II.

The Nature of Alliance (Samkayavrittih).

When the advantages derivable from peace and war are of equal character, one should prefer peace; for disadvantages, such as the loss of power and wealth, sojournings, and sin, are ever attending upon war.

The same holds good in the case of neutrality and war.

Of the two (forms of policy), double policy and alliance, double policy (i.e., making peace with one and waging war with another) is preferable; for whoever adopts the double policy enriches himself, being ever attentive to his own works, whereas an allied king has to help his ally at his own expense.

One shall make an alliance with a king who is stronger than one’s neighbouring enemy; in the absence of such a king, one should ingratiate oneself with one’s neighbouring enemy, either by supplying money or army or by ceding a part of one’s territory and by keeping oneself aloof; for there can be no greater evil to kings than alliance with a king of considerable power, unless one is actually attacked by one’s enemy.

[21] In Nica metre.
A powerless king should behave as a conquered king (towards his immediate enemy); but when he finds that the time of his own ascendancy is at hand due to a fatal disease, internal troubles, increase of enemies, or a friend's calamities that are vexing his enemy, then under the pretence of performing some expiatory rites to avert the danger of his enemy, he may get out (of the enemy's court); or if he is in his own territory, he should not go to see his suffering enemy; or if he is near to his enemy, he may murder the enemy when opportunity affords itself.

A king who is situated between two powerful kings shall seek protection from the stronger of the two; or from one of them on whom he can rely; or he may make peace with both of them on equal terms. Then he may begin to set one of them against the other by telling each that the other is a tyrant causing utter ruin to himself, and thus cause dissension between them. When they are divided, he may put down each separately by secret or covert means. Or, throwing himself under the protection of any two immediate kings of considerable power, he may defend himself against an immediate enemy. Or, having made an alliance with a chief in a stronghold, he may adopt double policy (i.e., make peace with one of the two kings and wage war with another). Or, he may adapt himself to circumstances depending upon the causes of peace and war in order. Or, he may make friendship with traitors, enemies, and wild tribes. Or, having made alliance with both, he may form a Circle of States, or, he may make an alliance with the madhyama or the neutral king; and with this help he may put down one of them or both. Or when hurled by both, he may seek protection from a king of righteous character among the madhyama kings, the neutral king, and their friends or equals, or from any other king whose subjects are so disposed as to increase his happiness and peace, with whose help he may be able to recover his lost position, with whom his ancestors were in close intimacy or blood relationship; and in whose kingdom he can find a number of powerful friends.

Of two powerful kings who are on amicable terms with each other, a king shall make alliance with one of them, who likes him and whom he likes; this is the best way of making alliance.22

Chapter III.

The character of equal, inferior and superior kings; and forms of agreement made by an inferior king (Samahinajitayastam guṇabhīnisthām hinasandhayastha).

A king desirous of expanding his own power shall make use of the six-fold policy.

Agreements of peace shall be made with equal and superior kings; and an inferior king shall be attacked.

Whoever goes to wage war with a superior king will be reduced to the same condition as that of a foot-soldier opposing an elephant.

Just as the collision of an unbaked mud-vessel with a similar vessel is destructive to both, so war with an equal king brings ruin to both.

Like a stone striking an earthen pot, a superior king attains decisive victory over an inferior king.

22 In Saka metre.
If a superior king discards the proposal of an inferior king for peace, the latter should take the attitude of a conquered king, or play the part of an inferior king towards a superior.\textsuperscript{23}

When a king of equal power does not like peace, then the same amount of vexation as his opponent has received at his hands should be given to him in return: for it is power that brings about peace between any two kings: no piece of iron that is not made red-hot will combine with another piece of iron.

When an inferior king is all submissive, peace should be made with him; for when provoked by causing him troubles and anger, an inferior king, like a wild fire, will attack his enemy and will also be favoured by (his) Circle of States.

When a king in peace with another finds that greedy, impoverished, and oppressed as are the subjects of his ally, they do not yet immigrate into his own territory lest they might be called back by their master, then he should, though of inferior power, proclaim war against his ally.

When a king at war with another finds that greedy, impoverished, and oppressed as are the subjects of his enemy, still they do not come to his side in consequence of the troubles of war, then he should, though of superior power, make peace with his enemy or remove the troubles of war as far as possible.

When one of the two kings at war with each other and equally involved in trouble finds his own troubles to be greater than his enemy's, and thinks that by getting rid of his (enemy's) trouble his enemy can successfully wage war with him, then he should, though possessing greater resources, sue for peace.

When, either in peace or war, a king finds neither loss to his enemy nor gain to himself, he should, though superior, observe neutrality.

When a king finds the troubles of his enemy irremediable, he should, though of inferior power, march against the enemy.

When a king finds himself threatened by imminent dangers or troubles, he should, though superior, ask the protection of another.

When a king is sure to achieve his desired ends by making peace with one and waging war with another, he should, though superior, adopt the double policy.

Thus it is that the six forms of policy are applied together.

As to their special application:—

\textit{(a)} When a powerless king finds himself attacked by a powerful king, leading a Circle of States, he should submissively sue for peace on the condition of offering treasure, army, himself, or his territory.

\textit{(b)} Agreement made on the condition that with a fixed number of troops or with the flower of his army, a king should present himself (when called for), is peace termed \textit{ātmānisa}, 'offering himself as flesh.'
(c) Agreement made on the condition that the commander of the army together with the heir-apparent should present himself (when called for), is peace styled *purushārthavatramadhi*, 'peace with hostages other than the king himself'; and it is conducive to self-preservation, as it does not require the personal attendance of the king.

(d) Agreement made on the condition that the king himself or some one else should march with the army to some place, as required, is peace termed *arihāvartuṣha*, 'peace with no specified person to serve'; and it is conducive to the safety of the king and the chiefs of his army.

(e) In the first two forms of the peace, a woman of high rank should be given as an hostage, and in the last, a secret attempt should be made to capture the enemy; these are the forms of peace concluded on the condition of supplying his army.

(f) When, by offering wealth, the rest of the elements of sovereignty are set free, that peace is termed *paripūraya*, 'price.'

(g) Similarly, when peace is concluded by offering money capable of being taken on a man's shoulders, it is termed *upāraya*, 'subsidy'; and it is of various forms. Owing to distance and owing to its having been kept long, the amount of the tribute promised may sometimes fall in arrears.

(h) Yet as such a burden can tolerably be paid in future, this peace is better than the one with a woman given as an hostage. When the parties making an agreement of peace are amicably united, it is termed *śravacārdha*, 'golden peace.'

(i) Quite reverse from the former is the peace called *kapāla*, 'half of a pot,' which is concluded on the condition of paying immense quantity of money.

(j) In the first two, one should send the supply of raw materials, elephants, horses and traps; in the third, money; and in the fourth, one should evade the payment under the plea of loss of results from works; these are the forms of peace concluded on the payment of money.

(k) When by ceding a part of the territory, the rest of the kingdom with its subjects are kept safe, it is termed *ādikāra*, 'ceded,' and is of advantage to one who is desirous of destroying thieves and other wicked persons (infesting the ceded part).

(l) When with the exception of the capital, the whole of the territory, impoverished by exploitation of its resources is ceded, it is termed *veckhīmmasandhi*, 'peace cut off from profit,' and is of advantage to one who desires to involve the enemy in trouble.

(m) When by the stipulation of paying the produce of the land, the kingdom is set free, it is termed *varkraya*, 'rent.' That which is concluded by the promise of paying more than the land yields is called *parīkshārṣa*, 'ornament.'

(n) One should prefer the first; but the last two based upon the payment of the produce should be made only when one is obliged to submit to power. These are the forms of peace made by ceding territory.
Chapter IV.

Neutrality after proclaiming war or after concluding a treaty of peace; marching after proclaiming war or after making peace; and the march of combined powers. (Vigrihyasanasam sandhaysanam Vigrihyaya yannam sandhaya yauam sahmhnaya prayanam cha.)

Neutrality or marching after proclaiming war or peace has been explained.

Sthana (keeping quiet), drena (withdrawal from hostility), and upadekha (negligence) are synonymous with the word ‘drena,’ ‘neutrality.’ As to the difference between these three aspects of neutrality:—keeping quiet, maintaining a particular kind of policy is sthana; withdrawal from hostile actions for the sake of one’s own interests is drena; and taking no steps (against an enemy) is upadekha.

When two kings, who, though bent on making conquests, are desirous of peace, are unable to proceed, one against the other, they may keep quiet after proclaiming war or after making peace.

When a king finds it possible to put down by means of his own army, or with the help of a friend, or of wild tribes, another king of equal or superior power, then having set up proper defences against both internal and external enemies, he may keep quiet after proclaiming war.

When a king is convinced that his own subjects are brave, united, prosperous, and able not only to carry on their own works without interference, but also to harass his enemy’s works, then he may keep quiet after proclaiming war.

When a king finds that as his enemy’s subjects are ill-treated, impoverished and greedy, and are ever being oppressed by the inroads of the army, thieves, and wild tribes, they can be made through intrigue to join his side; or that his own agriculture and commerce are flourishing while those of his enemy are waning; or that as the subjects of his enemy are suffering from famine, they will immigrate into his own territory; or that, though his own returns of agriculture and commerce are falling and those of his enemy increasing, his own subjects will never desert him in favour of his enemy; or that by proclaiming war, he can carry off, by force, the grains, cattle, and gold of his enemy; or that he can prevent the import of his enemy’s merchandise, which was destructive of his own commerce; or that valuable merchandise, would come to his own territory, leaving that of his enemy; or that war being proclaimed, his enemy would be unable to put down traitors, enemies, and wild tribes and other rebels, and would be involved in war with them; or that his own friend would in a very short time accumulate wealth without much loss and would not fail to follow him in his march since no friend would neglect the opportunity of acquiring a fertile land and a prosperous friend like himself,—then in view of inflicting injuries on his enemy and of exhibiting his own power, he may keep quiet after proclaiming war.

24 Peace made by supplying the army, money, or territory.

25 — o are in sikh ras melo.
But my teacher says that turning against such a king, his enemy may swallow him.

Not so,' says Kaṇṭilya, 'impoverishment of the enemy who is free from troubles is all that is aimed at (when a king keeps quiet after proclaiming war). As soon as such a king acquires sufficient strength, he will undertake to destroy the enemy. To such a king, the enemy's enemy will send help to secure his own personal safety'. Hence, whoever is provided with necessary strength may keep quiet after proclaiming war.

When the policy of keeping quiet after proclaiming war is found productive of unfavourable results, then one shall keep quiet after making peace.

Whoever has grown in strength in consequence of keeping quiet after proclaiming war should proceed to attack his helpless enemy.

When a king finds that his enemy has fallen into troubles; that the troubles of his enemy's subjects can by no means be remedied; that as his enemy's subjects are oppressed, ill-treated, disaffected, impoverished, become effeminate and disinhibited among themselves, they can be prevailed upon to desert their master; that his enemy's country has fallen a victim to the inroads of such calamities, as fire, floods, pestilence, epidemics (maraka) and famine and is therefore losing the flower of its youth and its defensive power, — then he should march after proclaiming war.

When a king is so fortunate as to have a powerful friend in front and a powerful ally (ākrama) in the rear, both with brave and loyal subjects, while the reverse is the case with his enemies both in front and in the rear, and when he finds it possible for his friend to hold his frontal enemy in check, and for his rear-alley to keep his rear-enemy (pātraṅgirāka) at bay, then he may march after proclaiming war against his frontal enemy.

When a king finds it possible to achieve the results of victory single-handed in a very short time, then he may march (against his frontal enemy) after proclaiming war against his rear-enemies; otherwise he should march after making peace (with his rear-enemies).

When a king finds himself unable to confront his enemy single-handed and when it is necessary that he should march, then he should make the expedition in combination with Kings of inferior, equal, or superior powers. When the object aimed at is of a definite nature, then the share of spoils should be fixed; but when it is of a manifold or complex nature, then with no fixity in the share of the spoils. When no such combination is possible, he may request a king either to supply him with the army for a fixed share, or to accompany him for an equal share of the spoils.

When profit is certain, then they should march with fixed shares of profit; but when it is uncertain, with no fixity of shares.

Share of profit proportional to the strength of the army is of the first kind; that which is equal to the effort made is the best; shares may be allotted in proportion to the profit earned or to the capital invested.

(To be continued.)

In śaka metre.
LEGENDS FROM THE PANJAB.

BY SIR R. C. TEMPLE AND M. A. ROSE.

(Continued from Vol. XXXVIII., p. 88.)

No. IV.

THE WEDDING OF RĀI MORNĪ or PRINCESS PEAHEN.

A Panjābī Extravaganza.

The following are the dramatic personae and they appear to be related thus:

I.—The family of Gāṛh Mughalān, a State which comprised seven districts:

   ( Brothers )
   ( Sister )
     Rai Hasūl — Rai Has — Rai Keorā alīs Rai Bhoṣūl
     ×
     Bāūl Jauaūūī
     Majh Meorā alīs Meorā Rai.

   Kidūḍā, household Brahman to Rai Hasūl.
   Chīḍūḍā, his brother.
   Rūp Chand, a third brother.
   Rūp Chand's wife.

II.—The family of Dērā Māwīā, a State which comprised twenty one districts:

Rāi Majhūr × Rāūl Kesarī

Rāi Chitmil Rai Mornī (daughter).
Rai Diwān, diyān of Rai Majhūr (slain ).
Madav Rai (slain).
Diāl Chand Rai (slain).
Kālī Rai (slain).
Chhalā, musician to Rai Majhūr.

Tūrādhrā, ruler of Delhi.
Ghāṭī, maid to Rai Hasūl.
Scald-head servants to Rai Hasūl.
Wall-eye
A Kalālān.

*Mornī, meaning like a peahen, is an expression for a beautiful woman. Rāi (for Rāūl) Mornī is a woman's and not a man's name. This remarkable story is really a skit upon Rajput wedding ceremonies.
Bait.

Awud Nām sache Rabb dā; dājād Nām Rasūl
Sachkhe Sāhit, soch jo, daryāh paas qabul.
Kalima diittā wuchhā, Musalimān dā mūl.

Verse.

First the Name of the true God; next the Name of the Prophet.
Who keeps true to the True Keeper of Mystery, is welcome in his Court.
He has recited the Creed, not at all that of the Musalmans.

Rāi Has and Rāi Keorā were two brothers, the latter was also named Rāi Bhangī. Rāi Has was a master of the art of government, but Keorā had not the least acquaintance with it. He once went home and saw — what? Why, that his sister had grown up. So he returned and said to his brother:

"Rāi Hassā, you know all about government, a thing I know nothing about; but our sister has grown up, and we ought to betroth her to somebody."

Has replied: — "Brother, thank God for giving you, too, some sense. Send for the Dūm, the bard, the Brāhmaṇ and the barber."

They came and were told to arrange Rāi Hānī’s betrothal in some respectable family. So the Dūm, the bard and the Brāhmaṇ set out and reached Rāi Majhār’s capital and placed the date in the mouth of Rāi Chilmīl, Rāi Majhār’s son. Then the menials congratulated him, and he replied:

“To you also good luck, menials. Whence did you bring this proposal? ""

The menials said: — "From Gāph Mughalānt."

He said: "Menials, I am Rājī of twenty-one districts; they only rule seven. Compared with me, they are only a family of menials. I will only accept a proposal from a Rājī of thirty-six districts."

The courtiers, attendants and ministers said: — "O Rājī, you have seven sons, and had better marry the (other) six in high families. A maid’s proposal has come to your house, don’t reject it."

Rāi Majhār said (to the messengers): — "Menials, in eighteen days get food ready for 18,000 warriors and fodder for 18,000 horses. Then I will bring the wedding procession to your house, otherwise I will not come to your abode."

The menials set out for their city and came to where Rāi Has sat, saying: — "Sire, greeting."

In reply he said: — "Greeting to you, menials, in return. Where have you arranged the betrothal?"

"With Rāi Majhār’s son Chilmīl," they said, "but he made one condition — that, by the eighteenth day you must have food for 18,000 warriors and fodder for 18,000 horses."

Rāi Has said: — "Go back to him at once and tell him that if he comes on the eighth day he will find his son’s bride, otherwise we shall make other arrangements."

So Rāi Majhār set out in the procession with great pomp.

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41 Sāhit, intelligence: one acquainted with mysteries.
42 Sāk, lit. a kinsman or relative, so kinship or relationship.
43 As a sign of betrothal.
44 Wūdāi, benediction: wūdāi, to increase.
45 Lōy, one entitled to receive lōy, i. e., dues at weddings payable to dependents.
46 Dīkhr, lit., a line, limit; a tract or district.
47 Bhānd, with regard to, in comparison with.
48 Mutanaddā, lit., a clerk.
49 ḌuĀkāl, to come, approach, especially of a bridegroom’s party.
50 Bhāne korne.
51 ḌuĀkāl, to come, approach, especially of a bridegroom’s party.
Bait.
Khass kusan bākra;  sikhān charhan kāhād;
Ikki dhārā dādādā;  kāraj chāde Rāi Majhār.
Charhe kātab amorhā d rāj;  hai kot jhailandā.

Verse.
Fat goats killed; flesh put on the spits;
Twenty-one districts invited; Rāi Majhār raised
a procession.
Crowds have collected, multitudes have come;
who is there shall stay them?

Said Rāi Majhār: — “Is there anyone who will take control of this procession?”
Rāi Has had a sweetstuff market placed at five leagues, and at its head he put a musician.
When the wedding procession drew nigh the musician said: — “Brothers, here is this market for us to loot, do you plunder it.” Those who were wise took a little sweetstuff and those who were foolish took bundles of it. They talked to one another and said: — “What are you going to do if we go on? Come, let us go home.”

Now, Rāi Has had set up nine lances, on top of which he had put a jar; and when the wedding party reached the spot, the musician said it was his master’s order that, until they succeeded in hitting the jar, no one should dismount, but should wait there and take their ease. The 18,000 warriors shot their arrows at it, but not one of them hit it. Rāi Has demanded news from the musician as to whether anyone had succeeded in hitting the jar or not. It was now afternoon, and Rāi Has came with his procession, and Rāi Chilmil said to Rāi Has: — “Sire, congratulations!” He answered: — “Sire, congratulations to you, too.” Then Rāi Has said: — “You have brought a procession of 18,000 men. Is there not a man among them? Since the morning this jar has been put up and it has not yet been shot down.” Rāi Chilmil then addressed Rāi Has:

Bait.
“Haiā teā chłoā Rājput, bōlōn bahut kumkār.
Pali chọt kāpī chuteiā, jū kuchh manche dwān dān:
Pali chọt kāpī na chuteiā, sīr wadhāng vīch maiānān:
Dole pūt wāh tāt bāhin nāi, Rāi Hasīd, lā
gāra nāi jān;
Jatāi launādā, bānāiā sudādā, suhādā de chākē, chākē dā ghlūdā.”

Verse.
“Thou art a petty Rājput, a great boaster in words.
If thou break the jar at the first shot, I will give freely what thou mayest demand:
If thou break not the jar at the first shot, I will cut off thy head on the plain:
I will put thy sister into my palanquin, Rāi Hasīd, and take her to my house:
Of all my servant-girls, of all my slave-girls, of all my household, to be the slave of slaves.”

Said Rāi Has to the musician:

Bait.
“Led ghorī, led kamān,” Dost kamān wajātāna;  līyā chille chhār kānā。
Jehī charhā kūnān guhr ātī, kūnān būt bulādā,
Tirān vichkā tā kāhīdā, tirān vichkā tā balādā.
Pōlā tā charhā de Rāi Has na, kāpī te gōd
nāliā lādā.”

Verse.
“Bring my steed and bring my bow.” He lowered the bow in his hand; and he drew the string.
(The bow) he drew (was) a calamitous murderer, an evil monstrous murderer.
He drew an arrow from amongst the arrows, a monstrous arrow from among the arrows.
Rāi Has let fly his first arrow and the jar was knocked off the standard.

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Ku.  Mrādāl.  Ga 순간, bury, fix, set.  Čā is a prefix.
Eppi, a large leathern oil-jar.  Jaimesā is usually translated “client,” but it should be “patron.”
Jhāndā, to draw a bow—where chhār/kail.  Čhā is a bow-string.  Dost kamān wajātāna clearly refers to
the necessary action of lowering the bow in order to string it.
Rāi Has made Rāi Chilmil sit on the couch. The courtiers and ministers said to Rāi Chilmil:—“Sire, you laid a wager. Rāi Has has brought down the jar. You had better give him what is due.”

Rāi Chilmil called Rāi Has and said:—“Brother Has, we had a bet and you brought down the jar. Now you can ask for anything your thirty-two teeth want.”

Rāi Has replied:—“You had better take the palanquin home. I will come to you on the eighth day and take whatsoever I choose.”

But the ministers and courtiers said to Rāi Chilmil:—“You had better give him here what has to be given, if he goes to you he will give trouble.”

And the family musician mirāḍi said to Rāi Has:—“Ask for his sister’s hand, lest they betroth her to some one else. Open the doors of his ears.”

Then Rāi Has said to Rāi Chilmil:

**Bait.**

Maṅgh sir wochhād apud, jāne kai jalaḥa.
Manḍā bahān teri, Morni; maṅgh tein thak
Maṅghā hān ei dān.
Aṣṭi ḍa uttam dāt de; marī ādī Paṅwār.
Aṣṭi liṅ tuhādāḍa; tuhā nāṅ múṭ nā diye sāk.”

Rāi Chilmil said:—“Wise Rājputas are not obstinate. Your sister has stayed at home; let mine do the same.”

Rāi Has said:—“Get thee back, whence thou camest.”

So the 18,000 warriors returned as empty as they came, and Rāi Has on his return home went to the palace, where Rāṇī Kārā, his mother lived; and she said to him:

**Bait.**

“Nīf jand dīnā mere ko kē, jin ke lūḍī uśīlādā
dēgh.
Lagdā lāydā marān rīk gū; nū ki; sahaj, nā
dō kāthā.
Puṇ pardi bērī, angan liye bahād.
Wāṅtā Nāinābār dā jānī mar gharāh nāṅ lā ā.”

Said Rāi Has:—“You love your daughter, but not your son.

Said his mother:—“Daughters are dear to mothers. Some people will say that there was something wrong with the boy’s parents and so the girl’s parents would not give her to him. And others will say there was something wrong about the girl and so the boy’s parents would not have her. For the Lord’s sake bring the procession back home again.”

So Rāi Has got on his horse and took a spear eighteen cubits long in his hand and went ahead of the whole procession to where Rāi Chilmil was mounted on an elephant. Twirling his spear he smote the elephant on the head with it and sent it off squealing. The people in the procession said:—“This is the very fellow who brought down the jar. As is the bridegroom, so are the people of the wedding party.”

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*I.e., lower his pride.*

*I.e., we are of the superior family.*
Rāi Has brought them to the place where his mother lived, and, giving his sister her dowry and presents, put her in the palanquin. Then he said to Rāi Chilmī: — "Brother, get you home with what is yours and expect me later."

The palanquin reached the well in Rāi Majhār's garden, and the news reached Kēsār Rāat Chilmī's mother, so she took all her sons' daughters and her menials and went to the spot where her son was sitting. She passed a cup of milk round the heads of her son and his bride, and drank it and said:

**Bait.**

"Khadū dīthīhān sālān gharāvlaīdu? Khād dīthīyo sāle hār?"

"Achekhāh dīthīhā ykharāvlaīdu: achche dīthe sāle hār.
It kān ustawāl hoīd, Amundā; meri Mornī de dyād sāle hār.

His mother replied: "My son, we are rulers of twenty-one tracts and he only has seven. What a mess you have made of it!"

Rāi Majhār received congratulations from everybody, except one man. Who was he? Chhēlā, the musician. Masters don't know the names of all their servants. Rāi Majhār said: "All my menials have congratulated me, except Chhēlā, my household musician. Why has he not done so?"

Chhēlā, who was lying on a couch, got up and said: — "Sire, all the menials were hungry for their fees. None of them told you what touched your interests."

Rāi Majhār asked what the point was, and Chhēlā said: — "You sent out a wedding procession of 18,000 warriors. He stands on a high, on nine lances, and the 18,000 warriors went shooting at it. Then your son made a bet with Rāi Has, who knocked the cup down and won it, so your son agreed to betroth Mornī, your daughter, to him. And now the 18,000 warriors have returned home, but otherwise he would not have let one come back."

Rāi Majhār said: — "Go and betroth Mornī to Tāradhīrā of Dīllī." And it was done.

(Meanwhile) Kiōḍā, the household Brāhman of Rāi Has, was walking by, and Rāi Has saw him and said:

**Bait.**

"Ago doēn, Iddā Brāhman; tain saādān, maīi, Hased Rāi.
Oh jo kahtī Di Mornī, oh di khabār led.

Khabār te aveh, tain rakhēdān: nahi, rahi; "ūsthīhā jāh.""

"Come hither, Father Brāhman; I call thee, I, Haṣā Rāi.
She whom they call Mornī, bring me news of her.
If thou bring news, then will I cherish thee: if not, remain there, (or) I might take thy life."

The Brāhman did not even go home, but started for the city of Rāi Majhār, and as soon as he got there, he heard of Mornī's betrothal to Tāradhīrā. He was greatly disturbed and went to Rāi Majhār's court, where he neither bowed nor paid his respects to the Rāi, but demanded Mornī's bridpalanquin of him.\(^2\)

\(^2\) *I.e.*, that Mornī should be taken as a bride to Rāi Has.
Bait.

Gadh Mughalānīn Bhāman chalā, wayhīd akhār Majhār.

Abhān Rāj Majhār nān : — "Maine sundā tun̄ bevinīm.

Mang asādī sundā Mornī : hor le jāvēd hām jawān?

Dole pāī sundā Mornī : maīn le ghardā suā jān."

"My master is impatient," said the Brāhmaṇ.

Rāj Majhār said thereupon : — "No obeisance, no respect! Tie a rope of two and a half cubits length round his neck and hang him on a kikār tree."

And so the Brāhmaṇ was hanged. Rāj Hasm46 had news of this and heard that her father's Brāhmaṇ had come, but that her father-in-law had hanged him.

Said Rāj Hasm : — "If my father's Brāhmaṇ has been hanged, I will die with my father's people. Girl, go and find a trusty soldier, quite young, in the bazar, and bring him to me."

The girl did so, and lowering the curtain the Rānī stood before the door and said to him: — "Take 5,000 rupees from me and post 500 warriors suitably clothed and armed under my palace."

He put the bags of money on coolies' heads and took it home, and then about midnight got the men together, giving some one rupee and others two a-piece, dressed them up and posted them under the Rānī's palace.

Then said Rāj Hasm : —

Verse.

The Brāhmaṇ left Gadh Mughalānī, and invaded the city of Majhār.

Spake he to Rāj Majhār : — "I have heard that thou art faithless.

I demand our beautiful Mornī : what other youth (than our Rājā) shall take her away?

Put the beautiful Mornī into the palanquin: I will take her home."

Bait.

"Oh ghārā, Nafīd, leā, lān jehrd dōttā e Hansā dūm :"

Chād nauchhāndā chārdā, hārdā ghi mahile ghōrd̄ khān.

Kāthā pūnā, Nafīd, dā dī guhārdādī dī chāndār."

Hasm paḥānde kopte vīra rang rūmā.

Sohre lāshkār, āwaṭi "mār" kareṇḍā, Rānī mār.

Sir wāzīr de wāliā, kōpar bhangāe bhangār.

Āṭhārān hazārī wāzīr mārke, Hansī bhalār charhī dē.

In the morning, the Rānī had the soldiers shot by her 500 men. The Pūrbiās48 complained to Rāj Majhār, saying : — "Rāj Hasm has killed the wāzīr of the 18,000 (horse) last night and this morning she had the sepoy shot. If you command it, we will get our guns into position."

But he said: "No, my daughter-in-law is only young, and has not much sense. Everybody will say that I acted most unwisely, and that I put my batteries in position against my daughter-in-law. She will come to her senses of her own accord."

46 Acacia Arabica.
47 Kharīnd, to place round about, scatter.
48 Eastern troops, i. e., troops from countries east of the Panjāb.
Now it was the Brāhmaṇ Kiḍja that had been sent first, and it was his brother Chiḍja that next met Rāi Has, who said:

**Bait.**

"Age aone, Paḍḍa Brāhmaṇ, taināh saidā Haśe Rāi.
Oh jo kahādi Morān, oh di khabar le de:
Khābār le aone, tāh rahānā; nahiā, rahānā
uṭāhā jān."

**Verse.**

"Come hither, Father Brāhmaṇ; I assū Rāi calls thee.
She whom they call Morān, bring me news of her.
If thou bring news, then will I cherish thee; if not, remain there, (or) I might take thy life."

The Brāhmaṇ set out instantly and got to Rāi Majhār's city. There he made enquiries and people said that the Brāhmaṇ, who had first come to claim Morāṇ in betrothal had been hanged by Rāi Majhār. Brothers, hearing of a brother's fate, suffer great pain. He went to Rāi Majhār's court, made neither obeisance nor salutation, but asked for the palanquin (of betrothal).

**Bait.**

Gāḍh Mughalāntoḥ Brāhmaṇ chaitā, vārkī khabr Majhār. Akhān Rāi Majhār vāñ, "Maine sustūn nekād be-lāmā:
[ Maṛa Dāmānā, Bhaṭṭānā, Brāhmaṇā, tuhaṇ naṇ nekād pāp lāgge].
Mang-hāi adhi sundar Morān: hor le-jācā haun jwānā?
Teghān māri avālā-saulīlā, 99 jāne kah jāhān.
Tir nāl Veda purā de: maṇi le hoṛāh nāṭ jān."

**Verse.**

The Brāhmaṇ left Gāḍh Mughalānt, and invaded the city of Majhār. He said to Rāi Majhār: "I have heard that thou art very faithless:
[ If Dūmā, Brhaṭṭās and Brāhmaṇs die, great sins are upon thee]:
The demand is our beautiful Morāṇ: shall any other youth (than our Rāja) take her away?
We can strike with our swords hither and thither, as all the world knows.
Have the Vedās read to an arrow and I will take her home."

Rāi Majhār said: "Every Brāhmaṇ that comes, talks of 'Morāṇ, Morāṇ,' and nothing else. Put a rope two and a-half cubits long round his neck and hang him on the left branch, just as the first Brāhmaṇ was hanged on the right." So the two Brāhmaṇs hung like gourds dangling. The news reached Rāi Hasūl that a second Brāhmaṇ had come from her father and had been pitilessly and unjustly hanged too. She merely said: "Every fool of a Brāhmaṇ that comes does not come near me, but goes there."

The brother of these two Brāhmaṇs, Rūp Chand, the austere, the virtuous, 20 the pious and earnest, 21 had been lately married, and next day he went to Rāi Hasūl and begged for alms, but Rāi Hasūl said:

**Bait.**

"Ape aone, Paḍḍa Brāhmaṇā, taṁsā saddā Haśe Rāi:
Oh jo kahādi Morān, oh di khabar le de:
Khābār le aone tāh rahānā; nahiā, rahānā
uṭāhā jāde."

**Verse.**

"Come hither, Father Brāhmaṇ; Hassū Rāi calls thee.
She whom they call Morān, bring me news of her.
If thou bring news, then will I cherish thee; if not, remain away and stay there."

97 A suspicious line; it does not fit in with the rest and is perhaps added out of exuberance by the bard.
98 Hither and thither, at random.
99 Satī.
100 Nāṭi patī.
Rûp Chand said:

Bait.

"Main kal vidhî Bâhmanî; merâ môl na latthâ chûde.
Ajî dî rây mainîn rahan de, bhalka pandâga talmâd râh."

Said Râi Has:

Bait.

"Main pât de diâh gân kapre, sone has ghâyâ;
Jhîst diâh dûkh piwan nâ.
Aî kurkhe rakhânu Bâhmanî, jaiâ Kesri Rââ de meri mân.

The Brâhman had a platter filled with gold coins, which he tied up in a corner of his shawl as a gift made in charity, and went home. The Brâhman peeped at him from her veil and saw that he, who when he set out was as ruddy as a pomegranate flower, had come back as white as a roll of cotton, and she said to the Brâhman:

Bait.

"Main changâ bhalîd ghâlîd dàn nû; tâû dûîh râng rûp wâûde.
Kheîrû man tere wâridî? Dî dî dûkh sündâ."

Kam piá hai jaîmân Râî Has dâ; nathôh ghari na rekhâ jîâe."

Said the Brâhman:

Bait.

"Ithe asî kûîn wâsîye, jîkho hûn dâ hone wîndâh?
Nûhâ tâh bhaj chat Lâhor Shahr, mangke khichê kivô?
Mûn pêkîdû de wîrt le diân, baîthâd râj kamd."

Said the Brâhman Rûp Chand:

Bait.

"Pakhâ sohre so wassë, jih dâ pind na girâm.
Dêje sohre so wassë, jih dâ wûlûn kare bohîn et môâ.

Dhan hai saûde jîthâm; dhan hai saûde jaîmân.
Dakhûn hondi chhûdawàn de; saûde chhûdawân na âgge?"

Verse.

"Yesterday I married a Brâhman; I have not yet had my money's worth.
Let me be to-night, to-morrow I will make a long journey."

Verse.

"I will give thee clothes of silk and handsome ornaments of gold;
I will give thee a buffalo for milk to drink.
I will guard thy Brâhman as my mother, Kesri Rââ.
O Brâhman, set out."

Verse.

"I sent thee for alms, bright and cheerful; thou comest as white as silver.
What has passed through your mind? Tell me what is in your heart."

"I have an errand from my patron, Râî Has; I cannot stay an hour."

Verse.

"Why should we stay here, where life is in danger?
When we can go to Lâhor City and beg our livelihood from the shops?
I will give you my father's patrons and we will earn a kingdom at ease."

Verse.

"First one lives with a father-in-law, who has no village nor hamlet.
Next one lives with a father-in-law, whose mother and sister are more than enough for him.
Blessing on our lives: blessing on our patrons. They set free the prisoner and the slave, will they not set us free too?"

73 Wirt, or biri, the dues payable to a Brâhman. Here Rûp Chand's wife talks as if she would inherit her father's right to collect biri in Lahore.

74 Wûd ú kare.

75 See that we are comfortable.
The Brähman threw down the shawl in front of his wife, and she drew it towards her; and when she had untied the knot she found the gold coins with not a single silver one amongst them. Then she said:—“I am a daughter of black (poor) Brähmans. Truly, it is this that gets Brähmans into trouble—that people give them gold coins; but our patrons give us only copper. Whatever has happened there, I can tell you all from the book. Your two brothers, who went there, have been strangled and gibbeted by Rāi Majhār. O Brähman, you must set out. You will suffer much but will bring back ample subsistence.”

The Brähman took off his new clothes and put on his old ones, and with a staff on his shoulder set out like a young colt. The Brähman went up to the palace and said:—

**Bait.**

“Sajaye tītar lōle; khābōi lauiśāb kālā hān.”

**Verse.**

“A partridge called on the right: a black crow called on the left.”

“Shakkar dīā Thākurā Parmāshīhā Bāhman saḥīh sālō de.”

“I will give sugar to the godlings and gods that the Brähman return safe and sound.”

Go, Brähman, let me see your back at starting and your face on your return.”

The Brähman went his way and reached Rāi Majhār’s city. The Brähman was a very sort of wisdom and he said to himself:—“I think I shall achieve my object either at the stairs which lead to the well or at the mill, or else at the oven. Now you had best go and sit at the well.”

So he went to the well, where he saw four young women who had come to draw water, and said to them:—

**Bait.**

“Sarwar, khāh khalōte, tōrā pānī muḍi pīlā.”

**Verse.**

“Ladies, standing at the well, give me a little water to drink.”

“Pānī pīlā tere khāhdd, pānī pākā kardā dūd.”

“If I drink the water of your well, as I drink I will make a prayer.”

When the Brähman said this, all four looked towards him. Some looked at his clothes and one said:—“I wonder what curse has befallen him! What a handsome form he has and how badly he is dressed!” One said:—“I will ask him.” The two others said:—“We don’t know him. Why should we ask him?” She said:—“No, I will ask him.” And then she said:—

**Bait.**

“Tūtā jhāh tāre tingāne; būre kasālute wēn.”

“Tora are thy rags; wretched and sad are thy looks.”

“Rah, jajmān dī boṣti, tān kī puchhāt nālī?”

“Stay, my patron’s daughter, what hast thou to ask?”

“Chār kanj kurtari boṣti, mōgan dāyā lālān dān.”

“I have four young maiden daughters at home, I have come to ask alms of rubies.”

They said:—“That’s right. He who has a grown-up daughter or sister at home cares nothing for eating, drinking or clothes.”
One said: — "Rāi Majhār is giving heaps of alms." Another said: — "Morni's giving lots of alms." The Brāhman said: — "A newly-married girl has come here, who is giving lavish alms. Take me to her." So they took him, and he said: — "As soon as we get near the palace of Rāi Hasnl, point it out to me and go away." They showed him the palace and Rūp Chand told them to go away, while he himself went into Rāi Hasnl's hall and said: — "The king will rule and the pigeon coo, and the sword will rattle: whoever wants to ask about God's secrets, let him ask me." Rāi Hasnl heard him and told her maid to see who it was, as it sounded like Rūp Chand's voice. The girl saw it was Rūp Chand and Rāi Hasnl told her to ask him in at once, lest he share his brothers' fate. The Rāni took off her new dress and put on an old one, removed the bed, and put down a mat. Rūp Chand went up into the palace and placed his hand on his (spiritual) daughter's head, saying: — "Your wedding was only the other day, what has become of your fine clothes?"

She said: — "Father, I am in mourning for your two dead brothers." Rūp Chand said: — "They were fools, if they had come to you, they would never have died."

Then they talked of indifferent subjects, and Rāi Hasnl said: — "Father, cook something for yourself and me to eat." Rūp Chand said: — "When I left home, I started thinking of you, my daughter, and that if I eat anything I must take it from the hands of Rāi Mōrnl." Rāi Hasnl said: — "Every Brāhman who comes here talks of Rāi Mōrnl, Rāi Mōrnl. Mōrnl is silly and shy. She must have gone to graze the cattle or to grind corn."

Rūp Chand's wit was no match for Rāi Hasnl's, and he said to himself: — "Morni is the daughter of a Rāj of twenty-one tracts; if she were mad she would have a guard about her." Rāi Hasnl went on to say: — "Father, if you don't believe what I say, I will show you Mōrnl."

He told her to do so, and so Rāi Hasnl went and gave Ghattl, one of her maids who ground corn, an embroidered shawl which she had brought from her home, and put it on her. She was delighted and said: — "Yesterday you kindly gave me a bodice and now you have given me a shawl." Rāi Hasnl said: — "I have made thee Mōrnl for a couple of hours." The girl agreed to this and stuck her pot of flour under her arm. When she came, Rāi Hasnl said: — "Rājput women wear a veil of one and a quarter yard long, so she too had better have one, too." When she adjusted the veil the pot of flour slipped, and vice versa, — so she came. Rūp Chand also saw her as she drew near and thought she had either a bundle of clothes on her or a child in her lap. As she approached, he remarked that she had a gait like a donkey-grazer's, and rolling himself in his shawl, went to sleep.

She came up into the palace. Rāi Hasnl said: — "Mornl, Rūp Chand has arrived tired out. Fan him until he wakes up." So she began to fan him, but when with the fan in one hand and the pot of flour in the other, she was soon tired, and said: — "Accursed is the gold that tears one's ears." Laying aside the fan, she perspired and her body began to discharge.77 Rūp Chand saw how filthy she was and thought of his two brothers murdered on her account. Suddenly he sat up and seizing a bamboo staff gave her two or three blows with it. One blow fell on the pot of flour and she became as white as she had once been black, and with the flour coming out looked like a churī.78 Her teeth were as long as one's finger and she was just hideous to see. Rūp Chand began to retreat and exclaimed: — "O god, save me from this fate. It is a pity that all on account of this Mōrnl my two treasures79 perished." When Rūp Chand uttered Mōrnl's name the grindstone slave laughed, and then looking at her hurts wept. Rūp Chand observed that people who were beaten generally wept and asked why she laughed. She replied:

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77 "Wagan = copul. to flow, discharge.
78 The hideous ghost of a woman that has died in childbirth.
79 Lit.; rubies.
Bait.

"Agloñ ghutiñ, Bêhmanñi; sîebkal kdn wagg.
Moriñ dîdî la neshändî dâ maîtîhî sunâ jê.
Sajahdêr sarjayd: rûp dîtîd Kôtârê.
Wâl maldi pûteân; kundal kês pawên.
Nalîhê b Hale ñhand dê, lîl hawñî dë.
Hoñth pûndâ toa pûte, maldi pîn chabêñ.
Dand jawûhir hûrê, koñ de mûtî jöî karonê.

Gallû îli bâmboñûthidê, îli hawñû dên.
Kûnî bukûbukûlîthidê; bûndî wëlan wëltûthidê.
Ohhañe apar apdr; unglûthi arôd dî phaltûthidê.

Sine ñte dî ñdëhâre máshûlûthi bût.
Dhunne tùng sharêb dê; mode gurj dhare ñhar jdr.
Patthi mâ lipeñôi; ñhanjñhî, de ñchoñkûr.
Chûl-chale ñdeñ sëkê dê; uûde panchhi mardî ñhanjñhî dî ñchoñkûr.
Dhan oh rûd jû jûnd, jis ghar Mornî nû!"

Vôrse.

"Thou hast been outwitted, Brâhmân; do thy work skilfully.
Hear the signs of Morni from me.
The Creator made her: the Creator gave her beauty.
Hair nourished with cream; locks curled in ringlets.
Forehead as the full moon, ruddy as a rocket.
Lips thin as betel leaves such as beauties chew.
Teeth of jewels and diamonds, set like pearls of glass.
Cheeks red as scarlet birds, ruddy as rockets.
Ears full of rings; arms round as rollers.
Rings without number; fingers thin as peas-pods.
Two globes as bright as torches on her breast.
Navel like a flask of wine; shoulders rounded as a bell.
Thighs covered with flesh; jingling anklets.
Gait like a tiger's; the jingling of her anklets kills the flying birds.
Blessed is that rûd and his life, in whose house Morni is wife."

"Listen to me, O Brâhmân, I have described Morni to you. Does she go about grinding flour? She is the Râjâ's daughter, what has she to do with such tasks?"

Rûp Chand gave her ten rupees and said: — "Forgive me for beating you." And he gave her ten rupees more, telling her to get him some lac, sheep's wool, scissors, and some firewood. She did so, and he put the lac into a pan, lighted a fire under it and laid bits of the wool beside him. When the lac had melted, he took it off the fire and when it was lukewarm; he told the slave-girl to paste it all over his body. She did so, and then stuck pieces of wool all over him. Meanwhile, the wind blew and the lac was completely plastered over his body and the sheep's wool bristled, so that he looked like an old, old Brâhmân five hundred years old. Ghatthî was now ordered by the Brâhmân to go and point out Morni's palace to him, as they passed through the bazaar. He carried a brass pot in his hand, and when people saw him, they said he must have come down from Heaven, and that if any one wanted an oracle, now was the time to ask for it. One man said: — "If you are going to give him anything, give it. He is in a bad way, let him go somewhere else, lest he die at our door." Traversing the bazaar he reached the watch-house, where one sentry asked him one thing, and another, another until the head sentry said: — "This Brâhmân is very weak, don't ask him any questions, but give him whatever you mean to give, and let him go, lest he die here." The Brâhmân held his breath and in his terror fell down. The head sentry said they could now ask for oracles and omens. "A Brâhmân had died at their door, and they must give Rs. 5 to buy fire-wood. The murder would be an extra charge, and they would have to go to the Ganges as well." Another sentry said: — "It's no affair of ours, we are Mornî's servants, and she herself must burn him or go to the Ganges. Take him by the legs and arms, and throw him into the courtyard." So two men seized his legs and two his arms and threw him into Mornî's yard.

(To be continued.)

82 Châpâ, lac fitted for commercial use.
83 Thaçan, lit. to cheat, cheating, i.e., humbug.
84 Ñàshphûsâ, to be stopped — of the breath.
CONTRIBUTIONS TO PANJABI LEXICOGRAPHY.

(Continued from p. 294.)

SERIES II.

BY H. A. ROSE, I.C.S.


Salāmanvālā: a man who at winnowing gathers up the grain to be winnowed. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. vii.


Sām: an iron boot with which the pestle (mułla) is shod. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. vii.


Sandār: a variety of tobacco with an even, well-shaped leaf requiring much more trouble to cultivate than the gurēdhā. D. I. Khān S. R., 1879, p. 349.


Sārās: hit, 'great'; the reaper's sheaf. Cf. nirās.


Sari: a disease of kine extremely contagious, the principal symptom being a swelling of the whole body. Hazarâ S. R., 1874, p. 98.


Saroba-paina: *lit., head (and) tail,* the general rule by which the lands at the head of a stream or channel are first entitled to be watered and after them the lower lands in succession. D. I. Khán S. R., 1879, p. 7.

Sarop: the first year's crop of indigo. Multân Gr., p. 213.

Saropâ: see *jhâri.*


Sartor: bareheaded, a title of the Mullâh Mastân or Mad Mullâh, who is commonly known as the Sartor Faqîr.

Sarwâh: the autumn crop: *sawannâ* is perhaps the widest known term. Bannû S. R., p. xv.


Satân pawân: or "seven quarters of a rupee," i.e., Re. 1 as. 12; a specific rate of *hagy amîndâri.* Cf. *adh-sera man.*

Sathrâ: (i) common red rice. (Cf. Jukes' *Dictionary of W. P.*, p. 188). Multân Gr., p. 218; (ii) a kind of wheat which yields a large out-turn of grain, but inferior straw, p. 218.

Satluja: a brand of camels.

Satthi: the sixth day after the birth of a child. Multân Gr., p. 90.


Satwârâ: the seven days during which a bride remains in her husband’s house. Mgarh. S. R., p. 70.

Satwâra: an observance in which sweetmeats are taken to the bridegroom's house by the bride's people, 3 to 7 days after marriage. Multán G. R., p. 96.

Saunâla: a kind of late-growing rice. Multán Gr., p. 216.


Sawri: *wild sawabh.* D. G. Khán Gr., p. 16.


Sef: a good fodder grass. D. G. Khán Gr., p. 16.

Sept: a sweeper, who works for several families each in turn, and twice a year at harvest-time —opp. to *athari.* Gujât S. R., p. 40.

Seri: a grant, generally used of lands granted in ownership to religious characters; but also applied to grants to a chief in excess of his *wirdsat* (tribal share) and to other service grants. Hazarâ S. R., 1874, p. 155.
Shangist: dried (of dates). Multan Gr., p. 228.
Shara-jawāb: the last ceremony of the betrothal, in which the father of the bridegroom and the father of the bride successively declare the betrothal in a loud voice, the declaration being repeated three times. Cf. ījdā kabīl. Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 299.
Shauh pānt: (add at Jukes’ Dict. of W. P. p. 208:—:) the permanent supply of water found in the suzū. Multan Gr., p. 195.
Sindi: a variety of wheat of the Indus valley. Kohát S. R., p. 120.
Singi: a variety of fish. Multan Gr., p. 23.
Singli (adj.): horned, of sheep. Multán Gr., p. 239.


Sip: a tray made of kīndā or sīr, larger than the chāaj and used only in winnowing. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. iii.


Sirmel: completion of a wedding. Multán Gr., p. 94.


Sir par hona: an animal which is kept by a man other than its owner on condition that the keeper gets half its value when grown up. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xiv.

Sisli: a game bird, a kind of hill partridge. Kohat S. R., 1884, p. 31; sisi, D. G. Khan Gr., p. 16.

Sitāni: abuse given by the women of the bride's family to the bridegroom's procession. Hazara S. R., 1874, p. 300.

Sittthri: see doh. Multán Gr., p. 93.


Skhu: a game; it consists in holding up the left foot in the right hand, and hopping on one leg against an adversary. Peshawar S. R., 1878, p. 131.

Sohā: marriage song sung at the bride's house—opp. to ghorās. Gujrat S. R., p. 44.


Sohā-satārwin: a cash proprietary due at the rate of one-seventeenth, i.e., Rs. 6-4 per cent. on the Government revenue, was originally the seventh share of the produce. Bannu S. R., p. xv.


Sot: throwing coins over a bridegroom's head. Multán Gr., p. 96.


Spin: a kind of wheat. See dad khānti.


Sukband: a dam of earthwork at the end of a water-course. Multán Gr., p. 325.


Sum: ash, the wood is valuable for ears, shafts and all articles which require a combination of strength and flexibility. Hazara S. R., 1874, p. 11.

Sunāt: a marriage.


Sunjāt: recognition.


Surrā: a disease among horses and camels. It is very fatal and does not yield to treatment. Chenab Col. Gr., 1894, p. 97.
Suryāl: The relatives of the man in whose house a boy's wedding is observed.


Sutlar: The pole fixed against the well ropes to prevent them from slipping off the bair. Jhang. S. R., p. 79.


Tād: A rope made of mārj used to fasten the yoke to the gāddi, or driving seat of a well. Cf. chī. Jhang S. R., p. 83.


Tagha: A large shrub with a small edible berry, the wood of which is a good deal used for making amulets. Kohat S. R., 1884, p. 50.


Takhtī: A plaque. Mīlān Gr., p. 89.

Takka: A share. Cf. kadda.


Tallīān: A game in which one man presses his palm on the ground, and others try to pull it up from the ground. Mīlān Gr., p. 100.


Talwera: The grain that remains on the threshing floor after the heaps of corn have been removed. Cf. anga and rafa. Mīlān S. R., p. 21.


Tan, tandobī: A system of cultivation in which the water is laid on to open fields divided by small ridges like those used in well cultivation. D. I. Khān S. R., 1879, p. 9.


Tangan: See utangān. Mīlān Gr., p. 205.


Tappa: The portion of a main subdivision of a tribe, among the Pathāns of Dir, Swāt and Bajaur. Each tappa was again subdivided between the various khels into dafsāra.

Tariz: an agreement. Multan.
Tasi: two angals, in measuring wood. Multan Gr., p. 257.
Toda gandh badhesan: lit., ‘I will tie a knot to you,’ i.e., I will visit your shrine. Mgarh. S. R., p. 67.
Teghna: an iron griddle, a foot in diameter, for baking cakes. Kohat S. R., 1884, p. 74.
Tengra: a variety of fish. Multan Gr., p. 23.
Teri: charitable grants given from times immemorial to faqirs and other individuals following a religious profession. Hazara S. R., 1874, p. 122.
Thakkar: a guru of the sevake or river-worshippers. Multan Gr., p. 115.
Thamb: tied up. Mgarh.
Thal: a betrothal ceremony: when the bridegroom’s party have, on arrival, at the bride’s house, been feasted, the barber puta between the two parties a large brass platter called a thal. Into this, the bridegroom puts what money and jewels he has brought for his bride. Hazara S. R., 1874, p. 299.
Thanj pilana: a ceremony performed some six days after the birth of a son when the relations are called in, and the mother, in the presence of the females of the family, gives the child the breast. Multan Gr., p. 81.
Thapala: a small level patch on a hill-top. See thala.
Thokar: a dam or regulator on a canal or large water-course. Multan Gr., p. 325.
Thubai: excavating the pit of a well after water has been reached. Monty. S. R. Glossa., p. xii.
Tikat: among the upper classes of Gujrat this term is applied to the presents sent to the boy’s father at a wedding; equivalent to the bhoka among the middle classes. Gujrat S. R. 1874, p. 45.
Til, pl. tilahan: sesamum. Multan Gr., p. 217.
Toli: the upper part of the stem of the bhita (Saccharum Sacca). Mgarh. S. R., p. 33.
Tingá: roosting-pole. Multán Gr., p. 82.
Tirāhí: a kind of wheat. See dādād-khānī.
Tirao: a unit of measurement. Dir, etc.
Tirkanda: a variety of fish. Multán Gr., p. 23.
Tobra: a cass. D. G. Khán Gr., p. 84; a horse's nose bag, filled with corn, and representing the feed of corn given freely by the tenant; a due. Multán S. R., 1830, p. 44.

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

Subdī ki Nāṭī.1

BY H. A. ROSE.

Tek.

Rayā to kare, Subdī, Kāshi Rām, re ghaūrā; Nahin mañā burā; māhin mañā burā.

Fūlī karalā fulā, fālī karalā dunā. Dheīa bhari merī jindārī; kas, kas rā ahuṇā?

Rayā to kare, Subdī, etc.

Dhanā re taṃgo pūndhī dīlā, Sundī, mānjā.

Rākhi to karai, Subdī, uchā nichā jānā.

Rayā to kare, Subdī, etc.

Kāle khāye ākhī, re ājā; man jāthē re binā.

Kohī khāye teri parite, ghārī palo, re, chite.1

Rayā to kare, Subdī, etc.

Haṃs chugo samunlā; mor dunā, re, bighe.

Hāmeī to simre theumroke; tuse bichhre shighe.

Rayā to kare, Subdī, etc.

Refrain.

Subdī, you should live in Kāshi Rām's house: Never to be unhappy, unhappy.

Flowerets bloom and the wild onions bloom. My life weighs half a tola; whose, whose order am I to obey?

Subdī, you should live, etc.

O, Subdī, you have made your bed in Dhaulu's verandah.

You should keep the distance between the high and low (castes), Subdī.

Subdī, you should live, etc.

O, pretty is the lamp-black under your eyes, and the red spot in the centre of your forehead.

O, I remember your one-sided love that fascinates every moment.

Subdī, you should live, etc.

O, Swans live by the lake; peafowls in the valley fields.

I had taken you till your life's end, but you at once deserted me.

Subdī, you should live, etc.

1 Pahari Love Song. Subdī or Subdā was a Kanet girl in a village in Jā pargāni in the Keonthal State. Kāshi Rām, her husband, was a Kanet; Dhaulu, her lover, was a Kol; both of Keonthal.
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