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"It will flourish, if naturalists, chemists, antiquaries, philologers, and men of science in different parts of *Asia*, will commit their observations to writing, and send them to the Asiatic Society at Calcutta. It will languish, if such communications shall be long intermitted; and it will die away, if they shall entirely cease." SIR WM. JONES.  
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JOURNAL

OF THE

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.

Part I.—HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

No. I.—1887.

A brief account of Tibet from "Dsam Ling Gyeshe," the well-known geographical work of Lama Tsanpo Nomankhan of Amdo.—Translated by SARAT CHANDRA DÁS, C. I. E.*

In the sacred Buddhist scriptures called *Chhos mngon-par mdsod* (*Abhidharma kosha*) occurs the following:—

"Hence northward there lie black mountains nine,

"Which passed, the lofty snow-clad peaks appear,

"Beyond which extend Himavat, the realm of snow."

This alludes to the long ranges of both low and lofty mountains which intervene between Uddayana (Afghanistan) and the Chinese province of Yunan. The great country of Himavat, which is the chosen land of Arya Chanrassig (*Avalokiteshvara*) for the propagation of Buddhism, and which stands aloof from the rest of the world on account of the lofty snow barriers which surround it, is known by the general name of Po. That country is to a great extent higher than the surrounding countries. The Hor country of Kapistan (Yarkand and Kashgar) touches it on the north-west, and the great province of Tsongkha in Amdo, well known for its being the birthplace of the illustrious Tsongkhapa, separates it from China on the north-east.

Possessing a temperate climate, it enjoys immunity from the oppressive effects of the extremes of heat and cold. It is to a great extent

* [This paper is a reprint from a report to the Government. In the absence of the author from India, it was not thought advisable to make any alterations in it. Ed.]

free from the ravages of famine, wild animals, venomous snakes and insects. The snowy mountains of Tési, Chomo-kankar, Phulahari, Kula-kangri in Lhobra, Habe in Upper Nang; Chhyi-kang, Tsarita and Nanchhen-thangla in *Do-klands*, Yarlha Shambu, Toirikarpo, Kha-wa-Lodil, Shabra Karpo, Machhen Pomra, and others stand exalted with uplifted hoary heads, like so many glittering *chhortens* of rock crystal. There are also the mountains called Hoti-gongyal, Mari Rab Chyam, Jomo nagri, Kong-tsun-demo, &c., abounding in numerous fragrant herbs of wonderful medicinal properties, and clothed in charming pasture. Besides these, numberless black mountains fill the country. The lakes are Mapham *Gyu-mtsho*, Gnam-mtsho phyug mo, Tsha-mtsho, Yar-lhbrog *gyu-mtsho*, Phag-mtsho, Mtsho skyareng angoreng, Khri-gshor, Gyal-mo. Numerous other lakes of sweet, pure and sparkling water are scattered all over the country. The great rivers such as the Tsang-po, Senge khabab (Indus), Mab-chya khabab, Tsha-shika, Lja-chhu Dngul-chhu, Ebri-chhu, Gser-gyi phye-ma (Golden sand), Nag-chhu, Rgyal-mo Dngul-chhu, Rma-chhu (Hoangho), Sme-chhu Rbe-chhu, Bsang-chhu, Hjulag-chhu, Btsong-chhu, fed by numerous tributaries, flow towards its boundaries. Extensive forests, pasture lands, grassy valleys, meadows, fields abound there. Barren and bleak plateaux, which look like deserts and sandy plains, occupy the largest area of the country. The great countries of *Rgya-nag* (China), *Rgya-gar* (India), Persig (Persia) have great oceans on their borders, but the country of Tibet stands surrounded by the mighty barriers of snowy mountains, skirting which are the kingdoms of *Rgya-nag*, *Rgya-gar*, Hjang, Mon (Cis-Himáleyá), Bal-yo (Nepal), Kha-chhe (Kashmir), Stag-gssigs (Tajik or Persia) and Hor (Tartary), inhabited by various peoples. As the great rivers which fertilise these border countries have their sources in the country of Po (Bhot or Tibet), the latter stands to other countries in the relation of *Dsambuling* (Jambudvipa) as their centre.

This great country is divided into three parts—

- | | | |
|--|-----|-------------------------|
| I.— <i>Stod Mngah-ri skor-gsum</i> | ... | High (or Little) Tibet. |
| II.— <i>Dvus Gtsang</i> , divided into four provinces, ... | ... | Tibet Proper. |
| III.— <i>Mdo</i> , khams and <i>Sgang</i> , | ... | Great Tibet. |

I.—LITTLE TIBET (BOD-CHHUNG.)

Stod Mngah-ri skor-gsum is divided into the three following circles :—*Stag-mo Ladvags*, *Mang-yul Shang Shung*, *Guge Buhrang* (Purang) ; and into the following districts :—

Purang, *Mang-yul*, *Sangs-dkar*, *HChhi-va*, *Bla-sha*, *Sbal-te*, *Shang Shung*, Upper and Lower *Khrig-se*.

In former times the political boundary of Bod (Po) extended up to the dominions of the Turushkas (Turks). Upper Tibet was in fact divided into two parts. Its northern division included Badakshan, where there was a *Dsong* (fort) for the government of the numerous hordes of *Dokpas* (herdsmen). The chieftain of Badakshan was a vassal of Tibet, who is mentioned in the ancient records of Tibet as the king of the *Dokpas*. To the east of Upper Tibet are the snowy mountains of Tesi (Kailash), lake Mapham (Mansarovara), the fountain *Hthung-grol*, which has the reputation of extending salvation to those that drink its water. All these are within the jurisdiction of the Garpon (Governor) of *Stod-sgar*, who is an officer under the Government of Lhasa. Now-a-days the pilgrims and devotees of Gangs-ri designate the snowy mountain mentioned in *Mngon-mdsod* and other sacred books by the name of Kang Tesi, and the lake *Mtsho ma-dros-pa* by the name of *Mtsho Maphan*. The commentators of *Mngon-mdsod* describe the four great rivers of Upper Tibet as issuing from rocks, which respectively have the appearances of an elephant, an eagle, a horse and a lion. According to other writers the rocks have the appearances of the head of a bull, a horse, a peacock and a lion, from which spring Ganga, Lohita, Pakshu and Sindhu. Each of these great rivers is said to flow into one of the four oceans, after receiving more than five hundred tributaries. The great lake *Mtsho-ma drod-pa* is mentioned as extending over an area of 80 leagues. These accounts vary very much when compared with what is now seen. This may be attributed to the difference of moral merit in the different generations of mankind. It is probably owing to the smallness of moral merit in us, that we do not see these sacred places in their original state as our ancestors saw them. There is no other explanation except this why great things should look small. The mighty river Sindhu, issuing from a glacier on the western slopes of Kang Tesi, flows westward through Balti and afterwards in a south-western direction through Kapistan, Jalandhra, and Panchanad, till joined by the rivers Satadru, Vipasa, Chandrabhaga, Airavati and Vitasta from the east, and the rivers Chandana, Seka, Nilata, Hera and Lak, and lastly through the country of Sindhu to empty itself in the great ocean called *Rinchhen Abyung gnas* (the origin of precious things), opposite Saurashtra. On account of there existing numerous snowy mountains in the countries of Panchanad, Kashmir, Ushmaparanta, Kabela and Jalandhra, which send their water into it, the river Sindhu is very powerful, and in fact it is the greatest of the four rivers mentioned above.

The river Pakshu springing from the glaciers on the north-western slopes of Kang Tesi, and flowing through the country of Tho-kar in a westerly direction, and Balag Bhokar and Hiva, and also through the

steppes peopled by the Turushka hordes, discharges its contents into the great lake Mansarovar (Aral).

The river Sita, issuing from the glaciers of the Tesi mountains on their eastern side, flows through the country of Yar-khan and Thokar to empty itself into the lake Tsha-mtsho. Tradition says that formerly this river, flowing through the centre of the Hor country, discharged itself into the eastern ocean; but on account of its being drained by means of aqueducts, cut from it to irrigate both Chinese and Thokar countries, its progress to the sea was arrested. This is evidently a story. This Sita does not appear to be identical with the Sita mentioned in the work called "Passport to Shambhala." The celebrated Kang Tesi being very high, it is seen from a great distance; and the group of mountains surrounding it, and extending to a great distance on all sides, also pass under the same name. There is a smaller peak called Mgonpori in front of Kang Tesi, and partially concealing it. Confronting the sacred mountain, at a short distance is situated the famous lake Mtsho-mapham, to the west of which there is another but smaller lake, called Lagran-mtsho. There are legendary stories connected with the furrow on the smaller peak situated in front of Kang Tesi. According to the Tibetans it was there, that Je-tsun Milarapa and Naro Ponchhúng having challenged each other to perform miraculous feats, the latter fell headlong, rolling down from the waist of the peak, and thereby causing the deep furrow on its slope. But according to the accounts of the Rgya-garpas (Indians), the furrow is the groove caused by an arrow shot by Kartikeya. They also say that this little mountain formerly existed in the belly of the great Himálaya mountain, whence it was extracted by Hanumanta, who now resides in it. It is therefore that Mgonpori is called Hanumanta by the Tirthikas. According to the Buddhist accounts there are foot-marks of the son of king Suddhodana on the four sides of Kang Tesi, together with the sacred symbols printed on them. On the back of Kang Tesi are the foot-marks of Milarapa and Naro Ponchhúng, where also are seen many religious symbols. There is a sacred cavern consecrated to Jigten Wang-chhyug, besides other objects of great sanctity. The Tirthikas adore the foot-marks of the great Teacher, in the belief that they were made by Mahádeva, Rudra, Kartikeya or Parvatí. The religious symbols and other foot-marks they ascribe to the demon Baka, Hanumanta and others. The dwellers of the Kangri say that the footprints were left by saints when they attained perfection. To the east of Kang Tesi lie the districts of Dragsho, Lungkha and the southern part of Ngahri, which includes Ladvag, in the neighbourhood of which lies Kashmir and Chamba. In Ladvag, which contains the fort of Sles-mkhar (Leh), Sbe-thub, Khri-se, &c., there are very few inhabi-

tants. The people of these places partly resemble the Kashmiris in their manner of dressing and living. They wear a kind of hat with a broad brim called *cho-shva*, and similar to the hat of a Chinese convict. The laymen wear black *cho-shva*, the clergy red ones. Formerly the people of Ngahri were devoted to the Chhyaggya-pa and Dsog-chhen-pa sects of the red cap school, but now-a-days they are imbibing faith in the reformed Gelugpa doctrine. To the north-west of Ladvag is the small district of SPite, the people of which belong to the Tibetan race, and are subject to the Ladvag chief. To the west of SPite there is a place called Kamlasha, where there is a snowy mountain called Boidur-thaka by the Lalos (Muhammadans). To the east of Ngari Ladvag there is a tribe known by the name *Hdar-wa*, to the east of whose country there lies the little province of Gugé.

The most notable object in Gugé is the monastery of Thoding (*Mtho lding gSergyi Lhakhang*), founded by the celebrated Lochava Rinchen Ssangpo. Thence proceeding eastward for a day, you come to the district of Purang, where reigned a line of kings sprung from the dynasty of King Srong tsan Gampo. Lha Lama Chyangchhub *Hod* was the most illustrious member of this line of kings. The chief town of Purang is Ya-tse ds ng, which contains several Gelugpa institutions, such as Purang Shing-phelling and others. In Purang there are many religious institutions belonging to the Sakyapa, Rñingmapa, Karmapa, *Hbrug-pa*, Bonpo and other schools.

Proceeding half a day's distance to the south of Purang you arrive at the very old and famous sanctuary of Chovo Jamali, also called Khur-Chhog. In ancient time there lived in a remote part of Pnrang a recluse, who entertained seven Aryan Buddhists in his humble cell. These Acharyas, when they were returning to *Rgya-gar*, entrusted him with seven loads of articles belonging to them for safe custody. Years elapsed, yet they did not return to Purang. The recluse, thinking that they would not return to Tibet, opened the loads and therein found many bundles wrapped in rags with the name "Jamali" marked on them; and on opening them he found that they contained silver ingots. Carrying these treasures, the recluse went to a place called Jümlang, where he engaged several silversmiths to construct an image of Lord Buddha with the entire quantity of silver. As soon as the image was finished down to its knees, it began to move, though the legs were not finished. Thereafter the recluse, with a view to take the image to Tibet, engaged porters to carry it, and succeeded in placing it on the site of this temple. As soon as the image reached Purang it became immoveable and remained fixed where it was first placed. A temple was then erected to shelter and honour it. On account of the name Jamali being marked on the bundles

of silver ingots with which it was constructed, it is called Jamali, "the immoveable." Again, when the Turushka armies under King Boramjee (or Noramjee) captured Chittore, the king and his brother, carrying with them the images of Chanrassig Wangchhyug and his wife, retired to Kang Tesi. When arrived at Purang, he found that Chanrassig's image could not be moved or carried any further; but from underneath the spot where the image stood there sprung out miraculously a seat of *amalaka* stone with an iron lotus on it, while a voice was heard directing the king to leave the image there. The royal brothers at the end of their pilgrimage in Tibet returned to Nepal, carrying with them the image of Dolma. There the elder brother obtained the principality of Jámang, and the younger brother, more fortunate, the kingdom of Nepal. The latter, after reigning several years, abdicated the throne and went to Southern India, where he obtained the chieftainship of a large principality.*

* [With regard to this incident, Mr. H. B. Beveridge sends us the following note. "The Tibetan Chronicle speaks of the Turushka, that is, Muhammadans under King Boramji. But I suspect a mistranslation here, and think that Boramji must be the name of the Chitor Hindu king, and not of the Muhammadan conqueror who, I think, ought to be Alauddín Khiljí who sacked Chitor in 1303. I applied to my friend the Kaviráj Shyámál Dás, and he has given me the following useful note which, I beg to suggest, might be put as a note to the passage in the Tibetan chronicle.

The Kaviraj writes as follows :

" "Boramji, or Noramji may be a corruption of Barbarm (बरबर्म) who was the son of Ayút (अयुत) and grandson of Kumbha Karan (कुम्भकरन) son of Rawal Samar Singh of Chitor. It is known from the Prithvá Ráj Rása that Kumbha Karan sought shelter towards Ujjein after leaving Chitor, when Alauddin Khilji sacked it in the time of Samar Singh; and his descendants went to Nepal, a fact which is admitted by the Nepalese. Nepal may be meant by Tibet in the chronicle you speak of." "

I think that there is something in the Kaviráj's suggestion, though I cannot find Barbarm in Tod. On the other hand I find one Ajeysi there, Vol. I, p. 269, and Tod says that he had two sons, one of whom by name Sujunsi was the ancestor of Sivaji, the founder of the Asattara dynasty. May not this be the more fortunate prince of the Tibetan chronicle who became a ruler in Southern India? In a footnote to the page of Tod just quoted, he says, that two noble lines were reared from expelled princes of Chitor; those of Sivaji, and the Gorkhas of Nepal. At p. 257 Tod refers to a son of Samar Singh who fled to the mountains of Pal, and there spread the Gehlote line. According to Tod and the Rajput bards, Samar Singh lived nearly 150 years before Alauddín, but I suppose this is one of the anachronisms, which the Kaviráj has set himself to rectify. Perhaps Dr. Wright's History of Nepal might throw light on the subject of Chitor princes in Nepal, or Tibet."—Ed.]

Lower Purang in the east and not at a great distance from it, there is an extensive plain known by the name of Lava-manthang, and inhabited by a tribe of Tibetans. This was formerly under the government of Lhasa, but lately it has passed under the Nepalese rule. Then passing extensive *Dok* lands and proceeding in an easterly direction you come to the large district of Jonga Dsong, where there is a large fort with a prison attached to it, and several monasteries headed by Jongah Phel-gya Ling. Lower down to the east of Jonga Dsong lies the country of Tibet proper, consisting of the two great provinces of Tsang (*Gtsang*) and U (*Dvus*). These were subdivided into four *Ru* or military quarters, namely, U-ru, Yeru, Yon-ru and Rulas. During the supremacy of the Hor Emperors, U and Tsang were divided into six districts each, called *Thi-kor*, and the lake country of Yamdo was constituted into a separate *Thi-kor*.

To the south of the Jonga district and the adjoining Dokpa lands lies the well-known district of Kirong, which is the most westerly part of Upper Tsang. At Kirong is the great monastery of Samtanling, which still preserves its reputation for sanctity. The monks of this ancient institution are famous for the purity of their morals and their exemplary discipline. Kirong contains the shrine of Chovo Wati Ssang-po, one of the four celebrated Chovo (Lord Buddha) of Tibet. To the south and in the neighbourhood of this Tibetan district lie Samkhu, Nayakota and other places of Nepal. Then proceeding eastward you arrive at Nalam, also called Nanam, adjoining which is Gungthang, the birthplace of Jetsun Milarapa and Rva Lochava.

II.—TIBET PROPER.

To the east and south of the Jongah district and the adjoining Dokpa lands, at the commencement of Upper Tsang, lies Mang-yul Kyidong (Kirong), adjoining the south boundary of which lie the Nepalese districts of Samkhu and Nayakota. Kirong contains the temple called Samtanling and the image of Buddha, celebrated by the name of Chovo Wati Ssang-po, from which a "lustre of glory" is said to issue at all times.

To the east of the Kirong district lies Nalam (Nanam), (to the south of which is the Nalam pass), in the vicinity of which are Gungthang, the birthplace of Rva Lochava and Toipa phug, the hermitage of the sage Milarapa, and Chhubar, the place where Milarapa died,—all these places lying on the Tibet-Nepal boundary. Close to them are the recluses' monasteries of Phelgya ling and Targya ling, in the neighbourhood of that grand and very lofty snowy mountain called Jomo Kangkar, and at

the foot of Lab-chhyi Kang, on the top of which are the abodes of Tshering tshe-nga, the five fairies who were devoted to the sage Milarapa. At the foot of Lab-chhyi Kang, on the Tibetan side, are five glacial lakes, each differing from the others in the colour of its water, consecrated to the Tshe-ring tshe-nga. To the north of those monasteries lies Kyema tsho, one of the four great glacial lakes of Tibet, close to which is situated Rivo tag-ssang ('the place considered holy'), the favourite residence of Lhacham Mandarava, the wife of Padma Sambhava, who resides there in a spiritual state. It contains the foot-marks of that deified female saint. Travelling northward from Nanam one arrives at the foot of a lofty mountain called Gung thang La, which contains the abodes of the twelve sylvan nymphs called Tanma Chuni, who were bound under solemn oath by Padma Sambhava to protect Buddhism against the heretical enemies or the Tirthikas (Bráhmanas), and to prevent ingress to Tibet of Indian heretics. Although it is alleged that since then the Indian Tirthikas never came to Tibet, yet it is found that the Indian Parivrajakas did, as they do now, visit Tibet. There are other passes and ways for communication between India and Tibet, besides Gung thang La pass, and so the nymphs cannot with certainty be said to have succeeded in their attempt to close the passes. Notwithstanding this, it is believed that formerly Indian heretics who succeeded in entering Tibet mostly died of, or suffered from, fatal and dangerous diseases. Many people say that the learned Parivrajakas (in the days of the author) who visited Tibet did not find the water and climate of Tibet to agree with them, and that they also suffered from serious diseases. After crossing Gung thang La, and going northwards, you arrive at the district of Tengri, in which there are the hermitage and cavern of Pha tampa Sangye (founder of the Shichye school), and the tomb of that famous saint. A Chinese guard with a Tibetan militia is posted at Tengri to watch the movements of the frontier people. Then to the east you find Tesi Jong and to the north Shelkar Dorje Jong with a prison attached to it. Close to it lies Shelkar Chhoide monastery. North-east of these, not at a great distance from Shelkar Jong, is situated the famous monastery of Pal Sakya, which contains a grand congregation hall called *Dukhang karmo*, so spacious that within it a race can be run. Sakya contains numerous objects of Buddhist sanctity. The Sakya hierarchs descended from Khon Chhoigyal (although his temporal power is now extinct) continue to exist without interruption. They chiefly devote their attention to the Tantrik portion of Buddhism, for which they are greatly revered.

From Pal Sakya if you go northward for a full day's march, you arrive at Khahu Tag Jong, the place where Lama Khahu propitiated the deity Gonpo shaldub. It contains a cavern cut in a rock called *Pal Gon*

thim, which contains a miraculously written white letter *K* called *Kyig karmo*, and a triangular hollow black rock slab called the *Lodon* (or the petrified heart of *Palgom Lama*,) from which faithful devotees take away chips. To the north of *Khahu Jong* there is a very lofty snowy range on the back of which is the district inhabited by a tribe of *Hors* called *Toi Hor*, said to be descended from *Srinpo* (cannibal hobgoblins). It is believed that if the snow of that mountain melt, great troubles and dangers will befall Tibet. The *Sakya* hierarchs, by the efficacy of their charms, are by degrees causing its snow to melt. This mountain is extremely high. Beyond these snowy mountains exist many *Dok* tribes. These *Lalo* (Muhammadan people) are subject to *Kasgar*.

After passing these, you arrive at tracts occupied by other *Dokpa* tribes, and the vast desert plain of *Nyanam*, where there is neither water, nor grass, nor vegetation. After crossing this desert plain you come to the district occupied by the *Anchian* tribe, a Muhammadan people, than whom none can do greater mischief to the cause of religion and peace. In ancient times, during the great dispute between *Sakyapa* and *Digunpa* monasteries, the latter invited the troops of *Hasri Khan*, the *Lalo* chief of *Kasgar*. In the war the *Sakyapa* attacked the enemy by marching along the side of the snowy mountains. Within the *Yon Khang* of *Khahupa* there are many bones and skulls, said to be the remains of those *Lalo* and *Kasgar* troops who fell in the battle. An account of this is to be found in the work *Debther-nonpo*.

Lower down, to the east of the *Nyanam* desert, the tract is called *Bongshar*, to the east of which lies *Ohhudu Tshogor* and several other *Yul-jong* villages and towns. To the north of the famous monastery of *Pal Sakya* flows the river *Tsangpo*, on the bank of which stand *Lha-rtse*, *Ngam-ring* and *Phun tshogs-ling Jong*, which all now belong to the Government of *Tsang* (*bLa-brang rGyal mtshan mthonpo*). These contain many symbols and images of great sanctity, as well as *Thopu Chyam-chhen chhorten* constructed by *Thophu Lochava*, a lofty *chhorten* erected by *Dub-chhen* (saint) *Thanang*, and the great temple built by *Situ Namgyal-tagpa*. *Ngam-ring* monastery, besides other religious institutions, is also a famous place of pilgrimage. The monastery of *Phun-tsho-ling* was built by *Kun-khyen-jomo Nangpa* (*Jonangpa*) after the model of the Buddhist temple of *Sambhala*. *Phun-tsholing*, *Chholung-chyang-tse* and other monasteries in Upper *Tsang* were formerly the seats of the spiritual descendants of *Rwa-va*, who devoted their attention exclusively to the study of the *Kala chakra*, *Vyákaraṇa*, and *Vichara* systems of Buddhism. The *Jonang* sect had its origin at *Phun-tsholing*. This school being very different from other schools in its peculiar theories, was considered by its enemies to be a heretical innovation. Formerly

Phuntsholing Jong was the seat of Dolgon Phagpa, the spiritual guide of the Emperor Kublai. The subjects under the jurisdiction of Phun-tsholing Jong and some of the subjects under Shikha Samdub-tse (Shiga-tse) became devoted to the Jonang school, and followed its ritual. The Jonangpa school having flourished, the reformed school was to some extent eclipsed by it, when great calamities befell the Government of the Grand Lama. During the hierarchy of the immediate successors of the Ngag-wang Lossang Gya-tsho, and particularly at the time of Buddha dhara and other Buddhists, great injury was being done by the followers of the Jonang school. Now-a-days the Gelugpa school is making rapid progress there.

To the south-east of these monasteries (Phuntsholing, Ngamring, &c.), in lower Tsang, lies the great monastery of Tashi-lhunpo, founded by Gyal-wa Gedundub. There Buddha Amitádba in human garb, holding the designation of Panchhen Tham-che Khanpa, has been residing for a series of generations. Numerous and most wonderful and sacred objects, collected and constructed with gems of the first water by the immaculate incarnations of the Panchhen, exist in the monastery of Tashi-lhunpo, which also contains the gilt tombs of the successive Panchhen, the religious robes of the former saints of India, China and Tibet, with their ornaments, dresses, the six sacred letters "*om ma ni pa me hum*" carved out and written by Gedun-dub, &c., the value of which in the eyes of believers is immense. In the vicinity of Tashi-lhunpo, to the north-east, lies the newly-built palace of Kun-khyab-ling (erected by Pan-chhen Tanpai Nima). In the same direction, in the suburbs, lie the fort called Samdub-tse, erected by Deba Tsangpa in the first part of the 17th century A. D., and the town of Shiga-tse, which is a place of much trade. In the neighbourhood of Tashi-lhunpo there are several petty religious establishments, hermitages, and cells for recluses on the hills, together with groups of populous villages. To the west of Tashi-lhunpo (half a day's march) lies the monastery of Narthang, anciently the seat of many sages and learned men. Now-a-days it is decaying, and the number of its monks is on the decrease.

Narthang contains the block-prints for Buddhist scriptures, such as Kahgyur and Tangyur, besides several other objects of sanctity. To the east of Tashi-lhunpo, at a distance of half a day's ride, is situated the fort of Lhundub-tse in the Panam district, within the jurisdiction of which falls the great monastery of Shvalu, also called Serki Tsug-la khang (golden shrine), built in former times after the Chinese fashion. It contains numerous objects of religious sanctity, such as symbols, religious writings, chaityas and images called *tansum*. In its neighbourhood are several hermitages. The interior of Panam Jong is said to contain the

dwelling of a certain demon. It is surrounded by several ramparts built of stone, in consequence of which the fort is considered impregnable. To the east of Panam, in Upper Nyang, lies the third city of Tibet, called Gyan-tse, which is a place of considerable trade. It was formerly the capital of *Situ Rabtan kun ssang*, and called *Gyal-khang-tse*. It contains the well-known shrine called *Palkhor-chhorten*, also *Gomang Gandhola-chhenpo*, built by king *Situ Rabtan*. The great monastery attached to it, called *Palkhor chhoide*, contains eighteen different religious establishments, such as *Gelugpa*, *Ningma*, *Karma*, *Sakyapa Dukpa*, &c. Within the jurisdiction of *Gyan-tse Jong* there are several other monasteries belonging to different schools, such as *Chhoide Dechan* belonging to *Ri-khor-chhosga*, and several hermitages; and the estates of many nobles lie in the *Gyan-tse* district. The largest estates belong to *Shape Doring* and *Phala*. The city of *Gyan-tse* contains a large population. It formerly contained the seats of *Tertons* (discoverers of *Tantrik* scriptures) headed by *Ngah-dag-Myang*. To the north of *Tashi-lhunpo*, in the valley of the *Tsangpo* called *Tsang-rong*, lies the grand temple (hermitage) called *Wensa Chhoikyí Phodang*, built by *Gyalwa Lossang Tondub*. It contains many religious objects collected by that learned saint. The Buddhist devotees observe many wonderful figures and sacred symbols on the surrounding rocky precipices and hills. Not very far from it, and to the south of *Tashi-lhunpo*, is the hermitage of the saint *Chhoikyí Dorje*, called *Garmo Chhoi Jong*. There is a small fountain which contains water of wonderful efficacy. It is said to have sprung up miraculously. Besides, there are seen the *Lingam* of *Mahádeva* and *Deví*, all miraculously carved in rock. On the north bank of the *Tsangpo*, opposite to *Wensa*, are *Ho-Yug* and *Shang*. The latter contains the monasteries of *Dechhen Rabgya* and *Gahdan Chhoikhorling*, all of which belong to the *Gelugpa* school. *Shang* also includes *Namling* monastery and the seat of the learned saint *Khyungpo* of olden times, as well as the shrine of spirits built by King *Tsang-tsan Dorje Ligpa*, which has many miraculous things in it. The people of that town, owing to the agency of spirits residing in it, are possessed of great strength and can perform wonderful athletic feats.

To the east of *Shang*, in the eastern *Tsang-rong* valley and the defiles of *Tsang*, lie *Rinchhen Púngpa Jong*, the castle of *Deba Rinchhen Púng* of historic fame, *Chyam chhen Choide* (monastery) and the village of *Thob-gyal* (the birthplace of the late *Tashi Lama Panchhen Rinpoche*). The last contains several religious establishments, the principal of which is the *Bon* monastery of *Shendarding*. In this division of *Tsang-rong* formerly many famous *Lamas* and great personages were born, and it contained the hermitages of many a saint, but it contains few villages and an inconsiderable area of arable soil.

To the south of Gyan-tse and Panam Lhundub-tse-Jong, after crossing a group of hills, you reach the district of Rhe (Sred), which contains the monastery of Paldan Rhe Gyupai Tva-tshang and the Jong called Rhe Rinchhen-tse Jong and several villages which dot the banks of the river Rhe-chhu. There are also a few petty religious establishments, such as Ngorpa, &c., belonging to the Sakyapa school. To the east of Rhe Nang (a part of Rhe district) lies the large village of Pholha, the birthplace of King Miwang Pholha, which contains several petty villages. To the south-west of Tashi-lhunpo, after crossing a range of lofty hills called Kyingkar-La, you reach the district of Tinkyé Jong, which contains a fort with a prison (Tsan-Jong) and a monastery situated in the middle of a lake. To the south of this district, in the midst of the black mountainous region which intervenes between India and Tibet, lie the territories of Mon Dajong, called Sukhem (Sikkim) by the Indians. The Sukhem people, though speaking a dialect of Tibetan, mostly follow the customs and manners of the Indians. Directly to the south of Gyan-tse, after passing Khangmar and other places in three marches, and crossing a high mountain range, you reach Phagri Jong, an outpost of Gahdan Phodang (Lhasa Government). To the south-east of Phagri, not at a great distance from it, lie the territories of Lho duk (Bhutan).

From Upper Nyang, after crossing Kharula and the minor groups of hills (which are personified as the Demon Kang-ssang and his retainers), one reaches the district of Yardok (Yam-do), which adjoins Phagri to the south. Yardok district contains Yardok-Yumtsho, one of the four great lakes of Tibet. In the winter season, from beneath the frozen depths of the lake, is constantly heard a thunder-like roar, which according to some is the cry of sea-lions, and according to others the roaring of the wind. The fish of this lake, though very small, are all said to be of equal size. This is said to have been caused by the powerful charm of the sage Dukpa Kungah Legpa. The truth of this story is questioned.

In Yardok there are three places of note, *viz.*, Yardok Taglung, Duk-Ralung, and Samding. The last monastery, founded by Botongpa, is presided over by Dorje Phagmo. Beside it there are some other religious establishments of different schools. Now-a-days most of these have adopted the Ningma theories. In Botongpa's monastery the spiritual incarnation of Botong chhogleg Nangyal continues. It also contains an incarnation of Dorje Naljorma (Dorje Phagmo). Not far from it are the little towns of Palde Jong and Nankartse Jong. At Nankartse there is the monastery of Gur, which contains a javelin used in subduing the twelve enemies of Buddhism. Pilgrims see this javelin. The Digumpas are related to have been one of the twelve enemies mentioned above. The sage Potopa observed that the Digumpas did not deserve that opprobrium.

To the south of Yardok there is a large lake called Phag-tsho. Past Tsangrong you come to some monasteries, noted among which is Tsang Namsgyal Detshal, which adjoins the province of U. Here also are the estates of the Shapés born of the family of Thonmi Sambhota, as well as the birthplace of the latter, called Thonmi. To the east of these, in the province of U, lies the district of Kyisho, which is divided into two portions, called upper Kyisho and lower Kyisho. Lower Kyisho adjoins Tsang. Here lies the seat of the famous saint Dubthob Thangton, called Palchen rivo, together with 108 religious establishments. Towards the northern hill ranges are situated Mon-chog Gonpa (the seat of Rinchen tsondu), Ri-tsar chhoikorling (a Gelugpa monastery), and several other monasteries (Chhyagchepa) and convents. To the east of these in the neighbourhood of the confluence of the Tsangpo and Kyi-chhu (the two rivers of Tsang and U) lies the town of Chhu-sul Jong with several adjoining villages. To the east of this, at a distance of half a day's march, is the large village of Jang, where annually during the spring and summer many learned Lamas congregate to discuss on the Tshan Nyid philosophy. To the east of Jang are situated the monastery of Tag-tshang rawa-Toipa and the hermitage of that most learned and illustrious Lama Longdol Lossang, who is believed to be the reigning emperor of Shambhala. Rawa Toi and other ancient monasteries which formerly held different doctrines, such as those of the Sakya, Ningma, Karmapa, Dukpa, Kahdampa and Gelugpa schools, have now turned to Gelugpa institutions, as now-a-days the Gelugpa school includes the doctrines of Kahdampa and Tshan Nid schools. So also the Digum, Tag and Ningma schools are about to make up their doctrinal differences. On the southern bank of the river Thakah of Jang is situated the temple called Husang Doi Lhakang, built of stone by King Ralpachan, which contains many sacred objects besides an image of Husang Jovo. Lately a large piece of turquoise was obtained from the ground of this monastery. Not very far to the east of Rawa Toi lies Nethang, which contains the temple built in the days of Atisha, that noble saint of undiminished glory, and his tomb and 'many blessings of his saintly heart.' South of Nethang, on the south of U-chhu, is Sangphur, the seat of the learned Lochava of Ngog, called Legpai Sherab-khupon. There also exists the self-sprung image (in which are said to be visible the veins and muscles) of Ngog Lodan Sherab, as well as an image of Dharmapála with a wonderful buckler made of rhinoceros hide.

In ancient time there existed a large congregation of the followers and pupils of Wu-tsha; but since the rise and progress of the Sera and Dapung monasteries it has gradually declined, and now it contains a few householder priests of the Sakya school, although in summer many

monks bearing the title of *Kahram*, of Shar-tse Ta-tshang (Gahdan monastery), congregate there.

In the valley of the Sangphu lies the little plain of Myanam, called Sangphu mutig thang, after crossing which, if you go to the north-east, you come to a fort situated on a hill on the bank of the Kyichhu, which in ancient time was the scene of many chivalrous exploits. Its chief obtained military honours at the hands of many kings such as Tah, Dwoorhor, and Taiming. There is also the palace and fort of Nehu Jong, anciently the residence of king Situ Chyang Chhub Gyaltsan, of the Phagmodub dynasty, all of which are now in ruins and resemble the abode of *Tisa* (gandharva). To the north of these, on the north bank of U-chhu, not at a great distance from them and on one side of a hill, lies the monastery of Khyormo Lung, which formerly was a place of importance, being the head-quarters of the Tshan Nid school. Now-a-days it contains a few Gelugpa monks. North of this lies the large tract of land called Toilung, which contains the Toilun Ohhu ssang monasteries belonging to the Gelugpa school, and several old religious establishments pertaining to the Kahgyupa school. It also holds the estates of Deba Kyi-shopa and his Jong called Toilung Dechen Jong, and the monastery of Magyu Ta-tshang, near which is a fountain called Chhumig Lung which annually in summer is visited by hundreds of monks and priests. On the north of this district are the great monasteries of Tshur Phu and Yang pachen, the seats of the illustrious sage Karma Bakshi and his spiritual sons, which contain many sacred images and symbols.

In former times these monasteries were very rich and famous, but subsequently some of the incarnate Karma Lamas, out of jealousy having tried to injure that immaculate school of Rivo Gelugpa which had adopted the stainless doctrines of the son of Ikshaku and Rathika (Buddha), they were doomed to fall. Again, being displeased with the conduct of Chhoidub Gya-tsho and other red cap Lamas, Emperor Chhing-Lung converted the monastery of Yangpachen into a Gelugpa institution. From the valley of Toilung, if you go a little to the north-east, there in the valley you find a religious establishment called Gahdong or Devachan, belonging to the Tshan nid school, which has now become the residence of some householder priests. There also exist the caverns where Tsongkhapa used to meditate and sit in yoga.

To the east of this place lies Shing Dong kar, where there is a fort erected by Deba shi tse pa of Tsang, close to which there are the buffaloes of Tam-chan Chhoi gyal, the monkey of the goddess Paldan Mag dsorma, the bear of the Demon Khetrapala, the buckler of Nachhung, and the footsteps of Khorsum carved on stone. Although there are different stories connected with the origin of these footsteps, yet the most reliable accounts

state that these were produced at the time when Regent (Desri) Tsangpa, in order to promote the interests of the Karma school, tried to injure the school of Tsong Khapa.

Thence travelling eastward you arrive at a lofty hill called Ma Rirab Chyam or Rivo Gephel, considered very holy, to the side of which is situated that great and powerful monastery called Paldan Da pung, famous all over North Asia. It formerly contained seven (Ta-tshang) monk establishments, but now-a-days the number has gone down to four, namely, Gomang, Losal Ling, Deyang and Ngapa Ta-tshang, with monks numbering over seven thousand. In the grand hall of congregation in Dapung is the huge image of Maitreya, called Chyampa Thongdol, besides many other images and sacred objects, among which the manuscripts of the Indian saint Chandra Gomi, the image of Chanrassig and the tomb of Rva Lochava are the most noted. Here is a small palace belonging to the Dalai Lama called Gahdan Phodang. The image of vajra Bhairava standing in the hall of the Tantrik congregation (Ngappa Ta-tshang), which is of great sanctity, is said to emit a brilliant lustre. In Dapung great attention is paid to the teaching of the Vinaya, Abhidharma, and Madhyamika systems of philosophy and Prajña páramitá scriptures. The Tshan Nid Ta-tshang, with the exception of its liturgy and ritual, does not practise much of Trántrikism. At a short distance from Dapung is situated the castle called Na-Chhung, which is the sanctuary of the prince of oracles. The great king of genii, Pehar, resides here inside a great image. Sometimes he is manifest in the person of the presiding priest. Then proceeding eastward, along the margin of a marshy tract called Dambu.chan ki-tsho, you come to the second Tu-ssin (Potala) of Gyal-Wang Thamche Khyanpa, the all-knowing victor, and the far-famed city of Pal Lhadan (Lhasa). The city of Lhasa, though it cannot bear comparison with any of the large towns of Aryavarta, is yet the largest city of Tibet. In the centre of Lhasa is the shrine of Shakya Buddha, three storeys high. The famed image (being the representation of Shakya Simha while he was 12 years of age) was brought from China by the first Chinese princess married to King Srongtsan Gampo. The shrine also contains the self-sprung image of Chanrassig, the image of Maitreya Buddha, in the interior of which are precious and sacred inscriptions of King Kriki of Panchala, the image of Tsongkhapa, the image of Srid-sum Gyalmo (goddess unrivalled) known in India by the name of Sachí Káminí, and numerous other sacred objects, a description of all of which will be found in the work called *Lhasai karchhag*, compiled by Jamyang Gah-wai She-ngen. In Lhasa there are also several Tatshang such as Meru-shi-de, &c., the residence of many landlords and nobles of Tibet. It is also the centre of the North

High Asian trade, where merchants from India, China, Kashmir, Nepal, and Bhutan meet. Travellers from Tsang, U, Nahri, Amdo, Kham, Hor and Mongolia always come to Lhasa. At a distance of half a mile from the city, to the west of it, stands the famed palace of Potálá, the residence of Chanrassig, the Lord of the world, who in human shape is incarnate in the Dalai Lama. Potálá is eleven-storied, white in appearance, and was erected by King Ssongtsan Gampo. There also stands the Red palace (Phodung Marpo), built by Regent Desri Sangye Gyamtsho, thirteen storeys high, containing the image of Lokeshvara, the golden tomb of Kongsá Ngapa (5th Dalai Lama), called Dsamling Gyen—the ornament of the world. There perpetually reside the successive incarnations of the Dalai Lama. To the south-west of Potálá, and very close to it, is the famous hill called Chagpoiri (sacred to Chhyagna Dorje or Vajra Páni), on the top of which is the religious establishment called Chagpoiri Vaiduiya Ta-tshang, containing a college for training physicians. To the west of Chagpoiri is situated the hill called Dari, sacred to Arya Manjusri, on the top of which is situated the castle-like temple of the Emperor of China, called Dalha Yungdung Raja. In the suburb of Lhasa and Potálá is the residency of the Ampan, who is posted in Tibet to protect the interests of the Grand Lama. There are also the monasteries of Tangyeling, and other religious institutions, the heads of which become incarnate successively to defend the kingdom of Tibet. Groves and gardens, fountains and wells, lakes and meadows, abound there. To the north of the city of Lhasa, at a distance of about a furlong, are the battle-field and fortifications which were the scene of Lhabssang's defeat by the troops of Orođ-Jungar. The site known by the name of Dasi thang is partly occupied by the Chinese troops under a captain called Tálóye. Going to the north of this field you reach the great monastery of Sera Theg-chhe ling, in which formerly existed four Ta-tshang (schools), but now-a-days they are reduced to three, namely, Chye Ta-tshang, Ma Ta-tshang and Ngagpa Ta-tshang, with a total monk population of about 5,000. In the grand congregation hall (Tshogchhen) of Sera is the great image of the eleven-faced Chanrassig (Chuchig sha), in the interior of which are sacred inscriptions of Gelongma Palmo, &c. In the congregation hall of Chyepa Ta-tshang of Sera are the images of Pal-Padma Sangtagpo, possessed of miraculous properties, and the club-like pin (Phurbu) obtained by Dubthob Dah chhya from underneath a cave. In the hills behind Sera and Dapung are situated Gephel retoi (hill cavern), Tagri retoi, of Sarma and Níngma schools, the sacred rock Kha chhu-ssang, Phurbu chog, east and west Kehu tshang, Sera-tse, Rukha-Tag (rock), Khardo, Dichhung monastery, Níngtan Phug, Guru Gonpa, Sephug, Pangling retoi and Rigya monasteries and religious

institutions, as well as Sera Ohhoiding, the hermitage of Tsongkhapa. If travelling along the northern bank of U-Chhu you go eastward, you come across a forest, after crossing which you arrive at a hill called Tagyer, in the waist of which was anciently situated the hermitage and cell of Atisha, the recluse cavern of the great Acharya Padma sambhava (called Dapang) and the cavern of Yoga of 80 saints (*Dubthob*). There also exist in that place the image of Chanrassig, from whose fingers nectar is said to have flowed; a mani (gem symbol) of white stone, said to have been self-sprung from a black stone bed; an image of Tára, self-sprung also, and of white stone out of a blue rocky bed; the image of Jambhala (Kuveras), Rigcheyema (Vedamati); the image of Dubtbob-Birvapa and the hand and foot-marks of many ancient holy personages. There also is Yerpa Ohyamchhen, one of the four great Maitreyas (Chyamchhen) of Tibet that poured nectar from its hands, the temple and the image of the matchless god Pal Lha Shiva, and many wonderful sacred objects. There in former times existed a large congregation of priests and monks who followed the Kahdampa school. Now it has been converted to the Gelugpa school and contains about 300 monks. Here annually in summer the Paldan Toigyupa monks hold religious conferences. In the vicinity of it, on the southern bank of Kyichhu, are situated the monasteries of Tshal gung thang and U-ling, the seats of Lama Shang Tshalva. These are said to contain many objects of sanctity. Here formerly existed sang nag gyupai Ta-tshang, which has now been converted to the Gelugpa school. To the east of U-ling, at a distance of half a day's march, existed Dachhen Jong, formerly the possession of Deba Kyi-sho, in the neighbourhood of which existed Sang Ngag khar Ta-tshang and the image of Maitreya constructed by Khadub Binpochhe. Then if you go further east along the northern bank of Kyichhu, you will come across the shrine of Ngangonphug, to the east of which, on the south bank of U-Chhu, there is the hill called Wang Kur ri, on which stands the grand monastery of Gahdan *nambar gyal wailing*, founded by the great reformer Shar Tsongkhapa Lossang Tagpa. Gahdan formerly possessed three Ta-tshang, but now it contains only two, *viz.*, Shar-tse and Chyang-tse, with above 3,000 monks.

Gahdan contains the *chhorten* which is the tomb of Tsong-khapa, his throne famed as gahdan (golden chair) *ser thi*, his cell called Hosser phug, the image of Shakya Simha called Thub-tshul thim-ma, constructed during Tsong-khapa's ministry, the image of the imaginary hero Thopai dumbu char called Pah-o-gah-tshonma, the images of Yamántaka, Mahákála, and Kála rupa, constructed under the direction of Tsong-khapa, as well as the *Mandalas* of Guhya Samája and Sambara, also constructed in his time. Around the great monastery are the

following :—The place where Tsong-khapa discovered a conch shell, the foot-mark of Mudgalayana (one of the principal disciples of Buddha), the guard-post of the monkey that guards the hidden religious treasures called *Ter*, the residence of Thonpa hermit, who was possessed of the faculty of suspending his animation (*Gog-Nom*), the images of Rig-sum Gonpo, the hand and foot-marks of Chhasa chhoi-kyi-Senge, Tsong-khapa's head-dress, rosary, &c., the foot-marks of the Bhutanese saint Dukpa-kun leg, besides many *chhortens* which are said to be of miraculous origin. The image of Tsong-khapa and his self-sprung bust are to be seen in the cell where Tsong-khapa obtained sainthood, and the hand and foot-marks of Tsong-khapa himself. To the north of Gahdan lies the large district of Phan-yul, where exist the ancient temples and monasteries of Kahdampa school, these being the seat of the Sharbu line of Lamas, among whom were Tenshar Pumpa, Gewai Sheñan, Phen-yul Lhakhang, the seat of Geshe lang-ri-thangpa. There also exist many other monasteries such as Chhoi-khor-ling (Gelugpa), Phen-yul Nalendra (Sakya school), &c. After passing these, if you go to the north-east, you come across a high hill called chhagla, which crossed, you reach the monastery of Chyang Tag lung, where exists the tomb of Dom (Brom) tan Rinpoche, the illustrious disciple of Atisha. There on the face of a lofty precipice stands the recluse temple (*retoi*) called Siligatshang, the seat of Gyalwa Goitshang. To the north-east of that place lies the Rong district, where there is a Jong called Phudo Jong, and several petty hamlets. North-east of Rong lies the extensive country in which is situated the great monastery of Radeng founded by Dom Rinpoche in accordance to the prophecy of his great teacher, the immortal Atisha (Dipankara Sri-Jñāna). Radeng contains many sacred objects, symbols and scriptural inscriptions on paper left by Atisha, the image of Jam pal dorje of Guhya Samaja Tantra, and the image of Maitreya constructed by Atisha himself. Near the south-west wing of the monastery of Radeng is the temple of Gonkhang and the tombs and images of the abbots of the Kahdampa school. In the neighbourhood of Radeng there are several fountains which are said to be the abodes of different demigods, such as Nāgas, Yakshas and Rakshasas; also the large grove of *sugga* (juniper) trees said to be planted by Domtan. Radeng, according to the book of prophecy called Kahdam legbam, once became the seat of learning as well as the residence of such illustrious personages as Domtan and his worthy successors, in consequence of which its sanctity is great. It formerly contained a large number of monks and Ta-tshañgs and religious authors, but subsequently when the Digung (Digum) hierarchs became powerful, this old and pure religious school, which had turned out many excellent scholars, began to decay. It has now

been converted into a Gelugpa institution. In the termination of lower Phudo (district), in the upper U division, is situated the Digung tshal monastery founded by Digung Chhoije Kyobpa Rinpochhe, with the sub-monasteries of Rigañg and a Jong called Digung Jongsar. Here ruled the successive incarnations of Gyalwa Diguñg and his spiritual sons over an immensely large number of monks and Buddhists.

North of U and Tsang lies the extensive hilly country of Dokyul (shepherd land) divided into several parts, such as Nag-tshang, Namru, Nagchhu, Yangpa chan-de, Chyang rig de, and four De of yak herds inhabited by numerous tribes of pastoral people called Hor-de. The name Hor evidently is a corruption of the Chinese word Hwu-hoi, meaning northern, and which also means a cover or tent. In this vast Dokpa country lies one of the four great lakes of Tibet called Nam-tsho chhyugmo (Tengrinor), and the lofty snowy range called Ñan-chhen thang la kangri, considered as the wonderland of Buddhist pilgrimage.

If you go southwards (down) from the confluence of the great Tsangpo and U-Chhu (Kyi-chhu), you will arrive at Gongkar Jong, a large fortress with a prison, in the neighbourhood of which lies Gongkar Chhoide (a large monastery), the seat of Gongkar Dorje-danpa of the Sakyapa school, with some hamlets around it. In the uplands of Gongkar are Dechhen Chhoikhor (a large Dukpa monastery), and several smaller monasteries and convents. If you go a short distance northward from this place, you arrive at the Sakyapa monastery of Kyisho-rawa ma, in the vicinity of which there are a few hamlets. Travelling north from U-Chhu for about half a day, you arrive at the great Tantrik monastery of Dorjetag, which contains the incarnation of Padma Thinle and about 400 ordained monks. Hence following the Tsangpo (which flows near it) south-eastward, you arrive at some of the Gelugpa monasteries, such as Dol-sung rab ling, &c., in the neighbourhood of which there are several villages with some trade. To the south of these lies the monastery of Chyampa ling with a lofty *chhorten* containing 108 temples and resembling Palkhor Chhoi de Chhoikhor of Gyan-tse. Not far from these lies the great Ningma monastery of Mindolling with a large religious establishment.

Travelling eastward of Dorjetag (mentioned above), after a full day's journey across a sandy plain, you arrive at the most ancient monastery of ssan-yang *migyur Lhundubt Sugla Khang*, ordinarily called Samye. It contains four upper compartments called *Rtse ling shi* and eight smaller compartments called *Ling then-gye*. It was built by King Thisrong deu tsan under the direction of Padma-Sambhava after the model of the great monastery of Otontapuri of Magadha in the first part of the eighth century A. D. A description of its contents is given at

length in Pama Kah thang. From Samye travelling southwards, after crossing the Tsangpo to its south bank, you reach the town of Namsreling, to the south of which lies Tse-thang (Chethang of English maps), a place of some trade, with a monastery called Tse-thang Chhoide. Going to the south-west of Tse-thang, you find yourself in the valley of Yarlung, where there are many places of ancient fame and sanctity, such as a large *chhorten* called Gyanthang Bum-pa, and two others, Tshe-gyal-bumpa and Theg Chhen bumpa, Thadug Dolma-Lha khang (temple), Tsanthang Chandan Yui Lha khang, and the most ancient palace of Yambu Lagang, Yarlung Shel tag, the Yoga cavern of Padma Sambhava, &c. Sheltag (the crystal rock cavern) is said to be possessed of the wonderful capacity of holding within it as many pilgrims as may gather there to pray. In Yarlung there are many monasteries and religious establishments, such as Thangpo chhe, Chhyong gya rivo dechhen, Rivo chhoi ling, and several Jong (fort), such as Ohhyong gya jong and Yarlun Nedong jong, together with numerous towns and villages. Travelling to the east of Samye you arrive at a small tract of land which is the seat of Gyal-sre Rinpochhe, called Hon chhoi ding. To the left bank of the Tsangpo is situated the Ngahri Ta-tshang monastery, to the east of which at a short distance is the well-known monastery of Lama Je Phagmodub, called Densathil, which contains that illustrious Lama's image, an object of great sanctity.

At Densathil there are eighteen silver tombs of the eighteen successors of Phagmodub Lama Rinpochhe, together with eighteen Kabgyur collections written in gold, and the eighteen kinds of precious stones and metal objects of great sanctity. This old monastery once rivalled the monastery of Radeng, but now-a-days the owners are said to use them as shelter for cattle. From this place if you go further east along the bank of Tsangpo, you arrive at the hermitage of that saintly nun Labkyi Donma (of the Shichye school), called Ssangri khang mar, which contains an image of the illustrious nun. Then going northward you arrive at Lalang, where there is a monastery called Nam dol ling, erected by Hol kha jedungpa. To the further east is situated Chyan khang of Jing ohyi (chyamba). Proceeding further to the south-east you come to the recluse monastery of Hol kha Samtanling, which was the scene of Khorlo Dampa's vicarage. Close to it is Hol Khagarphug, the cavern where Tsong-khapa meditated with the object of attaining sainthood; leaving which, if you go to the south-east, you will arrive at the hill called Hode gung gyalri, on the back of which are a recluse monastery called Hol kha Chhoi lung, and the recluse cell of Tsongkhapa, built according to the description laid down in the Vinaya Law. There also are to be found the hand and foot-marks of Tsongkhapa, printed when he was practising physi-

cal austerities; the *Manḍala* of stone on the surface of which there had miraculously appeared mystic writings when Tsong-khapa was miraculously visited by thirty-five Buddhist gods: the *Mani* figure drawn by his own fingers on the surface of a rock, as also the marks of his back and the drawing of his sash and raiment. Close to this are the places called *Ho/ kha Chyambaling* and *Rinchhen ling*. In the front of *Hode Gungyal* is another recluse hermitage of Tsong-khapa called *Gyasog*, where he saw the different moods of his father's countenance and was reminded of his birth stories. Close to *Ssangri* (mentioned above) are the towns of *Ho/ kha Tag-tse Jong* and some villages. Then going eastward, following the *Tsangpo*, you reach the monastery of *Dvagpo Shadub ling* and other places. Next crossing the *Tsangpo*, if you go southward, you come to a place called *A-Yul*, where there are several villages and some *Gelugpa* religious establishments. In the tract of land which is situated on the north bank of the *Tsangpo*, facing to the south, there exists the monastery of *Chhoi khorling*, founded according to the prophecy of *Dumlegbam*, which also contains a small palace belonging to the *Dalai Lama*, and some sacred objects. Not far from these is *La-tsho lake* (believed to be the heart of *Paldan Lhamo*, or the goddess *Kali*), in which the reflected images of different objects are seen. Lower down to the south of *Yardok*, and upward to the south of *Yarlung*, is the country called *Lhobrag*, where there are the birthplace of *Marpa*, the castle-like (nine-storeyed) temple called *Dorje tsegpai sra khar* erected by *Mila rapa*, and the image of *Lakyi Dorje the saint*; the last, when walked round and touched, relieves leprosy. There also are the *Tovogonpa*, the seat of *Lakyi Dorje*, and the temples and monasteries built by holy personages born of *Shapoirig* (race), and the tower called *Lhobrag Duojong*, with several villages and pastoral *Dokpa* tribes. Lower down to the south of *Lhobrag* is the tract of land called *Nal*, where in ancient time there were several monasteries and temples with a large population, but now it is in a state of decline. Here also were the seat of *Rachhungpa* and some monasteries of the *Kahgyupa* and *Gelugpa* schools. There are now some *Lamas* and an incarnation of *Kyura Tham cha khenpa* of the *Kahgyupa* school. To the south-east of *Lhobrag* lies *Mon tshona*, to the south of which are the districts of *Montawang* and *Tamon*. To the east of these lies the district of *Chya Yul*, containing many villages. The upper portion of *Chya Yul* belongs to *Tibet* and the lower or southern part to the *Lepa* savage tribe. In upper *Chya Yul* are the monastery (founded by *Ami chyanag Tantrik Lama*) and the seat and palace (of *Phodang Yank tse*) of *Gewashenen chya Yulpa*, with a fort attached to it. If you travel further to the south-east, you will arrive at that holy place of pilgrimage called *Pa/ Tsari* (*Tsvari*).

If you travel to the east of Dvagpo shadubling, you will arrive at the Dvagpo country with Namgyal jong of Dvagpo and some minor places with a tolerable population, and then to the south of the Tsangpo you will find the Gelugpa monastery of Gahdan rabtanling (Dvagpo) and the town of Dvag Gampo, where up to the middle of the 17th century existed the descendants of Je Gampo, who for their disloyal character were extinguished by the Orod Mongol chief Tshering Tondub and his troops. At present there exists an incarnation of Je Gampo, but no descendants of his.

To the south of these there is a hill called Dvagpo Gongmola, having crossed which you arrive at a plain called Tsari Khil khor thang, where there are several petty hamlets inhabited by a people called Lalo *mikya deng*. Tsari being believed to be guarded by *Khadoma* (Dakinis), or aerial goddesses, there is a succession of human *Khadomas*. In every 13th year (generally in the ape year) pilgrims, about 10,000 in number, travel together to visit the sacred places of Tsari. Lonely travellers, nay even large bands of pilgrims, for fear of the Lalo savages, never venture to visit Tsari. The Government of Gahdan Phodang (Lhasa) sends presents to the Lopa and other savage tribes with a view to prevent raids in Tibetan territories and molestation of travellers by them. The Lopa and other savage people are said to have been brought to terms by the agency of certain *Khadomas* or fairies. The pilgrims who travel in a body, following the course of the stream of Kyilkhör Thang, descend to the valley, and there after crossing nine mountains, nine ravines, nine torrents, nine bridges, passing along precipitous and extremely narrow paths and threading steep precipices, and venturing through the extremely difficult and dangerous narrow passage called *Chyadyl* and *Chyidyl*, at last arrive at the place of pilgrimage called Dvagpo Tsari Thugka. Then descending down a deep ravine and ascending along the rapids of Chyayul, they arrive at Tshoi-ssamdung, which is said to be the limit of Buddhist pilgrimage. This dangerous journey takes a fortnight of hard travel. In this kind of pilgrimage, anciently, Tibetan travellers and pilgrims never used to embark, but subsequently Lama Yeshe Dorje, the chief disciple of Je Lama Phagmo dub, happened to go there for the purpose of making austere meditation, from which time the way to it has been opened and pilgrims commenced to frequent it. The summit of the mountain of Tsari remains perpetually covered with snow. The country is clad with thick forests. Beneath is said to exist the abode of a Nāga-demon named Tsva lu-du Dorje. Pilgrims who succeed in making a pilgrimage thereto are said to be able to escape at once from mundane existence and misery. The wild animals of Tsari, and beasts of burden as sheep and goats, when

conducted to Tsari are, by virtue of going there, said to have images of deities and sacred writings miraculously engraven on their horns and bones. A certain author remarked: "Glory and fortune be to that great saint who performed yoga in Tsari."

Tsari being considered as the sacred heart of the Tantrik deity Khorlo Dampa, the Indian Tirthikas designate Tsari-dvagpo as the land of Ulanga *stripurusha*, where exists the real Mahádeva. The Indian Parivrajakas and Tirthikas wander all over Kámarupa, Assam and Nága land in search of their god (Mahádeva). It is not known to them that Tsari is not the real place of pilgrimage of the Tirthikas. From Holkha and upper U if you go to the east and south-eastward, you arrive at Nangpoiyl, where formerly existed several thousand habitations, but now-a-days the country has been deserted, and scarcely more than ten houses exist. This is probably caused by the place being on the highway.

Lower down Nangpo is the district of Kongpo yul, where exist the ancient monastery of Buchhung serkyi Lhakhang and other temples and monasteries of the Chhabkar and Chhabnag period of Bon religion, now converted into Gelugpa institutions. Here are also religious establishments of the Sakya, Ningma Karma Dukpa and other schools, as well as Kongpo, Tagsum Jong (fort), besides numerous villages with Bonpo populations, the Bonri mountain, and the place from which Terton Jah tshon discovered some sacred volumes.

III.—GREAT TIBET.

To the east and north-east of Tibet proper (U and Tsang) lies the country of Great Tibet, comprising Amdo, Kham and Gang. The following are the principal divisions of Great Tibet:—Maja ssabmo Gang, Tshava Gang, and Pompo Gang, constituting the upper three Gang, and Markham Gang, Minag Gang, and Yarmo Gang, the lower three Gang; comprising altogether six Gang or divisions. To these may be added the four great mountainous districts called Rong, *viz.*, Tshava Rong, Sangnan Rong, Nag Rong, and Gyalmo Rong, with smaller Rong, such as Minag Rong, &c.

From Kongpo if you travel eastward, after crossing a lofty mountain, you arrive at the place where upper Kham commences. This portion is called Poboí Yul. This country, according to the tales of Lingje, is mentioned as Pharsang Athai Rong. It contains Na Padma Koi, where Padma Sambhava is said to have mysteriously performed *yoga*, Pobo Chhu dah monastery of Gelugpa school, and several Ningma religious establishments. The chief of Pobo-land, who is independent, is called Dehu Kanam. To the south-west of Pobo Yul lies *Lalo*, or the savage

country. On its east lies Tshava Rong, which is under the Lhasa Government, and annually sends considerable tribute in kind. Its chief town is called Tshava Jo Gang Jong, besides which there are other smaller towns such as Sang ngag ohhoi Jong, and villages with considerable populations. To the east of Tshava Rong are the smaller districts of Jira, Dsui, Jang &c., to the north-east of which lies Gyalthang. East of Gyalthang lies Mili, to the south-west of which, and also to the south of Gyalthang, is Lalo, which is inhabited by a wild tribe.

To the west of Gyalthang and north of Sompho land, near Jang, is Na-khawa karmo (white snow), well known in Tibet and China as a place of great sanctity. In the confines of Jang and China is a place of sanctity called Richya kyang. In Gyalthang there is the temple of a very sacred image called *Gyal waringa*, as well as a monastery called Gyalthang sseru Gon, belonging to the Gelugpa school. In Mili and Gyalthang there are several religious establishments belonging to the Gelugpa and Kunchoi Tsangpa schools. To the south of the above-mentioned districts lies the Yunnan province of China and to the east is situated the Gyalhin district of Ssitwan. If from Nang, after crossing a mountain pass, you travel eastward, you will reach Kham Lhari, to the north-east of which lie the towns of Chagri Palbar Gyalton, Khyung kar, Khyung nag and Khyungser and numerous villages and Dokpa tribes, all of which are subject to the Government of Lhasa. In the Khyungpo districts there are eight Gelugpa establishments and several Bon institutions, such as Khyungpo Ting chhen, &c. Again, from Kham Lhari if you travel eastward after crossing a mountain pass called Shar Kang Lon, you come to another lofty mountain called Tshava gang La, after crossing which you arrive at the Ngul chhu (silver river), on the left bank of which is situated the great monastery of Rivochhe, belonging to the Taglung school, which contains a monastery and grand temple with numerous scriptures and sacred objects. This monastery was formerly the seat of a famous Lama called Sangye yar-chyon, who belonged to the Kahgyu school. There are two incarnations of Kahgyu Lamas and a descendant of a lay Kahgyu Lama. To the east of this place, at the confluence of Jachhu and Ngam chhu, is situated Chhabdo gonpa, where Phagpa Lha Yab sra (two incarnate Lamas of high repute and power) preside over above 2,000 monks. There are numerous villages, scriptures, and sacred objects. The monastery is rich. Lately Kahgyur block-prints have been established there. The monastery is said to be guarded by a demon called Ku wantsan or *Loka-pala*. Chhabdo is a powerful state owing allegiance to the Dalai Lama. The incarnate Lamas occasionally visit Lhasa and Tsang, and are received with great respect and preparation there. In Chhabdo there are a few scholars of the Tshan Nid philosophy.

If you proceed further east, you come across a tribe called Tagyab. Here is a huge rock the top of which spreads like a canopy. In Tagyab yul there are two monasteries called Magon and Bugon, two incarnations of Legpai Sherab and Lodan Sherab (spiritual father and son,), designated by the title of Chhe-Tshang and Chhung-Tshang, who preside over a large number of monks, and also several villages constituting a large district. This monastery formerly belonged to the Tshan Nid school, but has been converted into a Gelugpa institution. The Tagyab tribes are greatly devoted to the Gelugpa school. From Tagyab yul if you go further east, you reach Mar Kham, where there are some monasteries belonging to the Sakyapa and Gelugpa schools, and the ancient temple of Dolma Lhakang erected in the days of Srongtsan Gampo. The people of Mar Kham, who are of strong make, are devoted to mischievous pursuits (robbery, &c.), and speak a dialect of Miñag. To the east of Mar Kham lies Kongtse kha, which forms the boundary of Tibet and China. To the east of Kongtse kha lies the Bah division (Batang of English maps), which contains the Bah chhoi dé (Gonpa) and Goj Jijé monasteries of the Gelugpa school and several villages. From Bahthang if you travel along the valley of the Dichhu river, you arrive at a (Rong) hilly country called Bahsangan, of which the whole population lives by professional brigandage and robbery. From Bah division going eastward you arrive at Lithang, where (in the neighbourhood of Bah) there is a place of pilgrimage called Kaburnanang, in which in ancient times there was a large Karmapa monastery, on the site of which there is at present a small monastery called Kesar Gon khang. On its east side lies the Thub-chen Chyambaling monastery of Lithang, containing 2,800 monks and many learned scholars of the Tshan-ñid school. There are also several large and minor monasteries among which the Samphelling monastery of the Gelugpa school is noted. The monasteries of the Sakya and Ñingma schools there are in a state of decline. To the north-east of Lithang lies Ñagrang (a very large district). The people of upper Ñagrang are professional brigands and robbers. The lower portion of Ñagrang is inhabited by Lithang and Miñag tribes. The tract on the right bank of the Ñagachhu river belongs to the jurisdiction of the Lithang chief (under Chma). It contains a temple called Phod ang Ngatse, where the Indian Acharya Pha Tampa Sangye (the founder of the Shichyepa school of Tibet) performed yoga for some time. It is said to contain the mark of this saint's back printed on the face of a rock.

From Lithang crossing the Ñagachhu if you travel eastward, you arrive in the extensive country of Miñag, which contains the Miñag kah shi (Gonpa) monastery belonging to the Sakya school, and the Miñag Kye li (Gonpa) monastery belonging to the Gelugpa school. To the north

end of Miñag, in the vicinity of Horkhog, lies Thar thang, once the temporary residence of the Dalai Lama. Miñag belongs to Lhasa. To the east of Miñag lies Gyalmo Rong, which formerly was ruled by 18 chiefs, but at present it is divided into 13 chieftainships. They are Chagla, Wasi, Thokyab, Somang, Dsongag, Chog-tse, Tampa, Hoshi, Doli, Dati, Pabam, Gesi-tsha, Hwa Hwa, Len tsa, Rabtan, Tsanla, Gyal kha, and Donbu. The people of these places are very strong and stalwart. They are prone to depredatory pursuits, and are professional brigands and robbers roving over the whole of Tibet and the North Himalayan states, and are wild in their habits. The people of Miñag, Gyalmo rong, Mili, though they speak a corrupt form of the Tibetan language, possess very few virtues of the Tibetans. In Gyalmo Rong there is a very lofty range of mountains called Gyalmo mordo, and the cavern where the great Lochava Vairochana practised meditation, and which contains his hand and foot-marks.

To the south-east of Ngagchhu lies Nagsho, inhabited by a Dokpa tribe. To the east of Ngagchhu lie Atag, Dsamar and Sogde, Dokpa tribes. To the east of these lie Gégyé Dongpa, Dorshui Ling toima, (upper Ling), Perikhugah, Yoishní, Rogshní, Tagrang, Hothog, Gohutsha Longulchin, Na-tsho, Gehtse, and numerous Dokpa lands inhabited by various Dokpa tribes. To the south of these, and north of Chhamdo (Chhamdo) and Tagyab and Bah, lie the territories of the largest of Kham principalities, called Dégé or Kham Dégé. The Kham people arrogate to themselves a high position among the kingdoms of the north. According to them Tibet, divided into 13 divisions called Thikor chusum, and Kham, divided into 13 principalities called Phodang chusum, and China (containing 13 provinces), are most important among the great countries of North Asia. Within the principality of Kham Dégé there are many monasteries belonging to the Kahgyu, Sakyapa, and Ningma schools, such as Já Dsogchenpa (Gonpa) monastery, Shichhen (Gonpa), Payul Kathogpa (Gonpa), Situi Gonpa, and the monastery of Dégé King, but there is no Gelugpa monastery in Kham Dégé. Outside of Dégé, but in its neighbourhood, there are several tribes, such as Dan, Khog, Ga Khog, Lingbarma, Rañag, Rasod, in which there are many Gelugpa monasteries, such as Chhoi Khorling, &c. To the east of Dégé lies the district of Honknog, where there are five petty states, namely Khangsar, Massi, Taggo, Piri, and Tiho; besides there are the monasteries of Horgantse Gonpa, Taggo Gonpa, Tareo Natsho Gonpa, Ja Gonsar, and others containing large Gelugpa establishments.

To the east of Honkhog lies the petty state of Tongkor, after passing which you arrive at the province of *Dome Amdo*. The Kham people are straightforward in nature, very strong, martial, and loyal to their

chiefs. In faithfulness and attachment they are far superior to other Tibetans. Devoted to the verge of bigotry in matters of religion, they are uncivil, harsh, and mischievous to strangers. To their acquaintances they show extraordinary fidelity, usefulness, and attachment.

To the east of Tongkor lie Dokhog, Jikhog, and Markhog, all three being included within Amdo. In Dokhog is the monastery of Dodubchhen Gonpa, which formerly belonged to the Gelugpa school. In Jikhog is the monastery of Jam thang (Gonpa), which belonged to the Jonang school till the extinction of that sect under the edict of the Dalai Lama. Markhog is the fatherland of the Golog Mussalmans (probably Tangyut of Colonel Prejevalsky). From there if you proceed further to the east for some distance, you will arrive at Machhu Pomra (the temple of a deity), situated on the bank of the river Machu, at the back of which is a lofty snowy mountain. There lepers are said to obtain a complete cure by rolling their bodies on the slope of the snowy mountain, and by drinking its glacial water. To the north-east of the great Machhu is Arig (brigand tribe) land, to the east of which is Jogetoima. To the south of Joge, in the neighbourhood of Gyal Rong, are the lands of five tribes called Nakhog, containing a tolerably large population. Both Arig and Joge are filled with a population of heartless brigands and robbers. To the north-east of Arig land, in the neighbourhood of lake Kokonor (Tshoñonpo), is situated the sacred place of pilgrimage, called Tagkartal jong, in a cavern of which there are said to exist many self-sprung Buddhist images, as well as some springs and small lakes. To some distance from it, and on the west, is the monastery of Ragya. To the south-east of Nakhog, within the jurisdiction of Ssetwan in the neighbourhood of Ssugpher, there are several tribes called Muge and Sarp, who speak a kind of Tibetan and belong to the Tibetan family. The lower Sarpas are not allied to the Tibetan family. To the north-east of Joge, not at a great distance from it, are a few Kokonor people. To the south-east end of those places, and far from the Chinese district of Helun, lies the district of Sangkhog, in which is situated the grand monastery of Labrang Tashi khyil, the seat of the famous Lama Jamyan shepa Dorje. This is the best and largest of all Amdoan monasteries. Close to this monastery lies the celebrated rock called Gankyai Tagkar, which is said to be famed as the abode of *Khadoma* (fairies), and to contain many wonderful and supernatural images of saints. To the south of Sangkhog lies the lower Joge, to the south of which lie Chhog, Gor, Tsoi, Tsayé, Thebo, Ssam tsha, Khyágé, and other divisions and tribes. To the east of these, and bordering the Chinese district of Ssetwan, lies the large Tibetan district of Chone, which contains five large monasteries, and block-prints of Kahgyur and Tangyur.

The Choné people mostly resemble in dress and dialect the people of Bahthang, Lithang, and Gyal Rong. To the north of Labrang and Tashikhyil lies a large (tribal) district called Rongpo, which contains many religious establishments, caverns, and recluse monasteries, such as Rongpo Gonchhen, &c. The people of Rongpo are of a dangerous character. They continually carry on disputes, and show great delight in fighting and bloodshed. The Bon Tantriks of this place exercise much power, and exhibit the efficacy of their mysticism. There are many orders of Bonpos. Both Rongpo and Nakhog are the largest and most populous of Amdoan districts. To the west of Rongpo lies Thikha, which is inhabited by a Tibetan as well as a Chinese population. It contains Jujo Lhakhang on the top of a hill (the Lamoi Dichhu), and several monasteries and other religious establishments. To the east of Thikha and Rikon, on the south bank of the great Machhu, are Kare, Chhussung, Pethang, Bedo, and Doyu, five districts, among which Bedo Gonpa is noted.

Close to Doyu is the lake called Lhalun-gyu-tsho, which is said to be the repository of many wonderful and sacred objects. In winter, when the lake becomes frozen, the ice is said to form the figure of Buddhist *maṇḍala* (in concentric rings). The Buddhist devotees say that the great and small continents of Buddhist cosmogony are there represented. In the neighbourhood of these places there lives a large tribe of Muhammadans called Jalar, who speak a kind of Persian-Tartar language. To the northward of these, following the north bank of the great Machhu, you arrive at Chya Khyung, the seat of Chhoije Tondub Rinchen. It contains the tomb of that famous Lama, as well as the residence of Tsong khapa. The north of Machhu is occupied by the Chinese, Tibetan, Hor (Tartars) and (Lalo) Muhammadan population, where there are also a few religious establishments. To the east of this tract lie the districts called Tantig and Yangtig, in which Tantig Shelgi-Yango is a sacred place.

North of Chya khyung there is a hill called Tsong Laringmo, which crossed, you arrive in the district of Tsongkha, in which is the great monastery of Kubum (Kumbum), founded on the birthplace of the great reformer Shár Tsongkhapa Lossang Tagpa, the second Buddha of the present age. On the birthplace of Tsong-khapa there exists a white sandal-wood tree, on every leaf of which at the time of the reformer's birth there appeared a picture of the Buddha Senge naro supernaturally inscribed. Hence, from the circumstance of a "hundred thousand images of Buddha" having appeared on the leaves, the town and the great monastery is called Kumbum. Even at the present age, images are occasionally said to be seen divinely inscribed on the leaves

of the Chandan tree and Súgpa trees of the grove. The enemies of the Gelugpa school say that the said images are secretly drawn with pins and needles by Gelugpa monks.

At half a day's march east of Kumbum lies the Chinese city and fort of Ssiling. Directly north of Ssiling, after a full day's march, you arrive at a hill called Tagri (Tiger hill), in which there is a fine cavern, described by Dubchhen kaIdan Gya-tsho to be one of the four wings of Revo-tse-nga. Proceeding further north to some distance, you arrive at the great monastery of Gahdan Tam Chhoi ling (the seat of Lama Tsanpo Nomankhan), anciently called Amdo Gomang Gonpa, which at present is well known by the name of Serkhang Gonpa. (This is the residence of our author, who is an incarnation of an eminent Tibetan Lama named Tagtse chovo, who was invited to be the abbot of the monastery.)

The monastery contains about 2,000 monks, among whom are many who know the Tshan niI philosophy. Thence if you proceed northwards, after crossing a mountain pass, you arrive at Chhu Ssang (Gonpa), which contains nearly 800 monks, among whom some are versed in the Tshan niI philosophy. Thence if you go south-eastward for more than half a day's march, you arrive at Gonlung (Gonpa), which contains nearly 2,000 monks. Formerly two of Je Changkya's incarnations and those of Sumpa, the author of Shve Ser Chhoi Jung (the work called "The origin of the Yellow-hat school") and Thúkwán Lossang Chhoikyí Nima, the author of Dubtha Shelkyí Melong, both sacred personages, and several other learned men, presided over this monastery. Thence going to the south-east for about half a day's march, you come to a rock called Mar tsang, which contains the relics of the great Lama Gongpa rabsal. The historical work called Nongjung relates, that anciently Tsongkha district was a Tibetan district called in Chinese Tsongkha Ssan Sán Kaun. Tsongkha is now filled with a Chinese and Muhammadan population. Now-a-days, times having degenerated, the Tibetans and Hor people are gradually becoming followers of Kungfutsi and Lok yan (or Laotse), and the Ladak people are imbibing faith in the doctrine of Guru Nanak, so that Buddhism is on its decline. Travelling northward from Gon lung, you reach a large district called Amdo Pa'ri, which contains 50 subdivisions and contains several monasteries, viz., Ssun Shan Taglung (Gonpa), Jog rong thur Chhen (Gonpa), Chho ten than, Tsi Chhoi ling, Kanchhen Semni (Gonpa), Dug-gu (Gonpa), Shvamar (Gonpa), Gyayag (Gonpa), Digung (Gonpa), Hor (Gonpa), Upper Nag yan and Lower Nag yang (Gonpa), Mathee (Gonpa), Dung nag Jam Yan (Gonpa), Bangur (Gonpa), Upper Gyatong (Gonpa), and Lower Gyatong (Gonpa), Chhulung (Gonpa). Gelugpa monasteries are mostly subordinate

to Kumbum and Tsanpopa abbots, in consequence of which those under Je Gampo and Phagdu, have been converted into Gelugpa institutions. Close to Duggu Gonpa there is a sacred place called Katong. In Lower Palri there is a district called Doldar Hor, which contains Dethung (Gonpa), Kha thipa (Gon), Lenpah the (Gon) Ashitag, and Kamalong monasteries. Close to these lives a large tribe of China-Tibetans, within whose lands are Thang ring (Gonpa), Jalohang (Gonpa), &c., besides Padu (Gon), Chyamba bum ling, Lokyatun, Jomo khar monasteries, among which Chyambaling is celebrated for the gigantic statue of Maitreya Buddha, one hundred and eighty feet high, as well as a hundred thousand miniature images of that Buddha. A similar gigantic statue is said to exist in the Tam thung monastery of China. Lokyatun monastery contains a large image of Sambhara (the Tantrik deity who clasps a female deity in his embrace). Jomokhar contains the tomb of Chyamchhe Chhoi Je Lama and a complete set of Kahgyur and Tangyur, written in gold. On the right bank of Machhu (Hoangho) there are a few Chinese monasteries, such as Han Taglung Gonpa, &c. Formerly Chinese Hor people held the north portion of Amdo, who, joining the Tartars of Dolonor, carried on frequent depredations in China. In order to put a stop to these invasions the Emperor of China Thang Wang formed a treaty with Tibet, under the conditions of which the united troops of China and Tibet subdued the mischievous Tartars (Hors) and subjected them to the power of China. Thenceforth almost the whole of Amdo became a Tibetan province. From those Chinese Hor people many Chinese kings had sprung, such as King Hor thupa, whose rule extended over half of China.

To the north of Lake Kokonor (Tsho ngonpo), close to Pal Ri, the tract is occupied by a tribe of Hor people called Sára Yugur, who are Buddhists. Within their lands there are Yugur-ta go (Gonpa), and Mag Chhu (Gonpa), and these people are said to be a sub-tribe of the great Yugur people, and their chiefs are the descendants of Pan Yan Ching called Jurje Althan Han (golden king). Within the province of Amdo lies the district of Yarmo thang, which contains the lake Thi Sár Gyalmo, in the bordering tracts of which there is a large tribe of Tartar people called Kokonor Mongol, who are ruled by 33 chiefs, most of whom trace their origin to the Hes'og Walgási of right Orod (or Oeluth) tribe, and some of whom are said to be the descendants of Khal kha and Thume kings. In the centre of Lake Kokonor there is a hill called Mahádeva, on the top of which are several places of sanctity, the principal of which is the Dub phug (cavern), where Padma sambhava (Urgyen Rinpochhe) is said to have meditated for the good of the world. In Kokonor province there are several monasteries, among which Tva tshang gon and Serthoggon are important.

Sítá's Window or Buddha's Shadow Cave.—By *S. J. COCKBURN, ESQ.,*
M. A. S. Bengal.

Sítá's window is an ancient Buddhist hermit's cave, cut into the vertical face of a precipice 50 feet high. This precipice forms the scarp of the classic hill of Prabhása, Allahabad District.

On the 27th of March 1885 I paid a visit to the hill to examine its geological structure, suspecting the proximity of Lower Vindhian strata. In the course of my rambles on the hill I arrived at the modern Jain temple of Páras'náth, which is built on a platform immediately below the scarp, and has a stone staircase leading to it from the very foot of the hill, an ascent of possibly 200 feet. Observing a rock shelter on the brow of the precipice overhanging the temple, with indistinct traces of scroll writing in the shelter, I proceeded to carefully scan the face of the cliff with my telescope, and in the course of my search, alighted on a small, and seemingly well-preserved rock-cut inscription of seven lines immediately above the door of an artificial cave, hewn in the face of the precipice. This inscription I at once saw was in the Aśoka character, my previous study of the Geology and Anthropology of the Bharhut railing having familiarized the form of the letters to my eye.

The inscription is invisible to the naked eye, when its position has not been previously ascertained with the telescope. This accounts for its having escaped the searching ken of General Cunningham and his trained assistants and staff of chapprassis who were often located for months at the adjoining village of Kúsam, the ancient Kauśámbí, searching for coins and inscriptions and paying large amounts for the same. In fact General Cunningham had been more than once within 150 feet of the inscription without noticing it, and it appears to me that his Dragon's cave (see *Archæological Survey Reports*, Vol. XXI, Part I, p. 2), is merely a rock shelter, though the allusion to the windows renders it just possible that the cave seen by him is that described by me.

I was not a little elated at my good fortune, but it has cost me ten days out of my privilege leave and half a month's salary to make the eye-copy of the inscription which I now submit to the Society.

I copied one line of the inscription on the occasion of my first visit and submitted it to Dr. Hoernle who very kindly obtained me the loan of an astronomical telescope from the Principal of the Hooghly College, by means of which I have been enabled to make the present copy. I have further promised that Dr. Hoernle shall have the first right to make the first reading of the inscription.*

I revisited Prabhása on the 26th of November and devoted the 27th

* [See *Proceedings* for March 1887. Ed.]

and 28th to copying the inscription. This I did letter by letter revising the work 8 times.

Description.—The cave has one main entrance, a window about 3' × 2' with a stone jamb of a lighter coloured sandstone let in. From this evidently swung a wooden door. The top of the window is about 4 feet from the top edge of the precipice. To the west of the window, at a distance of 4 or 5 feet are two small windows of irregular form, evidently intended to let in light, and thus produce a shadow within the cave. The thickness of the outer wall here seems to be 7 inches. Owing to its inaccessible position I was unable to enter the cave, or make accurate measurements. The presence of numerous swarms of the *Bhaurá** or wild bee added much to the danger of the undertaking. It was possible that a swarm had possession of the cave itself, and I had not sufficient confidence in the native boatmen, or in their tackle, to have myself let over the face of the precipice by a rope. A platform might, however, easily be constructed, by which both inscription and cave could be clearly examined.

I succeeded in feeling the whole of the inscription† with my hand by lying down and having my legs held, while I hung my arm and shoulder over the precipice. I was thus enabled to darken the letters with a lead pencil and pass a wetted towel over the inscribed surface which I polished briskly with my hand, thus improving the lights and shadows.

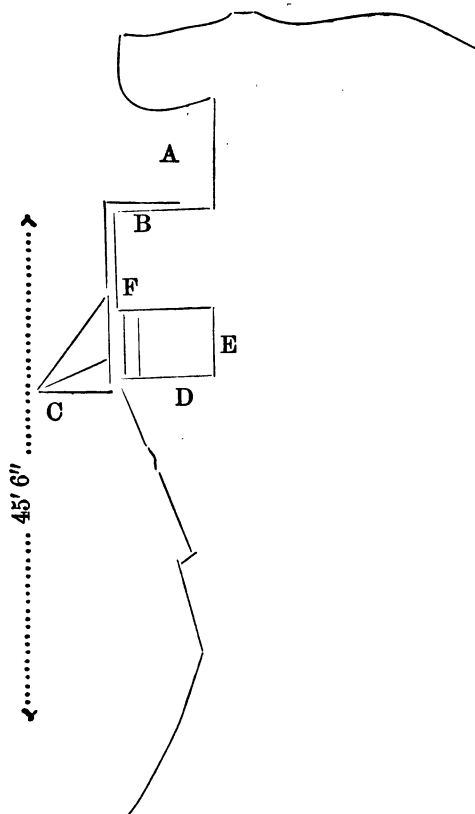
It occurred to me that a large looking-glass, tied to poles and hung vertically a few feet in front of the inscription, should reflect the letters truly if held square. I accordingly put the idea into practice, but of course got the image reversed. I, however, found that I could get a better view of the letters with the large telescope than I could from the reflected image. The inscription might easily be photographed thus.

The accompanying sketch will give an idea of the position of the cave. The interior is of course unknown to me. It will be observed that there is a rock shelter above the cave. The floor of the rock shelter forms a ledge a yard wide. On this ledge a long flat shallow groove has been cut in the rock evidently for the reception of a metal bar. Within the groove and also without it are sundry small deep holes cut in the rock for the insertion of metal pins and staples which were probably fixed with lead. From the metal bar, I would suppose, depended a chain ladder with a small platform below, to gain access

* More than once an angry swarm swung past the face of the cliff, when our voices were raised, and it would be nearly certain death, were they to attack men in this position.

† There are also sundry letters carved on the lintel apparently of later date.

to the cave. I have attempted to reconstruct this ladder, and I would suggest that the Government took steps to replace it. The hill is one of the most remarkable objects in the Allahabad District and will some day form an object of attraction to tourists.



Ideal section of Sítá's window or the Buddhist Dragon cave.

- A Rock shelter.
- B Groove on metal bar.
- C Ideal reconstruction of chain and ladder.
- D Stone window frame.
- E Cave (depth beyond 3 feet unknown).
- F Prabhása inscription.

The inscription is carved on a sunken, and once polished surface, which is a part of the natural rock and resembles a tablet let in. The tablet measures $13\frac{1}{2}$ " in length (measured) by 7 or 10 inches in width (by estimation). Each letter is on an average one inch long (measured). The position of the tablet is above the left top corner of the main entrance window of the cave, and it is to be seen in the section given. The letters are in a surprisingly perfect preservation, considering their great age, and are carried to the depth of 3·6 of an inch.

B

5 9 7 8 9 10 11 12
 13 14 15 16 17 18 19
 20 21 22 23 24 25 26
 27 28 29 30 31 32 33
 34 35 36 37 38 39 40
 41 42 43 44 45 46 47
 48 49 50 51 52 53 54

The following table will show the state of preservation of each letter and what seemed to me lost.

	B	BD	P	P	B	P	B	P	
1st	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	Lost one.
	P	P	P	P	P	P	P		
2nd	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.		Two lost.
	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	
3rd	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	None lost.
	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	
4th	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	Two lost ?
	P	P	P	P	B	P	P	P	
5th	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	None.
	B	B	P	D	D	D	D	P	
6th	1.	2.	3.	4.	+	+	+	8.	3 or 4 lost.
	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P P D D D P
7th.	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14.

Note—D stands for doubtful. B for broken. P for perfect.

History.—I would identify this cave with the lofty stone cavern of a venomous dragon, in which Buddha was supposed to have left his shadow, and the spot visited by Hwen Thsang in the seventh century. The permanent character of the colossal ruins of Kosambí and the hill of Prabhása should afford a valuable standard for the determination of the exact length of the Chinese Li. Hwen Thsang mentions that the cave is 8 or 9 li to the south-west of Kosambí. This bearing is, however, erroneous as the hill bears north-west from the Bhil (or stupa). General Cunningham at first supposed the cave to have been carried away by the encroachments of the Jamná (A. S. R. Vol. I, p. 311.) He subsequently seems to have found a cave (Vol. XXI, Part I, p. 2.) But it seems to me from the reference to the three standing Jain figures cut in the rock, that he alludes to a rock shelter behind the temple, and immediately below these three figures. He says, "the cave is artificial and is simply an old quarry with a pillar left in front for the roof."

Sítá's window on the contrary is one of the most perfect and typical rock-hewn caverns in existence. With a small and perfect door it has evidently considerable internal capacity and a lateral internal extension of at least 6 feet. The outer wall is without doubt the natural face of the cliff. The cave is hewn in hard grey quartzite, as is of course also the inscription. It forms a perfect cysk, with one small entrance and two apertures about 8" square to admit of light. The irregular form of these apertures is, I consider, the best proof that this cave is that in which Buddha left his shadow, as the irregular apertures might well be constructed to throw a shadow within, having the human outline.

The cave is, as before stated, 150 feet to the north-east corner of the Jain temple of Páras'náth, and it is difficult to understand how any one could overlook it. I have clearly been able to see the window from a distance of three miles.

The cave is now known to the people as "*Cheta Mata-kan Roseiya.*"



JOURNAL

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ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.

Part I.—HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

No. II.—1887.

The Safwí Dynasty of Persia. (With four plates of unpublished coins.)—By E. E. OLIVER, M. I. C. E., M. B. A. S.

The present is an attempt to give an historical outline of the rise and fall of another, and much better known, Muhammadan dynasty, this time of Persia. In the case of some of those dealt with in a former paper* the material available was so scanty, it might almost be said that no reliable history exists; and little is possible beyond a gradual building up with scattered fragments and occasional discoveries, numismatic or otherwise. In the present case the material is ample, is generally reliable, and perhaps it may be added, is fairly well-known. Moreover it has been in the hands of so many experts, no one but the most eminent performer would be justified in another attempt. In most histories of Persia is to be found some notice of the Safwí dynasty, in Malcolm's splendid work the review is more fully extended, and in the volumes of Hanway the story, more especially of its decline and of the rise and fall of the famous Nádir, is graphically told at

* J. A. S. Vol. LV, Part I, 1886.

† There is some difference of opinion as to the proper spelling of the name and to its meaning. Malcolm writes *Suffees* or *Scoffees*, and assumes them to belong to the sect of mystic or philosophic deists of that name. This, Vambéry points out, is incorrect. He writes the word *Sefi*. Safiu-d-dín was famous as a devotee, but he was not necessarily a believer in *Sufism* or *Tasawwuf* as it is elsewhere called by Muhammadans. The name on the inside is clear **الصقوي** *As-Safwí*, and from Ismá'il to Sulaimán they so describe themselves. [The name should rather be transliterated *as-Safawí*. Ed.]

F

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length by a contemporary, and so far as Nádír's court is concerned, an eye-witness.

Soon after Sháh Ismá'il founded the dynasty, Europeans appeared on the scene. In the memoirs of those gallant Knights, Sir Anthony and Sir Robert Shirley, who went to Persia in the enterprising days of the great Queen Elizabeth, the former of whom took service under the first 'Abbás, and the latter of whom went as the Sháh's ambassador to the Court of James the First; in the account of Father Krusinski, the Procurator to the Jesuits who was at Isfahán for twenty years, from Sháh Husain to Ashraf (1705 to 1725 A. D.); in the tracts of Chardin, Tavernier, de Valle, da Silva, Herbert, Thevenot, and others; and in the vernacular histories, like the *Zubdatu-t-Tawárikh* of Quṭb bin Ismá'il, an officer of some eminence at the Court of 'Abbás the Second, are to be found accounts more or less complete, covering a greater part of the entire dynasty. These dynastic sketches, however, as I have previously said, do not pretend to be more than the outlines of history—subject to any subsequent correction or modification, before they would even be capable of any detailed filling—and in the case of the Šafwís it is necessary to condense rather than to amplify.

In the subsequent pages I have followed mainly Malcolm's History of Persia,* Jonas Hanway's Travels,† and Mr. Stanley Lane Poole's tables for contemporary dynasties‡. But even in the case of a dynasty so well-known, there are still many details, historical, geographical, and certainly numismatic, required to make any history complete. More information is wanted in regard to the fortunes of the secondary houses, some of whom at times exercised considerable power; the limits within which the various princes ruled at different periods; their range of mint cities; and the identification of others no longer recognisable. No doubt the comparison of a sufficient number of their coins might enable the territorial limits of individual princes to be very approximately fixed, though how little can be done by one observer may be judged from the fact that out of several hundreds of coins sent to me for examination by various friends, I have only met with one specimen of the 'Abbás whose rule was so famous in Persia for nearly forty years, while I have seen half a dozen of 'Abbás III., a baby who occupied a nominal throne for less than four. But among the readers of the Journal are most probably others who can add largely to the list, and who if so disposed might contribute the most valuable data.

* 2 Vols. London, 1815. [A free Persian Translation was published by Mírzá Ismá'il Hairat, Professor of the Elphinstone College in Bombay, 1872. Ed.]

† 2 Vols. London, 1753.

‡ In some cases I have used Erskine and occasionally Vambéry.

Possibly for such the following sketch of the dynasty may, for the purposes of comparison, prove useful.

The collapse of the Tímúrian Empire in Persia was followed by the establishment for a while of the Kurdish Turkmáns of the Qará Kuyunlí or "*Black sheep*," and the Aq Kuyunlí or "*White sheep*," so called from the figures borne on their respective banners. The former had been established in A'zarbaiján by Qará Yúsuf about 810 H. (1407 A. D.), and the two were united by Uzan Ḥasan the ruler of Diyár Bakr about 874 H. (1469). The latter who to birth and ambition added exceptional valour and much ability, made himself master of Persia, and might have gone near to establishing an empire had not his ambition led him to quarrel with Turkey, and bring on himself a signal defeat. From his death, in 883 H., the country was a prey to constant anarchy, sons, grandsons and nephews all struggling for his territories or parts of them; and for a quarter of a century Persia was longing to welcome once more any strong ruler. At last the time came, and in the shape of Sháh Ismá'il, the man.

ISMÁ'IL THE FIRST, 905—932 H., or to give him his full title, Abú-l-Muzaffar Sháh Ismá'il Bahádur Khán aṣ-Ṣafwí as-Sultán al-'Ádil al-Kámil al-Hádi al-Wáli, the first of the Ṣafwí dynasty, is said by some of his more enthusiastic countrymen to have traced his descent from Músá, the seventh Imám. He was more probably of Turkish origin, descended from one of the seven Turkish hordes living west of the Caspian, who assisted his rise to power.* His more immediate ancestors had been settled at Ardibíl, and were undoubtedly regarded mostly as holy men, some even as saints. The first of the family with any considerable reputation was Ṣafíu-d-dín Isháq, "*the pure of the faith*," a philosophical devotee from whom the dynasty takes its name. To him succeeded Ṣadru-d-dín, "*the pre-eminent of the faith*," who with his descendants acquired the greatest reputation for sanctity. Ismá'il himself, if on the one side he was the representative of a family of saints, was on the other the descendant of a race of warriors, for his grandmother was the sister of Uzan Ḥasant, the above-mentioned chief of the Aq Kuyunlí Turkmáns, and his mother a daughter of that famous leader.

* These tribes or Ilyats were named Ustájalú, Shámíú, Nikálú, Bahárlú, Zu-l-Qadr, Qájár, and Afshár. They wore a peculiar dress and a red cap, from which they were called Qazalbásh, golden-headed. [See Malcolm, vol. I, p. 502, Transl., vol. I, p. 168. Ed.]

† Ruled 871 to 883 H.

His father Haidar was killed while attacking the province of Shirwán.* His eldest brother was killed in Gilán, to which district the sons of Haidar had fled, and the second died, when Ismá'il, the third son, was a child. Not much is known of him until he is 14 years old, when he appears at the head of his adherents, marching against and defeating the ruler of Shirwán in 905 H. The next year, 906 H. he defeated the Aq Kuyunlí chief Alwand,† who had attempted to crush him; and, making himself master of the province of Azarbaiján, established his residence at Tabriz. In 907 H. he marched into 'Iráq and defeated Sultán Muráď, the last of the Aq Kuyunlís, near Hamadán, and in 908 H. became the acknowledged ruler of Persiá. It is unnecessary to enter into the detail of the conquest of Ismá'il. The first few years were spent in subduing the provinces of Persia that resisted his authority. Then came the quarrel between the orthodox Sunnis as represented by the Uzbek Shaibáni, and the Shi'ah sect under Ismá'il, brought on not a little by the arrogance of the former, whose hand was against every man, and whose life was a continual struggle with his neighbours. The Shi'ahs had long been repressed and cruelly persecuted, and when opportunity came for revenge in the shape of a powerful leader, reared in a strong belief in the sacred name of 'Alí, and the twelve holy Imáms, who formed a kingdom, and made the formula of Shi'ah his battle cry, they were ready enough for reprisals. Ismá'il was not slow to take advantage of this enthusiasm, and to turn the swords of the tribes to the extension of his Empire. He attacked and took Baghdád and the surrounding territories. He then marched to Mashhad and to Merv, close to which city, at Muḥammadábád, 10 miles away on the banks of the Murgháb, he, in 916 H., entirely defeated Shaibáni, who was killed in the field. Wintering at Hirát, he advanced to Balkh, invaded Máwaráu-n-Nahr, skirting the Paröpamisan range by Maimanah and Qará Robot (917 H.), and practically annexed the whole of Khurásán and Khwárazm, the Oxus thus becoming again for a short time the boundary between Irán and Turán. Of his embassy to Bábar, the assistance given by him to that prince against 'Ubaidu-lláh,§ and of his doings in Khurásán, a detailed account is given in Erskine. On the whole he was successful, but in 920 H. he had to encounter a more powerful enemy in the form of the 'Uḡmánlí Sultán Salím|| from Constantinople, by whom, after a desperate battle, he was completely

* West of the Caspian.

† Ruled 905 to 906 H.

‡ Ruled from 903 to 905, and again from 907 to 908 H.

§ Then the General of Köchkúnji.

|| Salím bin Báyzáf reigned 918 to 926 H.

defeated on the borders of A'zarbaiján,—a reverse that affected him so much that he is said to have never smiled again. Beyond the glory of defeating Ismá'il, and the plunder of his camp, the Turks reaped little profit, and on the death of Salím, Ismá'il crossed the Araxes river and subdued Georgia. This was the last of his conquests, for he died on Monday the 10th Rajab, 980 H. at Ardibíl, where he had gone to visit the tomb of his father.

TAHMÁSP THE FIRST 930 to 984 H.

When Tahnásp succeeded his father he was ten years old, and for long was necessarily in the hands of his ministers. He had hardly ascended the throne before he was involved in a war with 'Úbaidu-lláh the Shaibáni, the most powerful of the Úzbaks, though not the actual ruler till some 10 years after. A war, or succession of wars, lasted through almost the whole of a reign exceeding half a century. The Úzbaks had obtained possession of Mashhad,* defeated the Persians near Bastám 932 H., marched to Balkh 933 H., and advanced and laid siege to Hirát 934 H. The Persians, however, collected a large force of veteran troops, and under the new king, aged 15, beat off the Úzbek general, raised the siege of Hirát, and in 935 H.† signally defeated 'Úbaidu-lláh near Jáma, with, according to Bábar's memoirs, a slaughter of the most enormous numbers. Soon after this Tahnásp's affairs recalled him westward again. In Baghdád a chief of the Kúrds had usurped the government, and in A'zarbaiján itself the Qazalbásh chiefs had fallen out. The tribes of Shámlú and Tukúlú were at open war, and Alána Tuklú had called in the aid of the Turks. While Tahnásp was settling matters in the west, the Úzbaks in the east were not slow to take advantage of the internal disturbance, and in 937 H. again invaded Khurásán, Astarábád, Sabzwár, Níshápúr and Mashhad falling under their sway, while Hirát was invested to the great distress of the inhabitants. The rebellious tribes quelled, Tahnásp sped again to the rescue, and to the relief of the Hirátís spent the winter of 938 H. there. In the spring of 939 H. he was even proposing to retaliate by invading Máwaráu-n-Nahr, when he was compelled to hark back to meet Sulaimán‡ from Constantinople who was invading his kingdom, had taken Tabriz, occupied Baghdád, and but for the severity of the season would have reduced Sultániyah. Tahnásp's active measures, however, compelled him to retire and in 940 H. to

* And Tás the old town close to the modern Mashhad.

† 10th Muḥarram.

‡ Sulaimán bin Salím, reigned 926—974 H.

abandon his conquests. In 941 H. Ṭahmásp's brother Sám Mírzá, who had been left as governor of Hirát, rebelled, but fled on the former's approach across the Oxus, and subsequently to Qandahár. To recount these constant moves of the pieces backwards and forwards across the Khurásán chess-board is monotonous, but it must have been much more so for Khurásán and its people, the changes being rung between plunder by Uzbek and Persian, and persecution by Sunni and Shi'ah. The city of Hirát and the misfortunes of its luckless inhabitants would alone require a volume. Again in 942 H. it was taken and pillaged by 'Ubaidu-lláh, and the Shi'ahs had to suffer. In 943 H. Ṭahmásp regained it, and the Sunnis bore the brunt. Sulṭán Muḥammad Mírzá, a young prince, was made governor.

At one time Ṭahmásp extended his power as far as Qandahár, at another 955 H. the Turks were masters as far as Iṣfahán, and for some years war with the latter continued. Ultimately the anarchy which prevailed in the Turkish empire ensured the peace of Persia; and the death of 'Ubaidu-lláh rendered the Uzbaks less troublesome. In 960 H. Ṭahmásp subdued Georgia, and took some unimportant cities in Asia Minor, but shortly after gave over charge of his armies to his generals and settled down at Qazwín, which he made his capital. The reign of Ṭahmásp, as Malcolm remarks, owes much of its celebrity to the truly royal and hospitable reception he gave to the Emperor Humáyún, a full account of which may be read in Erskine. This was in 950—51 H. Ṭahmásp died in 984 H. at the age of 64, after a reign of 53 years.

ISMÁ'ÍL THE SECOND 984—985 H.

Ṭahmásp left a large family. Ḥaidar, the favourite of five sons, who had been kept at court while his brothers were employed elsewhere, seized the palace and proclaimed himself king, but he neglected two very important matters—to seize the treasuries and secure the support of the ladies. The neglect of the latter promptly brought* him into the toils of Ṭahmásp's favourite Sulṭánah, Parí-Khán Khánam, the sister of Shamkhál, chief of the Chirkas tribe, by whose intrigues he was massacred, before his friends could assemble, and his brother Ismá'íl, at the time imprisoned in the Fort of Kahki, was immediately proclaimed king, 984 H.

Coming straight from a prison to a throne Isma'íl's short reign was a brief record of debauchery and crime. His first act was to direct

* [Malcolm, Vol. I, p. 514, spells the name *Parí-Khan Khánum*, but the Persian Translation makes it *Parí-Ján Khánam*, which is probably the correct form. Malcolm, *ibid.*, spells the name of the fort *Káhke* (Transl. p. 172, كاهك *kahk*), and says, it is believed to be the modern *Sheshah*, (Transl. ششاه *shshah*). Ed.]

the massacre of all the royal princes at Qazwín, save one 'Alí Mírzá, whose eyes he put out. Tahmásp's eldest son Muḥammad had, owing to a natural weakness of his eyes, been supposed incapacitated for the succession. As above noticed, he had been made governor of Khurásán, and subsequently had gone with his eldest son Ḥamzah to Shíráz, leaving an infant son 'Abbás, as nominal governor of Khurásán under a regent. Ismá'íl now sent off orders to Hirát and Shíráz for the immediate massacre of Muḥammad and all his family, but hardly had the mandate for the murders been dispatched, when a breathless messenger sped with the news that Ismá'íl himself was dead. A midnight debauch, with a seller of sweetmeats for a boon companion, an unusual quantity of liquor, with too much opium, and the king was found dead in a room at the confectioner's (985 H.).

MUḤAMMAD 985—994 H.

On Ismá'íl's death Muḥammad, often called Khudábanda "*the slave of God*" was instantly proclaimed king (*bádsháh*). His first act was to put to death Parí Khán Khánam,* and the Chirkas chief, and his next, to entrust the charge of the empire to a somewhat able Wazír, Mírzá Sulaimán, a man whom he subsequently sacrificed. Muḥammad's whole character was as weak as his eyesight; he was dissipated and a coward, and under his feeble rule the empire of Tahmásp began rapidly to fall to pieces. The year following his ascension, 986 H., saw Persia invaded by the Turks, the Uzbaks, and the Qipchaq Tátárs. Affairs in Khurásán fell into the wildest anarchy, and in 990 H. the nobles there advanced to Níshápúr, and proclaimed his son 'Abbás the king of Persia. Muḥammad's first campaign was an ineffectual effort to take Turbat. His next the siege of Hirát defended by 'Abbás 991 H., where, notwithstanding he handed over the Wazír Sulaimán to the vengeance of the Qazalbásh chief, he entirely failed to establish his authority. In 991 H. his cruelty had involved him with the Turkmán tribes of Tukúlú, and in 993 H. these internal troubles encouraged the Constantinople Sultán|| to invade Persia, whose general 'Uḡmán Pasha succeeded in taking Tabriz, Muḥammad's own tribal chiefs refusing him aid. Ḥamzah Mírzá, his eldest son, to some extent extricated his weak father from his difficulties, compelled the rebel chiefs to submit, and by reprisals forced the Turks, whose general 'Uḡmán was dead, to consent to peace. But in 994 H. Ḥamzah was unfortunately stabbed by a barber, and Muḥammad's power practically terminated from that date.†

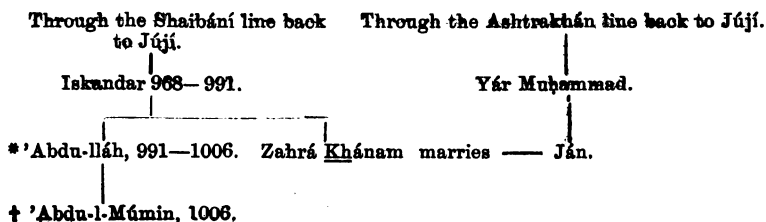
* [See note on p. 42. Ed.]

† Murád III bin Salm 982 to 1008 H.

Khurásán was practically independent all through his reign. Two powerful Qazalbásh chiefs, 'Alí Qulí and Murshid Qulí **Khán** nominally protected 'Abbás, but were really rival powers. Ultimately they fell out, fought, and Murshid was victorious. On **Hamzah's** death he marched with 'Abbás to Qazwin which the two took possession of without opposition; **Muhammad** simply disappearing from the scene, deserted by every one. "His inefficiency," says Malcolm, "was so marked, he was probably permitted to die a natural death." At any rate he drops out of history.

'ABBÁS THE FIRST 994—1037 H.

'Abbás was now strong enough to get rid of Murshid Qulí **Khán**, which he did in the usual way, by slaying him, and taking full power into his own hands. Almost as soon as he had left Hirát, the **Uzbaks** besieged it, and though in 995 H. he marched to its relief, he had to return to his capital without effecting his purpose; for he had to hurry back to Georgia where the 'Usmánlís threatened him. All through the history of the time difficulties with the Turks in the west were invariably echoed by the **Uzbaks** in the east, and *vice versa*. The marching and countermarching must have occupied most of the ruler's time. 'Abdu-lláh **Khán**,* the Shaibání, no sooner heard of Western difficulties, than he moved on the sacred city of Mashhad, entrusting the command of his army to 'Abdu-l-Múmin **Khán**,† then governor of Balkh. 'Abdu-l-Múmin was a thorough savage, and when in 996 H. the holy city of the Shí'ahs fell into his hands, it was literally given over to the furies. The **Uzbaks** spared neither age nor sex. The sacred shrine of **Imám Razá**, the richest and most celebrated in Persia, was deluged with the blood of philosophers and peasants, children and old men. Massive gold and silver candelabra, jewelled armour, priceless copies of the **Qurán**, and precious relics of every description, the accumulated offerings of pious pilgrims for three centuries, were remorselessly pillaged. Even the ashes of the dead were not spared, **Tahmásp's**



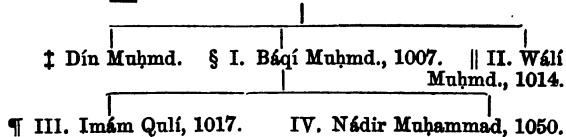
being torn from their grave and scattered to the winds by infuriate Sunnis.* Meanwhile 'Abbás was lying ill at Tíhrán, and for some time after his recovery was too much occupied to take any vigorous action in Khurásán, a large part of which remained at the mercy of 'Abdu-lláh (Shaibání). He had in 997 H. to put down a rebellion in Fárs, where one Ya'qúb had shut himself up in the fort of Istakhr, from whence he returned by Yazd to Qazwín, in 998 H., to watch the Turks on the Tifís frontier, and in 999 H. to reduce the province of Gílán; and it was not until about 1004 H. that he was able to commence active operations against the Uzbaks. He first took Sabzwár and Mashhad, and later Hirát, near which place he at last forced the Uzbaks, under Táhír Khán,† to fight, and defeated them with great slaughter, the 6th of Muḥarram, 1006 H., Prince Dín Muḥammad Khán‡ and great numbers of their leaders being among the slain,—a victory that gave Khurásán a long rest.

In Transoxania the dynasty of Ashtrakhán had just, 1007 H., succeeded the Shaibánis, the first of whom, Báqí Muḥammad,§ united both houses. Dín Muḥammad, the elder brother, had been slain by the Persians, but the younger, Wálí,|| established himself at Balkh, now reputed little better than a collection of mud huts, but then spoken of as "the Mother of cities." About 1011 H. the Persians would seem to have suffered a severe defeat at the hands of this Báqí Muḥammad, a defeat from which, Vambéry says, 'Abbás escaped with difficulty. The principal object of 'Abbás in the Transoxus direction would, however, seem not so much to have been conquest, as the establishment of a good understanding with the rulers of Bukhárá. We find him afterwards assisting Wálí Muḥammad with a large Persian army against his nephew Imám Qulí,¶ and though unsuccessful, he eventually established peaceful relations on the Oxus, which lasted the whole of his reign. The tomb of Imám 'Alí Razá became more than ever an object of devotion to the pious, the priceless diamond 'Abdu-l-Múmin had looted was restored, and 'Abbás, by way of showing his own piety, walked on one occasion, accompanied by all his staff, from Iṣfahán to Mashhad.

* See the most interesting detailed account in Vambéry's Bukhárá.

† A nephew of 'Abdu-lláh. This fight took place just before the dynasty closed with Pír Muḥammad Khán II, in 1007 H.

‡ 'Abdu-lláh, 991—1006. Zahrá Khánám marries — Ján.



While 'Abbás was extending his territories in the direction of, if not on occasion actually as far as, Balkh, his generals, operating along the Persian Gulf, had conquered the island of Bahrain and brought under subjection the Province of Lár from Shiráz to Gámrún, or Bandar-'Abbás, as it was afterwards called. The year 1012 H. found him strong enough to commence a long contemplated attack on the Turks,* in order to recover the lost provinces of Persia. He began by capturing Naháwand,† following this up by the capture of Tabriz in 1013 H., and Irwán in 1014 H., in which year he fought a great battle, 60,000 Persians to 100,000 Turks, according to Anthoine de Corvea, and won a most complete victory. After this the Turks never again rallied during 'Abbás's lifetime, and were successfully driven from Azarbaiján, Georgia, Kúrdistán, Baghdád, Manzil and Diyárbakr, including Najaf, Karbalá, and other places sacred by association with the remains of the Khalífah 'Alí. Of the recovery of Hurmuz from the Portuguese, his alliance with the Emperor of Dehli, his relations with European powers, as told by the Shirleys, and his general character, particulars are all to be found at length in Malcolm. He is almost invariably esteemed by Persians as one of their very greatest kings, and to his long and successful reign are popularly ascribed nearly all the fine works that exist in that country. He enlarged its boundaries in every direction, and maintained all his acquisitions intact till he died. "He gave," says Hanway, "a martial spirit to the people, polished their manners, and brought the governors of the Provinces, who were before in a great measure independent, into subjection." But his reign was marked by the most unhappy suspicion of his own children, and the most barbarous cruelties to them. He caused the eyes of the two youngest to be put out, and the eldest to be murdered, a crime for which he repented in bitter tears, made the executioner of the eldest bring in the head of his own son by way of punishment, and finished by inviting all the Lords who had excited his jealousy against his son to a feast, where he mixed poison with their wine, and watched them expire in his presence. Leaving out of the questions this treatment of his own family, there is no doubt he was on occasions cruel to a degree, not merely to enemies, but to his rebellious subjects. Allowances must at the same time be made for the unsettled state of the kingdom and the customs of the country, which even to this day make the sovereign the director of all executions. Probably rebellion was rife, and sedition required stern examples. While affecting great piety and making pilgrimages, he dearly loved the bowl and made much love to the ladies. He hated the Turks, but was tolerant to

* Muḥammad III bin Murád, 1008 to 1012.

† 40 miles of south of Hamadán.

Christians. In his own family he seemed to have fits of absolute madness, but he was substantially a good ruler to his country. He made several wars, but he finally established a tranquillity unknown for centuries, and as Chardin observes, "When this great Prince ceased to live Persia ceased to prosper."

He died on the 23rd Jamádá-1-úlá, 1037 H. in his favourite palace at Farahábád in Mázandarán at the age of 70. He had been nominally ruler almost from his youth, and was sovereign of all Persia for 43 years.

ŞAFÍ.

To the great 'Abbás succeeded a series of weak and debauched monarchs, who may be briefly dismissed. Hitherto the Şafwis had mainly been brought up as soldiers; henceforward as a rule they were taken from the seclusion of the harem. Reared among women and eunuchs, they proved effeminate and incompetent, with no experience of government or capacity for war; and, as was to be expected, the power of Persia rapidly declined in their hands. For some years the nation lived on its reputation, but every season saw its decline, and almost every reign witnessed provinces lost. Sâm Mírzá, the son of the murdered Şafí, succeeded his grandfather, as Sháh Şafí. Brought straight out of the *haram* at 17, "where," says Hanway, "he had no conversation except with eunuchs, was taught nothing save to read and write, and allowed no diversion other than shooting with a bow or riding in the garden on an ass," his thirteen years of reign were a succession of barbarous cruelties. He began by ordering the eyes of his brother to be cut out, his blind uncles to be cast from a rock, the leading ministers to be either blinded or executed, and a batch of ladies of the *haram* to be buried alive. Some authors include among these his mother, and Tavernier says, "when in his cups he stabbed his favourite Queen." Finally he ordered an iron to be run across the eyes of his own son, 'Abbás, an order which the eunuch humanely carried out with a cold instead of a hot one. Imám Qulí, the general of his grandfather, the conqueror of Lár and of Hurmuz, was among his subsequent victims. Once more the Uzbaks invaded *Khurásán*, and Qandahár was lost. The Turks under Murád,* returned to *Azarbaiján*, and recaptured Baghdád, 1044 H. But even a bad king cannot at once ruin a disciplined army, and less mischief was done than might have been expected. Şafí's object appeared to be to destroy his aristocracy, by whom he was even

* Murád IV bin Aḥmad, 1032 to 1049 H.

more despised than dreaded. Not a little of his cruelty was due to cowardice. Abandoned to sensuality, he trusted his affairs to ministers, whom he was equally ready to destroy the moment his suspicions were aroused. Yet in spite of all this, so great had been the power of his predecessor, that he reigned, with the above noted exceptions, almost in peace. He died 12 Šafar 1051 H. at Káshán, and was buried at Qum.

'ABBÁS THE SECOND 1052—1077 H.

The second 'Abbás was not ten years old when he succeeded his father,* and for some years was of course entirely in the hands of ministers. These were reputed as exceedingly religious and austere, and desirous of reforming the Court and the nation. Wine was prohibited, drunkards were removed from office, and female dancers proclaimed. At the Capital, says the Zubdatu-t-Tawárikh, men feared to listen to anything but prayers. The result of this abolition of cakes and ale was to ultimately drive the boy king to the other extreme. As soon as he was old enough to get free of the restraint, he indulged in drunken orgies with any one who would drink with him, and his constant low amours resulted in disease which killed him at 34. Phillip drunk was cruel, capricious, and unjust, but Phillip sober seems to have ruled fairly well. If severe to the rich, he was lenient to the poor. The lives and property of the people were safe. The religious enjoyed a liberal measure of tolerance. The army was successful, and the country at large knew him for a just and even a generous king. Qandahár he recovered in person before he was 16. (1058 H.) Peace was established with Turkey that lasted during his reign. The Uzbek chief Nádir Muḥammad,† who had been driven to fly from Balkh, he entertained sumptuously for over two years (1052—1055 H.), and successfully assisted with troops against the forces of Sháh Jahán, the Emperor of Dehlí; and again when Nádir had in 1060 H. to flee from his son,‡ 'Abdu-l-'Azíz, he found him first an asylum, and subsequently a grave. Finally he died, a somewhat miserable death, in his palace at a village called Khusrúábád near Damaghán in 1077 H.

* Born 18th Jamádu-l-ákhír 1043. Ascended the throne 20th Šafar 1052 H.

† IV, Nádir Md. 1050—1057.

‡ V, 'Abdu-l-'Azíz 1057—1091.

VI, Subḥán Qulí 1091—1114.

VII, 'Ubaidu-lláh 1114—1117.

VIII 'Abdu-l-Faiẓ 1117—1160.

SULAIMÁN THE FIRST 1077—1106 H.

The eldest son of 'Abbás II. was another Şafí, at his father's death about twenty years of age. Some attempt was made to set him aside in favour of a younger brother, but the proposal [was defeated by a faithful eunuch, and he ascended the throne in 1077 H. under the title of Sulaimán Sháh. Physically exceptionally strong, he seems to have been morally exceptionally weak. Unwarlike to cowardice, dissolute, dividing his time between the pleasures of the table and the pleasures of the harem, where, at one period, he remained immersed several years at a stretch, leaving his country to govern itself,—and his country seems to have done as well without as with him. The favourite of the time was almost absolute, though he occasionally risked having perforce to get drunk with his master, who objected to too virtuous a minister. His court was as splendid as any of his predecessors; strangers were encouraged and protected, and many Europeans resorted there. We find the East India Company's Agent sending for chests of sack, claret and Rhenish as the surest way to secure the favour of the king. The Uzbaks, however, renewed their annual invasion of Khurásán. The Qipchaq Tátárs harried the shores of the Caspian; and the Dutch seized the island of Kishmah in the Persian Gulf. All this Sulaimán is described as bearing most meekly, and to have been ever ready to turn the other cheek to the smiter.

There is but little else to tell. Like his predecessors, he extended his hospitality to the house of Ashtrakhán, and when, in 1091 H., 'Abdul-'Azíz, the Daniel Lambert of his time, with 300 pilgrims passed through to Mekka, he was treated with regal honours. Sulaimán died, worn out with his excesses in 1106 H. in the 49th years of his age and the 29th of his reign.

SHÁH HUSAIN, 1106—1135 H.

With the accession of Sháh Husain the progress of Persia downhill became still more rapid. Equally as weak and indolent as his father, his weakness was united to bigotry that proved worse for his country than the vices of his predecessors. Chosen by corrupt eunuchs and fanatical mullás on account of this very character, they were able to misgovern Persia in his name. None but creatures of these men were appointed to high stations, displacing the old nobles. Religious persecution became the rule. "Merit," says Hanway, "became an empty sound, all offices and dignities were given to those who paid the highest price, money decided everything, * * The troops discouraged by ill discipline and worse pay, served with reluctance. Robbers infested the highway, and interrupted commerce. * * Justice was sold in the very

capital of the Empire." The colleges became a sanctuary for murderers. What spirit remained in the nation became rapidly broken. For some twenty years of his reign matters went on getting steadily worse, but showing little sign of the coming storm that was to wreck Persia and break up the *Safwí* dynasty for good.

It is unnecessary to enter here upon the history of those *Afghán* tribes whose country is the mountainous tract between *Khurásán* and the *Indus*. Never a homogenous nation, and never able to form anything worthy the name of a national government, they were then, as now, ruled by chiefs the most determined opponents of all foreign rule, and to a man, born with the strong desire for a wild personal freedom, which qualities, united to great bravery and physical power, made them turbulent and dangerous subjects, and, on occasion, formidable foes. Nor is it needful to go over details of the story that made them, temporarily at least, masters of Persia,—a story that with all the elements of romance, has been often, and so effectively, told by *Hanway*, *Malcolm*, *Malleson*, and others. The tribes had for long been growing more powerful, and were at the time driven to extreme discontent. The most prominent place among them had come to be taken by the *Ghiljís* or *Ghilzais*, who, with the *Abdális* of *Hirát*, became subjects of Persia when 'Abbás I. took *Qandahár*. The *Ghiljí* discontent had almost reached the stage of revolt.

The ablest general of Persia at the time was a Georgian, named *Gurgín Khán*. Born a Christian, he had turned *Muhammadan*, and became famous for his skill and his severity. He was therefore sent, with 20,000 men, as governor of *Qandahár*. Foremost among the *Ghiljís* was a chief named *Mír Wis*,* a man of superior intelligence, good manners, eminently diplomatic, rich, generous and influential. On this man *Gurgín Khán* promptly fixed a quarrel, and sent him a prisoner to Persia—probably the most stupid thing he could have done. The story of *Mír Wis* will repay reading at length in *Hanway* or *Malleson*. In place of prisoner, he became the confidential adviser of *Sháh Husáin*, returned to *Qandahár* via *Mekka* with full powers from the Persian King and with the additional religious influence attaching to a *Hájí*, raised a revolt, slew *Gurgín Khán* and all belonging to him in the true *Afghán* fashion, declared himself independent, and became the first king of *Qandahár*. There he reigned eight years, defeating three Persian armies sent against him, in 1122, 1125 and 1126 H. and died in 1127 H. He left two sons. *Maḥmúd*, the elder, being considered too young, the government devolved upon *Mír 'Abdu-lláh*, the brother of *Mír Wis*, a man so timid that he could never enjoy *Afghán* confidence,

* [Spelled *Meer Vais* by *Malcolm* and *میر ویس* in the Persian translation, Vol. I, p. 201. Ed.]

and when in 1130 H. Maḥmūd slew him with his own hand, the latter was at once hailed as king. The failure of the Persians to hold their own in other directions encouraged Maḥmūd to attack them, and in 1132 H. he invaded Persia by way of Kirmán, which immediately submitted. He was, however, shortly after met and driven back by the Persian general, Latf 'Alí Khán. The following year this very general was dismissed, a signal for his army to disperse, while another brother Faṭḥ 'Alí Khán the prime minister, was deposed and blinded, by which orders of the wretched court of Iṣfahán the Sháh lost the best of his advisers. This brings us down to 1134 H.

Serious troubles in other quarters have been referred to. In 1132 H. the Kúrds had advanced to Hamadán, and committed robberies under the very walls of Iṣfahán. The Uzbaks had carried terror all over the northern part of Khorásán. In Daghistán, on the western side of the Caspian, the Leagis were masters of Ganja and Shamákhí, and in 1134 H. were at the gates of Irwán. Hirát had revolted, and the Abdálí Afghans, under Asadu-lláh Khán, entirely defeated 30,000 Persians under Şafí Qulí Khán, and threatened Mashhad. The Arabs of Muscat were recovering the islands in the Persian Gulf. Even the elements added to the general misfortunes: Tabriz was destroyed by an earthquake, in which 80,000 persons are said to have perished, and astrologers held that an extraordinary dimness of the atmosphere portended the destruction of Iṣfahán. The prophecy was not long unfulfilled. Maḥmūd renewed his attempt with a larger and better appointed army, overran the whole of Southern Persia, taking city after city, by Sistán, Kirmán, Yazd, and finally defeated Sháh Ḥusain's army at Gulnábád, 3 miles from Iṣfahán. The victory placed the capital at his mercy, suburb after suburb fell, Farahábád, Julfá, 'Abbásábád, and Ben-Iṣfahán. Finally starved to the direst stage Ḥusain surrendered his capital, and marching through the streets in deep mourning, with his own hands placed his royal plume in the turban of Maḥmūd, and in a somewhat dignified speech, wished him prosperity. The Ghiljí king had become the Sháh of Persia, and the Şafwí dynasty was practically at an end, 1135 H. (23rd October, 1722 A. D.)

THE AFGHÁNS IN PERSIA.

MAḤMÚD 1135—1137 H.

The Afghán rule—it could hardly be called government—in Persia was short; less than eight years, but they were eventful years, and for the country ruinous. Maḥmūd, who in some respects just missed being a great man, showed at the commencement of his reign a certain amount

of statesmanship. He endeavoured at once to relieve the inhabitants of Iṣfahán from famine, to establish confidence by continuing the best of the Persian officials in office, to induce settlers to come, to encourage foreigners, and to tolerate religion. Personally ugly almost to deformity, he had great courage, strength, and energy,—qualities it may be said common to many savages. Anything like an attempt at civilized government, however, did not last long. Prosperity spoiled him, his rapid successes developed ferocity, and finally, apprehension for his safety, combined with great physical suffering, developed all his savage instincts, and converted him into an insane and cruel monster.

Sháh Ḥusain had recognised as his heir his son Ṭahmásp, who during the reign of Iṣfahán had fled to Qazwín, where he collected a force took the title of Sháh Ṭahmásp II. and all through the reign of Maḥmúd and Ashraf made weak and ineffectual efforts to get back the throne. Another figure here appears on the scene—Peter the Great, the Russian Czar, who now took advantage of the confusion in Persia, “to extend his commerce,” a euphemism for extending his dominions, on the western shores of the Caspian. Adopting the same formula which his successors have since followed with such good effect, he called on Maḥmúd to redress certain wrongs his subjects were alleged to have entertained at the hands of border tribes, and on Maḥmúd pleading his inability, issued a proclamation declaring “he had no ambitious designs of extending his territories,” arrived on the coast of Daghístán, and as a commencement annexed Darband, and part of the province of Shirwán 1135 H. (1722 A. D.) The Turks followed suit and advanced to Hamadán with an army, and all through the Afghán occupation it may be said the Courts of Constantinople and St. Petersburg cherished designs against Persia, which it was mainly jealousy of one another prevented their executing. The Russians seized Báku, and part at least of Gílán, while their minister concluded a treaty with the exile Ṭahmásp II., in 1135 H.,* which was to establish him on the throne in return for the cession of the provinces of Daghístán, Shirwán, Gílán, Mázandarán and Astarábád, that is, a large part of Persia with the entire territory adjoining the Caspian. Kúrdistán had acknowledged the Turks, who were practical masters of Irwán, Khuwí,† Nakhjiwán, Marághah, almost the whole of Armenia, and a large part of Azarbaiján. After a most obstinate battle, lasting four days, Tabríz had surrendered 1137 H.,‡ and the city of Ganjah the same year. In 1138 H. a partition treaty was actually concluded between the Russian and the Turk, but this and the subsequent events belong properly to the reign of Ashraf.

* 23rd September, 1723 A. D. † Near Tabríz. [Spelled *Khoos* by Malcolm, and *خووي* in the Persian Translation, vol. II, p. 9. Ed.] ‡ 3rd August, 1725 A. D.

To foreign invasions were added still greater domestic difficulties. The inhabitants of Qazwín, Khwánsár, and other cities revolted 1136 H. Qazwín, however, with Káshán, and Qum surrendered to Maḥmúd's General, though he was less successful in Sijistán. From several quarters at once the Afgháns were driven in on Iṣfahán, and Maḥmúd became apprehensive even of the capital. Once alarmed, he adopted a characteristic Afghán policy. He invited to a feast about 300 of the principal Persian Ministers and Lords, and massacred every one. To prevent the sons ever revenging their fathers, the next day he slew the male children of the nobles to the extent of 200. He dined 3000 of Sháh Ḥusain's old guards in the palace square, and not one was permitted to leave that dinner alive. He depopulated the city by an order to put to death every pensioner who had served the former government, and gave over Iṣfahán to general murder and plunder. To re-people the unfortunate capital he invited Kúrdish tribes, and he raised new levies from Qandahár. With these he captured Gulpáigán, Khwánsár, Káshán, and certain cities of 'Iráq, and in Fárs his general Zabardast Khán took Shíráz by assault 1137 H.* Then he fell into a bad way again. His cousin Ashraf, whose father he had stabbed, deserted him, and his general Amánu-lláh was discontented. He lost confidence in his army, and his mind became altogether unhinged. He performed "*Tapassa*," a most severe penance, including fourteen days fast in a dark vault, and while in this state, hearing that Šafi Mírzá, a son of Sháh Ḥusain had fled, he issued an order for the massacre of all the reigning family.

Thirty-nine princes were said to have then perished, the two youngest being accidentally saved by being held in Sháh Ḥusain's own arms. Hanway says the number was nearly 100, for among all the voluptuaries who ever sat on the Persian throne, probably none were more extravagant than Sháh Ḥusain. Commissioners were constantly engaged in recruiting for his harem. Hanway tells a great story of the "year of virgins," and insists that as many as thirty cradles in a single month were required in the seraglio. To kill off the children of a king, with the exception of one or two reserved for succession, was almost the rule, so that in the case of so eminent a sire as Sháh Ḥusain, a wholesale massacre is easily intelligible.

The close of Maḥmúd's career brought with it a terrible Nemesis; in addition to disease, he finally developed outrageous insanity, and died, some say finally smothered, a raging maniac, under excruciating tortures of mind and body.

* 13th April, 1724.

ASHRAF, 1137—1142 H.

Ashraf who succeeded his cousin (22nd April 1725), joined, according to Hanway "the valour of Maḥmúd to the moderation and cunning of Mír Wís." His first measures, however, were hardly less cruel than those of the former, and sadly wanting in the diplomacy of the latter. His first order was for Maḥmúd's head, and his next to put to death the nobles and commanders who had served, and in many cases well served, his cousin. With Afghán cunning he invited Ṭahmásp II. to come to Iṣfahán as a friend, but that prince had sufficient acuteness to wait till he could come with an army, and Ashraf had for the time being to be content with putting to death Ṭahmásp's correspondents.

The Turks had now got far ahead of the Russians in their partition of Persia, and in 1138 H. (1726 A. D.), marched a large army to the capital. Ashraf, however, between diplomacy and generalship, completely outmanœuvred and defeated them, with the loss of 12,000 men, the Turks having to retire to Karmánsháh, and finally to Baghdád. Eventually, as his object was to make peace with so powerful an enemy as soon as possible, he concluded a treaty, ceding Kúrdistán, Khúzistán, part of Azarbaiján, Sulṭáníyah, Ṭihrán, and certain cities of 'Iráq, in return for which the Turks were to recognize him as sovereign. This gave him time to turn his attention to other dangers. A brother of Maḥmúd's held Qandahár. Málik Maḥmúd, the governor of Sijistán, proclaimed himself independent. The Abdáli Afgháns were still in possession of Hirát. But by comparison these were minor evils; before long he had to face a still more formidable enemy,—a soldier of fortune, at first a mere obscure peasant, a Turkmán by birth, a robber by profession, but who was destined to make himself a world wide reputation as a conqueror. This was Nádir Qulí, then in the service of Ṭahmásp. The latter had fixed his court at Farahábád in Mázandarán, where he was supported by the Qájárs of Astarábád. Nádir, already well known as an irregular leader of fame, joined him in 1139 H. (1727 A. D.) with 5000 men. So did Fath 'Alí Khán Qájár with 3000. This determined Ṭahmásp to act on the defensive, and he appointed Nádir to the sole command. Nádir at once disposed of a possible rival in Fath 'Alí Khán, reduced Mashhad and Hirát, and the first season compelled Khurásán to acknowledge Ṭahmásp.

Ashraf had just succeeded in taking Yazd, and as soon as Nádir, now christened Ṭahmásp Qulí Khán, took the field, advanced boldly to meet him. The armies met at Damaghán 1141 H. (1729), and the Afgháns were defeated. The Ghiljí, however, was by no means inclined to give up the game, and prepared to defend the capital. His entrench-

ments were strong, and were well defended, but again the Afgháns were driven back, with the loss of 4000 men. Ashraf had now to abandon Iṣfahán. He revenged himself by slaying the old ex-King Sháh Ḥusain, and fell back on Shíráz 1141 H. (1729). Here Nádír fast followed him, and again, near the ancient Persepolis, the Afgháns were beaten,* 1142 H., and driven in confusion into Shíráz. Ashraf escaped by way of Sijistán, where he was finally murdered by a Bilúch chief, who sent his head to Ṭahmásp. Thus ended the Ghiljí rule, a period of savage terror, that had brought grievous ruin on Persia, and had probably cost a million of lives, and the desolation of many of the finest provinces. Probably few of the Afgháns, who were a small army of foreigners in the midst of enemies, ever got back. Many were killed, others sold into slavery. The fate of a few is described at length in Malcolm.

ṬAHMÁSP THE SECOND. Nominally Restored. 1142—1145 H.

The destruction of the Afgháns had not, however, the effect of restoring the line of the Šafwís. Although Ṭahmásp appears as a nominal king, it was merely as a puppet of Nádír's. Always jealous, Ṭahmásp once ventured to proclaim the general for disobedience. This dated the annihilation of any little power he ever enjoyed. Nádír at once marched to Court, and dictated what terms he chose. Ṭahmásp was treated respectfully, but given to understand he was not to do more than play at being king. In 1143 H. (1730) Khurásán, Mázandarán, Sijistán and Kirmán, four of the finest provinces, were formally made over to Nádír as a reward for delivering his country, and he was requested to assume the title of Sultán. He accepted all but the title, though he ordered coin to be struck in his own name.

As soon as his troops had rested from thrashing the Afgháns, Nádír turned his attention to the Turks. He encountered and defeated the Turkish force under two Pashas at Hamadán, made himself master of the cities of Tabríz, Ardibíl, and was preparing to besiege Irwán, the Armenian capital, when he had to return to put down an Afghán rebellion in Khurásán 1144 H. (1731). This he summarily did, reduced the fortresses of Faráh and Hirát, celebrating his victory in a splendid feast, for which the heads of 300 Afgháns furnished the decorations.

While Nádír was engaged in this practical business, the weak Ṭahmásp was persuaded into trying a little fighting against the Turks on his own account. He had just sent to Maḥmúd I. who had succeeded Aḥmad III.† in Constantinople a "sweet-scented letter of

* 15th July, 1730 A. D.

† Maḥmúd I, bin Mustafá 1143—1167 H.

congratulation," and then by way of commentary marched to besiege Irwán, engaged the Turkish army, by which he was thoroughly beaten, and marched home again. Nádír now came to the natural conclusion that the time had come to put a stop to Tahmásp's playing at king. So he proceeded to Işfahán, deposed him in 1145 H.,* and deputed him to K̄hurásán, with "a sufficient number of ladies, and every other comfort deemed necessary to pleasurable existence."

He also wrote a letter to the Turks, short, and much to the point, though perhaps not so "sweet-scented." "Restore the Princes of Persia or prepare for war." At the same time he concluded a peace with Russia, stipulating that that power should abandon all the conquests it had made on the shores of the Caspian, and, with a vigour that might well serve as an example to more modern treaty-makers, he "dispatched officers to see that there was no delay in executing their clause of the treaty."

'ABBÁS THE THIRD, a nominal King, 1145—1149 H.

Still Nádír did not think the time ripe for seizing the actual crown of Persia, and therefore put up a second puppet, not so likely to play at war, in the shape of Tahmásp's baby, 8 months old, under the title of 'Abbás III.; in whose name money was coined, and who sat upon the throne for some three years, when the baby conveniently died of some approved infantile complaint. Meanwhile Nádír marched a large army to Baghdád, and again attacked the Turks, under Túpál 'Uşmán. The action was one of the most bloody ever fought between Turks and Persians. Nádír had two horses shot under him, and both sides suffered severely, but the fight resulted in a victory for the former, 1146 H.† A defeat like this only served to bring out the genius of Nádír. Within three months he had rallied and strengthened his army, to such an extent that he was able to re-engage and defeat the Turks, who were utterly routed. The hero Túpál 'Uşmán—a long account of whom is to be found in Hanway—was killed, and Nádír invested Baghdád. The Pasha there concluded a treaty which the Court of Constantinople refused to ratify, and a general named 'Abdu-lláh, with a still larger army, put at 110,000 men, marched against the Persians, Nádír meanwhile occupying Armenia and Georgia. The Turkish general, confident in his superior numbers, left his entrenchments, and engaged the Persians. Led by Nádír in person, the latter proved irresistible. 'Abdu-lláh Kaupraulı‡

* 26th August, 1732.

† 17th July, 1733 A. D.

‡ The Pachá of Cairo, Hanway calls him.

killed and seeing his head fixed on a lance, the Turks fled. Tifis, Ganja, Kárs, and Irwán, all submitted to Nádir, and the Ottoman Court was glad to conclude a peace on the lines whilom proposed by the Baghdád Pasha.

NÁDIR SHÁH. 1149—1160 H.

On the eve of this victory was brought news of the death of the baby king, and now Nádir thought the time had come for the actual assumption of the crown. On the great festival of Nauroz, on the plains of Chowal Mugám, near Ardibíl, he assembled the principal nobles and officers to choose a king. "Choose," said he, "one of the princes of the blood, or some other you know to be great and victorious. It is enough for me that I have restored the glory of the throne and have delivered my country from Afgháns, Turks and Russians." But the unanimous request, repeated every day for a month, was that Nádir would accept the crown himself. At last he consented, on the conditions that the Shi'ah belief should be set aside, and the authority of the first four *Khalfahs* be once more acknowledged. "Since the schism of Shi'ah has prevailed, this country has been in continual distraction, let us all become Sunnis and it will cease. But as every national religion should have a head, let the holy Imám Ja'far be the head of ours." The assembly finally consented to the change and a royal mandate issued to proclaim it. The ceremony of the coronation took place in a splendid hall; Nádir seated on a throne covered with jewels had the crown placed on his head, at, says the chronicler, 20 minutes past eight on the morning of the 26th February 1736 (1149 H.).* Coins were immediately struck in his name, bearing the inscription:

"Sikká bar zar kard nám-i-saltanat rá dar jahán
Nádir-i-Irán zamín o *Khusraw-i-gítí* sitán,"

i. e., "the impression stamped on this coin proclaims throughout the world the sovereignty of Nádir of the land of Persia, the hero who subdued the earth."† The chronogram on the reverse, "Al *Khairu fi má waqa'*", forms the date of his accession, 1149 H.,* and reads: "That

* [This should be 1148 H. The chronogram on the reverse of these coins forms the date 1148, which date is also given in figures. The obverse has the date 1149 in figures. The latter year commenced only on the 1st May 1736. The discrepancy in the dates is explained by Marsden (*Numismata Orientalia*, p. 478) by the supposition that the date on the obverse is that of the actual issue of the coin, while the date on the reverse is that of the accession. The date has been corrected in the list of coins, No. XXXV. Ed.]

† [The couplet rather means: "Nádir (or the Wonder) of the land of Persia and the hero that subdued the earth has stamped the impression upon this coin for the sake of the fame of his sovereignty throughout the world." Ed.]

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which has happened is the best." By the reversal of a letter "la" for "al" the wags made the translation read, "That which has happened is not the best."

It is not intended to follow the subsequent career of Nádír Sháh, his invasion of India, his reign in Persia, and his tragic end. Whatever may be charged against his character, he certainly restored the throne of Persia to its former glory, and with all his failings, in many ways proved himself a great king. The feeble Húsein had brought the kingdom to its lowest ebb, it had in fact almost ceased to be a kingdom at all. Nádír did all that on the plains of Chowal Mugám he took credit for doing. He drove out the Afghán, the Turk, and the Russian. He did more. He converted some of the most dangerous of his country's foes into its best defenders. He subdued the Bukhtiyáris, daring tribes who occupied the rugged mountains of Lár, between Isfahán and Shústar, who had opposed the advance of Alexander, routed the armies of Rome, and given constant trouble for generations; and he made them into efficient soldiers, who did great service in his subsequent campaigns. He took Qandahár, though it cost him a siege of a year and a half, and conquered Kábul. At the latter place he left a contingent of his Qazalábshís, where their descendants still occupy a quarter. He consolidated his empire, and then, as former rulers of his race had done, cast his eyes towards India, and in its invasion thought he saw the restoration to Persia of its ancient splendours and its ancient fame. We are accustomed to take the account of his invasion of India from the Indian historian's point of view. Judged dispassionately, his conduct generally appears to advantage. He was even generous to the conquered Mughal Emperor. Up to the period of his return from India, his countrymen at least might be proud of him. "Whether," as Malcolm says, "we consider the noble and patriotic object which first stimulated his ambition, the valour and ability he displayed, the comparative moderation with which he used success, or the glorious deeds he had done, he is entitled to great, if not unqualified, admiration."

The last five years of his life, so fearfully clouded with suspicion and cruelty, are perhaps not quite the measure of the man. There is no doubt that his order, given in a moment of rage, to put out the eyes of his son Razá Qulí, preyed ever after on his mind. It must not be forgotten that this son had, during Nádír's absence, tried to usurp the throne, had made an organised attempt to take his father's life, and when Nádír in the most generous terms* had offered him pardon, if he would confess his fault, and invited him to wait till in the natural course of things he must succeed to the throne, the fierce

* See Hanway's contemporary story.

youth had, in the most insulting language, gloried in his attempt to rid the world of a tyrant. The act, however, not only "put out the eyes of Persia," but seems to have changed the nature of Nádír; and even partial historians describe the last years of his reign as exceeding in barbarity all that has been recorded of the most bloody tyrants. His attack on the religion of the people, if his attempt to diminish the power and wealth of the priests can be so called, was almost as fatally impolitic as his cruelties. His proceedings produced something like rebellion, and the spirit of insurrection changed Nádír's violence to fury. Towards the last he was maddened to desperation, and in 1160 H. he was finally assassinated by a committee of four principal officers of his court, including representatives of his own tribe and his own guards. Nevertheless his assassination was the death-blow of the mighty empire he had created, and disastrous anarchy almost immediately followed.

The death of Nádír saw the immediate rise of a powerful Afghán empire. Few among his retainers were braver, more loyal or devoted than Aḥmad Khán, the Abdálí Chief, none more ready to revenge his death. But within a few months Aḥmad had founded a dynasty of his own, had changed the name of himself and his tribe, and become Aḥmad Sháh Durí Durání, a name also destined to carry terror to India. Three or four years saw the province of Khurásán severed and converted into a separate principality. Mázarán and Gilán before long were seized by the chief of the Qájárs, the governor of Ázarbaiján declared his independence, and almost half a century passed before Persia became a power again.

THE PUPPET KINGS.

The Šafwí dynasty, founded by rulers of the calibre of Sháh Ismá'il, and the great 'Abbás, than whom Persia had seen no greater since the days of the famous Sassanian, Naushirwán, practically ended with the capture of Iṣfahán by the Afgháns, after a life extending over nearly two and a quarter centuries. The descendants who were re-established by Nádír, as already noticed, were the merest puppets in his hands, and with his formal proclamations as Sháh, the dynasty dropped into oblivion. The puppet Tahmásp II. was murdered by Razá Qulí who had himself married a daughter of Sháh Ḥusain, and Razá's son Sháh Rukh was therefore descended from the Šafwís on the mother's side. After the brief reign of Nádír's nephew, 'Adíl Sháh, and his brother, Ibráhím, both of whom had been slain, Sháh Rukh was in

1162 H. (1740) raised to the throne. He was young, handsome, amiable, and popular, but his career was blasted by another chief, who also through the female line was a descendant of the Safwís, one Sayyid Muḥammad, who seized Sháh Rukh, and before the latter could assemble his troops, blinded him, and proclaimed himself king with the title of Sulaimán II. The same year saw this Sulaimán put to death by a general of Sháh Rukh's, and the blind prince brought from the prison to the throne again. For awhile the unfortunate Sháh Rukh bore the title of prince, enjoyed the revenues of Mashhad, and the influence of Aḥmad Sháh Durání was sufficient to convert Khurásán into a separate province for him and to guarantee its integrity. But its chiefs retained almost complete independence, and only acknowledged Sháh Rukh as their nominal suzerain.

Still another puppet of the Safwí family was set up by the chief of the Bakhtiyári and Zand tribes, a nephew of Sháh Ḥusain, with the empty title of Ismá'il III.; but he was purely nominal under the Wakíl Karím Khán.

The whole of the doings of these petty rulers belong to an entirely subsequent chapter of history.

The inscriptions on the coins figured are in many cases somewhat elaborate. Sháh Ismá'il describes himself as "Abú-l-Muzaffar, Bahádur Khán, aṣ-Ṣafwí, as-Sultán, al-'Adil, al-Kámil, al-Hádi, al-Wáli," *the father of the victorious, the just and perfect Sultán, the guide, the governor.* Muḥammad calls himself "Bádsháh al-Ḥusainí, aṣ-Ṣafwí." Sulaimán says he is "Banda Sháh-i-Waláyát," *the slave of 'Alí,* while Ḥusain is "Kalb-i-Astán-i-'Alí," *a dog of the threshold of 'Alí.* The baby king is "'Abbás ṣáliḡ, ṣání Šáhib Qirán, Zil-i-ḥaqq", *the third 'Abbás, a second Muḥammad,* the shadow of God.*"

Coins Nos. 31, 32 and 33 are struck in the name of the Imám 'Alí Músá Razá, the first apparently at (?) Azindrán, or some similarly named place in Khurásán, the others in Mashhad; all probably during the nominal reign of Sháh Tahmásp II. Others, not described, are wanting dates or mints, some having neither. One is in the name of 'Alí *سکه بنام علی رابع بحکم کمترین سلطنت گشت*. Another has *جلوس میمنت مانوس دورالسلطنت اصفهان*. Others have the Shí'ah confession of faith on both sides.

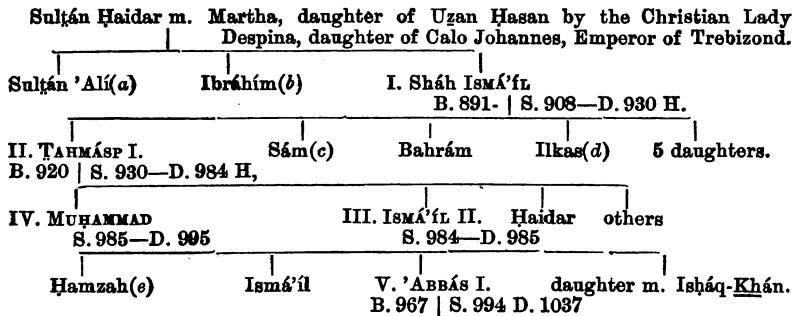
* [Rather: 'a second Timúr,' who first assumed that attribute. Before this 'Abbás, the Emperor Sháh Jahán of Dehlí had similarly called himself, on his coins, 'the second Šáhib Qirán.' Ed.]

Nos. 44, 45, and 46, are of Fath 'Alī Sháh Qájár,* and do not belong to the series; and No. 48 is (to me at least) a doubtful coin. It appears to be of Tahmásp II., struck at Hawízah.

I have again to express thanks to the many friends who have sent me their coins to examine. In this case more especially to Mr. Rodgers of Amritsar, and to Mr. Furdoojee of Bombay. The latter gentleman's collection is especially rich in Šafwī, and many of his coins figure in this series.

GENEALOGY OF THE ŠAFWI DYNASTY.

According to the *Zubdatu-t-Tawárikh* of Muḥammad Kamál, the descent of Sháh Ismá'íl was through the following line, from Músá Qásim, the seventh Imám:—Abú-l-Qásim Ḥamzah—Sayyid Abú-l-Qásim—Sayyid Muḥammad of Arabia—Fírúz Sháh Zarín Kuláh—Ahwáz al-Khás—Muḥammad al-Ḥáfiz—Ráshid—Shaikh Saláhu-d-dín—Shaikh Quṭbu-d-dín—Shaikh Saláh—Jabríl—Shaikh Šafiu-d-dín Isháq—Šadru-d-dín—Khwája 'Alí—Shaikh Ibráhím—Shaikh Junaid—married sister of Uzan Ḥasan, of the Aq Kuyunlís.



(a) Proclaimed successor but seized and imprisoned by Ya'qúb and subsequently slain at Ardibil.

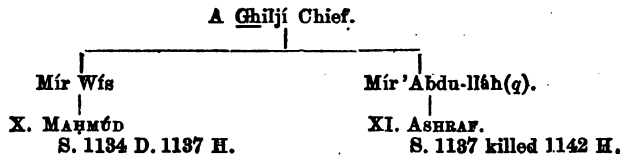
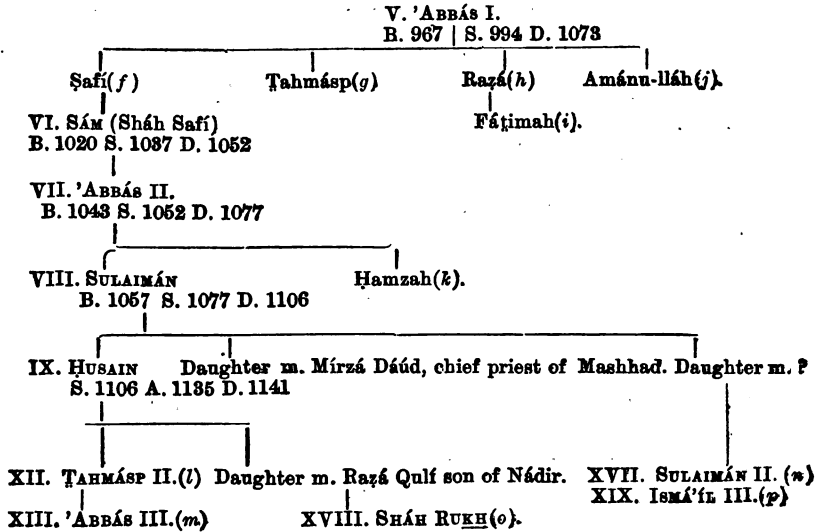
(b) Fled to Gílán where he died.

(c) Rebelled in *Khurásán*, took *Hirát* 941 H. Afterwards fled across the *Oxus*.

(d) Rebelled 945 H. Fled to Turkey and then to *Kúrdistán*, but was delivered over to *Tahmásp* and killed.

(e) Assassinated 994 H.

* By Markham and others this is incorrectly written *Kájar*.



- (*f*) Stabbed at the instigation of his father by Beh Bud Khán.
- (*g*) Died before Safi was murdered.
- (*h*) Blinded by order of his father and perished miserably.
- (*i*) Killed by her father to spite his grandfather 'Abbás.
- (*j*) Blinded by order of his father.
- (*k*) An attempt, made to put this prince on the throne, defeated by a eunuch.
- (*l*) Fled from Işfahán 1135 H. Nominal king in Farahábád 1139. Nominal under Nádír 1141. Put to death by Razá Qulf.
- (*m*) Nominal at eight months old under Nádír 1145. Died 1148 H.
- (*n*) Mírzá Sayyid Muḥammad. Proclaimed himself king 1164. Put to death by Yúsaf 'Alí 1164.
- (*o*) Born 1147, succeeded 1162. Blinded by Mírzá Sayyid Mád. 1163. Nominally restored 1164. Independent in Khurásán 1165. Died 1210 H.
- (*p*) Born 1155. Nominal under Karím Khán 1164. Died 1173 H.
- (*q*) Slain by Maḥmúd.

Tribe of Afshár or Aushár.

Imám Qulí.

XIV. NÁDIR SHÁH (Nádir Qulí)
B. 1100 S. 1149 Murdered 1160 H.

Ibráhím Qulí.

Razá Qulí m. daughter of Sháh Husain. XV. 'ADIL SHÁH ('Alí Qulí).
S. 1160 Blinded by XVI, 1162 killed 1162

SHÁH RUKH

XVI. IBRÁHÍM (r).
S. 1162 killed 1162.

CONTEMPORARY RULERS.

A. H.	A. D.	Safwís of Persia.	Uzbaks in Transoxania &c.	'Ugmánlí Sultáns of Turkey.
886	1481	...	SHAIBÁNÍ DYNASTY...	Báyazíd II. bin Muḥd.
906	1500	...	Muḥd. Shaibání ...	
908	1502	Ismá'íl I. ...	...
916	1510	...	Köchkúnji ...	
918	1512	...	...	Salím I. bin Báyazíd.
926	1520	...	...	Sulaimán I. bin Salím
930	1523	Ṭahmásp I. ...	...
937	1530	...	Abí Sa'íd ...	
940	1533	...	'Ubaidu-lláh ...	
946	1539	...	'Abdu-lláh ...	
947	1540	...	'Abdu-l Laṭíf ...	
959	1551	...	Naurúz Aḥmad ...	
963	1555	...	Pír Muḥammad I. ...	
968	1560	...	Iskandar ...	
974	1566	...	...	Salím II. bin Sulaimán
982	1574	...	...	Murád III. bin Salím
984	1576	Ismá'íl II. ...	...
985	1577	Muḥammad, bin Ṭahmásp ...	...
991	1583	...	Abdu-lláh II. ...	
994	1585	'Abbás I, bin Muḥammad ...	...
1003	1595	...	...	Muḥd. III. bin Murád
1006	1598	...	'Abdu-l-Múmin ...	
1007	1599	...	Pír Muḥammad II. ...	
			ASTRAKHÁN DYNASTY	
1007	1599	...	Báqí Muḥammad ...	
1012	1603	...	...	Aḥmad I. bin Muḥd.
1014	1605	...	Wálí Muḥammad ...	
1017	1608	...	Imám Qulí ...	
1026	1617	...	...	Muṣṭafá I. bin Muḥd.
1027	1618	...	...	'Ugmán II. bin Aḥmad
1031	1622	...	...	Muṣṭafá I. restored.
1032	1613	...	...	Murád IV. bin Aḥmad
1037	1627	Sháh Šafí ...	...
1049	1640	...	...	Ibráhím I. bin Aḥmad
1050	1640	...	Nádir Muḥammad	

(r) Formerly Governor of 'Iráq.

A. H.	A. D.	Safwís of Persia.	Uzbaks in Transoxania &c.	'Usmánlí Sultáns of Turkey.
1052	1642	'Abbás II. bin Šafí ...	...
1057	1647	...	'Abdu-l-'Azíz ...	
1058	1648	...	...	Muḥd. IV. bin Ibráhím
1077	1666	Sulaimán I. bin Abbás II.	...	
1091	1680	...	Subḥán Qulí ...	
1099	1687	...	...	Sulaimán II. bin Ibráhím
1102	1691	...	...	Aḥmad II. bin ditto
1106	1695	Ḥusain bin Sulaimán	...	Muṣṭafá II. bin Muḥd.
1114	1702	...	'Ubaidu-lláh I. ...	
1115	1703	...	...	Aḥmad III. bin Muḥd.
1117	1705	...	Abú-l-Faiz ...	
1135	1722	Maḥmúd (an Afghán)...	...	
1138	1725	Ashraf (Ditto) ...	...
1142	1729	Ṭahmásp II. (Nominal)	...	
1143	1730	...	...	Maḥmúd I. bin Muṣṭafá
1145	1732	'Abbás III. (Nominal)	...	
1149	1736	Nádir Sháh ...	...
1160	1747	'Adil Sháh ...	'Abdu-l-Múmin ...	
1162	1748	Ibráhím ...	...
1162	1748	Sháh <u>Rukh</u> ...	...
1164	1750	Sulaimán II. ...	...
1164	1751	Ismá'il III. (Nominal)	'Ubaidu-lláh II. ...	
1167	1753	Md. Karim <u>Khán</u> ...	Muḥammad Raḥím... ..	
1168	1754	...	...	'Usmán III. bin Muṣṭafá
1171	1757	...	...	Muṣṭafá III. bin Aḥmad

SAFWIS OF PERSIA.

I. Ismá'il as-Safwí. *R.* 1·12—143 grains. Níshápúr. No date. Mr. Rodgers.

	Obv.	Rev.
Within circle	لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله علي ولي الله	السلطان العادل الكامل الهادي الراي ابوالمظفر شاه اسماعيل خلد الله
In segment round	علي حسين محمد جعفر علي موسى محمد علي محمد حسين	بهادر خان الصفوي ملكه وسلطانه نيشاپور

Ditto *R.* 1·0. Isfaráin, and Tabríz Mr. Furdoonjee.
II. Ditto *R.* 1·09—144 grains. Mashhad. No date. Mr. [Rodgers.

The [same formula in square with the names of the 12 Imáms round on four sides. | The same inscription, but ضرب مشهد

Ditto.	R. 1·0—72 grains.	Sabzwár.	Mr. Furdoonjee.
”	” 9—70	”	Nishápúr.
”	” 9—74	”	Aláward.
”	” 1·0—71	”	Nisá.
III. Ditto.	R. 9—69	”	Hirát. 929 H. My cabinet.
Formula in circle.			
Names of Imáms in four segments round.	Area	<p>.....</p> <p>الهادي ابوالمظفر شاه اسمعيل بهادر خان خلد الله تعالى ملكه ٩٢٩</p> <p>In centre ضرب هراة</p>	
IV. Ditto.	R. 1·0—68	grs. Nímroz.	No date. My cabinet.
Similar formula.		Similar inscription,	
		but	ضرب نيمروز
Ditto.		Nímroz. * 29 H.	Mr. Furdoonjee.
V. Ditto.	R. 1·1—150	grains.	Hirát. 924 H. My cabinet.
The same formula in hexagon and six segments round.	Area	<p>... طان العادل الو. ل.</p> <p>.. كامل .. هادي ابوالمظفر</p> <p>شاه اسمعيل بهادر خان الصفوي</p> <p>نه</p> <p>In centre ضرب هراة ٩٢٤</p>	
Ditto.	R. 85—17	grains.	Tabríz. No date. Mr. Furdoonjee.
The same formula in ornamental circle and segments round.		The same, but in centre.	
		شاه اسمعيل ضرب نديز	
Ditto.	R. 8—120	grs. Yazd,	929 H. Mr. Furdoonjee.
The same formula in square as No. II.	Area	<p>the same, but in ornamented central circle</p> <p>ضرب ٩٢٩ يزد</p>	
Ditto.	R. 1·1—70·5	grains.	Aláward, no date. Mr. [Furdoonjee.
The same as No. V.		The same, but in centre shield.	
		ضرب الى ورد	
Ditto.	R. 93—72·5	grains.	Nisá. Mr. Furdoonjee.
The same, in square, as No. II.		The same, but in centre lozenge	
		سلطان اسمعيل شاه	

VI. Ditto. R. 75—72 grains. Tabríz, 908 H. Mr. Furdoonjee.
In central circle.

على حسن محمد على حسين محمد
على محمد جع .. على محمد موسى
الله الا لي الله
Area ظفر اسمعيل شاه
الله 908 ضرب تبريز
خلد ملكه

Ditto. Astarábád, Aláward, without date.

VII. Sháh Tahmásp I. R. 57—80 grains. Hirát, no date. My cabinet.
The same formula with quarter-foil and 4 segments round.

علي حسن حسين علي جعفر محمد
موسى علي محمد علي حسن محمد
Area السلطان العادل
الكامل الهادي ابوالمظفر
شاه طهماسب خان بهادر
الصفوي الله و سلطانه
خلد تعالى ملكه
In centre ضرب هراة

Ditto. R. 95—82 grains. Hirát, 941 H. Mr. Furdoonjee.

VIII. Ditto. R. 82—45 grains. Hirát, no date. My cabinet.
The same formula arranged in square.

IX. Ditto. R. 87—70 grains. Astarábád, no date. Mr. [Rodgers].

The same formula. Area the same, but in centre.
طهماسب شاه ضرب استراباد

X. Ditto. R. 105—78 grains. Nimroz, no date. Mr. Rodgers.
The same formula. Area the same, but centre star.

XI. Ditto. R. 78—45 grains. Mashhad, 960 H. Mr. Rodgers.
The formula in and round an almond shaped area.

Ditto. R. 85—120 grains. Yazd, 940 H. Mr. Furdoonjee.

In ornamented circle the 12 Imáms forming star and usual formula round.
Area as above.
In centre lozenge
دار خان
طهماسب
ضد ضرب 940

Ditto. R. 85—120 grains. Tabríz, no, date. Mr. [Furdoonjee]

The same formula arranged in square like No. II. The same area, but in centre circle
طهماسب شاه خلد تبريز

- Ditto. *R.* '85—121 grains. Tabríz, no date. Mr. [Furdoonjee.
- The same. | The same, but centre square
ضرب تبریز
- XII. Ditto. *R.* '85—120 grains. No mint or date. Mr. [Furdoonjee.
- على حسين محمد | خان
..... على جعفر على م شاه
شاه ... شهباسپ بهادر ... شاه
- Ditto Qandahár, Sultání, without dates.
- XIII.* Sháh Ismá'il II. Mír Tahmásp. *A.R.* '85—72 grains. Qazwín. [No date. My cabinet.
- گرمست | ابوالمظفر
ما بهغروب اما ما | بن طهماسب الصفوی
لاصر على | اسمعیل شاه
وامار بام و | ... الواحد بن قز ... بن
ست
- Ditto. *R.* '80-71 grains. Qazwín, no date. Mr. [Furdoonjee.
- XIV. Muhammad (*Khodábanda*). *A.R.* '9—71 grains. Ja'farábád, 985 H. My cabinet.
- In centre | In ornamental circle
الاله الاله | عليه السلام و ابائه
محمد | غلام امام مهدي محمد
رسول الله | سلطان ابوالمظفر محمد بادشاه
علي ولي الله | ضرب جعفرآباد
round جعفر... على... حسين محمد | round خلدالله ملكه الحسنی الصفوی
... .. سنه ۹۸۵
- Ditto. *R.* '9—71 grains. Ja'farábád, no date. Mr. Furdoonjee.
- The same. | The same but in simple circle.
- Ditto. *R.* '9—71 grains. Qazwín, 986 H. Mr. Furdoonjee.
- The same. | The same, but outer inscription
in ornamental segments.

* [The obverse of No. XIII probably reads :
ز مشرق تا بهغروب گر امام ست على وآل او مارا تمام ست
which is a Persian verse. Ed.]

XV. Sháh 'Abbás I. *R.* 1·1—141 grains. Counterstruck, Qandahár, 1029 H. Mr. Rodgers.

The same formula as No. I.

... العادل
... الهادي الوالي ابوالمظفر
... الصفوة ٠٢٩
... غا... زي

عدال قندهار Counterstruck

XVI. Sháh 'Abbás II. *R.* 8—112 grains. Tabríz, 1058 H. Mr. Furdoonjee.

The centre لاله الاله

محمد

رسول الله

علي ولي الله

Round علي حسن حسين علي محمد محمد
جعفر موسى علي محمد علي حسن محمد

بگينه سكه صاحبقران

١٠٥٨

زد از توفيق حق عباس ثانی

ضرب تبریز

dotted margin.

Ditto. *R.* 9—101 grains. 1053 H. *R.* 1·0—138 grains. 1076 H. *R.* 1·0—70 grains. *R.* 1·3—135 grains. No date. All of Tabríz and with similar inscriptions.

Ditto. *R.* 1·0—101 grains. Abrawán.* 1041 and 1065 H. My cabinet.

Ditto. *R.* 1·0—101 grains. Tifis 1053 H. My cabinet.

XVII. Ditto. *R.* 9—116 grains. Ganjah 1052 H. ,,

لاله الاله

محمد

رسول الله

علي و ...

شاه ولايت

بنده

عباس گنجه ١٠٥٢

ضرب

XVIII. Ditto. *R.* 1·1—70 grains. Tabríz, 1052 H. My cabinet. The same inscriptions. | As No. XVI, but larger.

XIX. Sulaimán I. bin 'Abbás II. *R.* 95—110 grains. Nakhjiwán, 1097 H. Mr. Furdoonjee.

The same formula.

شاه ولايت

بنده

١٠٥٧

سليمان نخبوران

ضرب

Ditto. Nakhjiwan, 1098, 1100 H. Abrawán,* 1102, 1103, 1105 H. Mr. Furdoonjee.

* [Perhaps Irwán ابروان Ed.]

Ditto. Ganjah, 1103, ***4 H. Tabríz, 1104 H. All similar.
Mr. Furdoonjee.

XX. Ditto. \mathcal{R} . 95—147 grains. Qandahár, 1078 H. My cabinet.
Persian lion and sun.

قندهار
فلوس
۱۰۷۸
ضرب

XXI. Sháh Husain bin Sulaimán. \mathcal{R} . 10—79 grains. Işfahán,
1133 H. My cabinet.
The same formula as No. XVI.

شاه ولایت
۱۱۳۳
بنده حسین
ضرب اصفهان

XXII. Ditto. \mathcal{R} . 103—75 grains. Mashhad, no date. My cabinet.
The same formula.

علی
کلب آستان حسین
ضرب مشهد

XXIII. Ditto. \mathcal{R} . 101—68 grains. Tabríz, 1134 H. My cabinet.
The same formula.

The same inscription, but with
ornamental margin.

XXIV. Ditto. \mathcal{R} . 95—83 grains. Tifís, 1131 H. Mr. Furdoonjee. The same, with dotted margins.

Ditto. \mathcal{R} . 95—82 grains. Tabríz, 1130, 31, 32, and 33 H.
Mr. Furdoonjee.

Ditto. \mathcal{R} . 105—83 grains. Qazwín, 1131 H. Mr. Furdoonjee.

XXV. Ditto. \mathcal{R} . 101 × 75—123 grains. Işfahán, 1126 H. Mr. Furdoonjee.

لااله الا الله محمد
علی
رسول الله ولي الله

شاه ولایت
بنده حسین
۱۱۲۶
ضرب اصفهان

XXVI.* Maḥmūd, an Afghān. *R.* 95—66 grains. Iṣfahān, 1135 H.
My cabinet.

لا اله الا الله
محمد
.. سو... اله

.....
بدرن
شاه محمود جهانگیر [۱۱۳۵ .. نیا]
ضرب اصفهان

XXVII. Ditto. *R.* 1·1—111 grains. Iṣfahān, 1134 H. Mr.
Furdoonjee.

The same formula,
but date ۱۱۳۵

... هرومه شاهنشاهی
.. سدا محمود عالمشده که نقد
[ان لیس] از فیض عش مسلم شد
ضرب... اصفهان

XXVIII. Ashraf, an Afghān. *R.* 1·0—67 grains. Qazwīn, 1139 H.
My cabinet.

The same, but date, ۱۱۳۹

حق شعار
از لطای شاه اشرف
برزلقیس شد سکه خاز...
... قزوین ۱۱۳۹

Ditto. *R.* 1·15—111 grains. Iṣfahān, 1137 H. Mr. Furdoonjee.
The same inscriptions,
but date 1137.

مهورمه طلا ونقره
[.. بوس] شد سریر آفتاب
... اشرف سکه برز شد
... اصفهان

XXIX. Shāh Ṭahmāsp II. (abdicated). *R.* 1·05—70 grains.
Ṭabriz, 1135 H. My cabinet.
The same as No. XVI.

بگیتی سکه صاحبقران
زد از توفیق حق طهماسب ثانی
ضرب تبریز ۱۱۳۵

XXX. Ditto, (nominally restored). *R.* 1·1—83 grains. Iṣfahān,
1142 H. Mr. Furdoonjee. The same inscription.

A similar coin, but with dotted margins. Iṣfahān, 1142 H. Mr. Fur-
doonjee.

* [A very nearly identical coin is given in Marsden's *Numismata Orientalia*, p. 470, No. DLXXIV. The complet on these coins, probably, runs thus:—

سکه زد از مشرق ایران چو قرص آفتاب * شاه محمود جهانگیر شهامت انساب

Marsden reads the two last words شاه انساب which do not scan. The meaning is: "Shāh Maḥmūd, the conqueror of the world, with reference to his bravery, has struck this coin from the east of Irān, like the disk of the sun." Ed.]

Coins struck in the name of the Imám 'Alí Músá Razá.

XXXI. 'Alí Músá Razá. *Æ.* 1·1—78 grains. Azindrán, 11** H. My cabinet.

لا اله الا الله على
محمد رسول الله و
الله

از خراسان سکه برز شد
بتوفیق خدا ضرور امداد
شاه دین علی موسی رضاء
ب از ندران ۱۱

XXXII. Ditto. *Æ.* 1·0—73·5 grains. Mashhad, *143 H. My cabinet. Similar inscription.

XXXIII. Ditto. *Æ.* ·9—174·5 gr. Mashhad, no date. My cabinet.

The same.

الرضا
یا علی ابن موسی
ضرب مشهد

Ditto. *Æ.* ·95—178·5 grains. Mashhad, 1141 H. Mr. Furdoonjee.

XXXIV. 'Abbás III. bin Tahmásp. *Æ.* 1·05—83 grains. Shíráz, 1145 H. My cabinet.

The same as No. XVI but larger.

سکه برز زد بتوفیق اله
در جهان - ظل حق عباس ثالث
ثانی صاحبقران ۱۱۴۵
ضرب شیراز

Ditto. *Æ.* 1·1—83 grains. Isfahán, 1145, 1146 H. Mr. Furdoonjee. Similar inscriptions.

Coin struck in the name of 'Alí. *Æ.* ·85—68 grains. No Mint 114* H. Mr. Furdoonjee.

The usual formula in dotted circle.

رائج بحکم کمترین
سلطنت گشت
سکه بنام علی

XXXV. Nádír Sháh. *Æ.* ·95—82 gr. Mashhad, 1150 H. My cabinet.

بتاریخ الخیر فیما وقع
۱۱۵۰

A chronogram referring to the date of Nádír's accession A. H. 1148.

سکه برز کرد نام
سلطنت را در جهان - نادر
ایران زمین و خسرو گیتی ستان
ضرب مشهد

XXXVI. Ditto. *Æ.* ·9—175 grains. Tabríz, 1153 H. My cabinet.

تبریز
دار السلطنت
ضرب
۱۱۵۳

شاهان نادر صاحبقران
شاه
سلطان بر سلاطین جهان
ست ..

Ditto. Similar coins of Tabríz, 1151, 1154, 1157 and 1158, Mashhad 1151, Isfahán 1157, 1156 H. Mr. Furdoonjee.

XXXVII. Ditto. *R.* 1·0—67 grains. Tifís, 1151 H. Mr. Furdoonjee.

مانوس الخیر فیما وقع
میمنت
تاریخ جلوس
۱۱۵۱

The same as No. XXXV, but
ضرب تفلیس

XXXVIII. Ditto. *R.* ·8—105 grains. Mashhad, 1151 H. Mr. Furdoonjee.

نادر
السلطان
ن

خلد الله
ملکه مشهد
ضرب ۱۱۵۱

Ditto. *R.* ·7—105 grains. Isfahán, 1151 H. Mr. Furdoonjee.

XXXIX. Sháh Rukh, (grandson of Nádir). *R.* 1·0—356 grains. Mashhad, 1161 H. Mr. Furdoonjee.

السلطان
شاهرخ

خلد الله
ملکه مقدس
مشهد

ب . . .

XL. Ditto. *R.* ·9—177 grains. Mashhad, **63 H. Mr. Furdoonjee.

مقدس
مشهد
ضرب

صا ۰۶۳
بنام شاهرخ سکه زد
یران گرفت از سرخ . . .

پ

XLI.* Muhammad Karím Khán (Zandi). *R.* ·95—70 grains. No mint or date. My cabinet.

لااله الا الله
محمد
ر . . رسول الله علم
ولي الله

شد آفتاب ماه زرو سیم
در جهان - سکه امام بحق صاحب الزمان کر . . .

.....

Counterstruck رائج

XLII. Ditto. *R.* ·95—68 gr. Qazwín, 1175 H. Mr. Furdoonjee.

Similar formula.

یا کریم
دارالسلطنت قزوین
ضرب
سنه ۱۱۷۵

* [The true reading of the obverse, from better preserved coins, is given by Marsden, *Num. Orient.*, p. 481. Ed.]

- XLIII. Ditto. *Ṛ.* 8—55 grains. Shíráz, **90 H. Mr. Furdoonjee
 [باعي] The same as No. XLI.
 دار [العلم شيوا] ز
 ضرب
- Ditto. *Ṛ.* 8—67 grains. Shíráz, **75 H. Mr. Furdoonjee.
 شيراز The same as No. XLI.
 دار العلم
 ضرب
 ۰۰۰۷۵
- XLIV. Fath 'Alī Sháh (Qájár). *Ṛ.* 95—138.5 grains. Mashhad,
 1244 H. My cabinet.
 عليه السلام مسكه فتحعل شاه
 ضرب ۱۲۴۴ خسرو صاحبقران
 مشهد امام
- XLV. Ditto. *Ṛ.* 95—158 gr. Kirmán, 1219 H. Mr. Furdoonjee.
 كرمان شاه قاجار
 دارالامان فتحعل
 ضرب السلطان ابن السلطان
 ۱۲۱۹
- XLVI. Ditto. *Ṛ.* 85—44 gr. Shíráz, 1203 H. Mr. Furdoonjee.
 شيراز Similar inscription.
 دارالعلم
 ضرب
 ۱۲۰۳
- Ditto. *Ṛ.* 50—37 grains. Yazd, no date. Mr. Furdoonjee.
 يزد Similar inscriptions.
 العبا
 داران
- XLVII. (P) Muḥammad Khán. *Ṛ.* 75—100 grains. Astarábád,
 1173 H. Mr. Furdoonjee.
 يا صاحب ملكه استرآباد
 الزمان ضرب ۱۱۷۳
- XLVIII. (P) Sháh Ḥusain. *Ṛ.* 8—57 grains. Ḥawaizah, no
 date. My cabinet.
 In circle الله حريزه
 لي ولي ب۰۰۰۰
 Round.....: لا ازال الله Round بنده ولايت حسين

Antiquities at Nagari.—By KAVI RÁJ SHYÁMAL DÁS, M.R.A.S., F.R.H.S.
Translated by BABU RÁM PRASÁD. (With two Plates.)

Nagari is a small village in Mewár and is situated on the east or right bank of the Berach, about six miles north-east of Chitor. At one time it was part of the *jágir* of the Thákur of Bassí, but it is now included in the estate of the Ráo of Bedlá, a Chauhán Rájput and a first class vassal of the Maháráná of Udaypur who belongs to the Guhilot or Gehlot clan. The name of this clan is derived from Guhil, the son of the Bappá Ráwal who in Samvat 784, A. D. 728, according to Col. Tod, or S. 791, A. D. 735, as I believe, took Chitor from Man'morí, the last of the Morí or Pramár dynasty.*

Though we do not know the dates of the foundation, or the destruction of Nagari, yet the latter event must have occurred before the time of Bappá who lived more than eleven centuries ago; and it would seem from two inscriptions at Nagari being in the Southern Ásoka character that the city was flourishing before the Christian era. The inhabitants point out the remains of an ancient fort at Nagari, and say that its moat was formed by a ravine lying to the eastward. An examination of the spot shows that some building must have stood there, for large bricks are occasionally dug up in the neighbourhood. The north-east and south quarters of Nagari also contain many isolated specimens of ancient architecture. The old rampart of the town is said by the villagers to be represented by a crescent-shaped embankment which skirts Nagari, commencing on the south at the river and encompassing the south-east, east and north-east quarters, and ending at the north on the river bank again. The entrance to the old city is traceable on the road leading to Bassí. In some places we find old mortar floorings, and sometimes masonry gháts are exposed to view by the erosion of the river banks.

Two earthen vessels measuring 12 feet in height and 3 in diameter, with sides an inch thick, are to be seen in the shaft of a well sunk by a barber. Such vessels called *nánd* (नांद), 3 to 4 feet high and $1\frac{1}{2}$ in diameter, are manufactured at the present day by potters on their wheels, but those two old vessels seem to have been constructed by joining several layers, each 4 inches high, and then baking them in a kiln. The rims of similar vessels may be seen peeping out from the ground in two other places.

Háthiom ká bárá.

About half a mile east of the village there is an open rectangular enclosure which goes by the above name, *i. e.*, the elephant-enclosure.

* Tradition says that Chitrang Morí removed to Chitor, on Nagari having been doomed to destruction by the course of an ascetic.

Its walls are composed of large slabs of a greyish limestone, admirably put together in five successive layers. The height of the wall is 9 ft. 4 in., and it is 3 ft. 2 in. thick at bottom, and 1 ft. 4 in. at top. The breadth of the slabs of the lowest layer is 2 ft. 9 in., of the 2nd, 1 ft. 8 in., of the 3rd, 2 ft. 7 in., of the 4th, 1 ft. 3 in., and of the 5th, 1 ft. 4 in. Their length varies from 7 ft. to 14 from the top to the bottom. The outer measurement of the enclosure is 300 ft. 4 in. by 154 ft. 4 in., and the inner is 291 ft. by 148 ft. 6 in. The entrance is at the southern side; the northern side is in a state of dilapidation, owing, according to the villagers, to the Thákur of Bassí's having taken away the stones to erect other buildings with.

U'bh'díwal, or Akbar's Lamp.

About a mile north-east of Nagari there stands a pyramidal tower (Plate V), built of the same kind of stone, and constructed in the same way as the Háthiom ká bárá. It is 14 ft. 1 in. sq. at the outside base, and 3 ft. 3 in. sq. at the apex. Its height is 36 ft. 7 in., and it is composed of 21 layers of large blocks piled one on the other. The tower is solid for 4 ft., then hollow for 20 ft., and solid again up to the top. The floor of the cavity, or chamber, is 4 ft. sq., and it has 7 openings to admit light. The window facing the east is 2 feet. by 1, 3 in.; of the two on the west one is 3 ft. 3 in. by 3 ft., and the other 2 ft. by 1, 9 in.; one window on the north is 2 ft. by 1, and the other is 2 ft. 3 in. by 2 ft., and so also are the windows on the south.*

* These measurements were reported to the author by Thákur Jagannáth Singh the Hákim, or Ráj-official at Chitor. Tod has two references to Akbar's lamp. At vol. I, p. 325, he says "the site of the Royal (Akbar's) Oordoo or camp, is still pointed out. It extended from the village of Pandowly along the high road to Bussie, a distance of ten miles. The head-quarters of Akbar are yet marked by a pyramidal column of marble, to which tradition has assigned the title of Akbar ka dewa, or Akbar's lamp." He adds in a note. "It is as perfect as when constructed, being of immense blocks of compact white limestone, closely fitted to each other, its height thirty feet, the base a square of twelve, and summit four feet, to which a staircase conducts. A huge concave vessel was then filled with fire, which served as a night beacon to this ambulatory city, where all nations and tongues were assembled, or to guide the foragers." The other reference is at vol. II, p. 755. There he expresses his regret that, owing to the results of an accident, he was unable to climb the staircase "trodden no doubt by Akbar's feet." But in fact there is no inner staircase. Kaviráj Shyámal Dás writes as follows: "There is no flight of steps to reach even the highest part of the hollow chamber, though there are projecting portions of the blocks composing the pyramid on which the feet can be rested. If any one wants to get to the very top, he must get out at the highest window and then somehow or other scramble up." The Kaviráj observes that the fact of there being no interior staircase corroborates his view that the tower has not been built by Akbar, though he may have used it as a beacon. There is no tradition about its

This pyramid is call'ed ' *Ubh'díwal* ' or the 'vertical lamp', and is said to have been erected by Akbar as a beacon lamp (for burning cotton seeds socked in oil placed in a huge cup kept on the summit), to denote the head-quarters of his camp when pitched there to reduce the fort of Chitor in S. 1624 (A. D. 1568). Notwithstanding the authors of the Akbar Námah, *Ṭabaqát i Akbarí*, *Iqbál Námah Jahángírf* and *Farishta* say nothing about it, yet it may be that Akbar did employ the column for placing on it the signal light of his camp, reasonably considering it better adapted to this purpose than any new thing which he could make.

From certain remains found to the north of Nagari in the bed of the Berach, it may be inferred that a bridge had been thrown across the river, and the people say that its débris were used in that over the Gambhíri which flows past Chitor. But my own investigations show that the latter could not have been entirely constructed in this way, as it contains also portions of some old shrines, *e. g.*, the stone tablet bearing the Inscriptions of the temples founded by Ráwals Tej Singh and Samar Singh.*

Further, the inhabitants of Nagari have a belief that the materials of its ancient structures were used in the erection of the fort and the buildings of Chitor. This carries a certain amount of truth with it, inasmuch as traces of the débris of a Nagari village attract the tourist's notice in the temples and ruins of Chitor.†

origin, but the similarity of its architecture with that of the *Háthion ká báyá* would point to a contemporaneous date of the two structures. He also informs me that the word *Ubh'díwal* is a Mewári term. *Ubh* in that dialect means 'standing' or 'vertical', *e. g.*, *úbhá honá* means 'to stand up'. *Díwal* is equivalent to Hindi *díwaḥ* 'a lamp' and seems to be derived from the two words *dép* and *dlay*. *Note by Mr. H. Beveridge.*—[The staircase, spoken of by Tod, must have been an outer one, probably a wooden structure, which appears to have perished. An inner staircase, even if there could have been one in the narrow chamber of 4 feet square, would have been useless for the purpose of reaching the summit, between which and the roof of the chamber there are 12 feet of solid masonry. As Akbar used to keep a beacon on its summit, it is clear that once there must have existed an outer staircase by which the summit could be reached. Akbar himself may have got it made for his beacon. Ed.]

* Paper on the Prithí Ráj Bási, p. 17, No. I, p. 1, B. A. S. Journal for 1886.

† Tod, II, p. 750, says that two temples in Chitor, erected by Ráná Khumbo, and his wife Mirá Bái, are entirely constructed from the wrecks of more ancient shrines, said to have been brought from the ruins of a city of remote antiquity, called Nagara, three kos northward of Chitor. He adds in a note "I trust this may be put to the proof; for I think it will prove to be Takshaq-Nagara, of which I have long been in search; and which gave rise to the suggestion of Herbert that Chitor was of Taxila Porus."



Photo-Colotype

FRAGMENTS OF ANCIENT INSCRIPTIONS FOUND NEAR NAGARÍ, IN MEWAR.

Scale one-fourth of the original.

Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, December 1887.

Old coins are sometimes picked up at Nagari during the monsoon, when the dust and the surface soil get washed off. Four such coins likely to interest numismatists are sent with this paper for the Society's Museum.* Major-General Cunningham fancies from the finding of some ancient Sibi coins† at Chitor, that it must have belonged to the Sibi kings whose dominions lay towards the Panjáb, and that Jayatura, the metropolis of the Sibi territory, may be Chitor.

I shall now speak of two old inscriptions (see Plate Va) corroborating the evidence of the antiquity of Nagari: their squeezes brought by Pandit Rám Pratáp Jotishí are sent herewith.

Inscription I.

This is on a slab on the right hand side of the door or entrance leading down to a tank in the village of Ghasundí, about 4 miles N. E. of Nagari.‡ The tank was completed on the 3rd Baisákh Sudi S. 1566 (19 April 1510), by Singár Debí, wife of Maharáná Rái Mall.

The slab measures 3 ft. 7 in. × 1 ft. and contains 3 lines of 15 letters each, but unfortunately the 13th letter in each line is so close behind a pillar that an impression could not be taken of it. See Plate I.

Having failed to make out any satisfactory sense of the inscription, I had recourse to my able and learned friend Mr. Bendall, Prof. of Sanskrit in University College, London, and I am deeply indebted to him for the kindness with which he has replied to me on the 27th October last as follows:

“The character is in the main the oldest found character known. We usually call it the ‘Southern Aśoka.’ All the rock edicts of Aśoka south of the Panjáb are in this character. They are in a kind of Prákrit or Páli, however. This is in a sort of popular Sanskrit, probably what Páṇini means when he speaks of the *bhášhá* of his time. Some scholars call it the ‘Gáthá dialect.’ The Mahávastu a great Buddhist book, published by M. Senart at Paris, is, in the main, in this form of speech.

* [The coins have been received, but nothing can be made out of them, as the devices and inscriptions are quite obliterated. Ed.].

† Archæological Survey Reports, XIV, 45.

‡ [In a note, subsequently received, the author adds: “Entrance of the tank must be taken in its literal sense. In Rájputáná we have numbers of *báoli* (باولي) or reservoirs of water, which have only one descent; and over the *gháṭ* one, or sometimes two-storeyed structures are built; and in some cases, as in the tank in question, literally a doorway leads to the water's edge. The inscription exists on the right hand side of the descent, inside the entrance, towards the body of the water. There are no surrounding walls, raised above the ground level, but the parallel sides of the descent are shaped like walls.” Ed.]

You will see from my transcription that it is not pure Sanskrit; but it differs from Páli and most Prákrits by having the letters ञ and ञ, while they have only ञ—

The stone is evidently broken on both sides and I can make no sense of the first line except a, probably, man's name *Párasara*.

From lines 2 and 3 it would seem that a "hall of worship" was made to Sankarshana (Siva) and Vásudeva, with a wall or rampart (*prakára*).

(1.) न ग ज य ने न पा र ञ र ? न ञ ञ

(2.) ज ना भ ग व भ्या ञ क ञ ञ वा सु दे वा भ्यां

(3.) भ्यां पू ज ञ ञा प्रा का रो ना रा य ना ञ ञ

? = Sansk. *Vaṭaká Náráyana*, surrounding, sheltering."

Mr. Bendall supposes Sankarsan to stand for Siva and correctly too, since the term is sometimes applied in this sense; but generally it is used to signify *Bal Deo*, the elder brother of *Krishna* or *Vásudeo* (son of *Vasudeo*). Thus we see that a hall of worship was made to *Bal'deo* and *Vásudeo*, from which the inference may be drawn that they were regarded with veneration at that period, and that idol worship was in vogue among the Vedic people.

Inscription II.

Found on the river bank near Nagari, evidently broken on both sides, measuring 1 ft. × 8½ in. and marking 8 letters of the same character as the preceding. See Plate I. They read

व भू ना ना द या ञ
ना

One letter ञ has been evidently defaced from the beginning, thus making ञव (सर्वे) भूतानां दयाञ—ना = meaning "mercy to all creatures," which was one of the formulæ of the Jains.

I also give a third inscription which is of modern date and records the making of the tank above referred to.

[From a very good squeeze, subsequently sent by the Kaviráj, and from which Plate *Va* has been prepared, the fragments of the two inscriptions would seem to read thus :

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
I.	*	*	ना	ग	ज	य	ने	न	पा	रा	रि	पु	ञ	ञ	*
	*	*	जि	न	भ	ग	व	भ्यां	सं	क	वे	ञ	वा	सु	दे
	*	*	भ्यां	पू	जा	मि	ञा	प्रा	का	रो	ना	रा	य	ञ	वा
															ढे
															का

In the first line, the 1st letter is partially broken away, but sufficient remains to show it to have been *tá*; the 3rd letter is *gá* or *grá* rather than *ga*; the 4th letter, and the 3rd of the third line are alike, both being *já*; the 5th letter may possibly have an *anuswára* (ँ); the 11th letter is distinctly *ri*, with what looks like a dot within the angle of the vowel. In the second line, the 1st letter again is partially broken, but the vowel *i* is distinctly visible; the 2nd letter is more probably only *na* (not *ná*). In the third line, the 4th letter is distinctly *śi*, the 12th is *ṇa*, and the 14th is *ṭe*. The latter would seem to stand for *ṭi*; for the word intended is probably *váṭiká*, 'an enclosure' or 'a garden.' The second line would seem to mention the Jina (Mahāvira) and Bhagavá (Buddha) as well as the two brothers Sankarshana (Baladeva) and Bāsudeva (Kṛishṇa). At the beginning of the three lines, as well as at the end of the first two lines some portion of the inscription is lost; traces of the lost 16th letters of lines 1 and 2 are still visible; but after *váṭeká* there is no trace of anything further having followed.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 II, * * वे भू ना नां द या चं * *
 * * ि ना

In the first line, the 1st letter is slightly broken; the 5th might be *de*; the 7th is probably the beginning of the word *thambha* 'pillar.' In the second line the first consonant is lost, though the accompanying vowel *i* is distinct; perhaps the word was *káritá* or *pratishápitá*. Ed.]

*Inscription III.*¹

॥ गाम घोखंडी की बावड़ी की प्रशस्ति ॥

॥ ॐ नमो गणेशाय² नमः । श्रीश्रीरक्षत्ये³ नमः ॥

कमलविमलबलदलिकुलमंजुलसदपांगरोचनं नयनं । गिरिदुहितुर्दलयतु मम
 मानसतिमिराणि कदयया किरयैः ॥ १

स्त्वावधिप्रथितसिंधुरसंनिवेशादाविःकरोति सुरकुंजरतां निजां यः ॥ प्रयू-
 ह्मोहमपहाय बरीभरीतु मन्मानसं सरसवाग्मिरसौ गणेशः ॥ २

¹ [This inscription has been carefully checked with the help of two good ink impressions, sent by the Kaviráj. The *aksharas* enclosed in brackets are doubtful on the stone, and have been conjecturally restored. Ed.]

² Read गणेशाय ।

³ Read श्रीरक्षत्ये ।

खुम्भाच्छोणियाखाम्बयकमकरवेः⁴ कुम्भकूर्स्य द्युर्धर्मात्मा राजमहो ऽनि-
पतितिककश्चिक्रूटे चकास्ति । इष्टापूर्तेरनातीकृतकविनिकरोद्गीर्णकीर्त्तिप्रशस्ति-
र्योमाद्यन्मालवेद्रप्रवक्षतमचमगर्वसर्वस्वहर्ता⁵ ॥ ३

राष्ट्रवर्धनराधमंडलीमौलिमंडनमणिमंडस्यञ्जी⁶ । उद्भृताखिलविपक्षकंटका-
माश्रयास रणमहभूपति⁷ ॥ ४

एतस्मिन्नमरसदस्यतामवामे तत्सूनु(र्ध)रखिभरं बभार सद्यः । श्रीयोधद्विति-
पतिरयः⁸ खड्गधारानिर्घातप्रहृतपठायपारशीकः ॥ ५

पूर्वानताप्यीत⁹ गयया धिसुक्तया काश्यां सुवर्णैर्विपुलैर्विपश्चितः ॥ वित्तीयं कन्या-
विधिवत्ततोष यो यो यात्ययागे¹⁰ मरुमेदिनीपतिः ॥ ६

किं नाहौषीद् यच्चभूमौ सुरेभ्यः किं न प्रादा[ह]ानभूमौ द्विजेभ्यः ॥ कं नाजैषीत्
संगरे पारसीकं किं नाकार्षीत् योधभूपो यशस्यं ॥ ७

असुव्यजगतीपतेरजनि कन्यका स्वधूविजित्वरगुणोत्करा सुचरितैकविआ-
मभूः ॥ अदस्तनुविनिर्मितौ समभवत्¹¹ विधाता ह्यती ध्रुवं कुसुमसायकः प्रयतते-
स्म शिल्पे ऽथवा ॥ ८

द्वितीयवयसं लसत्सहचरीवचोभिर्विदग्निमामिति महीपतिः पद्मतिभिः¹²
सहचिंतयन्¹³ ॥ गुणानुगुणमेव यो¹⁴ कमपि चेन्महीवल्लभं लभेमहि विदग्धहे
दुहितृसंप्रदानं तदा ॥ ९

आजलराशि महीतलमहीपतीनाकलय्य निरटंकि । तैरनुरूपगुणश्रीरेतस्या
राजमहानरनाथः ॥ १०

अ[त्रां]तरै प्रोढवचोभिरुच्चैर्विदग्ने¹⁵ संस्तुवति क्षितीश्वरम्¹⁶ । श्रीराजमह-
श्रुतिवाग्विलासस्तस्यावरोधे स्फुटमाविरासीत् ॥ ११

अरे धरखिवल्लभा वसुमतीप्रसूनाशुगं स्तुमः समदसुंदरीजनमनःप्रसोदयं¹⁷ ॥
वरिभ्रतु न विभ्रमं प्रदृश्यात् मागधव्याहृतं विराजति न राजके क्वचन राज-
महोपमः ॥ १२

अमंदतरसंगारे¹⁸ प्रबलवैरिवीरव्रजात्¹⁹ विजित्य वसुधाविधेरहृतविप्रसाद्धर्म-

⁴ Read •शोणियाखाम्ब० ।

⁵ Read •नाकीकृत० ।

⁶ Read •खली ।

⁷ Read •भूपतिः ।

⁸ Read अयस्यजु०, metri causa.

⁹ Read •नाहौत् ।

¹⁰ Read ऽयारुप्रयागे ।

¹¹ Read समभवत् ।

¹² Read प्रकृतिभिः ।

¹³ Read चिंतयत् ।

¹⁴ Read यं ।

¹⁵ Read अनांतरे प्रौढ०

¹⁶ Read क्षितीश्वरम् metri causa.

¹⁷ Read प्रसोदोदयं ।

¹⁸ Read संगरे ।

¹⁹ Read •व्रजान् ।

धीः²⁰ । यथाभरमभीभरद्धरखिमाचतुःसागर²¹ गुणैस्तदतिरिच्यते जगति राजमङ्को
विभुः ॥ १३

मृगांकमुकुटः स्फुटं वरमयच्छदशाशयस्तदंश्वयसुवोभवो²² भवतु राज्यमित्य-
न्नतं²³ ॥ ततः सकलमेदिनीरमकमौलिरत्नं जयत्ययं वसुम(तिप)तिर्जगति कुंभ-
कस्यात्मजः ॥ १४

इति मागधस्तुतिवचःप्रतिध्वनिप्रतिबोधहृद्यमनसामियं मतिः ॥ अवरोध-
वारिजदृशामभूत्परं द्यतामयं²⁴ नृपतिरेतया द्रुतं ॥ १५

अथ वैवाहमहोपकृतेः²⁵ कृते कृतमतीन् प्रकृतीस्वरय²⁶ दिशन् । नृपतयः
सहजा यदपेक्षितं तदुपनीतमभीभिरतर्कितैः ॥ १६

तदनु मन्वराधराधिनाथैर्युवतीरत्नमिमासुपाययद्भिः ॥ सहजगतुरगादिवस्तु-
जातैः²⁷ सुतरां तोषमर्त्तमि राजमङ्गः ॥ १७

शृङ्गारदेवीत्वभिधां मनोहरं प्रेक्षोपनीतामनुतामभाषत ॥ तथा समं पुष्यशरो-
मवेकृती²⁸ कलाकलापैः कलयत्यनेहसं ॥ १८

पातिप्रत्यविनासवासनगरी लावण्यलीलागृहं सौभाग्यामृतदीर्घिका वितरण-
प्रागल्भ्यलीलाभरः²⁹ ॥ सौहित्यं नृपकुंभकस्यंतनयं श्रीराजमङ्गं वरं संप्राप्याधिक-
माविभर्त्ति सततं शृङ्गारदेवी रहः ॥ १९

वापीमन्त्रीखनदियं मणिवद्भित्तिमस्त्रीनिधेः सहचरीमिव भूरिनीरां ॥ या-
मंबुराशिमपहाय रमासमेतः श्रीकेशवः समधितिष्ठति वारिण्यः ॥ २०

रम्यारघदृष्टितोषघटीविनिर्यदंभोभिषेकमनुभूय मञ्जीरहो मी³⁰ ॥ रंभारसाल-
पनसाः पथिकातिथेयश्रेयो दिशंति निजभर्तुरदस्तटोत्थाः ॥ २१

उपर्युपरितक्ताटीं विटपिनः सदामोदवत्प्रसन्नमभरविभ्रमद्भ्रमरंजुगंजायुजः³¹ ॥
जनारतमवर्द्धयन्मन्वराधिनाथात्मजा³² समर्चयितुमद्रिजामखिलगर्मशर्मप्रदां ॥ २२

शृङ्गारदेव्या सह राजमङ्गः सग्रीरपूर्णापि च वापिकेयं ॥ यावद्धरासागरसूर्य-
चंद्रं राजंतु सानंदमगंतरायाः ॥ २३

ऋतु-बाह-बाह-शशि-संख्यवत्सरे³³ नभसः सितस्मरतिथौ सभूमिजेः³⁴ ॥ परि-
पूर्सभावमभजत्सुवापिका सगुहप्रशस्तिरपि सूक्तिशालिनी ॥ २४

²⁰ Read वसुधावधेर्

²¹ Read यशोभर० ।

²² Omit the anuswára.

²³ Read राज्यमित्युन्नतं ।

²⁴ Read त्रियसाय् ।

²⁵ Read विवाह० ।

²⁶ Read लरयादिशन् *metri causa*.

²⁷ Read वस्तुजातैः ।

²⁸ Read पुष्यशरासवैकृती ।

²⁹ Read ०स्त्रीलापरः ।

³⁰ Read मी ।

³¹ Read ०सख्यन० ।

³² Read जनारत० ।

³³ Read संख्यावत्सरे ।

³⁴ Omit the visarga.

विप्रो दशपुरक्षातिरभूज्जोडिंगकेशवः ॥ अविस्तस्य सुतस्तस्मान्महेशो भूम-
हाकविः⁸⁵ ॥ २५

प्रासाद एकलिंगस्य कीर्तिल्लभस्य चोपरि ॥ अकार्षीद्यो महेशो⁸⁶ सावि-
मामप्यकरोत्सुधीः⁸⁷ ॥ २६

संवत् १५६१ वर्षे शाके १९२६ प्रवत्तमाने उत्तरायणगते⁸⁸ श्रीसूर्ये वसंतऋतौ
महामांगल्यप्रदवैशाखमासे⁸⁹ युक्तापक्षे द्वतीयायां पुण्यतिथौ बुधवासरे यथावत्त-
मान नक्षत्र योगकर. . . . ॥

Translation.

Om ! Obeisance to Gaṇeśa and the divine Sarasvatī :

1. May the eyes of Párvatī the beauty of whose glances is as splendid as a whole family of black bees in the act of their pretty gyrations in a lotus, dissipate the darkness of my mind with their rays.

2. May Gaṇeśa who manifests his elephantine rank among the gods, by having the unmistakable shape of an elephant down to the shoulders, remove the ignorance generated by obstacles, and completely inspire my mind with elegant expressions.

3. The pious and excellent king Rájamalla, the son of Kumbhakarna, the sun of the lotus-like race of king Khummaṇa, is reigning at Chitrakúṭa, his praise being sung by numerous poets, who were made happy through his meritorious deeds, because he crushed the pride of the mighty army of the haughty prince of Malwa.

4. King Raṇamalla, who was the crest jewel of the noblest princes of the empire, was the ruler of Marusthala, having rooted out from it all its thorn-like enemies.

5. On his gaining the membership of the assembly of the immortals, forthwith his valiant son Yodhá, who had cut off the Paṭhán race of the Persians with the edge of his sword, bore the burden of the land.

6. That lord of the Marumedinī (*Abode of sand*), who had the satisfaction of having duly fulfilled the ceremonies of *Kanyá Dána* (giving away girls in marriage) and had undertaken a pilgrimage to Prayága satisfied his forefathers by performing funeral obsequies to their manes at Gayá, and gratified learned men by giving charities in gold at Káśí.

7. What did he not offer in fire on the sacrificial ground to the gods, what did he not give away to the Bráhmans on the charity ground ; what Persian did he not defeat in battle, and what deed of fame was not accomplished by king Yodhá !

⁸⁵ Read भूकहा० ।

⁸⁶ Read महेशो ।

⁸⁷ Read सावि० ।

⁸⁸ Read उत्तरायणगते ।

⁸⁹ Read वैशाख० ।

8. Unto such a king was born a daughter, who by the number of her virtues surpasses the wives of the divinities and who is a repository of noble actions. In the finish of her body the skilful Creator has reached the acme of his power, or rather Cupid himself has exhibited his skill in the fine arts.

9. The king perceiving, from the words of her playmates, her childhood to be over, proposed to his ministers to give her away in marriage, when a prince equal to her in virtues could be found.

10. On a searching examination having been made among the kings of the earth as far as the shores of the ocean, king Rájamalla (Rai Mall) was found to be a match for her in virtues.

11. While a host of bards were chanting in high and mighty terms the praises of the king, whispers regarding Rájamalla penetrated the precincts of the (Marwar) king's zenáná.

12. O ye princes, listen to the words of the heralds, and raise no doubts: we are praising the terrestrial Cupid, the generator of delight in the hearts of the fair sex in the height of passion: Rájamalla is next to none among the princes.

13. Having gained the victory over a host of brave adversaries in a raging battle, the dutiful (king) offered (the spoils collected) from the ends of the earth to the bráhmans. Rájamalla filled the earth extending to the four oceans with his renown, and now reigns supreme in the world by reason of his noble attributes.

14. The well-meaning Siva, who bears the moon on the forehead, had openly granted a boon in these terms: 'let prosperity attend thy posterity, and let thy kingdom prosper'; hence Kumbhakarna's son, the head-jewel of kings, is triumphant in the world.

15. The queens (lit. the lotus-eyed ones of the harem), being delighted in their hearts with hearing the echoes of the foregoing eulogium of the bards, resolved that this king should be married to that princess at once.

16. The dependant chiefs (of the bride's father) ordered the cleverest officials to make haste in preparations for the wedding festivities, and all the requisite things were readily supplied without an 'if' or a 'but.'

17. Then Rájamalla was fully satisfied with presents of elephants, horses and a store of other articles given him, as dowry by the king of Marwar, along with the princess.

18. He lovingly talks with his affectionate bride who bears the name of Sringára Deví (goddess of adornment); and with her, under the influence of Cupid, he passes his time in many a prank of love.

19. Sringára Deví, the abode of chastity, beauty, prosperity and

charity, having obtained Rájamalla, the son of Kumbhakarna, as her consort, perpetually enjoyed intercourse with him to her heart's content.

20. She dug this pond, having sides decked with gems, a rival of the ocean, of unfathomable waters that have tempted Vishnu to transfer his maritime abode, and take it up here with his spouse Ramá.

21. There are trees there, irrigated with the water raised by means of large pitchers attached to the admirable wheel. The plantain, mango, and panas (*Artocarpus integrifolia*) which grow on its banks, exhibit their owner's excellence in affording hospitality to travellers.

22. Here and there upon its banks there are Banian trees enlivened by the humming of black bees swarming about the bunches of their flowers of perennial fragrance. Unceasingly the daughter of the king of Marudhara added (to their number) with a view to worship Párvatí the bestower of all felicity.

23. May Rájamalla wedded to Sringára Deví, and this pond filled with lucid water, continue to shine as long as the earth, the ocean, the sun, and the moon endure.

24. This pond as well as this inscription of elegant style and containing good lessons, were finished on Tuesday the 13th of the bright half of Srávana S. 1556 (21st July 1499).

25. There lived a Bráhman of the Daśará caste, Jōtinga Keśava by name; his son Atri had a son Maheśa who was a great poet.

26. The same poet Maheśa who composed the inscription in the temple of Ekalinga and of that on the tower of victory, is likewise the author of this.

Samvat 1561, Śaka 1426, third day of the bright half of the auspicious month of Vaiśákha being Wednesday in the spring season when the sun was in his northern course (19th April 1504).

Notes on the City of Hirát.—By CAPTAIN C. E. YATE, *Political Officer, Afghán Boundary Commission.*

[The following paper is a revised reprint of portions from Captain Yate's printed report to Government. The inscriptions have been revised by Maulawí Abdul Hak Abid, who has added translations together with some critical and explanatory notes (marked A. H. A.) The inscriptions, however, would require to be verified by collating with the originals or facsimiles. Some of the names are doubtful (marked ?). Ed.]

The most prominent feature of the city is the 'Arg-i-Kuhnah' (?) or old citadel, which stands on the northern face towering over the rest of the city. That this citadel was formerly a place of great strength, is proved by Ibn-i-Ḥauqal, who writes—"Hirát has a castle with ditches. This castle is situated in the centre of the town and is fortified with very strong walls." This building, which is altogether some 250 yards in length, now stands not in the centre of the town, but slightly back from the main northern wall. The ditches mentioned are now mostly choked up and full of reeds, though efforts are being made to clear them out.

The only building noticeable by its size and height above the uniform level of mud houses is the *Jám'ih Masjid*, a large and lofty structure in the north-east portion of the city. Ibn-i-Ḥauqal says—"In all *Khurásán* and *Máwaráu-n-Nahr* there is not any place which has a finer or more capacious mosque than *Hirí* or *Hirát*. Next to it we may rank the mosque of *Balkh* and after that the mosque of *Sistán*." But there is nothing in the *Jám'ih Masjid* to record its age that I know of, older than an inscription in the *Khat-i-Sulṣ* character on a slab above the 'Mihráb', put up apparently by *Sultán Abú Sa'id* in A. H. 866, to record the abolition of some oppressive tax. This date corresponds with about A. D. 1461, seven years before *Abú Sa'id's* death, and at a time when, so history says, he was engaged in waging war with Turkish tribes in *Khurásán*.

The objects of interest outside the city are almost entirely confined to religious structures such as the *Muṣallá* and to *Ziyárats* or shrines. Of the latter the most famous is the shrine of *Gázurgáh*, a large building up at the foot of the hills some two miles to the north-east of the city, and the residence of the *Mír* of *Gázurgáh*, one of the most richly endowed and influential divines in the *Hirát* district. The office of *Mutawallí* or superintendent of the religious endowment of this shrine has descended for generations in the family of the present *Mír Murtazá*. The *Mír's* eldest son *Muḥammad 'Umar Ján*, a man of some 35 years of age, is married to a daughter of the late *Amír Sher 'Alí*, a sister of *Sardár Ayyúb Khán*.

The shrine is distinguishable from afar by its huge, lofty, square-topped building surmounting a high arch, the usual feature of all sacred buildings in this country, and is well worth a visit if only to see the beautiful carved marble headstone surmounting the tomb of the saint and the simple yet handsome tomb of the *Amír Dost Muḥammad*.

Passing first through a large walled garden of pine and mulberry trees, the visitor comes to an octagonal domed building full of little rooms and three-connered recesses, two stories in height and all opening

inwards, built apparently as a cool, breezy place in which to pass the heat of the summer days. Beyond this again is the main enclosure of the Ziyárat, now a deserted and dilapidated-looking place; everything bears a look of decay; the unkept courtyard, the broken tile work on the archway and entrance to the shrine, and general want of repair everywhere visible, betoken a great falling off from former prosperity.

There is a covered reservoir built, according to local tradition, by a daughter of Sháh Rukh, but the following inscription, which was deciphered with some difficulty, proves that the reservoir was originally built by Sháh Rukh himself, but fell into disrepair and was subsequently restored, 243 years after his death, by some lady of royal descent, whose name, as usual, is not given :—

(1) بر سردر برکه بخط نستعلیق نوشته شده

- * بهر تعظیم مزار خواجه انصار کرد *
- * خان عادل شاهرخ چون وضع بنیاد جمیل *
- * صحن گازر گاه را رشک بقیع الجنه دید *
- * از فیوض روح اهل الله چون قدس خلیل *
- * بقعها انشا نمود و تکیهها ایجاد کرد *
- * بهر¹ توحید و ثنای مالک الملک جلیل *
- * ساخت بهر نشنگان زابر این آستان *
- * این مصفی برکه در راه رضای حق سبیل *
- * سالها زین خیر جاری برد خلق الله فیض *
- * چون سحاب نشغه آب رحمت از دریای نیل *
- * چونکه عمری همچو کشتی سیلی امواج خورد *
- * ساخت مستغرق پیش را عاقبت حمل ثقیل *
- * نیست در ترکیب آب و خاک چون رنگ نبات *
- * باعث ویرانیش را شد کهن سالی دلیل *

¹ Perhaps محمد A. H. A.

- * کرد تعمیرش¹ ز احفاد قآن مرحومہ *
- * بہر تحصیل نواب باقی و خیر جزیل *
- * مہد علیا عصمت الدنیا در درج حیا *
- * آنکہ نبود در حریم عفتش شبہ و عدیل *
- * ناخورد زین برکہ یکدم آب ہر لب نشنہ *
- * سازدش شاداب از کوثر خداوند جلیل *
- * سال تعمیرش خضر جستم ز پیر عقل گفت *
- * ریخت از بہر کرم در² (حوض زمزم سلسبیل) *

This inscription by the Abjad reckoning gives the date of A. H. 1100 or A. D. 1689.

The entrance to the shrine lies at the eastern end of the main courtyard, through a doorway under a high arched vestibule and across a covered corridor, paved with slabs of white marble, worn and polished into the most dangerous state of slipperiness by, presumably, the feet of countless pilgrims. Roundabout this door sit Mullás, beggars and pilgrims of sorts, in addition to the numerous blind Háfiz or reciters of the Qurán who here seem to act as the general showmen of the place.

Immediately in front of the entrance and looking inwards, but now half-buried in the ground, is the carved figure in white marble of a long, thin animal, said to be a tiger, though what a tiger is the symbol of in such a place I cannot say.

Passing through the entrance one emerges into a square courtyard surrounded by high walls and little rooms, with a lofty half-domed portico at the eastern end, the tile work on which is very much out of repair. It is generally the custom to engrave the date of any mausoleum over the entrance door, but there is no date engraved on this.

On either side of the entrance are the usual retiring rooms with arched prayer niches. In the northern niche the following text is engraved:—

(2) فَنَا دَتَهُ الْمَلَائِكَةُ وَهُوَ قَائِمٌ يَصَلِّي فِي الْمَكْرَبِ

¹ The word قَاآن is doubtful here. The line does not scan and may be changed thus:— * A. H. A. کرد تعمیرش یکی ز احفاد خان مرحومہ *

² [The numerical words are enclosed within brackets; thus ح = 8, و = 6 ض = 800, ز = 7, م = 40, س = 60, ل = 30, ب = 2, ی = 10; hence 8 + 6 + 800 + 7 + 40 + 7 + 40 + 60 + 30 + 60 + 2 + 10 + 30 = 1100. Ed.]

The tomb of the saint Abú Ismá'il Khája 'Abdu-lláh Anṣarí is a large mound, some 10 yards long by 6 feet high, covered with stones, and stands immediately in front of the arched portico under the shade of a tree.

The tradition is that the original buildings having fallen into decay, the present structure was erected by Sháh Rukh Mírzá, the youngest son of Amír Tímúr, who ruled at Hirát from A. D. 1408 to 1446.

The great feature of the shrine is the headstone of white marble to the grave of the saint, which stands some 14 or 15 feet in height and is most exquisitely carved throughout. This stone is a beautiful piece of work, as not only is the carving of texts and inscription well executed, but the whole proportions of the stone are beautiful. The whole of the Arabic inscription, carved in what is known as the 'Khaf-i-Sulg' character, could not be deciphered, but at the end of it the name of the saint is entered in full, Abú Isma'il Khája 'Abdu-lláh Anṣarí, and the date A. H. 859 also appears. This date, though, corresponds to about A. D. 1455, or 9 years after the death of Sháh Rukh, and owing to the whole of the inscription not having been deciphered, it is uncertain what it refers to.

The date of the death of the saint, recorded in the following quartrain, seems to have been subsequently inscribed, as it appears on a separate corner of the stone and in a different character:—

- (3) * آن خواجه که در صورت و معنی شاهست *
 * رز¹ سر حقیقت دو کون آگاهست *
 * از روی حساب جبل اردانی (فات) *
 * تاریخ وفات خواجه عبدالله است *

"Fát" by the Abjad reckoning equals A. H. 481, or about the year A. D. 1089.

On one side of the tomb the following inscription appears, recorded by Ḥasan, son of Ḥusain Shámlú, in the year A. H. 1094 or A. D. 1640:—

- (4) * دهد تا ساقی عرفان دامت را جام شیاربی *
 * در آدر بزماگه خواجه عبدالله انصاری *
 * بود لوح مزارش فلزین سروی که از شوخی *
 * ملایک را چو قمری کرده گرم ناله وزاری *

¹ Read از A. H. A.

Round the tomb itself the following inscription appears:—

- (5) * طُوبَى لِرَوْضَةِ سَجَدَتْ أَرْضَهَا الْجَبَابَه *
 * بُشْرَى لِسُدَّةٍ لَدَمَتْ تَرَبَّهَا الشَّقَاة *
 * این آستانه ایست که از خاک او برند *
 * شاهان ملک افسر عزو سرور جاه *
 * رخ چون نهد بسدۀ والایش آفتاب *
 * چرخ ارنه زیر پاش نهد قامت دونا *
 * چون ابر اگر زسقف رواقش چکد مطر *
 * سر بر زند ز طارم چرخ برین گیاه *
 * گیرد جهان ز شمسۀ ایوان او فروغ *
 * بر صدق این سخن دو گواهند مهر و ماه *
 * بندگان بروی خود همه درهای حادثه *
 * هرکس که آورد بحریم درش پناه *
 * این منقبت ز دولت صاحبدای گرفت *
 * کز مهد خاک کرده در این بقعه جایگاه *
 * پیر هرات زبده انصاریان که سود *
 * بر طاق چرخ قبضه دهلیز او کلاه *
 * تصنیف اوست درس مقیمان مدرسه *
 * تلقین اوست ذکر مریدان خانقاه *
 * گازر گهست تربت او کابر مغفرت *
 * در ساختش سفید کند نامه سیاه *
 * میل سر مزار پر انوار او کشد *
 * زوار را بدیده دل کحل انقباه *
 * دلو زریخت صورت قندیل مرقدش *
 * کزوی رهیده یوسف دلها ز حبس جاه *
 * نور ولایتش که جهان را فرو گرفت *

- * نا حشر بادھادي آفتادگان راه *
- * جامي حریم كعبه هر حاجت این دراست *
- * روی دعا بعبه کن و حاجتی بخواه *

The Amír Dost Muḥammad's tombstone is a plain simple but handsome block of pure white marble, some 8 feet in length by about $1\frac{1}{2}$ or 2 feet in height and breadth, finely carved and surrounded by a marble balustrade. It lies just to the north of the saint's tomb in the open enclosure. At the head and foot of the grave stand small blocks of white marble, carved in imitation, but a very bad imitation, of the head and foot stones of the Khája's tomb. They are dwarfed and quite lost in comparison with the original monuments.

The Amír Dost Muḥammad Khán died in 1863, a few days only after the capture of Hirát, and curiously enough there lies buried quite close to him his rebellious nephew Sultán Aḥmad Khán, the son of Muḥammad 'Azím Khán, brother of Dost Muḥammad, the then ruler of Hirát, whom he was besieging and who died during the siege in the spring of the same year.

The remainder of the enclosure is as full of graves as it can hold, not only of notable Afgháns, but of members of the Šafwian dynasty and also of the descendants of Jingíz Khán, the latter apparently predominating.

Inside the portico also there are some 20 or 30 tombs mostly of the families of Jingíz Khán and Sháh Rukh. One of the tombs of some member of the latter's family is noticeable by the fine block of black marble of which it is composed, beautifully carved and inscribed in Arabic. It bears the date of A. H. 895 or about A. D. 1490. Another to Rustam Muḥammad Khán, a descendant of Jingíz Khán, bears the date, according to the Abjad reckoning of the following Persian verses inscribed in the Nast'alíq character, of A. H. 1053 or A. D. 1643 :—

- (6) * فروغ كوكب چنگيز خان آرايش مسند *
- * بنا كامی قدم بیرون نهاد از عرصه دوران *
- * عزیز مصر دولت آفتاب مشتري شوكت *
- * بهار بوستان سلطنت رستم محمد خان *
- * برون آمد يكي از غیب گفته سال تاریخس *
- * (بود در ملك عقبی پادشاه مسند ایمان) *

Another marble tombstone has an Arabic inscription in the Ṣulṣ

character, recording the death of Muḥammad 'Iwāz Khán, simply described as the son of the third Khán in A. H. 1057 or A. D. 1657.

A marble tomb to Muḥammad Amín Khán, another descendant of Jingíz Khán, is dated, according to the Abjad reckoning of the following line, A. H. 1076 or A. D. 1666 :—

(7) ماده تاریخ محمد امین خان (روضه چاردان) است

Another marble tomb to Sháhzáda Masa'úd is dated, according to the Abjad reckoning of the following verses, A. H. 1256 or A. D. 1840 :—

(8) * افسوس که دوران فلک کوکبی افکند *
 * کز برج شرف تافتی از طالع مسعود *
 * انداخت سہی سروی از روضه شاهی *
 * کز ناله قمری شنوی سوز غم آلود *
 * زاحفاد شہی کز شرف کعبه اسلام *
 * فیروزی دین عاقبتش ساخته محمود *
 * شہزادہ مسعود کہ با پر دلی وجود *
 * میداشت بعدادت ادب و پر دلی وجود *
 * تاریخ وفاتس چو خرد خواست ز رضوان *
 * گفتا (به بہشت آمدہ شہزادہ مسعود) *

Several other marble tombs have had the names and dates obliterated, and one of black marble, finely engraved in Arabic, bears no name but the date of A. H. 865 or A. D. 1461.

In the rooms around the enclosure there are many notable tombstones. One of the finest of these is to the mother of some monarch, known as the "Mahd-i-'ulyá," but the tombstone has no other name on it or anything to show who she was, as it was apparently the custom at the time of her death not to inscribe a woman's name on her tomb. The date of her death is fixed by the following hemistich :—

(9) مہبت انوار عفو از لطف بیچون آید

literally, "the place of descent of the light of pardon from the kindness of the Incomparable and Eternal God." It would appear that Mahbit has been purposely incorrectly spelt, having been inscribed Mahbit instead of Mahbit for the sake of the date. As it stands the date is A. H. 866 (A. D. 1462) corresponding more with the rest of the

tombs. Otherwise the date would be A. H. 475 (A. D. 1083), apparently considerably anterior to any of the others.

A marble tomb to Ustád Muḥammad Khája is dated in Arabic A. H. 842 or A. D. 1439. Another to Khája Sultán Muḥammad, dated in Arabic A. H. 761 or A. D. 1360, was the oldest tomb noted.

Another tomb of some Sháh Rukh Khán, made of marble and engraved in Khaf-i-Nasta'liq, has the following couplet :—

* گل گلزار خوبی شاهرخ خان * (10)
* که رفت از این جهان با نور ایمان *

which gives the date by the Abjad as A. H. 1168 or A. D. 1755.

Another to Muḥammad Raḥím Khán, bears the following inscription :—

(11) ببرد گفت محمد رحیم خان ایمان

giving a date of A. H. 1201 (A. D. 1787).

A black marble tomb finely engraved in the Khaf-i-Sulṣ to the daughter of some king, name illegible, bears the date A. H. 1109 or A. D. 1698 in the following line :—

(12) ببرد معصومه احفاد خاقان

A marble tomb to Muḥammad Qulí Sultán has the following engraved in the Khaf-i-Nast'aliq :—

(13) سال تاریخ او ریاض جنان

giving the date of A. H. 1015 or A. D. 1607.

A tomb of some one “Az aulád-i-Salátín,” but name illegible, has the date A. H. 893 A. D. 1488, engraved in Arabic :—

(14) ثلاث وتسعين وثمانائة

There is a handsome black marble tomb finely engraved in the Khaf-i-Sulṣ character to Sultán Muḥammad Báyasunghur Ibn-i-Sháh Rukh Ibn-i-Tímúr, but it has had the date carefully erased.

Another tomb of some ruler has the name illegible, but the couplet :—

* بهر تاریخ شه عالیقدر * (15)

• طَيْبَ اللهُ تَعَالَى مَدْرَاهُ •

gives the date of A. H. 1115 or A. D. 1704.

Another black marble tomb, name unknown, bears the date of A. H. 902 (A. D. 1487) in the following couplet:—

• برهر تربت او کلك قضا • (16)

• کرد تحریر فقد طاب نراه •

There was formerly a Qadamgáh, or stone bearing the mark of the footstep of Hazrat 'Alí, in an arched portico built by Sháh Tahmásp Şafawí on the north side of the court. The stone apparently was carried away, as shown by the following words at the end of the inscription over the arch:—

(17) كه بردی قدمگاه شاه ولایت

which gives the date, by the Abjad reckoning, of A. H. 949 or A. D. 1543.

On the south side of the court the corresponding portico has fallen down and the tombs in it are buried under the debris. At the door on the right-hand side as one enters the inner court is a large circular font of white marble, used though, so far as I could learn, only as a bowl to mix sherbet in for the use of the pilgrims visiting the shrine.

Between the Gázurgáh and the Joe Náo or new canal is the tombstone of Amír Jalálu-d-dín, dated A. H. 858 or A. D. 1454, but the name of his father is obliterated. Jalálu-d-dín himself is named the Shahíd, proving that he met a violent death.

Of the other shrines around Hirát, the largest is the Ziyárat-i-Awal Walí as it is commonly pronounced, but in reality the tomb of Sultán Abú-l-Walíd Ahmad, the son of Abú-r-Razá 'Abdu-lláh Hanafí of Azádán of Hirát, who died in the year A. H. 232, or about A. D. 847.

The tombstone over the grave has disappeared, but the following inscription taken from a slab, put up over the door of the shrine by Sultán Husain Mírzá, gives the name and date of the death of the saint, though the date of the inscription on the slab is not mentioned.

(18) أَبُو الْغَازِي مِعْزُ الْمَلِكِ وَالدِّينِ شَاهِ سُلْطَانِ حُسَيْنِ ابُو الْوَالِيدِ أَحْمَدِ بْنِ

أَبِي الرِّضَا عَبْدِ اللَّهِ الْكَنْفِيِّ الْإِرَادَانِيِّ وَقَعَتْ وَأَقَعَتْهُ سَنَةُ الْاَفْقَيْسِ وَثَلَاثِينَ

وَمَائِينَ •

The shrine lies some two miles to the west of the city, and the present building was, it is said, erected by Sháh Sultán Husain, who reigned at Hirát from A. D. 1487 to 1506. It possesses the usual lofty arched portico with a domed enclosure containing the tomb behind and other rooms around, but is built of plain brick throughout and unadorned except by some mosaic work inside. The garden in front has been allowed to fall into decay, but some lofty pine-trees still remain.

There is another large and similar shrine about a couple of hundred yards to the south of the city, known as the Ziyarat-i-Sultán Mír Shahíd. The tomb stands in the centre of the lofty domed enclosure immediately behind the arched portico, and is surmounted by flags of many colours, the poles of which are mostly topped with the figure of an open hand. No meaning appears to be attached to the symbol; it is simply said that the standards, presented by the Prophet to his people, were surmounted by a hand, and the tradition still remains.

To show how little is known about the history of these shrines, I may mention that I was assured that the saint buried here was Sultán Mír 'Abdu-l-Wáhid, the ruler of Hirát, when the city was besieged and captured by Hulákú Khán, the son of Túli Khán, son of Jingíz Khán, shortly after his capture of Baghdád in A. D. 1253, and that Sultán Mír 'Abdu-l-Wáhid fell in the defence and thus earned the title of Shahíd or martyr. On having the tombstone cleaned from the lamp oil and dirt of ages, it appeared, however, from the Arabic inscription, that the name of the saint was 'Abdu-lláhu-l-Wáhid, the son of Zaid, son of Hasan, son of 'Alí (the son-in-law of the Prophet), son of Abú Tálíb; that he was born either in A. H. 35 or 37 (A. D. 656-58), and that he died in A. H. 88 (A. D. 707) in the lifetime of his father; that his grave was found in A. H. 320 (A. D. 932) in the time of 'Alí, son of Hasan (an Imám of the Zaidí sect) and of Shaikh Hasanu-l-Başrah, and that the present shrine was erected by Sháh Sultán Husain in A. H. 890 or A. D. 1486.

In the same building there is another tomb. The inscription on the stone gives the name Ja'far Abú Isháq and date A. H. 289 or A. D. 902.

In addition to the Ziyárats at the city gates, there is a small shrine called the Ziyarat-i-Khája 'Alí Baqar on the north-east side of the city, and another called the Ziyarat-i-Khája Táq (?) adjoining a graveyard, used as the burial-place for the Kábulis, a little to the east of the city.

To the north of the city there is a long mound which evidently at some time or other formed part of the rampart of the city wall. This is confirmed by Ibn-i-Hauqal, as above quoted, and it is clear therefore that the city extended up to this point as late as the 10th century. This mound is now known by the name of Tall-i-Bangiyán or the mound of the bhang-eaters; the people given to bhang having, it is said, been

in the habit of holding their meetings on this mound; before that, the mound is said to have been called Tall-i-Quṭbiyán or the mound of the holy men, from the numbers who lie buried in it. The mound at the present day is one mass of graves, and at one place on the northern side, in digging out the foundations for the fortifications, a large stone-lined mausoleum was found at a considerable depth, full of human bones, but with nothing in it to show who the people buried there were, though they are believed to have been Muhammadans.

There are two shrines on the mound, ordinary domed buildings of burnt brick. One contains the tomb of 'Abdu-lláh, son of Mu'áwiyah, son of Ja'far, son of Abú Tálib (the father of Ḥazrat 'Alí) and grandson of Zainab (the daughter of the Prophet by his wife Fátimah). The following inscription, giving these particulars, is engraved round the pedestal of the tomb, but does not give the date of death; it records the fact that the present building was erected by Shaikh Báyazíd, son of 'Alí Mushrif in A. H. 865 (A. D. 1461).

(19) وَهُوَ سُلْطَانُ الْمَهَادَاتِ وَالْقَبَائِرِ - الشَّهِيدُ الْمَظْلُومُ الْمَقْتُولُ غَوَاصُ لُجَجِ الْحَقِيقَةِ وَسَيَّارُ طُرُقِ الشَّرِيعَةِ وَالطَّرِيقَةِ الْمَخْتَصِ بِمُشَاهَدَةِ أَسْرَارِ اللَّهِ الْغَلْبِ عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنِ مُعَاوِيَةَ بْنِ جَعْفَرِ بْنِ أَبِي طَالِبٍ - رِضْوَانُ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ وَعَلَى جَدَّتِهِ زَيْنَبِ الْعَابِدَةِ بِنْتِ الْبَقُولِ ابْنَةِ الرَّسُولِ فَاطِمَةَ الزَّهْرَاءِ بِسَعْيِ الْخَادِمِ الْعَاصِمِيِّ الضَّعِيفِ خَادِمِ آلِ عِبَّاسٍ الْفَقِيرِ الشَّيْخِ بَايَزِيدِ بْنِ عَلِيٍّ الْمَشْرِفِ فِي شَهْرِ سَنَةِ خَمْسٍ وَسِتِّينَ وَثَمَانِمِائَةٍ

In the same building there is a tomb said to be that of Mír Ḥusainí, but on the tombstone the name of Amír Muḥammad and date A. H. 838 (A. D. 1435) are inscribed. This tombstone is said to have been brought from elsewhere and stuck up here.

The second shrine is known as the Ziyárat-i-Sháhzáda Qásim, but the tombstones here also are said to have been brought from elsewhere. On the headstone to the grave the name of Abú-l-Qásim, son of Ja'far, is engraved in Persian and the date of death A. H. 994 or A. D. 1586, while on the back of the same stone another inscription gives the date of A. H. 897 or A. D. 1492. On the footstone the name of Amír Jalálu-d-dín is engraved, but without date or particulars.

I now come to the Musallá, formerly, I suppose, the grandest building anywhere in this part of the world, but now in ruins and under orders from the Amír 'Abdu-r-Rahman in course of demolition. The so-called Musallá in reality consists of the remains of three separate buildings, running north-east and south-west, and covering a total space of nearly 600 yards from end to end.

Of the Madrasah or college nothing but two high arches and four minarets remain. The arches must be at least some 60 feet in height and are covered with the remains of fine tile work of beautiful and artistic designs. The tile work on the minarets seems to have been mostly worn off by stress of weather, while inside the arches the tiles in some places are still perfect. The minarets of the Madrasah appear taller than those of the Musallá and must be between 120 and 150 feet in height. There is a tradition that the present remains formed portions of two colleges, known in Turkí as the Kosh Madrasah or pair of colleges, which are said to have been built by Sháh Rukh Mírzá. At the western end of the ruins there is a large, handsome black marble tomb with a well-carved inscription in Arabic, bearing the date A. H. 843 or A. D. 1440. The inscription is broken and covered with dirt, but the following was deciphered, showing that it is the tomb of Báyaqrá, son of 'Umar Shaikh, the son of Amír Tímúr :—

(20) مِعْمَرُ الدَّوْلَةِ وَالْمَلِكِ وَالدِّينِ بَايَقْرَا ابْنِ السُّلْطَانِ الشَّوَيْدِ السَّعِيدِ عَمْرٍ
شَيْخِ ابْنِ تَيْمُورِ كُورْكَانِ تُوْتِي فِي سَنَةِ ثَلَاثٍ وَأَرْبَعِينَ وَثَمَانِمِائَةٍ

The domed building called the tomb of Sháh Rukh stands between the Madrasah and the Musallá. It is faced on the east by an archway and by one solitary minaret, still covered with tile work. The dome, too, was once covered with blue tiles, but is now sadly out of repair.

Within the dome there are six tombstones lying scattered about, all of black marble, engraved in Arabic in the *Khat-i-Sulṣ* character. The principal of these and the one that gives the name to the building, though the latest in date, is the tombstone of Sháh Rukh, but instead of marking the tomb of the great Sháh Rukh, the son of the Amír Tímúr, and the founder of the Madrasah as I was given to understand, it appears from the following inscription that it is the tomb of some other Sháh Rukh, a great-great-grandson of the Amír Tímúr, who died 47 years after the death of the real Sháh Rukh.

The inscription is as follows :—

(21) مِنْ كَانَ نَقِفٌ دُونَ عَيْنَيْهِ مُلُوكِ مَمَالِكِ الْإِسْلَامِ صَدَفُ الْخَلْفَاءِ

الْخَانِيَّةِ الشَّاهُ فِي لُجْنِهِ الْأَنْاقِ ثَمْرَةَ شَجَرَةِ الْإِبَالَةِ وَالْعِدَالَةَ بِالْأَرْثِ وَالْإِسْحَاقِ
 مُعِينِ السُّلْطَنَةِ وَالْدُنْيَا وَالْدِينِ شَاهِرُخْ سُلْطَانَ ابْنِ السُّلْطَانِ السَّعِيدِ سُلْطَانَ
 أَبِي سَعِيدِ كُورْكَانِ ابْنِ سُلْطَانِ الْأَعْظَمِ سُلْطَانَ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ سُلْطَانِ الْأَعْظَمِ الْأَعْدَلِ
 مِيرَانشَاهِ ابْنِ السُّلْطَانِ الْأَعْظَمِ الْأَقْدَمِ قُطْبِ الْحَقِّ وَالسُّلْطَنَةِ وَالْدُنْيَا وَالْدِينِ
 أَمِيرِ نَيْمُورِ كُورْكَانِ قَدْ وَقَعَتْ وَأَقْعَتْهُ فِي خَامِسِ عَشْرٍ مِنْ شَوَّالِ سَنَةِ ثَمَانِ
 وَتَسْعِينَ وَثَمَانِمِائَةٍ ۛ

Sháh Rukh Sultán, son of Sultán Abú Sa'id, son of Sultán Muḥammad, son of Mírán Sháh, son of Amír Tímúr, dated A. H. 898 or A. D. 1493.

The second is the tomb of Báyasunghur, son of Sháh Rukh, son of Tímúr, and is dated A. H. 836 or A. D. 1433 :—

(22) مُعِينِ السُّلْطَنَةِ وَالْدُنْيَا وَالْدِينِ بَا يَسَنْغَرِ ابْنِ شَاهِرُخْ ابْنِ نَيْمُورِ السَّدِيسِ
 مِنْ شَهْرِ جُمَادِي الْأُولَى سَنَةِ سِتِّ وَثَلَاثِينَ وَثَمَانِمِائَةٍ ۛ

The third is the tomb of Sultán Ahmad, son of 'Abdu-l-Laṭif, son of Sultán 'Ubaid, son of Sháh Rukh, dated A. H. 848, (A. D. 1445) :—

(23) نِظَامُ الدِّينِ سُلْطَانُ أَحْمَدُ ابْنُ عَبْدِ اللَّطِيفِ ابْنِ سُلْطَانِ عَمِيدِ كُورْكَانِ
 بِنِ شَاهِرُخْ سُلْطَانَ وَقَعَتْ وَأَقْعَتْهُ فِي عَاشِرِ ذِي الْحِجَّةِ سَنَةِ ثَمَانِ وَارْبَعِينَ
 وَثَمَانِمِائَةٍ ۛ

The fourth is the tomb of 'Aláu-d-Daulah, son of Báyasunghur, son of Sháh Rukh, dated A. H. 863 or A. D. 1459 :—

(24) سُلْطَانُ عَلَاؤِ الدَّوْلَةِ ابْنِ غِيَاثِ الدَّوْلَةِ وَالْدِينِ بَا يَسَنْغَرِ ابْنِ الْخَاقَانِ السَّعِيدِ
 الْحَمِيدِ مُعِينِ السُّلْطَنَةِ وَالْدُنْيَا وَالْدِينِ شَاهِرُخْ سُلْطَانَ أَنْارَاللهِ بَرَاهِينِهِمْ وَقَعَتْ
 الرَّاقِعَةُ فِي سَادِسِ ذِي الْحِجَّةِ الْحَرَامِ سَنَةِ ثَلَاثِ وَتِسْتِينَ وَثَمَانِمِائَةٍ ۛ

¹ Read جُمَلَةٌ A. H. A.

The fifth is the tomb of Ibráhím Sultán, son of 'Aláu-d-Daulah, son of Báyasunghur, son of Sháh Rukh, son of Amír Tímúr, who apparently died in the same year as his father, viz., A. H. 863 (A. D. 1459):—

(25) اِبْرَاهِيمُ سُلْطَانُ ابْنِ عَلَاءِ الدَّوْلَةِ ابْنِ بَا يَسَنْغَرِ ابْنِ شَاهِرُخِ ابْنِ اَمِيرْتِيمُورِ
وَقَعَتْ الْوَأَقِعَةُ فِي يَوْمِ الْخَمِيْسِ ثَامِنَ عَشْرٍ رَمَضَانَ الْمُبَارَكِ سَنَةِ ثَلَاثِ
وَسِتِّيْنَ وَثَمَانِمِائَةٍ

The sixth is the tomb of Gohar Shád, said to have been the wife of Sháh Rukh and the sister of Qará Yúsuf Turkmán and the founder of the Gohar Shád Masjid in Mashhad. The inscription, which is as follows, gives the date of her death as A. H. 861 or A. D. 1457:—

(26) هَذَا مَشْهَدٌ مِّنْ وَفَقَهَا اللهُ تَعَالَى لِلْجَمْعِ بَيْنِ سُلْطَنَةِ الدُّنْيَا وَسَعَادَةِ
الْآخِرَةِ وَبَقِيَ عَلَى وَجْهِ الْأَرْضِ مِنْ هِمَّتِهَا الْعَالِيَةِ فِي طَرُقِ الْخَيْرِ آثَارٌ عَظِيمَةٌ
بَاهِرَةٌ وَهِيَ الْمَهْدُ الْعَلِيَّةُ وَالسِّرُّ الْعَظِيمُ بِلْفَيْسِ الزَّمَانِ مَالِكُ الْمَلَكَاتِ فِي
بِلَادِ الْإِيمَانِ عَصْمَةُ الدُّنْيَا وَالِدِينِ كُوْهَرُ شَادَاغَا أَنْارُ اللهِ بِرَهَانِهَا وَقَعَتْ تِلْكَ
الْوَأَقِعَةُ الْكَبِيْرَةُ فِي مَدْتَصِفِ رَمَضَانَ الْمُبَارَكِ مِنْ شَهْرِ سَنَةِ أَحَدَى وَسِتِّيْنَ
وَثَمَانِمِائَةٍ اللَّهُمَّ اغْفِرْهَا،

There is also a domed building, called after her name, in Kuhsan(?), but it contains nothing to show how it came to be so called.

The Musallá was a huge, massive building of burnt brick and mortar throughout, almost entirely faced with beautiful tile, or rather mosaic work as the various patterns were all formed of small pieces of enamelled tile compactly fitted together in fine gypsum plaster.

Musallá means the place of prayer, and the building is said to have been erected by Sultán Husain Mirzá (the grandson, I believe, of the Báyaqará, the grandson of Amír Tímúr, who lies buried in the Madrasah), who ruled at Hirát according to history from A. D. 1487 to 1506. Sultán Husain Mirzá is said to have been buried in the Musallá; but now that the building is in course of demolition, any graves that may be there are buried many feet deep in the debris, and it is impossible to verify the statement.

The main building of the Musallá consisted of a fine, lofty dome some 75 feet in diameter, with a smaller domed building behind it and many rooms around.

The entrance to this was from the east through a lofty archway some 80 feet in height, the outer face of which was one great sheet of mosaic work, mingled with large inscriptions in gilt. Above the archway was a square-topped mass of masonry containing rooms and passages of sorts, adding greatly to the height of the building. Beyond again, or to the east of this archway, was an enclosed courtyard some 60 to 80 yards square, surrounded with corridors and rooms several stories in height, all faced with enamelled tile and mosaic work.

The main entrance to the building lay through another massive archway, also some 80 feet in height; but though the inside of the arch was lined with tile work, the outside was bare and looked as if it had never been finished. Four minarets, some 120 feet in height, form the four corners of the building, and are still for the most part covered with tiles, though a good deal has been worn off by the weather, especially on the north by east, the side of the prevailing wind.

The rooms around the courtyard are supposed to have been for the accommodation of students, who, doubtless, flocked to Hirát in the palmy days of Sháh Rukh and Sultán Husain Mirzá.

Beyond the Musallá, a mile or more to the north of the city, there is an old domed building, covered with the remains of tile work, and with a hole in the centre of the floor giving access apparently to some underground chamber now mostly filled up. Local tradition declares that there used to be a passage from this chamber right into the citadel, but the appearance of the building would seem to show that it was built as a mausoleum, though no tombstones are visible.

Some 40 or 50 yards off there are five or six tombstones lying about, both of white and black marble, some inscribed in Arabic and others in the Nast'alíq character, but only one of them could be deciphered, and that was to Amír Jalálu-d-dín and dated A. H. 847 or A. D. 1444.

There is also a stone bearing Amír Jalálu-d-dín's name in the Ziyárat-i-Sháhzáda Qásim, and the third between Gázurgáh and the canal, but who these Jalálu-d-díns were could not be ascertained.

To the west of the domed building with the underground chamber, there are various other shrines and tombs of holy men, so holy that access to them by Shi'ahs even is forbidden by their Sunní guardians. One of these tombs is said to be that of Mauláná Jámí Sha'ir, but the inscription in the Nast'alíq character on a pillar at the head of the grave gives the name of Shaikh Zainu-d-dín, and I mention it because the determination of the date of his death, as rendered by the Abjad reckoning

of the inscription thereon, has proved such a puzzle that no two of the experts to whom I have shown it could agree in the interpretation of it.

The inscription is below, and the translation is something to the following effect :—"Shaikh Zainu-d-dín, Imám and leader of men of religion, the axis of the world, the threshold of forgiveness, the relation of truth, who rose from the earth below to the heaven above and on whose skirt there was no dust. His age was 81 and the time of his death was also that number with one year added to the calculation." This inscription has been variously interpreted to me as A. H. 202, 621, 741 and 832 or A. D. 818, 1222, 1341 and 1429; but which is correct I cannot say.

- * (27) شیخ زین الدین امام و مقتدای اهل دین *
- * قُطْبِ كَرْدُونَ آسْتَنانِ غوثِ حَقایقِ اِنْتِصابِ *
- * از حَضیضِ خاكِ شُد بر اوجِ علوی و نیرود *
- * كَرْد بر دامنش از یالینگی كُنْت تَرابِ *
- * عمر او هشتاد و یک سال و زمان فوت نیر * *
- * خود همان سازند گریك سال افزون در حسابِ *

Translations of the preceding inscriptions prepared by Maulawí Abdul Hak Abid, Professor of Persian, Calcutta Madrasah.

No. 1.

When the just monarch Sháh Rukh laid the foundation of an elegant building for the purpose of doing honour to the sepulchre of the master of the Ansár,¹ he found the open yard of Gásur-gáh,² like Quds-i-Khalíl,³ an object of jealousy to Baqí'u-l-Jannah,⁴ owing to the blessings of the souls of godly men.

¹ Ansár—assistants, defenders, applied particularly to the citizens of Madínah who assisted Muḥammad when obliged to fly from Makkah (Mecca); also, applied to the descendants of those citizens who now form a tribe called Ansár. Here the word is used in the latter sense.

² Gásur-gáh—name of a place in Hirát, containing the remains of Khája 'Abdu-lláh Anşári.

³ Quds-i-Khalíl—name of a place in Jerusalem containing the tombs of several religious persons, of whom the most famous was Imám Muḥammad Táji-Faqih, whose descendant Makhdúm Sharafu-d-dín Ahmad lived at Bihár.

⁴ Baqí'u-l-Jannah—commonly called Jannatu-l-Baqí' is the name of a place at Madínah, where are buried Imám Ḥasan, Zainu-l-'Abidín and some other members of their family.

(Here) he built monasteries and erected convents for offering praises and thanks to the Great Lord of the universe.

This clear reservoir he constructed for the thirsty pilgrims of this threshold, for the sake of God's pleasure.

For years men derived benefit from this lasting work of utility, just as a thirsty cloud receives water of blessings from the river Nile.

Because, like a boat for a long period, it received slaps of waves, it was at last made to sink down by the heavy burden (or, its base, at last, sunk down under the superincumbent mass).

As there is no constancy in the material objects, long age proved to be the cause of its ruin.

One of the descendants of the monarch, a deceased lady, repaired it, in order to gain a perpetual reward and numerous blessings.

(She is) the exalted cradle, the chastity of the world, the pearl of the casket of modesty, of whom there is no equal or like in the seraglio of her chastity.

So long as each thirsty one drinks water once out of the reservoir, may the Great God quench her thirst with the water of *Kausar*, (one of the four springs of Paradise).

O *Khazir*!¹ when I enquired of my experienced intellect about the year of its repairs, it suggested (as follows):

"She has poured down for charity's sake the water of the *Salsabíl* (one of the springs of Heaven) into the reservoir of the *Zamzam*" (the well-known well of Mecca).

No. 2.

"And the angels called to him, while he stood praying in the arched niche." (This is a text from the *Qurán*, appertaining to *Zachariya*.)

No. 3.

That *Khája*, who is both externally and internally a king, is aware of the secret of the real state of both worlds.

If you know, according to the *Abjad* reckoning, *Fát* is the year of the death of *Khája 'Abdu-lláh*.

No. 4.

In order that the cup-bearer of the divine knowledge may give your heart the liquor of wakefulness, come to the assembly of *Khája 'Abdu-lláh Anşári*.

The tombstone of his sepulchre is a beautiful cypress which, by its excessive beauty, has so moved the angels that they exclaim and cry like turtle-doves.

¹ *Khazir*—(case address)—poetical name of the writer.

No. 5.

Welcome to the shrine, on the ground of which bows down many a head! Hail to the threshold, the dust of which is kissed by many lips!

This is a threshold, by the dust of which kings of the world hold the crown of honour and the throne of dignity.

How can the sun put his face on this exalted threshold, if the sky do not double itself under his feet.

If rain shower down from the roof of its lofty building as if from a cloud, grass will grow on the dome of the high sky.

The world receives light from the sky-lights of its building; and of the truth of this saying both the sun and the moon are witnesses. He shuts the doors against all misfortunes, who takes shelter within the compound of its threshold.

It acquired this distinction through the favour of that pious man who took his seat here in the cradle of dust, the saint of Hirát, the chosen of the Anşár, the dome of whose threshold touched the arch of the sky.

The studies of the students of colleges are his works, and the prayers of the disciples of Khánaqáhs are his teachings.

His tomb is a gázurgáh¹ (a washing-place), wherein the cloud of the divine forgiveness washes white the black (sinful) records of men.

The Míl² (head-stone) at the head of his grave, overcovered with light, serves to apply the collyrium of wakefulness to the eye of the heart of the visitors.

The lantern of his tomb is a bucket of gold in appearance, by means of which the Joseph³ of the heart got rid of the confinement of the well.

May the light of his saintliness, which has spread over the world, be a guide, up to the day of resurrection, to the travellers led astray from the right path. O Jámí!⁴ this door is the *Ka'abah*, (sanctuary) for the realization of every desire; so direct the face of supplication to it and submit your want.

¹ Here the word 'gázur-gáh' is used in its literal sense, as a common noun, meaning a 'washing-place'; but at the same time it refers to the place of that name, mentioned in Note 2.

² Míl—a block of stone of roller-like form erected perpendicularly at the head (and sometimes both at the head and foot) of a grave to mark the spot; also, a skewer or wire used to anoint the eye with collyrium. Hence a play upon the word.

³ Here is a reference to the story of Joseph, son of Jacob, who was thrown into a well by his envious brothers, but an Arabian merchant, Málík, passing by the well, took him out by means of a bucket.

⁴ Jámí—poetical name of a celebrated Persian poet, who flourished at Jám (name of a town).

No. 6.

The light of the star¹ of Jingíz Khán, the decoration of the masnad (throne or cushion) has unfortunately put his feet out of the field of the world,

The 'Azíz' (king) of the Mişr (metropolis) of wealth, the sun having the grandeur of Jupiter, the beauty of the garden of royalty, (namely) Rustam Muḥammad Khán.

Some one came forward from secrecy, and dictated the year of his death (as follows):—

“He is the king of the throne (or cushion) of faith in the dominion of the next world.”

No. 7.

The words which contain the date of Muḥammad Amín Khán's (death) are '*Bauzat-i-Jáwidán*' (an eternal garden).

No. 8.

Alas! the revolution of the sky threw aside the star which was shining in the Zodiac of greatness by its happy rise.

It uprooted a straight cypress from the garden of kingship, for in the cry of the dove you hear a mournful groaning.

One of the descendants of the royal family, whose end has become happy on account of the prosperity of the faith, through the holiness of the *Ka'abah* of Islám,

Prince Masa'úd, who, on account of his generosity and spirit, was accustomed to show politeness, high-mindedness and generosity.

When wisdom asked the date of his death from Rizwán,³ he replied:—

“The prince Masa'úd came to Paradise.”

No. 9.

It is, by the favour of the incomparable Eternal Being, the descend ing place of the lights of forgiveness.

No. 10.

The flower of the garden of beauty, Sháh Rukh, who went out of this world with the light of faith.

¹ The word *kaukab* generally means a star; but it may be taken as a contraction of *kaukabah* which is applied to a polished steel ball suspended from a long pole and carried as an ensign before the king.

² 'Azíz-i-Mişr—was formerly the title of the minister of Egypt, but afterwards it was assumed by the kings themselves. Mişr—*lit.* a large town, applied both to Egypt and its metropolis Cairo.

³ Rizwán—the porter or gardener of Paradise.

No. 11.

He said "Muhammad Rahím Khán carried faith with him."

No. 12.

She is a chaste girl of the descendants of Kháqán (monarch).

No. 13.

The year of his death is "Riyáz-i-Jinán" (the garden of Heaven).

No. 14.

Eight hundred and ninety-three.

No. 15.

For the date of the dignified king is:—"May God, the Most High bless his grave."

No. 16.

On the tombstone of his sepulchre, the pen of the decree of God wrote:—"Indeed his tomb is hallowed."

No. 17.

"It was the Qadamgáh of Házrat 'Alí."

No. 18.

Abú-l-Ghází, Mu'izzu-l-mulk-i-wa-d-dín Sháh Sultán Husain Abú-l-Walíd Ahmad, son of Abú-r-Razá of the Hanafi sect, a native of Azádán, died in the year two hundred and thirty-two, A. H.

No. 19.

And he is the king of lords and chiefs, the martyr killed unjustly, the diver of the ocean of divine knowledge, and the traveller in the ways of religious observance and spiritual purification, the one chosen to look into the mysteries of God the most powerful, 'Abdu-lláh, son of Mu'áwiyáh, son of Ja'far, son of Abú Tálíb; may God be pleased with him and with his grandmother, Zainab, the virtuous daughter of the Prophet's daughter, Fátimah Zahrá. Through the exertion of the sinful and poor slave, the servant of the descendants of the Prophet, this humble self Shaikh Báyazíd, son of 'Alí al-Mushrif, (this building or tomb was erected) in the year eight hundred and sixty-five, A. H.

¹ Qadam-gáh—place for the feet to rest on.

No. 20.

Mu'izzu-d-daulat-i-wa-l-mulk-i-wa-d-dín, Báyaqrá, son of the monarch, the fortunate martyr 'Umar Shaikh, son of Tímúr, the Gúrgán, died in the year eight hundred and forty-three, A. H.

No. 21.

He, before whom stand the kings of the dominions of Islám and who is the protection of the monarchy of Kháns, the king of all the quarters of the world, the fruit of the tree of royalty and justice, by inheritance and right, Mu'ínu-s-saltanat-i-wa-d-dunyá-wa-d-dín, Sháh Rukh Sultán, son of the fortunate monarch, Sultán Abú Sa'id, the Gúrgán, son of the great monarch Sultán Muḥammad, son of the great and just monarch, Mírán Sháh, son of the first great monarch Quṭbu-l-haqq-i-wa-s-saltanat-i-wa-d-dunyá-wa-d-dín, Amír Tímúr, the Gúrgán, died on the 15th Shawwál, in the year eight hundred and ninety-eight, A. H.

No. 22.

Mu'ínu-s-saltanat-i-wa-d-dunyá-wa-d-dín, Báyasunghur, son of Sháh Rukh, son of Tímúr, died on the 6th Jumádá-l-úlá in the year eight hundred and thirty-six, A. H.

No. 23.

Nizámu-d-dín, Sultán Aḥmad, son of 'Abdu-l-Latíf, son of Sultán 'Ubaid, the Gúrgán, son of Sháh Rukh Sultán, died on the 10th Zi-l-hijjah, in the year eight hundred and forty-eight, A. H.

No. 24.

Sultán 'Aláu-d-daulah, son of Ghiyágu-d-daulat-i-wa-d-dín, Báyasunghur, son of the fortunate and praised king, Mu'ínu-s-saltanat-i-wa-d-dunyá-wa-d-dín, Sháh Rukh Sultán, may God enlighten their judgments, died on the 6th of Zi-l-hijjah, in the year eight hundred and sixty-three, A. H.

No. 25.

Ibráhím Sultán, son of 'Aláu-d-daulah, son of Báyasunghur, son of Sháh Rukh, son of Amír Tímúr, died on Thursday, the 18th of the holy month of Ramazán, in the year eight hundred and sixty-three.

No. 26.

This is the tomb of her whom the great God granted power to have together the sovereignty of this world and the happiness of the

next, and of whose magnanimity there are left, on the face of the earth, many great and eminent footprints in the path of benevolence. She was Gohar-Shádághá, the exalted cradle, the greatest concealed, the Bilqís (the wife of Solomon, the prophet) of her age, the possessor of kingdoms in the countries of religion, the chastity of both the worlds, may God enlighten her judgment. The great calamity (of her death) occurred in the middle of Ramazán, in the year eight hundred and sixty-one. O God forgive her !

No. 27.

Shaikh Zainu-d-dín, the leader and the chief of the faithful, the Qutb (saint) having the heaven for his threshold, the Ghaug (saint) possessing the knowledge of the mysterious truths, went out from the low spot of the earth to the height of heaven, with his skirts free from the dust referred to in (the following verse of the Qurán) "I wish I were dust."¹ His age was eighty-one, and this same number, if increased by one year, will represent the year of his death.

[Maulawí Abdnl Hak Abid has kindly worked out the various dates, mentioned on p. 99. The date 202 is obtained by adding 81 to the value of the letters of the two words يك سال (91 + 30 = 121); 741 is got by adding 1 to the value of هشتاد يك (30 + 710); and 832 is got by adding 1 to the value of هشتاد يك سال (91 + 30 + 710). By similar processes the following additional dates may be obtained; viz., 831 by adding 740, the value of هشتاد يك (30 + 710), to 91, the value of one سال; again 861 by adding the same 740 to 121, the value of يك سال (91 + 30). Besides several other combinations might be made. But perhaps the date really meant is simply 811, i. e., 1 added on to 81. Ed.]

Three new copper-plate grants of Govindachandra Deva of Kanauj, dated Samvat 1180, 1181 and 1185. (With three plates.)—By A. FÜHRER, PH. D.

No. I.

Raiwán Plate, Samvat 1180.

The original plate, containing the inscription now published, is in the Provincial Museum at Lucknow. It was found in April 1885 at Raiwán, a place eight miles north-west from Biswán in the Sítápúr district, in a small kherá, or mound, into which a Bráhmañ was digging for

¹ The infidels will utter these words on the day of resurrection.

॥ अथि। अकोणे काणु जै काणु काणु पो ठनु म करु ॥ अ व प्रः सु
जात न्नापुल मा लो सु र व फला सुः । सा न्नादि व स्वा नि व त्र वि
व समनि सति उं । येना पा न म कृ पा न पा रे था पा नि व य मः ॥ ॥
वेत ती न यो व नि मि रं स्वी व द्द बो न पुः ॥ येनो च न र प्र ता प मि ता ण व प्र जो प द् वा र्थी म प्रो व
मो ग र्जि त ॥ ती र्थो नि को मि कृ मि को त्र को र ले न्दः स्वा ती ये का नि प नि पा न य ता नि म सु र मा म्बु ल्ता
दि ता व सु म ता म्बु त न्ने लो लि ॥ त स्था त्मा जो म द न्पा ल गे त कि ती न्दु व्र ड मी पि व द्द य त ति उं गो व व ॥
मि रैः प या निः प क्काल व वा लि न द्दः प ट ले व चि त्माः ॥ य स्था सी दि उ य घ वा ण म मा य क्क
त न्दं स्म अ दी मा ड ले ॥ व्र ड न्ने त्र नि मि त्र ता लु ग लि क्क स्था ना र गु प्रा मि तः स वः प सु व र्थी दि व्दु का ण
त स्था र्ज जा ये त नि जा य त का व्द व नि व न्द व क्क न्ने त्र ना ख म जो न न्दुः ॥ अ न्द मि त द्द व मु री प्र त क्क ग ता
रु वी व र्थी म् ॥ न क्क व म पा न त्त्र न ण क्क मा स्त्र श पु डि कु ग जो न्द व जि णः । क्क ता नि व व मु र व्द मु व्द व
जो ॥ शी य म् म स्त्र म् उ व क्क म् अ वि त र न ण ॥ अ व म त द्द र क्क म् सा र्ज वि र्ज ड प न्द मि स्त्र व प र म् नो ह्द
त श्री क्क ता क्क व्दु ॥ व प य शी च्द द्द व प ल न्दु धा ता प न्द म त द्द र क्क म् सा र्ज वि र्ज ड प न्द मि स्त्र व प र
ल य प पा जो न्दु धा ता प न्द म त द्द र क्क म् सा र्ज वि र्ज ड प न्द मि स्त्र व प र म् नो ह्द व प र म् नो ह्द
ति वि वि व वि वा वि वा न वा र म्प ति र्थी म् जो वि न्दु व्दु र्चो वि डु र्थी ॥ न व ग्ग म्प त्ता यो ॥ मा ह्द रु
इ ति वा सि नो ति र्थ ल ज न प य न्दु प ग क्क ना प व र्ज ड र्ज शी पु व र्ज ड म्प त्रि पु र्ग श्चि व्दु र्ज ड र्ज शी पु व
इ लि क्क ता व म्पे मि ति का न्दः पु नि क्क र्द त क पि तु र ग प त्ना क र्क न्द न ग क्क लो व का नि पु र्क षा नो
ति व य श्च वि दि त् न लु त व ता मु पि ति ला र्थ व यो मः म् उ ल्क लः म् नो स ल व ग्क क्क र्कः म् म् म् म् म्
वृ क्क म् व व न्द का वि र्क वि र्क प्ति ग्ग म्प ति ग्ग व र्ज ड र्ज शी पु व र्ज ड म्प त्रि पु र्ग श्चि व्दु र्ज ड र्ज शी
चो र्ति मा म्प ति ग्गो म् म् म् ति ने ॥ अ य र्थ र्थी म् द्वा ना ण मा म् क्क नाँ रे व र्थी अ दि के र व प र्ग र्गो प
मु नि म् नु क्क त्क पि त्ग मा स्त्र प्पि य्त्वा ति मि र प र ल पा ट न प द्दु म् ह्द म् मु ष्णो वि व मु प म् म् वा यो
व्दु यो च्च स्म ति म् क्क र्क ल ग्ग ल ता प्र त व र त लो द्द व्दु र्ज ड र्ज शी पु व र्ज ड म्प त्रि पु र्ग श्चि व्दु र्ज ड
त्रि प व र्ज ड र्ज शी पु व र्ज ड म्प त्रि पु र्ग श्चि व्दु र्ज ड र्ज शी पु व र्ज ड म्प त्रि पु र्ग श्चि व्दु र्ज ड र्ज शी
या व फा म् नो क्क ता प द्द त्ता म् द य था दी य मा न ता गे ता म् क र्क न्द प मि क्क पं तु र्क क्क र्क ड क्क म् र ग दि
क म्पि पो ना य तो म् म् ग्ग म् मि नौ ॥ स्त्र व ती प र्द ता व गो र्क न्द व म् व ना ॥ अ वि ष्णु यो र्क मि र्त्वा पि र्तिः
ज न्ना म्प त्थे ग्ग व्द म् व म्प त्ने न वा ग्ग पा को ऽ ज्ज न्ने न ल्द नि ल्द ती न्दु र्ज ड र्ज शी पु व र्ज ड
म् मि र्दः ॥ अ के ता इ नु म् त्ता व ता य क्क न न्क व्द म् ता ॥ ॥ क र्क णि क्क र्क र्क र्क र्क र्क र्क र्क र्क र्क र्क र्क र्क र्क र्क
प द्द क्क लि व मि ति ॥

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some private purposes. His Highness Rájá Amír Hasan Khán of Mahmúdábád acquired the plate and presented it to the Lucknow Museum.

The plate (see Plate VI), which is inscribed on one side only, measures 1' 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ " by 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ "; the edges being raised into rims. The inscription is in perfect preservation throughout; but the technical execution is badly done, there being a good deal of clerical mistakes and of misshapen letters. It is composed in Sanskrit and written in Devanágari characters. The seal is circular, 3" in diameter; it slides on a plain ring about $\frac{1}{2}$ " thick and 4" in diameter, which passes through the ring-hole in the top of the plate. The inscribed surface of the seal has suffered a good deal from corrosion; but the traces still visible fully prove that it is identical with the seal of the Basáhi plate* of Govindachandra Deva, of Samvat 1161, which has in relief across the centre the legend *Srímád-Govindachandradevah*; in the upper part Garuda, half-man and half-bird, kneeling and facing full front; and in the lower part a *sankha*-shell. The weight of the plate is 5 lbs. 2 oz., and of the seal 2 lbs. 4 oz., total 7 lbs. 6 oz.

The historical information afforded by this plate is the same as that derived from the other four grants of Govindachandra Deva already known.† Of the four ancestors of Govindachandra Deva who are enumerated here as elsewhere, *viz.*, Yas'ovigraha, Mahíchandra, Chandradeva and Madanapála, nothing specific is mentioned beyond this, that Chandradeva acquired the sovereignty over Kanyákubja (Kanauj) and that his kingdom included Benares, Ayodhyá, and ancient Dehlí. Attention may also be drawn to the fact that the sovereignty over Kanyákubja is described in verse 8 as having been newly acquired, even when Govindachandra, the grandson of Chandradeva, was reigning. This seems to indicate that Kanyákubja was lost during the reign of Madanapála and re-acquired by Govindachandra Deva.

The grant was made on Monday, the full-moon day of the month Márgas'irsha, in the (Vikrama) year 1180, answering it appears to Monday, the 21st November 1123 A. D. The king, *Govindachandra*

* This grant has been edited and translated by Dr. Rájendralála Mitra in the Jour. As. Soc. Beng., Vol. XLII, p. 321 ff. and re-edited by Mr. Fleet in the Ind. Antiquary, Vol. XIV, p. 101. Another grant of the same king, of Samvat 1174, has been published by Dr. R. Mitra in the Jour. As. Soc. Beng., Vol. XLII, p. 324 ff. The two original plates are in the Lucknow Museum.

† *Viz.*, the two grants of Govindachandra Deva, of Samvat 1161 and 1174, mentioned above; a grant of the same, of Samvat 1177, partly edited by Dr. F. E. Hall in the Jour. As. Soc. Beng., Vol. XXXI, p. 123; a grant of the same, of Samvat 1182, edited and translated by Dr. F. E. Hall, *ib.* Vol. XXVII, p. 242 ff.

Deva, when making the grant, was at Benares; the donee was the Bráhmán *Thakkura Báládityasarmá* of the *Parásara* class (*gotra*); and the object granted was the village of *Sohanjaka* in the *Navagrāma* district (*pattalá*). I am unable to identify these places.

*Text.**

- [1] षोँ खसि ॥ अकुण्डोत्कण्डवैकुण्डकण्ठपीठसुठत्करः ॥ संरफः सुरतारणे स निवः जेयसेकु
वः ॥ [१ ॥] आशीदशीतद्युतिवन्स-
- [2] जानकापालमालासु दिवकुतासुः । साचादिकखानिव भूरिधाना नाम्ना यशोविषर
इत्युदारः ॥ [२ ॥] तस्यतोभुक्तद्वीचंद्रस-
- [3] न्द्रधामनिभं निजं । येनापारमकूपारपारे आपारित यषः ॥ [३ ॥] तस्याभूतनवेो नये-
करसिकः क्रान्द्विषन्मण्डलो विध्वखो-
- [4] इतवीरयोधतिमिरः श्रीचंद्रदेवो नृपः ॥ येनोदारतरप्रतापसमिताशेषप्रजोपद्रवं ॥ श्रीमद्गा-
धिपुराधिराध्यमसमन्दीव्विक्र-
- [5] मेष्कार्जितं ॥ [४ ॥] तीर्थानि कासिकुशिकोपकोशलेन्द्रःख्यानोयकानि परिपालयताभि-
गम्य [1] हेमात्मतुल्यमनिसं ददता दिजभ्यो येना-
- [6] क्तिता वसुमती सततकुलाभिः ॥ [५ ॥] तस्यात्मजो मदनपाल इति क्षितीन्द्रचूडामधि-
व्विजयते निजगोचंद्रः । यस्याभिवेककलशोल-
- [7] पितैः पयोभिः प्रचाक्षित कालिरजः पटलं धरित्याः ॥ [६ ॥] यस्याशीद्विजयप्रयाष-
समये तुकाचलोच्चलन्मास्यत्कुम्भिपदःक्रमासम-
- [8] भरभस्मन्दीमण्डले ॥ चूडारत्नविभिन्नतासुगलितस्थानाष्टगुह्नासितः शेषः पेषवशादिव
चक्षमसौ क्रोडे निखीमाननः ॥ [७ ॥]

* From the original plate.

L. 1. The second stroke after •सुठत्करः superfluous. Read जेयसेकु; आशी-
दशीत०; •वंश- ।

L. 2. Omit the visarga after गतासु ।

L. 3. Read आपारितं यषः ।

L. 4. The second stroke after नृपः superfluous; read •शमित०; the sign after
उपद्रवं superfluous; •राज्य० ।

L. 5. Read कासिकुशिकोपकोशलेन्द्रख्यानोयकानि; अनिसं; द्विजेभ्यो ।

L. 6. Read प्रचाक्षितं कालिरजः; धरित्याः; यस्याशीद्वि०; तुकाचलोच्चलन्मास्य-
त्कुम्भिपदक्रमासम- । A grant of Madanapála, of Samvat 1154, published by Dr. F. E.
Hall in the Jour. As. Soc. Beng., Vol. XXVII, p. 220 ff., reads सकलं instead of पटलं ।

L. 8. भरभस्मन्; the second stroke after •मण्डले superfluous; read चक्षुगुह्ना-
सितः; शेषवशादिव । शेष being a synonym of शिशिर according to Hemachandra.

- [9] तस्माद्जायत निजायतवाङ्मयश्चिचन्वरवचनवराक्षमजौ नरेन्द्रः ॥ सान्द्राभितप्रवसुषां
प्रभवो गवां यो जीविन्दसन्द् इति चन्द्र
- [10] रवांबुरावेः ॥ [८] न कथमप्यलभन्ना रचन्मसिष्टुपु दिक्षु मजागव वसिष्ठः । ककु-
भि वचनुरभ्रमवक्षभप्रतिभय इप यस्य घटाग-
- [11] जाः ॥ [९] येषं समस्तराजचक्रसंवेवितचरवः ॥ परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमे-
स्वरपरममाहेस्वरनिजभुयोपार्जि-
- [12] तनौकन्वकुजाधिपत्यत्रौचंद्रदेवपादानुध्यात । परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमस्वर-
परममाहेस्वरत्रौमस्यद्वयपा-
- [13] सद्यपादानुध्यात । परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेस्वरपरममाहेस्वराक्षपतिनजपति-
नरपतिराजचयाधिप-
- [14] तिविधिविद्याविचारवाचस्पतिश्रीमद्रोविन्दचंद्रदेवो विजयी ॥ नवग्रामपत्तलायां । योहं-
जकग्रामभक्षुरीपाठककस-
- [15] रनिवासिनौ निश्चिञ्जमपदानुपगतानपि च राजराज्ञीयवराजर्नधिपुरोहितप्रतीहार-
सेनापतिभांडागारिकाक्षप-
- [16] इच्छिकभाषयैमितिकाःपरिककृतकरितुरजपत्तनाकरख्यानमोकुसाधिकारिपुरवामाज्ञा-
पयति बोधयत्यादिभ-
- [17] ति च यथा [] विदितमस्तु भवतामुपरिच्छितग्रामः सजलस्यल सवोहस्यवाकरः
समस्त्याकरः समर्तोपरः सम-
- [18] धूकास्ववमवाटिकाविठपतिचतुर्नोचरपर्येनः योद्धाधक्षतुरावाठविग्रहः स्वसीमापर्येनः
संवत् ११८० मार्गशुदि
- [19] योवर्षेमास्यां तियो सोमदिने ॥ अखेच श्रीमहाराचस्या संक्रान्तो देवश्रीसादिकैरवचह
मंगायां बाला विधिवन्मन्त्रदेव-
- [20] मुनिमनुजभूतपिहमवाकर्षेयिजा तिमिरपठलपाठमपदुमहचसमुच्चरोचिषमुपख्यायोपधिप-
तिशकलसेपरं सम-

L. 9. Read •वन्माव० ; •राज्य० ; the second stroke after नरेन्द्रः superfluous ;
read सान्द्राभित० ; प्रभवो ।

L. 10. Read •राज्ञेः ; •तिष्ठुपु ; •प्रतिभटा इव ।

L. 11. The sign after •चरवः superfluous ; read •परमेस्वरपरममाहेस्वरनिजभुजो ।

L. 12. Read •चन्द्रदेवपादानुध्यातपरम० ; •परमेस्वरपरममाहेस्वरत्रौमस्यद्वयपा- ।

L. 13. Read •देवपादानुध्यातपरम० ; •परमेस्वरपरममाहेस्वर० ।

L. 14. The signs after विजयी and नवग्रामपत्तलायां superfluous ; read योहंजक-
ग्रामभक्षुरीपाठकस- ।

L. 16. Read •इच्छिकभिषयैमितिका० ; बोधयत्यादिभ- ।

L. 17. Read विदितमस्तु ।

L. 18. Read धूकास० ; •हव० ; मार्गशुदि ।

L. 19. Read •वाराचस्यां ।

L. 20. Read •मवांक्षर्येयिजा ; •योधधिपतिशकलसेपरं ।

- [21] भ्यर्च्ये पिभुवनचातुर्वीक्षदेवस्य पूजां विधास प्रचरुत्तरपायसेन वसिषां वसिष्ठं उजा
मातारिपोरात्मनश् पुण्यशोभिः
- [22] हृदये अस्माभिर्गोकर्षकुशलतापूतकारतसोदकपूर्वं । पराशरजोचाय । पराशरस्मजोचाय
वसिष्ठसचातिपाराशर-
- [23] मिश्रवराय ठक्करजीदानोदरपोचाय ठापुरजीमशादित्यपुचाय ठक्करजीवासादित्यसर्षे
प्राज्ञचाय चंद्रार्क्षे
- [24] यापश्चासनीकृत्य प्रदत्तो मजा यथादीयमानभानभोगकरप्रपथिकरतुषष्कदंडकुमारज-
दियासेचाप्रभृतीनसमसा-
- [25] दायानास्त्राविधेयीभूयः दास्यथः ॥ भवन्मि चाय स्त्रोकाः । भूमिं यः प्रतिमृच्छति यश्च
भूमिं प्रयच्छति [] उभे तौ पुण्यं-
- [26] कर्मोद्यो नायतो स्वर्गमानिनो ॥ [१० ॥] स्वर्गां परर्हां वा यो हरतु वसुंधरा । स
विद्यार्थां कृमिर्भूजा पिच्छभिः सच मज्जति ॥ [११ ॥] त-
- [27] ङागानां सचसेष अस्मिन्धस्तेन च । गणां कोटिप्रदानेन भूमिं हर्ता न मुच्यति ॥ [१२ ॥]
वष्टिपर्वसहस्राणि स्वर्गं वसति
- [28] भूमिदः । आच्छेता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥ [१२ ॥] करविक्रठक्करजीविस-
रूपेव तांयु-
- [29] पद्मकं चि[त्ति]नमिति ॥

Translation.

Om! May it be well! (v. 1). May the agitation of Lakshmi during the amorous dalliance, when her hands wander over the neck of Vaikunṭha (Vishṇu) filled with eager longing, bring you happiness!

(v. 2.) After the lines of protectors of the earth born in the solar race had gone to heaven, there came a noble (personage) *Yaśovigraha* by name, (who) by his plentiful splendour (was) as it were the sun incarnate.*

(v. 3.) His son was *Mahīchandra* who spread his boundless fame, resembling the moon's splendour, (even) to the boundary of the ocean.

L. 21. Read पिभुवनचातुर्वीक्षदेवस्य ; वसिषा ; मातारिपोरात्मनश् पुण्यशोभि-

L. 22. Read हृदयेअस्माभिर्गोकर्षकुशलतापूतकारतसोदकपूर्वं पराशरजोचाय वसिष्ठ-
सचिपराशर-

L. 23. Read ठक्कर० thrice ; ०पोचाय ; ०वासादित्यसर्षे ब्राह्मचाय ।

L. 24. Read यावत् ; ०प्रपथिकरतुषष्कदंडकुमारजदियासेचाप्रभृतीन् समसा-

L. 25. Read दास्यथ ; स्त्रोकाः ; प्रतिमृच्छति ; भूमिं ; उभो ; पुण्य-

L. 26. Read नियतं स्वर्गं ; हरत वसुंधरां ।

L. 27. Read ङागानां सचसेषाअस्मिन्धस्तेन च ; गणां ; भूमिहर्ता न मुच्यति ; ०वर्षं ;
स्वर्गं ।

L. 28. Read आच्छेता चानुमन्ता ; तान्येव ; वसेत् ; ०ठक्करजीविसरूपेव तां-

L. 29. Read पद्मकं

* Metre: Indrajejra.

(v. 4.) His son was the king, the illustrious *Chandra*deva, whose one delight was in statesmanship, who attacked the hostile hosts (and) scattered the haughty brave warriors (as the moon does) the darkness. By the valour of his arm he acquired the matchless sovereignty over the glorious Gádhipura,* when an end was put to all distress of the people by his most noble prowess.†

(v. 5.) Protecting the holy bathing-places of Kási (Benares), Kusika (Kanauj),‡ Uttarakosála (Ayodhyá), and the city of Indra (Indrasthána, ancient Dehlí),§ after he had obtained them, (and) incessantly bestowing on the twice-born gold equal (in weight) to his body, he eternally|| marked the earth with the scales (on which he had himself weighed).¶

(v. 6.) Victorious is his son *Madanapála*, the crest-jewel of the rulers of the earth, the moon of his family. By the sparkling waters from his coronation-jars the coating of the impurity of the Kali yuga (the present, or iron-age) was washed off from the earth.*

(v. 7.) When he went forth to victory, the orb of the earth bent down beneath the excessive weight of the footsteps of his ruddy elephants marching along, tall as towering mountains: then, as if suffering from cold, *Sesha*, radiant with the clotted blood that trickled from his palate pierced by the crest-jewel, hid his face for a moment in his bosom.†

(v. 8.) As the moon, whose rays diffuse in abundance liquid nectar,‡ from the ocean, so was born from the ruler of men *Govindachandra Deva*, who bestowed cows giving abundant milk. As one restrains an (untrained) elephant, so he secured by his creeper-like long arms the new (*i. e.*, newly acquired) kingdom.§

(v. 9.) When his war-elephants had in three quarters in no wise found elephants their equals for combat, they roamed about in the

* Gádhipura, 'town of Gádhi,' the father of Viśvámitra, is Kanyákubja, or Kanauj.

† Metre: S'árdúlavikrídita.

‡ Kusikatírtha is apparently Gádhipura, or Kanyákubja, as Kusika is the father of Gádhi.

§ Indrasthána is very probably another name for Indraprastha, or ancient Dehlí.

|| The two Benares grants read distinctly *शतशतसुखानि*, *i. e.*, hundreds of times.

¶ Metre: Vasantatilaká.

* Metre: Vasantatilaká.

† Metre: S'árdúlavikrídita.

‡ This translation is based on the readings of the two Benares grants.

§ Metre: Vasantatilaká.

region of the wielder of thunderbolt, (*i. e.*, the East), like rivals of the mate of Abhramu.*

(L. 11.) He it is who has homage rendered to his feet by the circle of all rājas; he, the most worshipful, the supreme king of mahārājas, the supreme lord, the devout worshipper of Máheśvara (Vishṇu), the lord over the three rājas, (*viz.*) the lord of horses (*śva-pati*), the lord of elephants (*gajapati*) and the lord of men (*narapati*), † (like) Bṛihaspati investigating the various sciences, the illustrious *Govindachandra Deva*, who meditates on the feet of the most worshipful, the supreme king of mahārājas, the supreme lord, the devout worshipper of Máheśvara, the illustrious *Madanapála*, who meditated on the feet of the most worshipful, the supreme king of mahārājas, the supreme lord, the devout worshipper of Máheśvara, the illustrious *Chandradeva*, who by his own arm acquired the sovereignty over Kanyākubja:—

(L. 14.) He, the victorious, commands, informs and decrees to all the people assembled, resident at the village of *Sohanjaka*, a part of *Balurí*, in the *Navagrāma* district, and also to the rājas, rājñis (queens), *yuarājas* (heirs-apparent), counsellors, chaplains, warders of the gate, commanders of the troops, treasurers, keepers of records, physicians, astrologers, superintendents of gynaeceums, messengers, and to officers having authority as regards elephants, horses, towns, mines (*ákara*), districts (*sthána*), cattle-stations, as follows:—

(L. 17.) Be it known to you that, after having bathed here to-day in the Ganges at the divine and blessed *Ādikeśavaghata*, ‡ at the glorious *Várāṇasí* (Benares), on the occasion of the sun's entrance into another zodiacal sign after midnight, after having duly satisfied the sacred texts, divinities, saints, men, beings and the groups of ancestors, after having worshipped the sun whose splendour is potent in rending the veil of darkness, after having praised him whose crest is a portion of the moon, (*i. e.*, *S'iva*), after having performed adoration of *Vásudeva* (Vishṇu incarnate as *Krishṇa*), the protector of the three worlds, after having sacrificed to fire (*Agni*) an oblation of clarified butter with abundant milk, rice and sugar,—we have, in order to increase the (spiritual) merit and the fame of our parents and of ourself, on Monday, the day of full-moon of *Márgaśirsha sudi*, in the (*Vikrama*) *Samvat* year 1180,—given the above-written village with its water and dry land, with its mines of iron and salt, with its fisheries, with its ravines and saline

* *Metre*: *Drutavilambita*. *Abhramu* is the female elephant of the East (the region of Indra), the mate of *Airāvata*.

† The *śvapati*, *gajapati*, and *narapati* are high officers of state.

‡ The quay of *Ādikeśava*, or *Vishṇu*, still maintains its reputation for sanctity at Benares.

waters, with and including its groves of *madhūka* and mango trees, enclosed gardens, bushes, grass and pasture land, with what is above and below, defined as to its four abuttals, up to its proper boundaries, to the *Thakkura*, the illustrious *Bālādityaśarmā*, Brāhman, son of the *Thakkura*, the illustrious *Mahāditya*, grandson of the *Thakkura*, the illustrious *Dāmodara*, of the Parāsara clan (*gotra*) (and) whose three *pravaras* (ancestors) are *Vaśiṣṭha*, *Sakti*, and *Parāsara*,—(confirming our gift) with (the pouring out) from the palm of our hand, shaped like a cow's ear,* (of) water purified with *kusa* grass (and) ordaining (that it shall be his) as long as moon and sun (endure). Aware (of this), you, being ready to obey (our) commands, will make over (to him) every kind of income, the due share† of the produce, the money-rent (*pravaṇikara*),‡ the taxes on aromatic reeds (*turushkadaṇḍa*),§ the taxes on royal mace-bearers and eunuchs,|| and so forth.

(L. 25.) And on this (subject) there are (the following) verses :
(v. 10.) Both, he who accepts land and he who grants it, are equally meritorious, and they go certainly to heaven.

(v. 11.) Whoever robs land whether given by himself or by others, becoming a maggot, sinks with his parents into ordure.

(v. 12.) The alienator of land-grants cannot expiate his crime even (by dedicating to public use) a thousand tanks, by (performing) a hundred horse-sacrifices, and by giving away in charity ten millions of cattle.

(v. 13.) The donor of land dwells in heaven for the space of sixty thousand years; the resumer, and the abetter thereof, are doomed to abide in hell for a like period.

(L. 28.) This copper-plate grant has been written by the *kāyastha*, the *Thakkura*, the illustrious *Viśvarūpa*.

No. II.

Benares Plate (A), of Samvat 1181.

This plate and the following, No. III, were sent by Mr. J. H. Rivett-Carnac, C. S., C. I. E., in September 1886, to the Lucknow Museum; but as their owner, *Sitārām Agarwālā* of Benares, asked the absurd price of Rs. 250, the offer was not accepted. At the request of the owner, they were forwarded to Surgeon-Major Dr. G. C.

* Several *śikshās* prescribe that at the recitation of Vedic texts the right hand should be so held as to look like a cow's ear.

† *Viś.*, the tenth of the produce.

‡ This word has generally been translated with 'tolls on quadrivials'; but it takes here as elsewhere the place of the usual *hiraṇya*.

§ This expression has by Dr. F. E. Hall, *l. c.*, been taken to mean "Muḥamadan ameracements."

|| These taxes I have not met with anywhere else.

Hall of the Nainí Jail, in whose possession they now are. No information is forthcoming as to where they were originally found.

Plate A (see Plate VII) which is inscribed on one side only, measures 1' 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ " by 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". It is quite smooth, the edges being neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims. The right corner is broken off, and the inscription has been very much defaced by rust, making it quite illegible in some places. Yet the lost portions can easily be restored with the help of the preceding record, as they are of no material importance. The inscription is composed in Sanskrit and written in Devanāgarī characters. There is a ring-hole in the top of the plate, but the ring and seal are lost. The weight of the plate is 8 lbs.

The grant is dated Thursday, the 4th lunar day of the bright half of the month Bhādrapada of the (Vikrama) year 1181, answering it appears to Thursday, the 9th September 1124 A. D. The king Govindachandra Deva, when making the grant was at Benares; the donee was the Bráhmaṇ Paṇḍita Bhūpati Sarmá of the Mauneya gotra; and the object granted was the village Tribhāṇḍī in the Yavaala district, which places I am unable to identify.

Text.*

- [1] सों खलि [॥] अकुण्डोक्तपदेकुण्डकण्डपीठकुठकरः [1] संरक्षः सु[रतारणे] स त्रियः
त्रेयसेसु वः । [१ ॥] आसौद[श्री]तश्रुतिव[शजात]स्वापाल-
- [2] मास्मानु दिवं गतासु । साक्षाद्विख्यानव [भू]रिधान्ना नाम्ना [ययो]वि[पद इ]त्युदार
[: ॥ २ ॥ तस्यु]तोभूक्तसौचन्द्रचंद्रधामनिभं नि[जं] ।
- [3] येनोपारमकूपार[पारे] स्था]पारितं यशः [॥ ३ ॥] तस्याभूतजयो न[येकरसि]कः ज्ञान-
द्विषन्म[खलो] विध्वंसोद्धतवीरयोधतिनि[रः] श्रीचन्द्रदेवो
- [4] [चपः] । ये[ने]द्वारतरप्रतापप्रभितायेषप्रजोपद्रवं श्रीमद्गाधि[पु]रा[धि]राध्यमसमं दे-
[विं]क्रमेष्वाकिंतसु ॥ [४ ॥] तीर्थानि कासिकु[शि]कोत्तरको-
- [5] श्लेन्द्रस्थानीयकानि परिपालय[ताधिग]म्य [1] हेमात्मतुल्यमनिभं दद[ता] दिनेभ्यो
येनाङ्किता वसुमती गतशस्त्रुलाभिः ॥ [५ ॥] तस्यात्मजो मद-
- [6] नपाल इति चित्तींद्रचूडामण्डिज[यदे] निजमोचचन्द्रः । य[स्या]भिषेक[कलशोद्ध-]
सितैः पयोभिः प्रशासितं कश्चिरजः पठल धरिष्याः [॥ ६ ॥]
- [7] यस्यासौद्विजयप्रयागसमये तुङ्गाचलोचै[ल]न्नासत्कु[भि]पदक्रमासमभरअस्यासौमंडले
चूडारत्नविभिनतासुगलितेस्थानासुग-

* From the original plate.

L. 3. Read येनापारमकूपारपारे ।

L. 4. Read •राज्य• ; काशि• ।

L. 6. Read पठलं ।

L. 7. Read •अस्यासौमंडले ।

- [8] क्वाचितः शेषः] शेषवशादि] व क्षयमसौ श्रोते निशीमानमः ॥ [७ ॥] तस्यादज[ाय]त
 निजायतवाञ्जवक्षिवदावद्वनवराक्षमजो नरेन्द्रः । साम्नासूत-
 [9] इवमुचां प्रभवे गवां ये गोविन्दचन्द्र इति चन्द्र इवाम्भरा[शे]ः । [८ ॥] न क[श्च]मयल-
 भ]न रक्षसासिद्धयु दिक्षु गजमथ वक्षिषः । ककुभि व[ध]मुर-
 [10] [भ]मुवक्षभप्र[तिभ]वा इव यद्य घटाजजाः ॥ [९ ॥] व ॥ शेषं समक्षराज[च]क्रसंवेचित-
 चरवः परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममा-
 [11] श्व[र]मिजभ]जापारिर्जितश्रीकन्य[कु]जाधिपत्यश्रीचन्द्रदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहारा-
 जाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाश्वरश्रीमदनपा-
 [12] लदेवपादानुध्यातपरम[भट्ट]ारकमहाराजा'धि]राजपर[मेश्व]रप[रममाश्व]राराक्षपतिम-
 जपतिनरपतिराजचयाधिपतिविविधविद्याविचा-
 [13] [रवा]चस्यतिश्रीमद्रोविन्दचन्द्रदेवो वि[ज]वी ॥ यवक्षलपतलयां [विभा]क्षीपामनि-
 वाधिने निशि[लज]मपदानुपगतमपि च राजराज्ञीयवराज-
 [14] [मनि]पुरोचितप्रती[हार]सेनाप[तिभाष्याम]ारिकाक्षपट[लिकभि]षग्नेमित्तिकाकाःपु-
 रिकदूतकरि[तुर]मपतनाकरक्षामगोकुलाधिकारि-
 [15] पुत्र[र्वाच] समा]ज्ञापयति[वा]दिशति बोधयति च ॥ यद्योपरिलि[खितय]ामः सजलक्षलः
 सद्योह[लज]वाकरः सपर्योकरः सगर्तोपरः समत्स[ाकरः]
 [16] [स]चूतव[नवाडि]कावि[डप]लक्षयू[तिगोच]रप[र्यक्तः] शोद्धादक्षतु[रा]षाठविद्युदः स-
 [श्रीमाप]र्यक्तः सन्त ११८१ भाद्रपदसुदि ४ शुरी ॥
 [17] लक्षे [श्रीमहारा]ष्या गगयां खाना विधिवर्धनमनुभूतपिडनवांलक्ष्येथिजा ति-
 [मिर]पाठनपठलपठनक्षसमुच्चरोचिषमुपस्था-
 [18] [यौध]पतिसकलश्वरं समभ्यर्च्ये विभवमचातुर्ध्वास्तुदेवस्य पूजां विधाय हविष[ा च-]
 विर्भुजं ऊना मातापिचोरात्मनश्च पृथयशो-
 [19] [भिहृद]वे गोकर्षेकु[शल]तापूनकरकमसोदकपूर्वश्च श्रीमद्राजस्यन्यामहामाहाराज्ञीश्री-
 दाक्षदेविभिर्मानसमो-
 [20] [वा]य सा[धे]यभार्षववैतह्य । धिप्रवराय । पंडितश्रीमद्विपतिपौचाय पंडितश्रीमान-
 पुचाय । पंडितश्रीभूपतिसर्भे त्रा-

- L. 8. Read शेषवशादिच ; वाञ्जवक्षिवन्मा० ; ०राज्य ।
 L. 9. Read रक्षसासिद्धयु ; गजामथ ।
 L. 12. Read ०क्षयपति० ।
 L. 13. Read यवक्षलपतलयां ।
 L. 14. Read ०निषङ्गै० ।
 L. 15. Read समाज्ञापयत्यादिशति ; the sign after च is superfluous.
 L. 16. Read शोद्धाधक्षतुराषाठविद्युदः ।
 L. 17. Read श्रीमहाराष्यां गगयां ।
 L. 18. Read सकलश्वरं ; ०हविर्भुजं ।
 L. 19. Read श्रीमद्राजसामन्तमहामाश्रीदाक्षदेवीभिर्मानेयमो- ।
 L. 20. Read माधेयभार्षववैतह्यधिप्रवराय पण्डितश्रीमद्विपतिपौचाय पण्डितश्रीमर-
 पतिपुचाय पण्डितश्रीभूपतिसर्भे त्रा- ।

- [21] क्षायाच[वा]र्षद्भक्तं यावच्छासनीकृत्य परस्मान्महादामे प्रदत्तो मत्वा च[वा]दीय-
मानभागभोगकरप्रवर्षिकरतुषष्क-
- [22] दंष्ट्रप्रष्ट[ति]सर्वादायान् क्षायाविधेयीभूय दास्यथेति ॥ इ ॥ भवन्ति चाच स्तोत्र[ः] ॥
भूमि यः प्रति[ष्ट]क्याति । यश्च भूमि प्रवच्छति ।
- [23] उभौ तो पुण्यकर्मणौ । नयनौ स्वर्गमामिनौ ॥ [१० ॥] वरुभिर्व्यस्तुधा भुक्त्वा राज्या[भिः]
सगरादिभि र्यस्य [च]स्य यदा भूमिस्य[स्य तस्य तदा]
- [24] फल ॥ [११ ॥] मानेकां स्वर्गमेकं च भूनेरप्येकमनुष्ठं [ः] वरुन्नरकमाप्नोति यावदाभूतसङ्-
वश् ॥ [१२ ॥] वारिहीनपुरषिप पुष्क[कोट-]
- [25] रवासिनः [ः] क्षायासर्थाश्च जायन्ते देवत्रयस्यहारिणः ॥ [१३ ॥] षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे
वसति भूमिदः [ः] क्षायास्ता चानु[मत्ता च ता-]
- [26] न्येव नरके वसेत् ॥ [१४ ॥] वाताभविधममिदं वस्तुधाधिपत्यमापातमाचमधुरा विषयोप-
भोगाः । प्राणाक्षृणापजस्य[विन्दुसमा न-]
- [27] राया धर्मः सखा परमही परलोकायाने ॥ [१५ ॥] यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैरानामि
धर्मार्थयस्य[राणि] निर्मास्य[वान्प्रति-]
- [28] मामि मामि को नाम साधुः पुनराददौत ॥ [१६ ॥] सुखं भद्रासनं ह्यं वरासा वार-
वारणाः [ः] भूमिदानस्य चिह्नानि फलमे[तत्पुरन्दर ॥ [१७ ॥]]
- [29] खिचितं चेदं ताचं ठकुरखिचीठकुरनीचीचन्द्रेयः ॥ संगलं महाजीः ॥

Translation.

Om! May it be well!—(verses 1 to 9 = verses 1 to 9 of the preceding.)

(l. 10.) He it is who has homage rendered to his feet by the circle of all rājās; he, the most worshipful, the supreme king of mahārājās, the supreme lord, the devout worshipper of Māheśvara, the lord over the three rājās, (*viz.*), the lord of horses, the lord of elephants, and the lord of men, (like) Brihaspati investigating the various sciences, the illustrious *Govindachandra Deva*,—who meditates on the feet of the most worshipful, the supreme king of mahārājās, the supreme lord, the devout worshipper of Māheśvara, the illustrious *Madanapāla*, who meditated on the feet of the most worshipful, the supreme king of mahārājās,

L. 21. Read क्षायाचाचन्द्रार्कं ।

L. 22. Read दंष्ट्रप्रष्टतिसर्वादायान्क्षायविधेयीभूय; स्तोत्राः, भूमिं; the sign after प्रतिष्टक्याति is superfluous; भूमिं प्रवच्छति ।

L. 23. Read पुण्यकर्मणौ नियतं स्वर्गं; सगरादिभिः । यश्च ।

L. 24. Read फलं; संखवश्; वारिहीनेम्बरकोपु पुष्कं ।

L. 25. Read षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि ।

L. 27. Read रायां; धर्मार्थयस्यराणि ।

L. 28. Read मङ्गलं; वरासा वरवारणाः ।

L. 29. Read ताचपदं ठकुरखिचीठकुरनीचीचन्द्रेय ॥

the illustrious *Chandradeva*, who by his own arm had acquired the sovereignty over *Kanyákubja* :—

(1. 13.) He, the victorious, commands, informs and decrees to the people assembled, resident at the village of *Tribhāṇḍī*, in the *Yavala* district, and also to the *rājas*, *rājās*, *yuvārājas*, counsellors, chaplains, warders of the gate, commanders of troops, treasurers, keepers of records, physicians, astrologers, superintendents of gynecaeums, messengers, and to the officers having authority as regards elephants, horses, towns, mines, districts, cattle-stations, as follows :—

(1. 15.) After having bathed here to-day in the Ganges, at the illustrious *Vārānasī* (Benares), after having duly satisfied the sacred texts, men, beings and the groups of ancestors, after having worshipped the sun whose splendour is potent in rendering the veil of darkness, after having praised him whose crest is a portion of the moon (*Siva*), after having performed adoration of *Vásudeva* (*Krishṇa*), the protector of the three worlds, after having sacrificed to fire an oblation of clarified butter, I have, in order to increase the (spiritual) merit and the fame of my parents and myself, and with the consent of the illustrious *rājas*, feudatory princes (*sámanta*), and the great lady, the queen, the illustrious *Dálhāṇadeví*,* at the occasion of giving the valuable present of a plough to the highest, (*i. e.*, *Bráhmans*),† on Thursday, the 4th lunar day of the bright half of *Bhádrapada*, in the (*Vikrama*) *Samvat* year 1181,—given the above-written village with its water and dry land, with its mines of iron and salt, with its leaves (*parṇákara*),‡ with its ravines and saline wastes, with its fisheries, with and including its groves of mango trees, enclosed gardens, bushes, grass and pasture land, with what is above and below, defined as to its four abuttals, up to its proper boundaries, to the *Bráhmaṇ*, the *Paṇḍita*, the illustrious *Bhūpatiśarmá*, son of the *Paṇḍita*, the illustrious *Narapati*, grandson of the *Paṇḍita*, the illustrious *Mahípati* of the *Mauneya gotra* (and) whose three *pravaras* are *Gádheya* (*Viśvámitra*), *Bhārgava* (*Chyavana*), and *Vaitahavya* (*Aruṇa*),—(confirming my gift) with (the pouring out) from my hand, shaped like a cow's ear, (of) water purified with *kuśa*-grass, (and) ordaining (that it shall be his) as long as moon and sun (endure). Aware (of this), you, being ready to obey (my) commands, will make over to him the due share of the produce, the money-rent, the taxes on aromatic reeds, and so forth.

* This is the only instance where the name of Govindachandra Deva's consort occurs.

† Sixteen such valuable gifts (*maháádána*) are particularly enumerated in the *Grihyasútras*.

‡ *Viś.*, the *pán*, or betel-leaves.

(l. 22.) And on this (subject) there are (the following) verses :
(v. 10.) Both, he who accepts land and he who grants it, are equally meritorious, and they go certainly to heaven.

(v. 11.) This earth has been enjoyed by many kings, including Sagara (king of Ayodhyá) and others. To whomsoever belongs the earth for the time being, he enjoys the fruit (of such gifts).

(v. 12.) He who robs a cow, a gold coin (*svarṇa* = *suvarṇa*), or a finger's breadth of land, dwells in hell until the dissolution of universe.

(v. 13.) The resusers of land dedicated to gods and Bráhmans, become dwellers in arid wastes, avoid of water, and dry hollows in trees, and are born as black serpents.

(v. 14.) The donor of land dwells in heaven for the space of sixty thousand years; the resuser, and the abetter thereof, are doomed to abide in hell for a like period.

(v. 15.) Sovereignty is like unto clouds impelled by wind, (*i. e.*, inconstant), worldly pleasures are sweet only for the moment, the life of man is but a drop of water at the point of a blade of grass; virtue verily is the only great friend for translation to a future world.*

(v. 16.) All the gifts of former kings are productive of virtue, wealth and fame,—how can he, who claims the name of goodness, resume them but as emblems of vomited food.†

(v. 17.) A conch-shell, a throne, an umbrella, choice horses, and excellent elephants, oh Purandara (Indra), are the royal insignia which constitute the reward of giving away land.

(l. 29.) And this copper-plate grant has been written by the respectable *kāyastha*, the *Thakkura*, the illustrious (and) venerable *Chandra*. (May) favourable fortune (and) great felicity (attend) !

No. III.

Benares Plate (B), of Samvat 1185.

As regards the history of this grant, see the preceding inscription.

Plate B (see Plate VIII), which is inscribed on one side only, measures 1' 5" by 12 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". It is quite smooth, the edges being neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims. The plate is broken into two parts in the middle, but the inscription is in perfect order throughout; it is composed in Sanskrit and written in Devanágari characters. There is a ring-hole in the top of the plate, but the ring and seal are not forthcoming. The weight of the plate is 11 lbs.

The grant is dated Friday, the 15th lunar day of the bright half of Chaitra of the (Vikrama) year 1185, answering it appears to Friday,

* Metre: Vasantatilaká.

† Metre: Vasantatilaká.

the 20th March 1128 A. D. The date is given both in letters and figures. The king *Govindachandra Deva*, when making the grant, was at Benares; the donee was the same Brâhman, mentioned in the preceding grant, *Paṇḍita Bhūpatīśarmā* of the *Mauneya gotra*; and the object granted was the village of *Jara* in the *Puroha* district, which places I am unable to identify.

This grant is of considerable historical value as it proves that *Govindachandra Deva* was still reigning in Sarvat 1125, or 1128 A. D.

Text.*

- [1] शौं खलि [॥] अङ्गुष्ठाक्षरवैकुण्ठचंद्रपीठसुदकारः [1] सरणः सुरवा[र]भे स भियः
त्रेयवेसु वः [॥ १ ॥] चासीदशीतसुतिवशजातःस्वापासमाज्ञासु दिवं
- [2] नतासु [1] साक्षाद्विद्वानिव भूरिभान्वा नाम्ना यथोविमह इत्युदारः । [१ २ ॥] तस्युदो-
द्भवोऽङ्गुष्ठाक्षरवैकुण्ठचंद्रपीठसुदकारः [1] येनपारम्युपारपारे स्वापारि मयः । [1
- [3] २ ॥] तस्याभूतमयो मययैकरसिक क्रान्तदिमकंडयो विडसोदतवीरयोधतिमिर औचन्द्र-
इयो रूपः [1] येनोद्भूतरतरप्रतापसमितासेपप्रजोपद्रवं
- [4] नीमङ्गाधिपराधिराक्षमसमन्दोष्विक्रमेवाचिर्ज्ञेयं [॥ ४ ॥] तीर्थानि कासिकुसिकोत्तरके-
स्त्रीन्द्रस्त्वानौयकानि परिपाक्यताभिगम्य [1] हेमाक्षतुष्कमनिसं इदता द्विजे-
- [5] भ्यो येनाङ्गिता वसुमती मृतससुलानिः [॥ ५ ॥] तस्याकनो मदनपात्र इति चित्तीन्द्र-
शुद्धामश्विर्भ्रमने निज्जगोचन्द्रः [1] यस्याभिवेककस्योद्धतिः पयोभिः ।
- [6] प्रचालितं कलिजः प्रदण्डं धरिन्वाः । [१ ६ ॥] यस्यासीद्विजयप्रयाससमये तुद्राचनोवैच-
क्ष्ण्यपादुर्भुषिपदक्रमासमभरभस्त्रमश्रीमच्छरी [1] अङ्कारतविभिन्न-
- [7] तासुत्रिजितस्यानाङ्गुष्ठाक्षरः शेषः शेषवसादिव सपमसौ क्रोडे मिस्रीनामनः । [१ ७ ॥]
तस्यादजायत निजायतवाङ्मवक्षिवदावचदनवराक्षरगो नरेन्द्रः [1]
- [8] साङ्गाक्षतद्रवमुषां प्रभवो मवां यो भोविन्दचन्द्र इति चन्द्र इवाम्बुरासेः [॥ ८ ॥] न
कथमप्यलभंत रक्षसांशिक्षु दिशु गजामय वक्षिणः [1] ककुभि पथमुरधमुव-
- [9] क्षभप्रतिभटा इव यक्ष घटागजाः [॥ ९ ॥] शेषं समस्वराजचक्रसंवेवितचर[र]ः परम-
भङ्गरक्षसवराजाधिराजपरमेस्वरपरममाहेस्वरनिकभजोपाङ्गितची-

* From the original plate.

- L. 1. Read सरणः ; चासीदशीतसुतिवशजातका० ।
- L. 2. Read चाचालितं ।
- L. 3. Read मयैकरसिकः ; विडसोदतवीरयोधतिमिरः ; •इमितयायेव० ।
- L. 4. Read कासिकुसिकोत्तरकेस्त्रीन्द्रः ; •चमिर्ज्ञेयं ।
- L. 5. Read मृतससुलानिः ; •कस्योद्धतिः ; the sign after पयोभिः superfluous.
- L. 6. Read कलिजः ; •धक्ष्णमसी० ।
- L. 7. Read शेषवशादिव ; मिस्रीनामनः ; •वाङ्मवक्षिवदावचदनवराक्षरगो नरेन्द्रः ।
- L. 8. Read इवाम्बुरासेः ; रक्षसमांशिक्षु ; ककुभि पथमुर० ।
- L. 9. Read •समस्वराजाधिराज० ।

- [10] कन्यकुजाधिपत्यत्रीचंद्रदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिर[1]अपरमेश्वरपरममा-
श्वरत्रीमदनपाखदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहारा-
- [11] जाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाश्वरत्रापतिमजपतिमरपतिराजत्रयाधिपतिविविधविद्यावि-
चारवाचस्पतिश्रीमद्भोविन्दु[चन्द्र]देवो विजयी ॥ पुरोचप-
- [12] लक्षार्था । जरग्रामग्रामनिवासिना निखिलजनपदानुपगतानपि च राजराज्ञीश्वराज-
नंभिपुरोहितप्रतीहारखेनापतिभांडा[ग]ारिकाचपठल्लिकभियग्नै-
- [13] निमित्तान्तःपुरिकभूतकरितुरजपतनाकरख्यानगोकुलाधिकारिपुत्रपांश समज्ञापयत्यादि-
सति बोधयति च यथा [1] विदितमस्तु भवतां यथोपरिलिखित-
- [14] ग्रामः सजलस्यल सलोहलवणाकर समत्याकर सपर्याकर समतापर समभूकचूत-
वमविठपवाठिकाहयुतिगोचरपर्यन्तः सोध्वाहस्तुरा[घाट]विस्तुद स-
- [15] सीमोपर्यन्त पंचाशीत्यधिकैकादशसतसंवत्सरेषु चैत्रे मासि शुक्लपक्षे पौर्णमास्यां तिथौ
शुक्लदिने अहोपि संवत् ११८५ चैत्रशुदि १५ शुक्ले ॥ अश्वेष्टे ॥ श्रीमहारा-
- [16] बस्यां । मन्नादो । गंगायां ज्ञाना विधिवत्देवमनुमनुजभूतपितृमयांस्वर्पयिज्ञा तिमिरपठकं
पाठमपठमहसमुच्चरोचिबन्पञ्चायौषधिप[तिशकलशेख-]
- [17] रं समस्यर्थे विभवमवातुर्ध्वाद्यदेवस्य पूजा विधाय प्रचुरपयेषेन हविषा हविर्जुजं ज्ञाना
मातापिबोरात्मानस्य पुण्ययशोभिविहृदये गोक[र्षकुशलता]पू-
- [18] तकरतसोदकपूर्वमस्त्राभिः मौनसगोचाय । यावेतस । भाषैववैतस्यचित्रवराय । पंडितश्री-
महिपतिपौचाय पंडितश्रीनरपतिपुचाय । पंडित[श्रीभू]पति-
- [19] सर्वेषु ब्राह्मणाय चान्द्रार्कं यावत् सासनीकृत्य प्रदत्तो मन्ना यथादीयमानभागभोगकर-
प्रवधिकरतुष्यदक्षप्रष्टतिसर्वादायानाज्ञाविधिभूय दा-]
- [20] स्याथ ॥ इ ॥ भवन्ति चाच स्त्रोकाः ॥ ॥ भूमि यः प्रतिगृह्णाति यश्च भूमि प्रयच्छति [1]
उभो तौ पुण्यकर्माद्यौ नियतं स्वर्गगामिनौ ॥ [१० ॥] संखं भद्रासनं इत्वं वराया

- L. 10. Read कन्यकुजा० ।
- L. 11. The signs after विजयी are superfluous.
- L. 12. Read लक्षार्थां जरग्रामनिवासिना निखिल० ; ०भिषङ्ग- ।
- L. 13. Read समज्ञापयत्यादिसति ; ०लिखित० ।
- L. 14. Read सजलस्यलः सलोहलवणाकरः समत्याकरः सपर्याकरः समतापरः ;
सोध्वाहस्तुराघाटविस्तुदः स- ।
- L. 15. Read सीमोपर्यन्तः पञ्चाशीत्यधिकैकादशसतसंवत्सरेषु ; शुक्लपक्षे पौर्णमास्यां
तिथौ शुक्लदिनेहोपि ; शुक्ल- ।
- L. 16. Read बस्यां सङ्ग्रामो गङ्गायां ; विधिवत्देवमनुमनुज० ।
- L. 17. Read पूजां ; प्रचुरपयेषेन ।
- L. 18. Read ०पूर्वमस्त्राभिर्नै नियगोचाय माधेयभार्गववैतस्यचित्रवराय पंडितश्रीमही-
पतिपौचाय ।
- L. 19. Read सर्वेषु ब्राह्मणायचन्द्रार्कं यावत्सासनीकृत्य ।
- L. 20. Read स्त्रोकाः, भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णाति, भूमिं ; नियतं स्वर्गं ; इत्वं ।

- [21] वरवारणाः [1] भूमिदानस्य चिह्नानि फलनेतत्पुरंदरः । [1 ११ ॥] वज्रभिर्बहुधा भुक्त्वा
राजाभिः समरादिभि रैष्य यस्य यदा भूमिसस्य तस्य तदा पल ॥ [१२ ॥] मामे-
- [22] कां सुवरर्षेणैक च भूमेरप्येकमंगुलं [1] हरं नरकमाप्नोति यावदाभूतसंभवम् ॥ [१२ ॥]
वष्टि वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गं वसति भूमिदः [1] चाच्येता चागुमन्मा च
- [23] मान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥ [१४ ॥] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा ये हरं नरकुंभरां [1] स विद्यायां
कृमिर्भूत्वा पिबतिः स च मज्जति ॥ [१५ ॥] सर्वानेतान् भाविन पाषिंवेन्द्रान्
- [24] भूयो भूयो आच्यते रामभद्रः [1] सामान्योयं धर्मवेतुर्हपायां काले काले पाशनीये
भवतिः ॥ [१६ ॥] यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि धर्मार्थयसस्क-
- [25] रा[धि] । निष्कौश्यान्मप्रतिमानि [तानि] को नाम साधु पुनराददीतः ॥ [१७ ॥]
नडागानां सद्यसेषास्त्रमेधसतेन च [1] गवां कोटिप्रदानेन भूमिचर्षां न सुध-
- [26] ति ॥ [१८ ॥] [शिचि]तं तावपहकं धर्मवेष्टितकरवीचीचंद्रसेति ॥

Translation.

Om! May it be well!—(verses 1 to 9 = 1 to 9 of inscription, No. I.)

(l. 9.) He it is who has homage rendered to his feet by the circle of all rājās; he, the most worshipful, the supreme king of mahārājās, the supreme lord, the devout worshipper of Māheśvara, the lord over the three rājās, (*viz.*), the lord of horses, the lord of elephants, and the lord of men, (like) Bṛihaspati investigating the various sciences, the illustrious *Govindachandra Deva*,—who meditates on the feet of the most worshipful, the supreme king of mahārājās, the supreme lord, the devout worshipper of Māheśvara, the illustrious *Madanapāla*,—who meditated on the feet of the most worshipful, the supreme king of mahārājās, the supreme lord, the devout worshipper of Māheśvara, the illustrious *Chandradeva* who by his own arms had acquired the sovereignty over Kanyākubja:—

(l. 12.) He, the victorious, commends, informs, and decrees to all the people assembled, resident at the village of *Jara* in the *Puroha* district, and also to the rājās, rājñīs, yuvarājās, counsellors, chaplains, warders of the gate, commanders of troops, treasurers, keepers of records, physicians, astrologers, superintendents of gynecaeums, messengers, and to the officers having authority as regards elephants, horses, towns, mines, districts, cattle-stations, as follows:—

- L. 21. Read •पुरन्दरः; समरादिभिः । यस्य; फलम् ।
L. 22. Read स्वर्षेणैकं च भूमेरप्यङ्गुलं । हरं नरकमा•; स्वर्गं; चाच्येता ।
L. 23. Read हरं न सुकुम्भरां; सर्वानेतान्भाविनः ।
L. 24. Read आच्यते; यानीह; •यसस्क- ।
L. 25. Read साधुः पुनराददीतः; •चक्षुषमेधसतेन; सुध- ।
L. 26. Read चेहं तावपहकं ।

(l. 14.) Be it known to you that,—after having bathed here to-day in the Ganges, at the illustrious Váranaśi (Benares), on the occasion of the sun's entrance into another zodiacal sign after midnight, after having duly satisfied the divinities, saints, men, beings, and the groups of ancestors, after having worshipped the sun whose splendour is potent in rending the veil of darkness, after having praised him whose crest is a portion of the moon (S'iva), after having performed adoration of Vāsudeva (Krishna), the protector of the three worlds, after having sacrificed to fire (Agni) an oblation of clarified butter with abundant milk, rice and sugar,—we have, in order to increase the (spiritual) merit and the fame of our parents and ourself, on Friday the 15th lunar day of the bright half of Chaitra in the eleven-hundred-and eighty-fifth (Vikrama) Samvat year,—in figures too, on Friday the 15th Chaitra-sudi 1185,—given the above-written village with its water and dry land, with its mines of iron and salt, with its fisheries, with its betel leaves with its ravines and saline wastes, with and including its groves of *madhūka* and mango trees, enclosed gardens, bushes, grass and pasture land, with what is above and below, defined as to its four abuttals, up to its proper boundaries, to the Bráhmaṇ, the Paṇḍita, the illustrious *Bhūpatiśarmá*, son of the Paṇḍita, the illustrious *Narapati*, grandson of the Paṇḍita, the illustrious *Mahīpati* of the *Mauneya gotra* (and) whose three *pravaras* are Gádheya (Viśvámitra), Bhárgava (Chyavana), and Vaitahavya (Aruṇa),—(confirming our gift) with (the pouring out) from the palm of our hand, shaped like a cow's ear, (of) water purified with kuśa-grass (and) ordaining (that it shall be his) as long as moon and sun (endure). Aware (of this), you, being ready to obey (our) commands, will make over to him the due share of the produce, the money-rent, the taxes on aromatic reeds, and so forth.

(l. 20.) And on this (subject) there are (the following) verses :
(v. 10.) Both, he who accepts land and he who grants it, are equally meritorious, and they go certainly to heaven.

(v. 11.) A conch-shell, a throne, an umbrella, choice horses, and excellent elephants, oh Purandara (Indra), are the royal insignia which constitute the reward of giving away land.

(v. 12.) This earth has been enjoyed by many kings, including Sagara and others. To whomsoever belongs the earth for the time being, he enjoys the fruit (of such gifts).

(v. 13.) He who robs a cow, a gold coin, or a finger's breadth of land, dwells in hell until the dissolution of the universe.

(v. 14.) The donor of land dwells in heaven for the space of sixty thousand years; the resumer, and the abetter thereof, are doomed to abide in hell for a like period.

(v. 15.) Whoever robs land whether given by himself or by others, becoming a maggot, sinks with his parents into ordure.

(v. 16.) Rámabhadra repeatedly intreats all present and future lords of earth (to bear in mind) that this bridge of virtue, (*i. e.*, the granting of lands) is common to all sovereigns, and should be preserved by you at all times.*

(v. 17.) All the gifts of former kings are productive of virtue, wealth and fame,—how can he, who claims the name of goodness, resume them but as emblems of vomited food.†

(v. 18.) The alienator of land-grants cannot expiate his crime even (by dedicating to public use) a thousand tanks, by (performing) a hundred horse-sacrifices, and by giving away in charity ten millions of cattle.

(l. 26.) And this copper-plate grant has been written by the expert *káyastha*, the *Thakkura*, the illustrious (and) venerable *Ohandra*.

* Metre : S'áliní.

† Metre : Vasantatilaká.



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Kashmíri Riddles.—By the REV. J. HINTON KNOWLES, F. R. G. S.,
M. R. A. S., etc.

Riddles almost as much as Proverbs help to discover the wit and genius of a people, “and open up to us their real speech.”

The following pages contain nearly all the riddles now extant in the valley of Kashmír proper. They have been collected from various sources. The Pandit, the Musalmán, the learned, the ignorant, the townsman, the peasant have all contributed their twos or threes. This will account for the slight differences in some of the words. The language differs more or less in every *pargana*.

The exceedingly local character of the collection will not fail to be noticed.

A few notes have been interspersed in the hope that they will interest some readers. The romanizing is on the plan followed in the “Dictionary of Kashmíri Proverbs and Sayings.”

The Roman-Kashmíri alphabet.

A a pronounced as *a* in woman.
 Ā á pronounced as *a* in art.
 Ai ai pronounced as *ai* in aisle.
 Au au pronounced as *ou* in our.
 B b pronounced as *b* in but.
 Ch ch pronounced as *ch* in church.
 D d pronounced as *d* in dew,—the
 point of the tongue is pressed
 on the upper fore-teeth.

D ḍ pronounced as *d* in bad,—the
 point of the tongue is struck
 back on the palate.
 E e pronounced as *e* in there.
 Ē ē pronounced as *e* in pet.
 F f pronounced as *f* in find,—the
 English *f* is only sounded
 (and then very badly), in
 the middle or at the end of

- a word. If it occurs at the commencement of a word it is most distinctly and invariably turned into *ph*.
- G g pronounced as *g* in *go*. The Arabic letter ghain (gh) with its peculiar guttural sound is seldom heard in pure Kashmíri.
- H h pronounced as *h* in *house*.
- I i is a kind of half *i*. I hear that there is something analogous to this to be found in Russian and is written in that language as *j*.
- I í pronounced as *i* in *police*.
- J j pronounced as *j* in *just*.
- K k pronounced as *k* in *kettle*.
- Kh kh pronounced as *ch* in the Scotch and Irish *loch* or the final *ch* of the German *schach* and *buch*. This kh (khe) is generally ignored by the true Kashmíri.
- L l pronounced as *l* in *lane*.
- M m pronounced as *m* in *man*.
- N n pronounced as *n* in *noon*.
- N̄ n̄ pronounced as *n* in the French *sans*, *bon*.
- O o pronounced as *o* in *no*.
- P p pronounced as *p* in *paint*.
- Ph ph pronounced similar to *ph* in *phlegm*.
- R r pronounced as *r* in *ran*. A Scotchman's *r* is perhaps not met with in pure Kashmíri.
- S s pronounced as *s* in *sin*.
- Sh sh pronounced as *sh* in *shine*.
- T t pronounced as *t* in *take*—the point of the tongue is pressed on the upper fore-teeth.
- T̄ t̄ pronounced as *t* in *tub*—the point of the tongue is pressed back on the palate.
- Ts ts pronounced as *ts* in *gets*.
- U u pronounced as *o* in *top*.
- Ū ú pronounced as *u* in *rule*.
- V } v w both pronounced like
W } something between the English *v* and *w*.
- Y y pronounced as *y* in *year*.
- Z z pronounced as *z* in *zeal*.

Chh, gh, kh, ph, th, ðh, and tsh are respectively the aspirates of *ch*, *g*, *k*, *p*, *t*, *ð*, and *tsh*, and are pronounced as one letter.

In addition to the above there is a sound which is something like a very short *i*; it is frequently the sign of the instrumental case. In the Roman character this sound will be represented by the simple letter *i*; and in order that this *i* may always appear the final *he* (*há*, *e mukh-tafí*) has always been written.

- 1, *Akhá chhëm wuđahnani*;
Yad kađit Yamrásani.
Wustád khutus wulahmani,
Pur karit karanas chhëni.

I have a bare-headed woman,
With a (lit. putting out her) stomach like Rájá Yam,

Her master climbed over her (or on her) like a thief,
And emptied her stomach.

ANS. *Kondah*, a brick-kiln.

Yam, Yama, the regent of the realms of death.

2, *Damah rust kus ásih ?*

Thamah rust kus ásih ?

What is that without a covering ?

What is that without a pillar, (i. e. support) ?

ANS. *Daryá tah ásmán*, the river and the sky.

3, *Ađ tsuť tah machámah khos.*

Half a bread and a bowl of *machámah*.

ANS. *Zún tah sitárah*, the (half) moon and stars.

Machámah, a dish eaten by Kashmírís consisting of rice, vegetables, raisins, colouring matter, and sugar.

Khos, a cup shaped like a bowl, either of copper, iron, or brass. The Musalmán's *khos* is much larger than the Hindú's. The latter does not eat rice out of this vessel.

4, *Mámas chánis nulerih ras.*

A rope on your uncle's nose.

ANS. *Tol*, a contrivance consisting of a long wooden pole, so placed upon another fixed perpendicular pole, that one end shall be nearly equal in weight to the other end, with a vessel full of water. It is employed in raising water out of a stream for irrigation.

The only reason I can find for using the word 'uncle' here or in No. 81, or the word 'aunt' as in Nos. 14, 22, is that to quote one's parents in such a connection would be thought disrespectful.

5, *Guđah khats gormáj tsor lachh hēt.*

Patah khut Malah Sharák tul tah tarák hēt.

First rose up the *guru's* wife with four *lakhs* (of bodies).

Then arose *Sharák* the Mullá and took and lifted up his axe (at her).

ANS. *Zún sitárah tah áftáb*, the moon, the stars, and the sun.

Sharák is a very uncommon name in the valley. In olden days it was more popular.

6, *Shistravis mahanivis gásw phëran.*

A grass *phëran* to an iron man.

ANS. *Yindartul tah kanarih*, the part of the spinning-wheel corresponding to the distaff—and that on which the little wheel of the spinning-wheel rests.

The *kanarih* rests on a little cushion of plaited grass.

Phëran (*pírâhan*, Pers.) a long robe resembling a very full night-gown, worn by Kashmírís.

- 7, *Sunah sandis çabas, rupah sund thán,*
Yus tath wáte, súi pahalwán.
 A golden box with a silver lid ;
 He who can shut it is a brave fellow.

ANS. *Zamín tah ásmán*, the earth and sky.

8, *Káv çus kreshun tah wáwah suët çate ; tulah chhum lut tai mulah chhum gub.*

The crow was black and it will shake with the wind ; its weight is light and its price is heavy.

ANS. *Gund*, a tuft of heron's feathers with which the bridegroom is adorned for the wedding. As many as three hundred feathers are sometimes worn, and as much as one rupee has been given for a feather. Rich people keep them hanging from the ceilings of their rooms from fear of the cat ; but poor people can only afford to hire them.

- 9, *Tílahwán nëchivis sunah sund tyuk.*

A golden *çiká* on (the face of) an oilman's son.

ANS. *Dazawun tçong* (*díwá*, Sansk.), a lighted lamp.

- 10, *Phát Máj bihit tah Phati kúr natçán.*

Mother *Phát* is sitting down, and the daughter *Phatah* is dancing.

ANS. *Kuí tah don* the pot in which the butter is churned and the stick with which it is churned. Cf. Nos. 30, 34.

The Kashmíri has a very ingenious way of making butter. When the milk is ready for churning, it is poured into a big vessel, in the cover of which there is a hole. In this hole a stick is placed. The part of the stick which is inside the vessel is thick, and the part outside the cover is thin. To this thin part a piece of string is attached, and the ends of it the man, or the woman, hold in their hands, and putting one foot upon the cover to steady it, twirl about the stick with the string, first pulling one end then the other till the butter is prepared. A slightly different custom prevails in India.

Phát and *Phatah* are Kashmíri proper names.

- 11, *Das, das karawun dáí chhukho ;*
Bëbih khos tah mëhmán chhukho ;
Patakini yaç tah král chhukho ;
Athih lúr tah piyádah chhukho ;
Bronçhkani basam tah sawiyás chhukho ;

Shāstrou phēran tah khār chhukho ;
Tah garah garah pādsháh chhukho ;
 Making a noise, you are a god ;
 A cup in your lap, you are a guest ;
 A basket on your back, you are a potter ;
 A stick in your hand, you are a messenger ;
 Ashes before you, you are a *sannyási* ;
 An iron garment over you, you are a blacksmith ;
 You are a king in every house.

Ans. *Graṭṭah*, a handmill.

Dái is esteemed as a god in the house and sometimes worshipped.

Cf. *Panjáb Notes and Queries*, Vol. III, 84.

The cup in the lap, i. e., the hole in the upper mill-stone (called *auhuk*) in which the grain is placed.

Yaṭ a cone-shaped basket used by potters for carrying their wares to the market. The hole into which the handle of the upper mill-stone fits (*gud*) is supposed to be like this.

A stick in your hand, refers to this handle, called *dárun* in *Kashmíri*.

The *ashes* of course refer to the dust that gathers before the mill-stone.

The *garment of iron*, i. e., the upper mill-stone.

12, *Sará ausum ; sará usum ; sarav khutah bud ;*

Manx wátis nah to phul auḍ.

I've got a tank ; I've got a tank ; it is greater than other tanks ;

And yet it will not contain half a sesame flower.

Ans. *Bab*, a nipple, an udder.

Tel phul is the *Sesamum orientale*.

This is also a proverb and quoted concerning a big, fat, man—with no brains.

13, *Herih wuṭṭh hakar bunah raṭ sháṭhan.*

A log of wood descended from above and was stopped (lit. seized) by the sand.

Ans. *Kangú*, a (man's) comb, (stopped by tangled hair).

14, *Saras andar mámani piyáyih ;*

Wadaviḥ gás, taup hēnih óyih.

Aunt gave birth to a child in the lake ;

We went to congratulate her and she came to bite us.

Ans. *Pambah lukhar*, the nut-case of the *Euryale ferox*, an aquatic plant, the seeds of which are eaten by the natives of the valley. Its broad, round, leaf lies on the water like that of the lotus, its

upper surface being in no way remarkable, whilst below it is covered with numerous, hard, sharp, and hooked *spicula*, with which the natives often prick themselves, when gathering the seeds.

Mámáni, mother's brother's wife.

15, *Treh nanih ; treh khanih ; treh sávènih.*

Three are naked; three are coverlets; three are *parda-nishín* women.

ANS. *Kong-posh*, a saffron flower.

16, *Phulmut guláb tah tsatán nah kanh,*

The rose has bloomed and nobody cuts it.

ANS. (Hindús) *Siriyih*, } The Sun.
(Musalmáns) *Aftáb*, }

17, *Mímut murdah tah wadán nah kanh.*

The man has died, and nobody weeps.

ANS. *Lar*, a house.

A house is here compared to a man. It is said to be dead when its inhabitants are asleep or absent.

The idiom is peculiar—literally it is 'a dead man has died.'

18, *Watharamut watharun shungán nah kanh.*

The bed has been spread and nobody lies (or sleeps) on it.

ANS. *Tulah-katur*, ice on the surface of water.

19, *Dar gayá, darbár gýá ;*

Ab qíshít mar gayá.

It went to court, it went to court ;

(And) on seeing the water it died.

ANS. *Kágaz* (*Kághaz*, *Pers.*) paper.

An impromptu riddle on seeing a court *munshí* drop his papers into the river as he crossed over the bridge to the court.

20, *Wahá qúris mahah wavem ;*

Kálah wuchham, pagah nah kunih.

I sowed *mahá* in a field of air ;

Yesterday I saw it, but to-morrow it is nowhere.

ANS. *Tórákdár rát*, a starry night.

Mahá (Hindúst. *másh*), *Phaseolus max* or *radiatus*. *Mahah* is the objective form.

21, *Laṭih rust mewah kyah ?*

What fruit is it without a tail ?

ANS. *Thúl tah nún*, egg and salt.

22, *Aḍ gaz mámanih ḍoḍ gaz púts.*

A veil one and a half yard long for my aunt who is only half a yard high.

ANS. *Sutsan tah panahdáv*, needle and thread.

Púts, is the long piece of cotton cloth thrown over the head and allowed to hang down the back of the Kashmíri woman.

23, *Bar dit khar natsán.*

Shutting the door the ass dances.

ANS. *Graṭṭah*, a mill.

Asses, I believe, run about and kick up their heels when they bray. The noise of the mill in motion is supposed to resemble them.

This is a proverb also, and is frequently quoted concerning the man who is full of words in his house, while outside he does nothing.

24, *Darakhtí jámwará ; darakhtas chhuh nah bīhán*

Bachih kashí beshumár ; pháh chhuk nah zah dván.

It is a tree-bird (*i. e.*, has wings); it does not sit on a tree;

It has young without number; it never hatches them.

ANS. *Gáḍ*, a fish.

25, *Kuḥkuḥhálíye, kuḥ khatsáyikhai ; mukhtah yaḍ barthai, mugal túpi ditethai.*

O woman, you ascended to the second storey, filled your stomach with pearls, and wore a hat like a Mughal.

ANS. *Dámas pēth dekchih*, (*degchí*, *Pers.*), a sancepan (of rice) on the hearth.

Kuḥkuḥhálēni, ancient Kashmíri for a very respectable woman, who generally sat in the *kuḥ* or *kuḥ*.

Kuḥ, the floor or floors between the ground-floor and the topmost floor of the house.

The bubbling boiling rice resembles pearls.

Mugal túpi = *kuláh-i-mughal*.

26, *Dár dit hár natsán.*

Shutting the window the starling dances.

ANS. *Yindar*, spinning-wheel.

27, *Akahlad malare phakahlad poni ;*

Yētih byuḥ dindár, tatiḥ byuḥ woni.

Stinking water in a foul water-pot;

Where the religious man sits, there sits the *baniyá*.

ANS. *Gurguri*, a smoking pipe of brass or copper (the *huqqa*).

Malar, a big earthen water vessel holding between twenty-five and thirty *sers* of water.

Poni, water. This word is used only by the Hindús. The Musalmáns invariably say *áb*.

Woni, the shop-keeper is regarded by the people as the incarnation of all evil, and is therefore quoted here as the opposite of the *dindár* man. Kashmirís have a saying:—*Woni chhuí poni kisarih tali*, the shopkeeper is like water covered over with rice-chaff.

28, *Dulámih, ðulámih mahanivyo, nar tih chhai nah zang,*
Máz chon khandahákar, ađij cháni rang.
 O round man without arms or legs,
 Your flesh is like sweetmeat, your bones are coloured.

Ans. *Kharbus* (Pers. *kharbuza*), a musk melon, which is grown in great quantities all over the valley. It ripens about August.

29, *Sunah sandis tálarwas, rupah sansah lanje.*
Árifan dup Zárifas "yimah kami ganje?"
 Silver branches stretched across (lit. to a) a golden ceiling.
 Arif said to Zárif, "Who tied them?"

Ans. *Zalarih sund zál*, a spider's web.

Arif and *Zárif* are corruptions of the Arabic *Árif* (wise) and *Zárif* (witty). The names are most uncommon in the valley. I only know of *Arif Bánd* (Hindúst. *Bhánd*) an actor.

30, *Yédrik manz wáv kas?*
Shan rëtan ráj kas?
 Who has the wind in the winter?
 Who has the rule for six months only?

Ans. *Kul*, a tree.

Trees in Kashmir flourish for six months only. The remaining half of the year they are bare and are supposed to feel the wind.

31, *Wanai záv, wanai piyáv;*
Wanai wasit, natganik dráv.
 It was born in the jungle; it gave birth in the jungle;
 On coming from the jungle, it went out to dance.

Ans. *Don*, the stick with which the butter is churned. *Vide ante* Nos. 10, 81.

32, *Wuzul piyáđah harámzádah.*
 A rascally red messenger.

Ans. *Maratsawágun*, red pepper.

This pepper grows in the valley, and is a very favourite spice with the people. It is compared with the *piyáđah*, because it sometimes

makes people "smart for it." *Piyádahs* are those who "look up" the Government debtors now and again.

Harámzádah is here translated as a term of abuse as intended.

- 33, *Tsuh zungú, tsudaháh zungú, uk zungú kulis pēṭh*;
Tasund máz pádsháhan mungú. Timan tran chhuk kunú náv.
 Of four feet, of fourteen feet, of one foot up in a tree;
 Its flesh is liked by kings. There's only one name to the three.

ANS. *Khar* an ass, *khar* an insect, and *khar* (or more properly *kharbuzah*) a musk melon.

- 34, *Saras andar paliyárih haná.*
 A little hedge in (or round) the lake.

ANS. *Achharwál*, eyelash.

The eye is often likened to ponds and lakes. Cf. *Canticles vii, 4.*
 The simile well sets forth the appearance of a large, clear liquid.

- 35, *Saras andar kájiwaṭah haná.*
 A little pestle in the lake.

ANS. *Lár*, a cucumber.

An immense number of cucumbers, melons, and tomatoes are raised on the gardens that float on the lake near *Srinagar*. For a good description of these floating gardens cf. *Moorcroft's Travels.*

- 36, *Saras andar wukhlah haná.*
 A little mortar in the lake.

ANS. *Héndawénd*, a water-melon.

- 37, *Saras andar lorih haná.*
 A little stick in the lake.

ANS. *Nadur*, the stalk of the lotus (*Nilumbium speciosum*).

It grows abundantly in the extensive lakes of *Kashmir*. It is about ten inches long and one and a half inch in diameter.

- 38, *Mongah trakas duchih kátgah?*
Gámah shahrah dorih kátgah?
Anḍharishi korih kátgah?
 How many half-grains are there in one *trak* of *mong*?
 How many streets are there in the villages and cities?
 How many virgins are there?

ANS. *Sitárah*, the stars (i. e., they cannot be numbered).

Mong, *Phaseolus max* or *Radiatus*.

Trak, vide post No. 88.

Dúr is a street without shops.

- 39, *Dayih sanz Dayiygat ;
Zalari sanz chhēh xāj ;
Mājih sēwān gubur tah
Gubaras sēwān māj.*
(It is) the work of God ;
It is a spider's web ;
The mother gives birth to a son,
And the son gives birth to a mother.

ANS. *Al*, a pumpkin.

The pumpkin is a very favourite culinary vegetable with the Kashmírís and all orientals. Its stems twine and intertwine all over the place where it grows. *Vide cucurbitacæ* in any botanical dictionary for a full description.

- 40, *Saras andar nárah-ṭáki haná.*
A little plate of fire in the lake.

ANS. *Pamposh*, the lotus.

- 41, *Wuzalis gánas chhati kachih-púti.*
White lambs in a stall.

ANS. *Asas andar dand*, the teeth in the mouth.

Gán is the underground floor of the house, where the kine, etc. are sometimes housed.

Kachih-pút is old Kashmírí, and almost obsolete now,—the present words for lambs being *chirrakat* and *chirr*.

- 42, *Lam tal tham ṭgor.*
Four pillars under a heap (of earth).

ANS. *Gov hanzah babah ṭgor*, a cow's four teats. Cf. No. 78.

- 43, *Sari, sari ayēkhai, Padmání, raṭit dyutmai dab.*

O Padmán, you came by way of the lake, and I laid hold of you and threw you down.

ANS. *Khēni kaḍani*, to blow one's nose (native fashion). *Vide* Nos. 63 and 138.

- 44, *Ohist én jánwar (or jánwár) dijih dijah ;
Andar chhus máz tai nēbar aḍijah ?
What is that animal (that can be tossed) up and down ;
Inside it is flesh and outside bones ?*

ANS. *Ṭhíl*, an egg.

- 45, *Māji chhak ránṭas tah shuri dívatáh.*

The mother is a devil and the children are gods.

ANS. *Guláb posh*, a rose bush (in bloom).

- 46, *Laṭih mikrás kas ?*
Haṭih mukhtahár kas ?
Shan rētan ráj kas ?
 Who has a tail (like) a pair of scissors ?
 Who has a necklace on her throat ?
 Who has rule for six months (only) ?

ANS. *Katij*, a swallow.

The swallow generally arrives in the valley about the beginning of April and remains for six months. Its throat is a deep reddish-brown and has a ring of dark blue round it. The lateral tail feathers are very long and give a remarkable, forked appearance to the tail. Cf. No. 54.

- 47, *Uṭhin lad májih sáyih shírín dání kúr ;*
Shírín dání májih sáyih uṭhin lad kúr ;
 A sweet girl was born to a twisted (or crooked) mother ;
 A twisted (or crooked) girl was born to a sweet mother.

ANS. *Dachhahránṭh*, the vine. Cf. No. 39.

- 48, *Tsor zangah chhēs tah pakán chhuh nah ;*
Zah kan chhis tah busán chhuh nah ;
Batah chhis díwán tah khěwán chhuh nah.
 It has four legs, and does not walk ;
 It has two ears, and does not hear ;
 We give it food, and it does not eat.

ANS. *Ṭaṭhul* (or *Ṭaṭhuj*), a large wooden dish out of which Musalmáns eat. It stands on four little wooden legs. Its two handles are the ears.

- 49, *Sah pakán báli,*
Trah tshaniṭ náli.
 A tiger walks on the bank (of the river).
 And thirty (people) are round (or clinging on to) his neck.
 ANS. *Bahats*, a barge (towed up the river).

- 50, *Shamáas pēth uk-tsurah ;*
Uk-tsáris pēth trah-tsurah ;
Trah-tsáris pēth kanḍi-záláh ;
Kanḍi-zálas pēth Khojih Bábáh ;
 A fire-place on a candlestick ;
 On this fire-place (another fire-place with) three holes ;
 On this three-hole (fire-place is) a hedge of thorns.
 On this hedge *Khája Bábá*.

ANS. *A'sas pēṭh nast tah achh zah; tath pēṭh bumbah; tah tamih pēṭh kun dastár.* (The body is the candlestick, over which is the mouth); over the mouth (are) the nose and two eyes; over them the eyebrows; and on top of that the turban.

Kashmíri fire-places are generally made of plastered mud with one, two, four, or six holes on the top to receive the cooking vessels.

- 51, *Yorah gatshán dawán dawán;*
Torah yiwán lut lut.
 Going from here running running;
 Coming from there slowly.

ANS. *Nēbar nerun,* to go out, (*hájat-i-bashar*).

- 52, *Hakan hukan; dahih zangih pakan; trēh pon; tah shēh kan.*
 (It makes the sound of) *hakan hukan*; walks with ten feet; (has) three fundaments; and six ears.

ANS. *Dándah júri tah wáyanwol,* a yoke of oxen and their driver.

The plough's creaking, as it passes through the soil, is supposed to say *hakan hukan*.

- 53, *Herih wuth jandah sháh jandah tráwit.*
 The mendicant descended from above, leaving his cloak behind him.
 ANS. *Dún,* a walnut (stripped of its skin.)
 Any one who has seen a ripe walnut fall will understand this riddle.

- 54, *Sarah khatsak sar málah gandit;*
Dunyá áyak tēhandit kyah;
Garih dráyak garawol banit;
Kálachan lájtham panditbái.
 You came up from the lake wearing a necklace on (your) neck;
 You came wandering (all over) the world;
 You left your house as the owner:
 In the evening you tried to make me think (or pretended) you were a *panditáni*.

ANS. *Katij,* a swallow.

Vide ante No. 46.

- 55, *Kirkichih dabas nábad wuras;*
Tamich súrat chhēh ábas pēṭh.
 I will put sugar (instead of grain) under the grain crusher;
 Its shape is in the water.

ANS. *Ainah* (*Pers. áina*) a mirror.

I cannot explain this riddle, nor any one also whom I have asked.

- 56, *Lará lazam, lará lazam satimis ásmánas pēṭh. Nah dupum dusilas,*
nah dupum chhánas. Pánai karimas hatakbudi khánah.

I built a house, I built a house up in the seventh heaven. I spoke not to a mason, I spoke not to a carpenter. I built it myself (and all the) hundreds of rooms in it.

ANS. *Mánchh gan*, a bee-hive. Cf. No. 60.

Satyum ásmán, the seventh heaven, (*falaku-l-aflák*) the empyrean heaven.

Muhammadans undoubtedly get their tradition of seven heavens from the Talmud. Cf. *Hughes' Notes on Muhammadanism*, pp. 91-95.

The bees generally build their houses high up in the hollows of trees and rocks.

57, *Tghar chham tah bar chham ;*

Rájih sandih bāgh chham ;

Dushálah walit chham ;

Nav lachh mukhtah gandit chham.

I have (something which) is empty, and I have (something which) is full.

I have (something) in the rájá's garden,

I have (something that) wears a shawl,

And I have (something which) is adorned with nine *lakhs* of pearls.

ANS. *Makáyih waḡ*, Indian-corn.

Below are three variants of the same riddle—

Hari thí

Man bhari thí

Ghane motion se jari thí

Báhir maidan dhari par dosála oḡhe khari thí.

ANS. *Khet makki ká.*

Ját district, Eastern Jamná Canal, N. W. P.

Hari thí

Man bhari thí

Sawá lákh moti jari thí,

Bájáji ke bāgh meḡ, dushála oḡhi khari thí.

ANS. *Bhuttá* or *makki*

Hindí riddle.

Hari thí, man bhari thí

Lákh motion jari thí,

Bájáji ke bāgh meḡ jatan khilári khari thí.

ANS. *Chhalí.*

Panjábi.

Cf. *Punjab Notes and Queries*, Vol. I, 899, Vol. II, 626 and *Indian Notes and Queries*, Vol. IV, 68.

58, *Baṭh tali ṭsalán, laṭ ṭsaṭ gáv.*

A cow with its tail cut runs away under the bank.

ANS. *Náv*, a (Kashmíri) boat.

59, *Sheyih trah dárih tah sheyih trah bar chhis,*

Sheyih trah gaz bar panah chhus,

Rájas phirayo ruṭṭe wásaná,

Tájas pēṭh sonah manah chhus.

It has thirty-six windows and thirty-six doors,

It is thirty-six yards in width.

It was a good thought of the Rájá, (lit. turned over a good thought).

On its crown is a maund of gold.

ANS. *Juma mashíd* (*yá baḍ mashíd*) the great mosque in Srinagar city which was commenced by Zainu' l ábadín and finished by Sháh Jahán. It is a very large four-sided building with an open square in the centre. There must be nearly one hundred windows in the place, while there are only four doors; and its width is not thirty-six yards any way—the north and south sides are about 20 yards wide, the east side is sixteen yards and the west 22 yards.

Wásaná is old Kashmíri, not used or generally known now-a-days. *Khiyál* is now used.

The gold on the crown refers to the gilding of the domes of the mosque.

60, *Larah lazam tarahdár ;*

Nah unmas chhán tah nah unmas khár.

I built a splendid house ;

I brought neither a carpenter nor a blacksmith (to help me in building it).

ANS. *Mánchh gan*, a bee-hive. Cf. No. 56.

61, *Alah, alah wáv kas ?*

Bishtuk bayih kas ?

Kánah kánah latah kas ?

Who shakes with the wind ?

Who fears *bishtah* ?

Who receives kicks in his sides ?

ANS. *Kul*, a tree—*bror*, a cat—and *léwan*, a spade.

Bishtah is an exclamation used to drive away cats.

62, *Akhá pakán tah thakán nah zah ;*

Byákhá bihit tah wuthán nah zah ;

Byákhá wudanih tah bihán nah zah.

One goes on and is never tired ;
 Another sits and never rises ;
 Another stands and never sits.

ANS. *Āb*, water—*samín*, earth—and *ásmán* (*yá nab*), the firmament.

63, *Machih kaḍit múnih ḡhas.*

Taking it out of a large earthen jar and dashing it against the wall.

ANS. *Kheni kaḍani*, blowing the nose after the native fashion.

If sitting in his house, the ordinary poor Kashmíri will fling the snot against the wall. *Vide* Nos. 43 and 138.

64, *Kurih haná asam; duhas asam phírít thúrit yiwán, kálachan asam baras tal bihdán.*

I have a little girl, by day she wanders hither and thither, at night she sits down by my door.

ANS. *Lúr*, a staff.

65, *Herih kanèn khushkah graḡḡah, hukh tah audur melih tath;*

Tamí werih ḡlam pherih, pēḡhim taakuj pherih nah zah.

Above is a dry mill, dry and wet will meet there;

For it the world will turn, (but) the upper mill-stone will never turn.

ANS. *Ās*, the mouth.

Its roof is the dry mill,—where dry and wet food meet. The world will turn before the upper jaw will move, *i. e.*, it will never move.

Werih, (for the sake of) is very ancient Kashmíri. *Khátirah* or *bápat* or *kyut* is now used.

66, *Sar hukh zih pínṡkání muyih.*

The tank dried up and the *pínṡkání* died.

ANS. *Tsong*, a lamp (*dívá* Sansk.); *pínṡkání*, (Pers. *Ziwa*.)

All I know about the *pínṡkání* is that it is a little bird with extremely small eyes.

67, *Shoni, shoni krandas,*

Akusú zandás shurah sás.

(It makes the noise of) *shoni, shoni*, in a *khilta*.

To one plant there are sixteen thousand seeds.

ANS. *Ganhár*, the *Amaranthus anardana* and *Gangeticus*.

The pearl ashes of this wood are used by washermen for cleaning linen.

68, *Bálah pēḡhah minyimar ush tráván.*

A hind sheds tears from off a hill.

ANS. *Batah phyárun*, straining rice (out of a pot).

69, *Chízah haná chham ; nah chham zánán apur tarit nah yapur.*

I have a little thing ; it does not know how to go across or to come across.

ANS. *Paliyár*, a hedge.

70, *Wanas khase tabardár ;
Akih akih dage sásá tsate ;
Wanas wále gařakár.*

The woodcutter will go to the copse ;
He will cut down a thousand trees with each stroke ;
And will destroy the jungle.

ANS. *Náid*, a barber. *Vide* Nos. 112 and 129.

71, *Wanas kúns kyah ?*

What is young in the jungle ?

ANS. *Kanahguchh*, a mushroom of which large quantities are to be found in the valley.

Kúns, young in age, in height, and experience.

72, *Wanas zyut kyah ?*

What is old in the jungle ?

ANS. *Duh*, smoke.

Zyut old in age and stature, etc.

73, *Kař kař gáso, phirit áso.*

O rustling grass, I have returned with you.

ANS. *Pulahor*, a grass sandal, made from rice-straw (*Oryza sativa*).

The straw is first twisted into a rope, and then interwoven to make a sole, which is fastened on to the foot sandal-wise.

74, *Báyih dapiyo ? bápáthar dapiyo ? auráthar dapiyo ? karayo ho tah ho ?*

Shall I call you brother ? Shall I call you nephew ? Shall I call you my husband's other wife's son ? Shall I put you to sleep ?

ANS. Once upon a time there was a king, who died and left his wife and son and daughter helpless. The son, too, being very young could do nothing for a livelihood. However, they managed somehow to eke out an existence. As soon as the son was old enough, he started to try his luck in some other country. But his mother and sister did not know where he had gone. After a time they got anxious about him, and thought they would go in search of him. They travelled to

the same country as he had reached, and where he had been so prospered and behaved himself so wisely, that he had been appointed king. However, they did not know of this. By a striking coincidence they all met, and fell in love with one another; and the king married them both. In course of time the elder of the two bore a son, when it became known that she was the king's own mother and the other woman his sister. Then it was that the other wife took the child up in her arms and spoke to it the above mentioned words.

Ho tah ho, a lullaby.

75, *Muatabar májih chham gásv zúj.*

My venerable mother has a grass zúj.

ANS. *Pahar*, a cottage with thatch roof.

Zúj is a long piece of cloth worn only by *pandítánís*, extending from the crown of the head down to the small of the back.

This would seem to go against my note to No. 4, were it not for the qualifying adjective "venerable."

76, *Uláh karit chílas tsáv,*
Mukhtah mandilah ganđit dráv,
Yáni buzuk, "Áv, áv,"
Tán khalkan zúáh tsáv.

Taking God's name it entered upon forty days,
And then came out adorned with a turban of pearls.
When the people heard that it had come,
They got fresh life.

ANS. *Dáni*, rice (in the husks).

Rice is the staple grain of Kashmír. The inhabitants live chiefly upon it. Rice land is regarded as the most valuable of all land. Rice is sown in April and reaped in September. The grain forms and begins to ripen within forty days of sowing.

Uláh (for *Alláh*), the Supreme Being.

Chílas (for *chihíl*), forty.

Mandilah, a *pashmína* turban.

77, *Lará lazam táh bah táh,*
Andar bíphis gandar káv,
Tim tih bíphis táh bah táh.

I built a house layer upon layer.
Inside it sat young crows,
They also sat one upon another.

ANS. *Dúngah*, a covert boat for passengers.

The fore-part is left for the passengers. The boat-people live in

the after-part, which is separated and covered with matting. Often three generations together thus pass their lives.

Táh bah táh = Pers. *Tah ba tah.*

78, *Lam tal tham sath.*

Seven pillars under a heap.

Ans. *Honih hanzah babah sath*, the seven nipples of a bitch.

Cf. No. 42.

79, *Másúvis chhánis gásuv raz.*

Your uncle (hanging by) a grass rope.

Ans. *Tolah wor*, the rope and earthenware vessel at the end of the *tol*. *Vide ante*, No. 4.

Mású, mother's sister's husband.

80, *Tatih loi kán, khut ásmán,*

Yétih loi kán, wot Hindústán.

Thence I shot an arrow, (and) it ascended to the sky.

Hence I shot an arrow, (and) it reached Hindústán.

Ans. *Dákuk khat*, a postal letter.

The Kashmíri pandits say

Al Kashmír,

Janat nazír.

They believe it to have been the first paradise in the *mahá-yug*. The Musalmáns, also, regard it as a very holy country.

81, *Nah zah phute* (or *phate*), *nah zah pháte, wasih sudras tshánte.*

It will never break, it will never burst, it will swim in the sea.

Ans. *Don*, the stick with which the butter is churned. *Vide ante* Nos. 10 and 31.

Sudr, contraction of *samundar*.

82, *Kuchhik hand ásum, tati ásam tsurai khár wátán.*

I had a little *kuť*, it held only four *khárwárs*.

Ans. *Dún*, a walnut.

The walnut flourishes in a remarkable manner in the valley. The fruit is cheap and good and largely eaten by the natives. *Dún* is the word for walnuts generally. There are four species, however, each of which is distinguished by a separate name. *Vide Kashmíri Proverbs and Sayings*, p. 229.

Kuť, *vide ante* No. 25.

Khár (or *khárwár*) a dry measure containing lbs 192. Its literal meaning is an ass-load (*khár*, an ass. Pers.) Cf. No. 33.

83, *Nílupal tsakajal; wustah kurih dakah dyut; wasit wut Khanabal.*

A great green stone,—the teacher's daughter pushed it, and it descended and arrived at Khanabal.

ANS. *Khyun*, eating.

The *great green stone* is the mouthful of food, perhaps cabbage—the *teacher's daughter* is the tongue, which gave the food a push, and it reached the stomach (*Khanabal*).

Khanabal is the name of a little village, where people disembark for Islámábád, Mártand, etc.

84, *Wanakis dáras árih tah matgai,*
Amritah chhasan katgaiwán,
Wuchh tas zangan páyilah katgai,
Bezawah chhasan natgaiwán.

The wood of the jungle has rings and bands,

I wet it with the water of life,

Look how many bangles she wears on her feet.

I make the dead to dance.

ANS. *Don*, the stick with which the butter is churned.

Vide ante Nos. 10, 31, 81. This stick has rings, etc., attached to the bottom end.

The "water of life" is the milk. Hindús of the country generally call it *amrita*.

85, *Lará lazam, lará lazam tsandanawe dáraí;*
Sár Kashér pēh lazmas, totih luts háruí.

I built a house, I built a house of sandal-wood;

And put all Kashmír on it, yet it was light as a shell.

ANS. *Khat*, a letter.

Kashmíri paper is supposed to resemble sandal-wood in colour; hence the comparison.

Kashmír is called *Kashér* by the Kashmíri.

86, *Herih wuth akhá,*
Buth karit trakhá.

A (man) descended from above,

Making his face (like) a *trak*.

ANS. *Al*, a pumpkin.

Pumpkins are trained to grow over skeleton houses. When they are ripe they fall.

Trak, a grain measure containing four and three quarter *sers* (full).

87, *Zah batah phali tah ak rasah dám.*

Two grains of rice and a drink of juice.

ANS. *Dachhēh phul*, a grape.

There are several varieties of grape growing in Kashmir. The variety here referred to is called *Husainí dachh*.

Dám = Hindúst. *Ghuṇṭ*.

- 88, *Akhá bihit bád o hawáwas ;*
Byákhá karán málas ráchh ;
Trëyim pherán tsor kunj álamas ;
Timan tran chhuí kunuí ndv.

The first sits in the wind ;

The second takes care of the property ;

The third goes round the four quarters of the world ;

To these three there is only one name, (*i. e.*, the same name).

ANS. *Gánṭh*, an icicle, a string used as a strap, or a kite (the bird of prey).

- 89, *Watih pakán tah káv khandán.*

Walking by the way and plucking a crow.

ANS. *Dachh khëni*, eating grapes (on the road).

The vine may be seen in some parts of the valley hanging in beautiful festoons about the trees on the wayside in a wild state.

- 90, *Watih pakán tah tsángij tsatán.*

Walking by the way and cutting the *tsángij*.

ANS. *Tsuṭ kheni*, eating bread (on the road).

This refers to the Hindústáni *chapáti* (a flat cake).

Tsángij, is a round piece of matting for sitting on.

- 91, *Kurih haná dsam, sui dsam pámas suēt batah khëwán.*

I had a litte girl, and she used to eat with me.

ANS. *Wáj*, a ring.

- 92, “*Abah gaṇ gaṇ, babah gaṇ gaṇ, kapar kichih kichih,*” *son sikh bachah sairas dráv.*

(It cries) “*abah gaṇ gaṇ, babah gaṇ gaṇ, kapar kichih kichil*” (and) our Sikh boy goes out for a walk.

ANS. *Yindar*, a spinning-wheel.

The words in inverted commas are supposed to represent the sound the wheel makes when revolving. A Sikh boy is here mentioned because the top and bottom of the *yandartul*, (the little wheel of the spinning-wheel on which the thread being spun is wound) are fastened together with long hair ; and a Sikh boy has long hair.

- 93, *Sah chhuk pakán rogih rogih. Shál chhis raṭit mag. Ak kánahwol, zah kánahwáli gásah tuliav pak.*

A tiger goes by the road side. The jackals lay hold of its mane. One boatman, two boatmen pull it along with blades of grass.

ANS. *Bahats*, the largest boat with a mat or straw covering used for the carriage of goods.

Kánahwol, lit. the man who holds the *kán*, the *hamatul*, or long pole with which the boat is propelled.

The *blades of grass* refer to the ropes made of plaited twigs and straw.

94, *Kalah tsutui, kalah tsutui; kalas tshanimas tabar.*

Nílah Nágah tresh cheyan, Warah-mulih búzus khabar.

His head is cut off, his head is cut off; I struck at his head with an axe. He drank the water at Níla Nág, and the people heard of it at Bára múlá.

ANS. *Kalam (qalam)* a reed or pen, (used in writing a letter at Níla Nág (or Wernág); which letter was sent to Bára múlá.)

Reference is made here to the cutting of a reed with a knife to turn it into a pen.

Nílah Nág, or the fountain of blue water, is a celebrated fountain at a little distance from Shahbád in the southern end of the valley. It is generally called Wernág (or Bernág) after the ancient name of the *pargána* in which it is located.

Warah-mul is the correct name for the town commonly called Bára múlá, a town at the north-west end of the valley, where visitors change horses and coolies for the boats on their way into Kashmír. V, W, and B, are used indiscriminately by the uneducated, as among the Gascons, Spaniards and negroes.

95, *Shan rētan duk dahá tah shan rētan nah kinh.*

For six months smoke and for six months nothing.

ANS. *Hammám*, a hot bath.

Kashmírís only use the *hammám* for six months during the cold weather.

96. *Manz maidán harámgashtá,*

Wudih dit nárah tashtá.

An adulteress in an open field,

With a basin of fire on her head.

ANS. *Jajír*, a smoking pipe.

The *jajír* is compared to an adulteress because it is bandied about from one man to another. Everybody can take a whiff from it.

Wud, the crown of the head; hence *wudih dyun*, to put on the crown of the head.

Tasht or *tast*, a shallow basin of brass, etc.

97, *Aurah with pañdit treh ñintáni gandít.*

A pañdit descended thence with three girdles round him.

ANS. *Zin bor*, a bundle of wood.

In Kashmír the term *pañdit* does not necessarily mean a learned bráhmañ. All Kashmíri Hindús, on the assumption that they all belong to the bráhmañ caste, are called pañdits.

Mention is here made of a pañdit, because in former years when this riddle was invented, pañdits only among the male inhabitants of the valley wore girdles like the Tibetans and Dárdís of the present day. They gave up the custom about five years ago.

98, *Nílah palah talah gunasá dráye,*
Lach lokah márit béyih túri téaye.

A snake came out from under a green stone,

And (after) killing thousands of people went back again.

ANS. *Shamsher*, a sword.

Gunas or *af'i* (ὄφις), is said to be very poisonous. It is a round-headed, short, thick snake, and is black on the back, and yellowish on the belly. Various accounts are given of its length. Elmslie says, "a foot and a half," Vigne says, "about a yard long." The *gunas* is said to be numerous in the *Lár pargáná*.

99, *Guḍah záí buh tah máj, adah záv bab,*
Doh pañshéh dab gav záv buḍi bab.

First I and my mother were born, and then father.

(After that) for five days nothing happened, (when) grandfather was born.

ANS. *Kapasi kul*, the cotton plant.

Gossipeum herbaceum, the common Indian cotton plant rises in Kashmír to nearly a foot and a half in height during the first year of growth. It is a pretty little plant. Its flowers are a bright yellow; each petal being marked with a purple spot near the base. The flower is succeeded by a fruit, which gradually becomes dry and then bursts into three or four valves, when the cotton-wool is seen issuing from it in all directions. The cotton is generally white.

100, *Dúr darakhtan sangarmálan,*
Kus hékih lálán mul karit?

Trees upon the range of hills in the distance.

Who can say (lit. make) the price of rubies?

ANS. *Kong*, saffron which is grown in large quantities on the big, flat plateau in the neighbourhood of Pámpúr, about eight miles from

Srinagar. It is very expensive—about a rupee is given for a rupee's weight. The flowers of the *Orcus sativus* are of a red colour, like rubies.

101, *Aubasih wolum baubasih rañit ; ditum barit.*

Mēh dup, "Phuñum." Torah khutum, Sháh Total zan.

I pulled it down from above with a rope : I dashed it (into the water). I said (to myself) "It is drowned." (But) it rose thence like a king parrot (meaning nicely).

ANS. *Tolah wor.* The earthenware vessel at the end of the *tol*, vide description, ante No. 4.

Aubasih, above, and *baubasih*, a rope are old Kashmíri. *Hērih pēñh* and *raz* are now always used.

102, *Yáni zāv táni khut kánti pēñh.*

When born it immediately climbed to the upper storey.

ANS. *Duh*, smoke.

The general plan of a Kashmíri house is :—First a ground floor, in which are two chambers with the small hall of the house. Then the second floor with three rooms. And over that the floor under the roof, generally consisting of one long chamber, where people usually sit during the summer, but which is used as a loft, for the storing of grain, wood, etc. during the winter. The latter is the *kánti* (or *kanēni*).

103, *Tal talé taláv khandán,*

Pádsháh garas lút karán.

(Apparently) digging a very deep well,

(But really) robbing the king's house.

ANS. *Gagur*, a rat.

This is also a Kashmíri proverb and quoted concerning a traitor. Cf. *Kashmíri Proverbs and Sayings*, p. 209.

104, *Mumut zindas thaph karit.*

A dead man leading the living.

ANS. *Gudámih gandit push*, a beast held by a tether.

105, *Khyun, chun, tah trukun ;*

Gov kyut khurák, tah wárih kyut warun.

(Something) to eat, to drink, and to gnaw ;

Food for the cow, and something to sow in the garden.

ANS. *Hēndawēnd*, a water-melon.

There is an amusing Kashmíri story, too long to repeat here, in which a foolish son is ordered by his father to go and get five things,

something to eat, to drink, to gnaw, to feed the cow with, and to sow in the garden; and the boy advised by a clever girl brings back a water-melon. Cf. *Madanakámarájanakadai (The Dravidian Nights)*, p. 63. for a similar incident.

Wár a garden—generally used for vegetable gardens.

106, *Ati chhúit tah raṭun.*

It is in your hand,—catch it.

ANS. *Tshái*, a shadow.

107, Four men went out in a boat and gave two *sers* of rice to the boatwoman to cook for them. The boatwoman began to cook the rice.

One of the party said:—*Káko, hár má ablahan tai karih, i. e.*, O father, take care that the starling does not get the better of the fools—meaning, See that the woman does not eat any of the rice.

Whereupon another of the party said:—*Brak tont karimas tah kor kun pai karih? i. e.*, I have broken its bill. What can she do now?—meaning, I have got my eye on her, etc.

Then another said:—*Sháh wot dali manzi. Hánz hēt hai karih, i. e.*, The king has reached the middle of the lake, and will run about with the boatmen—meaning, The rice is ready for straining. Now the woman will let fall some of it.

On which the last of the party said:—*Pētas khumáras, “mēh wai.” Tšēh kyah karih.* I will pretend that I have got a drunken headache (and ask her to give) it to me. What can she do to you?

Kák is a term implying intense respect for the person thus addressed, and is common both to the Musalmáns and Hindús. A son will thus address his father; the younger members of a family will thus address their eldest brother; and any very respected person outside the family may thus sometimes be addressed. But the father only is called simply *kák*. I find *kákká* is the Muhammadan Singhalese word for “elder brother,” and *cáccá* for “father’s younger brother.” The latter word is also in use in Southern India. *Kákká* is also used by the Malays of Ceylon for “elder brother.” I cannot trace the origin of the words. In Telugu *kákká* means “father’s brother,” cf. also Ceylon A. S. *Journal* 1867—1870, p. 11.

Khumár, sickness, headache &c., the effects of drink. Rice-water is often given to alleviate sickness arising from intoxication.

108, *Lějan wuhan thán wuh.*

Twenty lids to twenty pots.

ANS. *Wuh nam*, the twenty nails on a man’s hands and feet.

109, *Chhatís baḥhis krahuni káv*
Timai karán táv táv.

Black crows on a white bank,
They are saying, "caw, caw."

ANS. *Kágazas pēḥ lēkhun*, writing on paper.

The paper is white, the words written thereon are black. The rustling of the paper, as you take it up to read it, is supposed to be the sounds of the words (written on it) speaking to you.

110, *Athav nah tai; khorav nah tai;*
Zorav suētin pakám chhuh.

Neither with hands, nor with feet,
(But) by its power it goes on.

ANS. *Saruph*, a snake.

111, *Sundarí phujkai wuganēn bālan,*
Wah wah mushkár tráwán chhēk,
Zah thah khēwán, ak thah tráwán,
Tsurim thah shama zálán chhēk.

O Sundarí, you flowered on a high hill;
Well! Well! you are leaving scent behind you;
Two portions you eat, and one portion you throw away
(And) the fourth portion you burn in your lamp.

ANS. *Tser*, an apricot.

The oil expressed from apricots is called *kháli tál*. Not much of it is used in the valley. Oil is also expressed from mustard, almonds, walnuts, and linseed.

Sundarí, a proper name (from the Sanskrit).

112, *Tshutis wanas guṭil tsáv,*
Tsatit kurnas kráv.

A sawyer went into a copse (and) cut and gathered some wood.

ANS. *Mas kusun*, to cut the hair. *Vide* Nos. 70 and 129.

113, *Herih wutḥ haṭ,*
Pharhang raṭ.

A bit of wood descended from above,
In a strong grasp of the hand.

ANS. *Kangani dini*, combing the hair.

Pharangi is a corruption of the Persian *farangi*. It here means the hand. Anything strong and capable is sometimes called *pharangi* in Kashmir.

Kashmíri combs are generally made of wood.

114, *Apárik taram khaṅkah buḍá sahanik ditsanam tshálah,*
Wuthit tah raṅanas nálah.

From that side an old woman, speaking through her nose, ran at me like a tigress, and jumped on me and held me to her breast.

ANS. *Nindar*, sleep.

115, *Pak pat̄sis, daph̄ (or dap̄) shur̄en, boz pánas, wuchh mēh kun,*

Go to the guest, speak to the children, listen to yourself, and look at me.

ANS. A man had cooked a sheep's head and legs for himself, wife, and children, and had just served them up, when a stranger came in. The wife looked at her husband to know whether she was to offer their guest any of the savoury food. The husband replied in the above words, which mean—Give the legs to the guest, the tongue to the children, keep the ears yourself, and give me the eyes.

116, *T̄aṭit rang kat ?*

Raṭit mul kat ?

What has colour on being cut ?

What has value on being laid hold of ?

ANS. *Hēndawēnd tah mukhtah*, a water-melon and a pearl.

117, *Gáṭuj kur̄ih han poṭ wētsahndn.*

The little girl is teasing out the silk.

ANS. *Kangani*, a woman's comb.

118, *Babo pyos, Májai pyos,*

Pyos nah pyos wutsh hai khyos.

O Father, I fell down, O Mother, I fell down,

And I had hardly fallen down, when a calf ate me.

ANS. *Peomut panah-barg*, (Skr. *parṇa-varga*), a fallen leaf.

119, *Mut t̄gul put d̄arih,*

Kulai hēt aṭahb̄arih.

The mad fellow escaped by the back window,

Taking his wife on his back.

ANS. *Duh*, smoke.

120, *Langi guri lat tráv,*

Mukhtah gav chhángare.

A one-legged (lit. a lame) horse kicked,
And pearls were scattered.

ANS. *Muhilih suṭi munun*, to pound with a pestle.

Chhángare is very old Kashmíri. Now-a-days the words *chhēka-ranah yun*, *pareshán gatshun* and *chhakunah yun*, are used.

121, *Wanas ləvīh kus?*

Who will wash the jungle?

ANS. *Rūd yá shín*, rain or snow.

122, *Wanas quvīh kus?*

Who will sweep the jungle?

ANS. *Wāv*, the wind.

123, *Pəwán chhuh mohá zan;*

Samán chhuh kohá zan;

Tsalán chhuh tsúrā zan;

It falls like a musquito;

Collects together like a great hill;

(And) runs away like a thief.

ANS. *Shín*, snow.

124, *Navīh ləjih gadi sat.*

A new pot with seven holes in it.

ANS. *Buth yá kalah*, the face (which is likened to a new pot, because it is clean).

125, *Guris pəṭh hust.*

An elephant on a horse.

ANS. *Khrāvīh pəṭh mahnyuv*, a man walking in pattens.

I have heard something like this in Persian:—

Chīst ān chīst dar jahān bisyār,

Fīl rá dīdam o bar asp sawār.

126, *Huti yut.*

(Going) hither and thither.

ANS. *Yēni yeruni*, sorting the warp.

127, *Hul gandit batich natsán.*

Tightening her girdle the duck dances.

ANS. *Pruts*, a little apparatus forming part of the spinning-wheel and intended to receive the thread.

This is also a saying, cited against a woman, who wishing to quarrel, goes and unites in a "row" close by. *Kashmíri* women have terrible tongues and most shrill voices. At the time of quarrelling they screech, shout, and dance till they are too hoarse and too tired to go on.

128, *Záme, zuse, punde, ase ;*

Nēt sanán karīh tirthan,

Warīh varyas nunuí áse ;

Nishih chhúí tah parzantan ;

He will yawn, cough, sneeze, and laugh ;

He always bathes at the sacred places ;

Year in and year out he will remain naked ;

He is near to you, recognise him.

ANS. *Buth*, the face.

129, *Ávah maháráj sávah jangas tulunávanas gaçakár.*

The *maháráj* came and entered into the fight and destroyed (them).

ANS. *Mas kásun*, to shave the head.

Gaçakár tulunáwun, lit. to cause darkness to arise.

Vide Nos. 70 and 112.

130, *Gugusi gugusi gugáliye gajih tih gugus kaç,*

Bah (or *buh*) *nai kaçai rindáliye atih chhuh bihit thag.*

Be careful, O woman, mind and take it out of the oven.

I will not take it out, O woman, (because) a robber is sitting there.

ANS. *Zanánah jorá ásah, yimav tçuçih ásah karit, gajih manz thavimatçah. Tamih waktah wot timan nish ak begánah. Akih zanánih dup bëyis kun titai páth, yuth nah zih puts bozih, zih tçuçih kaç gajih manzah. Tami dyutus jawáb, zih buh kaçah nah, tikiázih yih mahnyuw chhuh atiti.*

There were two women who had made some bread and put it in the oven. At that time a stranger came to them. One woman said to the other in such a way that their guest might not understand, "Take the bread out of the oven." The (other) woman replied, "I will not take it out, because there is a man there."

Gugusi, gugusi, gugáliye, rindáliye, are words merely made up for the occasion in order to deceive the stranger.

I protested against including the above in this little collection ; but everybody, that I asked, declared it was a riddle, so I have put it in.

131, *Áyeyas tah gayeyas ;*

Kukú lanjih becheyas ;

Mudur ásah tah kut gayas ?

I came and I went ;
 I sat on many branches ;
 I was sweet—and where did I go ?

ANS. *Nindar*, sleep.

Kukú is old Kashmíri. *Wáryah*, *sēṭhah*, are now used.

132, *Anzinih hande nágarádo, anzinih kuḍanai pawo ;*
Ohháni guruk nah, králi thuruk nah ; pánai byuṭuk suwo.

O spring of the goose, the goose made its way to you ;
 No carpenter cut it, no potter formed it ; but you of yourself
 became hardened (lit. sat hard).

ANS. *Tulah-katur*, ice on surface of water.

133, *Hápat kándur ; breṭh pandit ; talim poni hyur khasán ; breri bráh-*
man ; gagar suts ; káshuri párimi ; shál gáḍah-hána ; thapal sarraf.

Bears (are) bakers ; stupid people (are) pandits ; the lower waters
 flow up ; cats (are) bráhmans ; rats (are) tailors ; Kashmírís (are)
 Panjábís ; jackals (are) fishermen ; usurpers (are) bankers.

ANS. *Purshiyár*, the name of a *ghát* in Srínaagar city just
 below the second bridge.

A man was going to a village, when he was met by another man,
 who asked him where he was going and whence he had come. He
 replied as above that he had come from the place where bears were
 bakers, etc., etc.

134, *Khatís andar máz kúchih haná.*

A little piece of flesh in the cupboard.

ANS. *Zyav tah ás*, the tongue in the mouth.

Khat is a small cupboard let into the wall, wherein Kashmírís
 generally store rice, milk, etc., to preserve them from rats and cats.

135, *Bálas pēṭh kálah saruph, laṭ tah kár milawit,*
Aurah áyas Zuhrah Khotan laṭ nínas gilawit.

A black snake on a hill with its tail and neck together, (lit. making
 its tail and neck to meet).

Zuhrah Khotan came over and wrenched off its tail.

ANS. *Kuluph*, a padlock.

136, *Tsor chhis rabis mandán ; tsor chhis khandam túri ; zah chhis chará-*
gánah ; zah chhis tír-andázah ; ak chhus morchhalah karán.

She treads the mud with four ; four are dishes of sweets ; two are
 lamps ; two are archers ; and one fans her.

ANS. *Gáv*, a cow's feet, teats, eyes, horns, and tail.

137, *Apárih bál doṭ pēwán ;*

Yapárih bál shín pēwán.

On that side of the hill hailstones are falling ;

On this side of the hill snow is falling.

ANS. *Káḍi yindar*, a cotton-carder.

138, *Yak mashíde do darwázah ;*

Āo miyán tráo poṭásah.

One mosque (with) two doors ;

Come, sir, and bang on it.

ANS. *Khani kaḍuni*, to blow one's nose, (native fashion).

Vide Nos. 43 and 63.

139, *Soyih tal poyih lěj.*

A potfull of rice under a nettle.

ANS. *Kukarih hanz púti khej*, a hen with her brood.

140, *Sundará dīḥam-dud kamáni ;*

Nah marih shistarah nah marih nári.

I saw a beautiful woman—an arch of smoke ;

She will not die by iron, she will not die by fire.

ANS. *Duh*, smoke.

Notes on a Donative Inscription of Vidyádhara Bhanja, belonging to C. T.

METCALFE, ESQ., Commissioner of the Orissa Division. (With a Plate.)

—By RÁJENDRALÁLA MITRA, LL. D., C. I. E.

The muniment is inscribed on three plates of copper, each measuring $6 \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ inches, the thickness being about one-tenth of an inch. The plates are held together by a stout copper ring surmounted by a cast copper seal bearing in relief the name of the donor and an effigy of a lion *couchant guardant*. The plates are of cast metal, roughly hammered, and having all round a slightly raised edge. This edging is designed to prevent injury to the record by friction. The record is engraved on the second face of the first plate, and on both faces of the other two plates, each side comprising 7 to 8 lines of matter. On the first side of the first plate there are indications of letters traced with a steel-pointed style and afterwards smudged. Such tracings are also noticeable on the other plates, and they suggest to me the idea of the plates

being palimpsests. At first I was disposed to think that the tracings were the first outlines made for the guidance of the engraver; but I find this idea is not tenable, inasmuch as the tracings appear sometimes below and sometimes above the regular lines of the engraving, and not engraved over, as they should have been, had they been the first outlines. The finished record is deeply engraved, and, except in a few places, the letters are in a fair state of preservation.

The letters of the record are of the Kuṭiḷa type merging into the modern Devanāgarī form. The vowel *i* retains the old three-dotted form; the *e* is indicated at times by a slight curve at the hind part of the top line, and at other times by a curved line behind, as is usual now in Bengali writings. The letters *l* and *n* are alike in shape, being differentiated only by the omission of the top line, as was the case in the Bengali of the last three centuries. The *j* is also of the form of that letter in Bengali. But the *t*, *d* and *bh* are of pure Kuṭiḷa type.

The language is pure Sanskrit, though, as is usual in records of this description, it is disfigured here and there by errors of spelling; slips of grammar are also not wanting. I have pointed out the more prominent of these errors in parentheses. On the whole the record does not in this respect differ from its congeners found in other parts of India. In the neglect of punctuation the record beats the attorneys of England.

The most remarkable feature of the record is, however, the absence from it of the prosy details which characterize ancient Indian grants, as also the title-deeds got up by English conveyancers. We altogether miss the "to have and to hold and to possess" so familiar to us in modern English deeds of sale or gift. In mediæval Sanskrit deeds, the field produce, the forest produce, the produce of water, with all that is under the ground or above it, are carefully noted, also exemptions from Government demands; but nothing is said of them here; even the important item of the boundary of the land given is not mentioned.

The subject of the gift was a village named Tuṇḍuráva, in the district of Vimalabhanja, but I have failed to trace it in our maps. Judging from the word *Bhanja*, which occurs both in the name of the district and also as a surname of the donor's family, I am disposed to think that we must look for the *locale* somewhere in the present tributary state of Mayúrabhanja, in the north-west of Orissa. But the evidence is too slender to be of much value in this respect, particularly when it is borne in mind that the word *Bhanja* was borne as a surname not only by the Rájás of Mayúrabhanja, but also by a family of Rájás in Gumsur, as also by the Rájás of Keunjar. The last, however, were scions of the Mayúrabhanja dynasty, whose initial date was not older than two hundred years

ago, and therefore could not have had any part in making the grant. The village or town, in which the Rájá was present when he made the gift, bore the name of Valjalvaká, and this too is not traceable. Bábú Dharitrínáth Deva, a relative of the Bhanja Rájá of Mayúrabhanja, informs me that he knows of no place of that name, and that Vimalabhanja was never a second name of Mayúrabhanja. I have not yet succeeded in getting any information in regard to this place from Gumsur.

The donee was one Bhaṭṭa Dárukhaṇḍí of the Data sept (*Pravar.*) of the Upamanya gotra. He belonged to the Bahvṛicha Śákhá of the Rig Veda. His father's name was Súrīdeva, who was the son of one Gaurīchandra.

The donor describes himself as a Mahárájá, but the names of his father and grandfather occur without any regal prefix. The great-grandfather, however, is described as a Rájá, and we may safely presume that the epithet is expected to be assumed in the two intermediate cases. The names stand thus :

Rájá Vranabhanja Deva.

Divabhanja Deva.

Slibhanja Deva.

Mahárájá Vidyádharabhanja Deva.

The last claims to have been a devout worshipper of Mahádeva (*paramamáheśvara*), and this declaration is emphasized by the two introductory stanzas which praise the attributes of that dread divinity. Of his race the only information vouchsafed is that he was an "ornament of the Bhanjana race" (*Bhanjana-kula-tilaka*). It is obvious from this that the words *Bhanja* and *Bhanjana* are synonymous and exchangeable, but it helps to take us no further. We possess no account whatever of these *Bhanjanas*. Bábú Dharitrínáth Deva has not heard of the name of Vidyádharma in the Bhanja genealogy, and knows nothing of him. He has not yet been able to obtain for me a copy of the family tree of his relative, and in matters of this kind memory is not at all reliable. Few persons in ordinary life can correctly recite the names of ten of his ancestors, and few would attempt to do so. In the absence of positive information I am disposed to think that I have in the record before me the names of four members who are now quite forgotten in the annals of the Mayúrabhanja dynasty. I am disposed to think, too, that there exists no complete record of the family from the date of its origin. Only a few of the Tributary Mahal chiefs can appeal to any record of an older date than two hundred years, though several of them have unquestionably exercised their chiefships from generation to generation for a much longer period.

The record has no date. This is an unusual peculiarity, the rule

being otherwise, though the era used has often caused, in the absence of precise indications, considerable trouble to antiquarians. It would seem that the practice of issuing copper patents was recent in the country where Vidyádhara issued his grant; at any rate his court paṇḍits must have been very ill-informed about the fundamental requirements of title-deeds, not to adopt the niceties of conveyancing terminology. I have stated above that the letters are of the Kuṭīla type merging into the modern Devanágari, and this fact would suggest the idea of their being between four and five hundred years old, and the deed to belong to the fourteenth or the earlier years of the fifteenth century of the Christian era. In the present state of my information, I regret, I cannot speak with greater precision.

The concluding part of the deed gives the names of the attesting witnesses. The first name is that of the minister, Bhaṭṭa Stambha Deva, who put his 'mark' on the deed for its ratification. The Sanskrit word used to indicate this is *lāncchita*, which means 'marked,' but I suppose it is intended to imply the impressing of the deed with the great seal of the State. The epithets applied to his name are not very clear. The first word is the most doubtful; it reads very like *Srishṭhi* which probably stands for *Sreshṭhi*, a 'banker.' This man came from the *Kalinga* country, was a worshipper of Śiva, whence *Mahádevya*, and endowed with great energy, *tejahika*. The last word is of doubtful import. The second witness is named Kausika. He caused the grant to be 'entered' (*praveśita*) in the *Bábbá*. Kausika has no epithet of any kind attached to his name. He was obviously an officer of an inferior grade, and he has not even the courtesy Śrī assigned to him. The word *bábbá* is not Sanskrit. I take it to be the sanskritized counterpart of the Arabic *Báb*, which in the plural form of *Abwáb* or *cess* became current from the date of the first settlement of the Muhammadans in this country. One meaning of the word is a book, chapter, or section, and I imagine it stands here for a registry book or that chapter of it in which a record was kept of rent-free grants. I draw this inference entirely on the strength of the word *praveśita* 'entered.' The composition of the deed is attributed to Śrī Khamba, the minister of war and peace. The engraver was one Kshasáli Kumárachandra. In this I take Kumárachandra to be the personal name and Kshasáli the name of his caste.

Translation.

May that which can destroy the life of the wielder of the flowery arrow (Cupid); to whose mass of light the weak crescent is an object of overthrow; which is the refulgent lamp for the illumination of the re-

gions of the threefold world ; which is fair as gold of the purest touch*—may the eyebrowless eye† of Hara be victorious !

May the waves of the heavenly river of Sambhu, which play like the hoods of the great serpent, which glisten bright as the light of the rising moon, which dance like the crests of the spurs of the snowy mountain, which rise like hands at the commencement of a dance, which are radiant, and destroy sin—may they protect you !

Prosperity. The auspicious dweller of the victorious Valjalvaká, the home of fortunate victory * * * the ardent worshipper of Mahésvara, the devoted to the feet of his father and mother, the ornament of the Bhanjana race, Mahárájá Srí Vidyádhara Bhanja Deva, the great-grandson of Srí Vraṇabhanja Deva of manifest merit * * * and totally devoid of the sins of the Kali age, the grandson of Srí Divabhanja Deva, the son of Srí Silibhanja Deva, according to the desert of each, welcomes, respects, acquaints and orders the people, inhabitants, subordinate chiefs, receivers of income, village officers and others of the prosperous district of Vamalabhanja. Everywhere there is happiness. It has been our fortune, for the promotion of virtue for our parents and ourselves, to present in due form with the usual pouring of water the village of Tuṇḍuráva as it is bounded now in that district, to Bhaṭṭa Dárukhaṇḍí, of the Upamanya gotra, Data Pravara, the grandson of Gaurichandra, son of Súrī Deva, and a member of the Bahvṛicha Śrotriya branch, out of respect for his merits, for the period of the duration of the sun and the moon. It should be the duty, for the sake of the greatness of the merit of charity and our request, for future kings to protect this grant. Thus has it been enjoined by the ordinances of religion. Earth has often been given away by Sagara and other kings, and the merit thereof has belonged to him to whom the earth belonged for the time being. Whoever resumes earth, whether it be his own gift or that of another, is, along with his ancestors, born as a worm and rots in ordure. Let there be no doubt, O kings, about the merit from the fact of its being another's gift. The merit of protecting others' gifts is infinitely greater than that arising from one's own gift. Knowing this and

* The epithet *kanaka-nikasha* is in frequent use in Sanskrit poetry, but the explanation of it is of doubtful propriety. They say it means the mark left on the touchstone by gold ; but surely that mark is nothing very bright. I take it to mean pure gold which has stood the test of the touchstone.

† The word is *vibhruṇetra*, an eye without an eyebrow. The object of using the epithet is to indicate the third or crescent eye of Siva over which there is no eyebrow. The fact of the word for eye being put in the singular number confirms this interpretation. Had the word been *babhru* the translation would have been 'tawny,' but that would not have been sufficiently distinctive, as in art all the three eyes of Siva are painted of a tawny colour.

knowing that the duration of man's life and fortune are as unsteady as water on a lotus leaf, no man should destroy the good actions of others. Marked (sealed) by the Minister Bhaṭṭa Stambha Deva, who is a banker (by caste) of Kalinga, a worshipper of Mahādeva, and highly energetic; entered in the Bābbā (register) by Kauśika; written by Śrī Khamba, the minister of war and peace; and engraved by Kshasālī Kumāra-chandra.

Transcript (see Plate IX).

(First plate.)

- १ । × जयतु कुसुमवाणप्राणविक्रोभदत्त(त्तं) स्वकि-
 २ । रणपरिवेषोर्जित्या(त्वा)जीर्येन्दुखं त्रिभुवनभवना-
 ३ । न्तर्योतभास्वत्पदीपं कनकनी(नि)कषगौरं विभनेत्रं
 ४ । हरस्य(॥) शेषाहेर(रि)व ये फणाः प्रविलसन्त्युद्गा-
 ५ । सुरेन्द्रत्विवः प्र(प्रा)जेयाचलप्रदङ्गकोटय इव(वा)त्त-
 ६ । जन्ति यत्र(यिप्रो)व्रता(॥) नृत्ता(त्वा)टोपविघट्टिता इव भुजा रा-
 ७ । जन्ति ये श्वाभवा(श्वाभवा)स्ते सर्वाघविघातिनः सुरस-
 ८ । रिक्तोयोर्मयः पान्तु वः(॥) स्वस्तिविजय वल्जल्लका-

(Obverse of second plate.)

- १ । द(व)न्ति स्त्रि (श्री) विजयनिलयः प्रकटगुणगणाय-
 २ । त्तसमस्तरी (रि) पुवर्भाजि × × कलशनामा रा-
 ३ । जा नी (नि) उदतकलिकलुषकल्लभश्रीव्रणभङ्ग^(१)देव-
 ४ । स्य प्रपौत्र(त्रः) श्रीदिवभङ्गदेवस्य नप्ता श्रीशि-
 ५ । जीभङ्गदेवस्य सुतः परममाहेश्वरो माता(ह)पि-
 ६ । हपादानुध्याता भङ्गणकुलतिलको महारा-
 ७ । जम्भीविद्याध(र)भङ्गदेवस्य(वः) कुशली(॥) वमलभङ्ग^(२)—

(Reverse of second plate.)

- १ । विषये यथानिवारिससामन्तभोगिभोग्यादिवि-

1. The word *bhanja* has been everywhere written with the cerebral *ṅ* thus :
 रञ्ज.

2. The letters are doubtful in this name.

- २ । षयजनपदं यथाहं मानयति पूजयति नो-
 ३ । धयत्वादिशति चान्यत् सर्वतः शिवमस्माकम-
 ४ । दृष्टे तद्विषयसम्बन्धतुङ्गुरावग्रामचतुः(तुः)सीमा-
 ५ । पर्यन्तः ग्रामोय(यं) ॥ मातापित्रोरत्नगन्ध पुण्या-
 ६ । भिद्वदये ष (ष्या)चन्द्रार्कसमं कालं यावत् सखी (लि) लघा-
 ७ । रापुरःसरेण विधिना गुणानुराग(गा)त् क(१) × × × × ×
 ८ । उपमन्यगोत्राय दत्(२)प्रवराय वङ्गचओत्रिया-

(Obverse of third plate.)

- १ । य गौरिचन्द्रः नत्ता (गौरिचन्द्रनत्ते) श्रुतिदेवस्य सुत(तः) भाट्टदास-
 २ । खड्गी ॥ नाम्ने प्रतिपादितोस्माभिस्तद्देवा दानध-
 ३ । र्मगौरवादस्माकमनु रोधाय भविष्यन्नाजकैः
 ४ । प्रतिपालनीयेत्युक्तञ्च धर्मशास्त्रे वङ्गभिर्व-
 ५ । सुधा दत्ता(त्ता) राजभिः सगरादिभिर्यस्य यस्य यदा
 ६ । भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(१) स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा
 ७ । यो हरेत वसुन्धरां(१) स विष्ठाया(यां) क्कमी (मिः) सुत्वा पि-

(Reverse of third plate.)

- १ । ढभिः सह पच्यते(१) मा भूदपक्षशङ्का वः परदत्ते-
 २ । ति पार्थिवाः स्वदानात् फलमा(न)न्त्यं परदत्ता(दत्ता)नुपाल-
 ३ । ने(१) इति कमलदक्षाम्बुविन्दुलोणां श्रियमनुधि-
 ४ । न्य मनुष्यजीवितञ्च सकलमी (मि) दसुदाहृतञ्च बुद्धा
 ५ । न हि पुरुषैः परकीर्त्तयो विलो(प्याः) ॥शाब्दितं श्रेष्ठिकलि-
 ६ । कु महादेव्यतेजहिकेन श्रीभट्टसम्भदेवमन्वी (न्नि) या वा-
 ७ । व्याप्रवेशित(तं) कौशिकेन लिखितं सान्धिविगृह्णि (वियह्णि) श्रि (ओ) खम्भे-
 ८ । न उत्कि (की) यं च । क्षसाणीकुमारचन्द्रेण (य) × × ।

1. Five letters are unintelligible.

2. I know of no Data Pravara. The second letter (न) is doubtful.

Notes on the ancient mounds in the Quetta District.—By MAJOR
J. F. GARWOOD, R. E.

(With a Plate.)

Now that portions of Baluchistán and Southern Afghánistán are rapidly becoming settled countries under British rule, doubtless men of science will begin to devote some attention to the mounds which are spread abroad throughout the district. Up till recently, what with the country being unsettled and constant changes of officers taking place, the little information that is forthcoming regarding these mounds is hard to be got at. It is for the most part a personal record, and the persons are constantly shifting on the scene.

I had occasion recently in my official capacity as an officer of the Military Works Department to make some considerable excavations in the Miri or citadel of Quetta, and finding the results from an archæological point of view interesting, I have endeavoured to find out what has been done ~~before~~ by others in investigating mounds in the district, and purpose to put this now ~~before~~ your readers together with my own experience at Quetta. It will I hope be of advantage when the researches are taken up by experts, if some little information ~~as to~~ what has been noticed by those first on the spot is readily obtainable.

These mounds are very numerous throughout the district, some being of very large size. They vary from small hillocks up to large masses of earth, like the Quetta Miri, the base of which is an oval 600 feet long by 400 feet wide, and which rises 80 feet above the plain. These mounds may be, and very probably are, of different origins, and a few of the small ones may be even natural; but the true mound of which I write is manifestly artificial, and for the most part there is no sign of excavation in the neighbourhood. Accepting the conclusion that the mound is artificial, I argue that when no trace of excavation appears, we may be sure that the mound is of great antiquity for the dust storms of the country to have filled up the hollows from which the earth for the mound was taken.

Some officers quartered at Thal Chotiali a few years since took considerable interest in investigating the mounds there. Col. Sturt, B. S. C., found in a hole in a mound between Dubber Khot and Thal two or three gold and a number of silver coins which were sent down to the Royal Asiatic Society at Bombay and the inscriptions deciphered by Mr. Rehatsek. The coins were from Baghdad and about six or seven centuries old. Brigadier Adam, Q. M. G. of the Bombay Army, Col. Sturt's successor, informs me that he searched the mound afterwards and found nothing of interest, nothing except broken pottery which he believed to be modern.

There is a very large mound near Kila Abdullah in the Peshin plain at the foot of the Khoja Amran mountains. In 1881 Capt. (now Major) Lock, Political Agent, Peshin, dug into this mound under the orders of Col. Sir Oliver St. John, K. C. S. I., R. E. Major Lock is on furlough, but Sir O. St. John has kindly supplied me with his recollections, which I will give as nearly as possible in his own words.

“Underneath layers of mud, charcoal, or rather charred wood, and bones were a number of small rooms built of very large baked bricks, as far as I can recollect about 18 inches by 10 inches by 6 inches. These bricks had no markings or inscriptions of any sort.”

“In the rubbish were found fragments of pottery, *bits of glass*, copper, brass and iron. Two at least of the fragments of pottery had been bottoms of basins or round dishes and were glazed yellow, with indented and separately coloured figures on them, in both cases, of men leading goats. The best of the two I gave to the British Museum in 1881. What became of the rest of the things I do not know. The excavations were incomplete when I left.”

The Quetta Miri is a mass of indurated clay. On the top were a few old houses, probably occupied formerly by the maliks of the village or small township of Sháلكot, the houses of which were grouped together under the shadow of the Miri. In 1883, before I came to the district, the base of the mound was cut into for a magazine, and previously to that some tunnels had been run well into the mound. Nothing of particular interest seems to have been found, or my predecessors would have left some record of it. Some bones I hear were come across, including some human bones, the only ones found at any time recently in the mound.

About a year ago I commenced clearing the top of the Miri for some buildings. This necessitated cutting the top 15 feet off the mound, besides excavating in places to an extra depth of about 5 feet or 20 feet in all. During these excavations one could not fail to be struck with the peculiar constitution of the material of which the mound is composed. In every direction the soil is permeated by bones, broken pottery, ashes in layers, and charred wood or charcoal. The bones are said to be the bones of domestic animals, but of what animals I do not know at present, but have sent samples to Calcutta for identification by competent anatomists. The remains got comparatively few as the depth increased, but were always present in considerable numbers. Near the top very large *jallás* or *gharás* frequently occurred; no such articles of pottery are I believe now made in the district. The general impression, left on the minds of those of us who were constantly present during the earth clearance, was not that the remains were necessarily of any very high

antiquity, as that the mound must have been occupied by constant successions of people for an indefinite period. I am still quite puzzled to account for the presence of so many lumps of charred wood at considerable depths, most of them quite fresh and shewing the grain of the wood. From Sir Oliver St. John's account the same peculiarity was noticed in the mound at Kila Abdullah. The charcoal of course might be of any age, being comparatively indestructible, but its existence in such large quantities in the aggregate is very puzzling. The buildings, I do not think, are likely to have been periodically destroyed by fire, as in some of the old Greek towns, and the presence of the lumps of charred wood is more probably due to some use the mound was formerly put to; but this of course is mere personal conjecture.

The articles of interest, few in number, which we found in the Quetta Miri, have been sent to the Indian Museum at Calcutta. There are some fragments of pottery of an archaic type, which were found in the lower strata of the excavations, and also a ringstone and jasper corn-crusher, which the Museum authorities think are probably prehistoric. They were found on a low level, but higher than the Greek statue afterwards unearthed. There was also found a small bronze vessel which may be Greek; and at the lowest depth attained to, and near the centre of the mound in plan, a bronze or copper statue of Heracles, 2½ feet high, holding in his left hand the skin of the Nemean lion (see Plate X). The statue, which was much corroded but otherwise nearly perfect, was found standing nearly erect, bedded in hard clay. The ground below and around was carefully excavated to a distance of several feet, but nothing further was found except a few animals bones.

At a medium level was discovered a small vase of common pottery, with angular markings in paint round the swell of the vase below the neck. I am anxious to find out the probable date of this vase, as Major Shepherd, R. E., found a lot of pottery with similar markings on it near Bellali (ten miles north of Quetta) in 1885. There is a large *miri* near Bellali, but in Major Shepherd's absence in England I have not been able to ascertain whether it was in the *miri* or elsewhere that he found it. Nothing more of interest is likely to be discovered just now in the Quetta Miri, but in considering the comparative poverty of our findings in such a promising site, it must be borne in mind that the excavations only went down to a depth of 20 feet out of the total height of 80 feet of the mound, and anything of extreme antiquity would probably be found lower down.

Our excavations having connected this district with the Greek period, at least ought to encourage others more competent to carry the investigations of these mounds further, and Capt. Lock's discoveries at Kila Abdullah in 1881 seem to have been even more interesting.

The Mother of Jahángír.—By H. BEVERIDGE, C. S.

It is curious that there should be any uncertainty about the name and family of Jahángír's mother. He was born in August 1569 at Fathpur Sikrî in the house of Salím Chishtî, and it was to be expected that the historians who have so carefully chronicled the circumstances of his birth, would tell us who his mother was. But apparently none of them mentions her name; or, at least, none of them does so in his narrative of the birth. Jahángír is equally reticent in his autobiography, and so English writers have fallen back on tradition and conjecture. This much seems considered certain; the lady was a Hindú, and it has been suggested that this is the reason why she has not been named by the Muhammadan historians. I should think, however, that if Hinduism has had anything to do with the omission, it is more because it made it difficult for the historians to know the name, than because of bigoted feelings, or an unwillingness to hint that Jahángír was not a pure Mogul. Jahángír has no scruple about mentioning his Hindú wives and their progeny, and though he speaks with horror of Muhammadan women marrying Hindús, he has very little blame for the converse practice. Barring a few bigots like Badáonî, it may be questioned if the Muhammadan subjects of Akbar and Jahángír had any serious objections to the marriages with the Rájput princesses. Indeed Sir William Sleeman tells us that he has heard many Muhammadans attribute the decline of their empire to the discontinuance of the practice. Muhammadans might object to the ladies being allowed to remain Hindús, and no doubt Akbar caused scandal by allowing his wives to sacrifice to fire in his palace, but the fact that the wife was a Hindú by origin would be no objection. Rather it would be considered meritorious to convert a Hindú to the true faith and then marry her.

Now if the lady who was Jahángír's mother was a Hindú by origin, she can hardly have remained one, or she would not have been placed in the cell of a Muhammadan priest at the time of her confinement. Nor would she have been *buried* after death and a Muhammadan tomb erected over her. Still less could she continue a Hindú, if, as Mr. Blochmann thinks, she received the title of Maryamu-z-Zamánî, "the Virgin Mary of the age." That it was ignorance rather than prejudice, which prevented historians from giving the names of their emperor's Hindú wives, may be perhaps inferred from the fact that we find two ladies described by the name of Jodh Báí. Now Jodh Báí is not the special name of any woman, but simply means that she belonged to the family of the Rájás of Jodhpur.

At p. 309 of his edition of the *Áin* Mr. Blochmann tells us that

Jahángír's mother was Jodh Báí, but at p. 619 he corrects himself and says that Jodh Báí was the wife of Jahángír, and that there is little doubt that the daughter of Biháří Mall and sister of Bhag'wán Dás was the mother of Jahángír.

It is with great hesitation that I venture to differ from Mr. Blochmann, but here the hesitation is diminished by the fact that we have Mr. Blochmann differing from himself. He originally held that Jodh Báí was the mother of Jahángír, and it seems to me that he was wrong to abandon this view in favour of Biháří Mall's daughter. What I think he overlooked was that there were two Jodh Báís, *i. e.*, two ladies of the harem of Jodhpur. One of them was the sister of Udai Singh, *i. e.*, the Motá or fat Rájá, and married Akbar, and the other was Udai's daughter and married Jahángír.

The general native belief seems to be that a Jodh Báí was the mother of Jahángír, and I think that weight should be given to this. Sir William Sleeman in his *Rambles*, vol. II, p. 65, speaks of his seeing the tomb of Jodh Báí, the mother of Jahángír, near Agra. Further on, pp. 68 and 71, he speaks of seeing the little room at Fathpur Sikrf where she give birth to Jahángír. Similarly Tod describes Jodh Báí as the mother of Jahángír.

On the other hand the daughter of Biháří Mall is mentioned by Jahángír in his *Memoirs* in a way which seems to me quite inconsistent with the idea that she was his mother. Speaking of Pahár Khán who was Rájá Mán Singh's uncle and consequently a brother of Bhag'wán Dás, he says "One of his sisters was in my father's harem, but no favourite with destiny, although possessed of uncommon beauty. The proverb says 'if there be any special destiny, it is for the ill-favoured,' for from all I can observe in this workshop of creation, scarcely anything appears in its proper place. The poor in spirit are absorbed in the rigour of abstinence, while those who love the world find their fortune ever in advance." (Price's translation, p. 34.)

This passage seems to me to disprove the view that Biháří Mall's daughter was Jahángír's mother. No man would be likely to speak in this way of his own mother, and Jahángír would not have regarded a woman as no favourite with destiny who had the honour of giving birth to himself.*

There is another passage in his *Memoirs* which sets the matter at rest, if the translation is correct. That is (Price, p. 19) where he tells us that he himself married Biháří Mall's daughter, but I suspect that it is granddaughter in the original.

* I cannot find any passage corresponding to this in the *Tuzuk*. I have not seen the Persian original of Major Price's translation.

It will be observed that Mr. Blochmann is not positive about Bihári Mall's daughter being Jahángír's mother. He only says that there is little doubt of it. I think that the passage from Jahángír's Memoirs, and the tradition about Jodh Báí show that Bihári Mall's daughter was not Jahángír's mother, and if the latter was a Hindú, I think that we have no choice but to accept the tradition that a lady of the house of Jodhpur was the mother. Perhaps, however, it has been too readily assumed that she was a Hindú. I have already observed that it is very unlikely that a Hindú lady would be taken for her confinement to the house of a Muhammadan priest, and I now proceed to offer reasons for holding that Jahángír's mother was a Muhammadan, and no other than Salímah Sultán Begam, the widow of Bairám Khán.

There is a passage in Elliot's History of India, Vol. VI, p. 404 which, if it can be fully relied upon, settles the question of who was Jahángír's mother. We are there told that Núr Jahán was brought to court after the death of her husband Sher Afgan, and entrusted by Jahángír to "the keeping of his own royal mother." Now we know that Núr Jahán, when brought from Burdwan to Agra by Jahángír's orders, was placed in the keeping either of Salímah Sultán Begam, or of Sultán Raqiyah Begam. The Iqbálnáma of Muḥammad Khán, and Kháfi Khán say Salímah Sultán, and Mr. Blochmann and Muḥammad Hádí (Elliot, VI, p. 398) say Raqiyah. But the latter borrows his account from Muḥammad Khán, and if the Bibliotheca Indica edition is to be trusted, Muḥammad Hádí or Elliot has mistaken the word *raqabah* "a slave" for Raqiyah.

The original in the Iqbálnáma, p. 56, is as follows—

انحضرت بنا بر غداي كه از كشت قطب الدين خان بر حواشي خاطر اشرف
نشسته بود بر قبة سلطان بيگم والده سببي خویش بخشيدند *

I do not feel sure of the meaning of the words *wálidah sababi khesk* which Elliot seems to have rendered "his own royal mother," but surely they mean something more than that she was his father's wife. Raqiyah was alive and probably others of Akbar's wives. Why then should an expression be applied to Salímah which was not at all distinctive of her?

The expression is repeated with a variation by Kháfi Khán, I, p. 267, who calls Salímah the *mádar nisbat-i-khud* of Jahángír.

Elphinstone also, 4th ed., p. 484, tells us that Jahángír placed Núr Jahán "among the attendants of his mother." His account is evidently taken from Kháfi Khán, and represents the view taken by the translator whom he studied.

That Salímah was closely connected with Jahángír and deeply interested in him is apparent from the fact that she went to him, when

he had fallen out with his father and brought him to Court, and that she tended his son Prince Khusrau from his infancy. Elphinstone accounts for Salimah's mediation by saying that she had adopted Jahángír after his own mother's death, p. 460. But I do not know what authority there is for this statement.

If the words *wálidah sababi khesh* really mean "own mother," there can be no doubt that Salimah was Jahángír's mother, for Muḥammad Khán was in a position to know the facts.

Jahángír speaks of Salimah's having a daughter and calls the latter his sister, but as I have not the original to refer to, I cannot say if this means full sister.

On the other hand, if this daughter was Sháhzáda Khánam, and if she was born three months after Jahángír (Blochmann, p. 308), Salimah cannot have been the mother of the latter.

If Salimah was Jahángír's mother, he ought to have been a better man than he was, for she was the most distinguished of Akbar's wives. She was the niece of Humáyún, being the daughter of his sister Gulburg Begam (Akbarnáma, II, p. 65) and of Mírzá Núru-d-dín Muḥammad. Akbar gave her in marriage to Bairám Khán in accordance with Humáyún's intention, and when Bairám was assassinated, Akbar married her himself. She died in 1021 A. H. (1611). Kháfi Khán calls her Khadije-uz-Zamáni, the Khadija of the age and after reciting her virtues and accomplishments winds up with quoting two lines of her poetry, which however do not seem remarkable (Kháfi Khán, I, pp. 253 and 276).

Notes on the Coins mentioned by Major Raverty in his Notes to his Translation of the Ṭabaqat-i-Nāṣirī.—By CHAS. J. RODGERS, M. R. A. S., Assoc. M. A. S. B.

There can be no doubt whatever about the amount of learned research displayed by Major Raverty in his translation of the *Ṭabaqat-i-Nāṣirī*, published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. It is a book of 1296 pages exclusive of memoir and additional notes and appendix. The actual translation is only a small part of the whole work. My attention has of late been drawn to his numismatic notes.

Mr. Edward Thomas, as is well known, wrote a paper on the coins of the kings of Ghazni, and to this he added a supplement. He also wrote "The Chronicles of the Paṭhán kings of Dehli," to which I have

added four supplements in the pages of this Journal. It may be remembered that my first small attempt was a paper on the coins of Khusrau Sháh and Khusrau Malik, the two first resident Muhammadan kings of Lahore. At the time I wrote this paper I was not aware that Mr. Thomas had written his paper on the kings of Ghazní. This did not so much matter, as my paper was written thirty-two years after that one by Mr. Thomas, and dealt with other coins. Mr. Thomas gives in his paper two silver coins of Khusrau Sháh and five coins of Khusrau Malik. Major Raverty thus notices Mr. Thomas's paper (see note, p. 114). "In Mr. Thomas's paper on the Ghazní coins, there is unfortunately no notice of the last two monarchs of the house of Sabuk-Tigín, and there are no coins of theirs, or the dates I have referred to might have been tested; but a work I have by me supplies some information on the subject, and confirms the statements of Faṣih-í, and the older writers. A coin of Khusrau Sháh's, therein noticed, contains the following inscription, which I translate literally:—

Obverse:—Stamped coin in the universe, with magnificence and grandeur, the great Bádsháh Khusrau Sháh.

Reverse:—Struck in the city of Lohor, A. H. 552, the first of his reign.

Another coin of his son Khusrau Malik, also struck in the Panjáb, contains the following inscription:—

Obverse,—Zahír-ud-Daulah wa ud-Dín, Sultán Khusrau Malik.

Reverse:—Struck in the city of Lohor, A. H. 555, the first of the reign."

About this note I have a few remarks to make. But I would first notice that Khusrau Sháh is called in the text "*Sultán Mu'ayyan-ud-Daulah wa ud-Dín*" (p. 111). To this on the same page (footnote 8) is added "In a few copies he is styled '*Yamín-ud-Daulah*' only."

On all the coins of Khusrau Sháh's which I have seen he is called "*Mu'izzu-d-daulah Khusrau Sháh*" only. With respect to the inscription, given by Major Raverty as being on the coin of these kings, I would remark that in all the coins of these kings of Ghazní the name of the mint and the year of the Hejirah are *always on the margin* which encloses a second inscription. *In no case is the year of the reign given.* I have seen some thousands of Ghazní and Paṭhán coins of Dehli, but as yet I have never seen the year of the reign given on one. The years of the reign began to be struck by Akbar in his 30th year which he called 30th Iláhi. (See my Rupees of the months of Akbar's Iláhi years, Journal A. S. B. Vol. LII, Pt. I 1883, pp. 97-105 with two plates.) Jahángír struck the year of his reign and the year of the Hejirah on his coins. After his 5th year *he* also called the year of his reign Iláhi.

Sháh Jahán also struck coins with *his* *Iláhi* year on them in the first years of his reign. He was afterwards content with just putting the year of his reign and the Hejirah year. Aurangzib was the first to write on his coins *sanat-i-julús* so and so. This was on the reverse along with the mint. The year of the Hejirah was almost invariably on the obverse along with the emperor's name. This custom was afterwards followed by all the Sultáns of Dehlí down to Bahádúr Sháh the mutineer.

It seems strange that I, who have been hunting in the Panjáb for coins for the last twenty years, should never have seen a coin like the one mentioned by Major Raverty. Mr. Thomas never saw one. The British Museum has not got one, neither has the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Out of the thousands of coins sent to me for reading and description not one has yet appeared bearing such inscriptions. Coins of the *type*, mentioned by Major Raverty, are of the *time of Aurangzib, or later*.

Major Raverty's coin of *Khusrau Malik* reads "*Zahír-ud-Daulah wa ud-Dín*." I have by me over 50 coins of this king. They all read either "*Táju-d-daulah*" only, or "*Suráj-ud-daulah*." Major Raverty in his text calls him "*Táj-ud-Daulah*" (p. 114).

While on this point it may be as well to notice that Major Raverty (p. 109) calls Bahrám Sháh of *Ghazní* *Mu'izz-ud-Daulah*, following, strange to say, "*chiefly modern authors*," although "*Faṣih-i*" and "*Guzidah*" and ten silver coins in my cabinet unite in calling him "*Yamín-ud-Daulah*." Four coins given by Mr. Thomas have the same. In note 1, page 488, Major Raverty says "I imagine it is this title of his (*Mu'izzu-d-dín Sám's*) coins (ناصر امير المؤمنين) which Mr. Thomas reads as the name of the *Khalifah*. *Un-Náṣir-ud-Dín 'Ullah* was certainly *Khalifah* at this period." Mr. Thomas does not mention "*Náṣir-i-Amíru-l-Múminín*" in connexion with the coins of *Mu'izzu-d-dín Sám*. Major Raverty has mis-read and misrepresented Mr. Thomas.

Again in note 3, p. 497, Major Raverty says "it is quite a mistake to suppose that *I-yal-dúz* [يلدز only is on the coins] ever styled himself Sultán-i-Mu'azzam." His coins, however, have السلطان المعظم, the very words.

On pp. 524-5 we have "It is stated in another work, the *Khuláṣat-ut-Tawárikh* that *Kuṭb-ud-Dín* ascended the throne, at *Láhor*, on the 11th of *Rabí'-ul-Awwal*, 603 H., and that he read the *kuṭbah* for himself, and coined money in *his own* name, and yet, although the coins of others are, comparatively, so plentiful, it is stated that not one bearing the name of *Kuṭb-ud-Dín* has ever been found. A work in my possession, which contains specimens of the different coins of the Sultáns of Hind,

with the inscriptions they are said to have borne, gives the following as a specimen of *Ḳuṭb-ud-Dín's* coins":—

سكّة وارث ملك و نغین سلطان قطب الدین ایبک فی سنه ۶۰۳
ضرب دارالخلافه دهلي جالوس ا

About this inscription I wish to say: (1) the word *sikkah* in all *Paṭhán* coins, when used, comes after the word *zarb*, thus ضرب هذه السكّة (see Thomas). (2) Again the year on early coins is never given in figures and never with the *Sultán's* name. (3) The word *julús* never occurs on a *Paṭhán* coin. (4) *Dehlí* is never called *Dáru-l-khiláfat* until the time of *Ḳuṭbu-d-Dín Mubárah Sháh* (716-720 A. H.), the vilest of *Sultáns*, who called himself "*Khalífah Ullah*" and "*Khalífah i Rabbu-l-Álamín*" on his coins, and who changed the simple *Ḥazrat Dehlí* to *Ḥazrat Dáru-l-khiláfat*. After his time *Dáru-l-khiláfat* was not used as the title of *Dehlí* on coins, until the time of *Sháh Jahán* who calls it, "*Dáru-l-khiláfat Sháhjahánábád*." It is sometimes called *Ḥazrat Dehlí* simply, or *Dáru-l-mulk, Dehlí*, or *Dáru-l-mulk Ḥazrat Dehlí*.

Hence it would seem that *Major Raverty* must have got hold of a book written by a native later than the time of *Aurangzib*, who began the use of the word *julús*, who used the whole of the reverse of his coins for the mint name and year جالوس میمنت مانوس, and who occupied the obverse with his name and titles and the year of the *Hejrah*. It is altogether incredible that a series of coins of the first years of a series of kings should be found, (those kings the earliest *Sultáns* of *Lahor* and *Dehlí*), bearing inscriptions dissimilar to all known coins of the period, but agreeing with the coins of the time of *Aurangzib* and his successors. At least, if a series of such coins be found by one man, it is probable that some other collectors may obtain an odd specimen of the series. Now, as yet, no one has ever found a coin of this kind, except the anonymous and unknown author of a book in *Major Raverty's* possession. It would be a real benefit to the numismatic world to publish the book, and put an end to the doubts which are entertained about it. Besides this, we want to see drawings of coins, such as the following (see note, p. 530):

هذا الدرهم مسكوك باسم الملك ظل الله ارام شاه في سنة سبع وستماية
ضرب دار السلطنة بلده لاهور

This coin makes no mention of the *Khalífah*, a fact always stated on the coins of the period: the year is on the same side as the king's name, contrary to the usage of the period; the word *maskúk* is used

contrary to the custom of such coins; and the title *Zillu-l-láh* is used instead of *Sultán*.

Again *Násiru-d-dín Qubáchá* is called by Major Raverty *Ḳabá-jah* (p. 531). The word is on the coins *قباچه*. This may be read with "fat'hah" (*Ariana Antiqua*, p. 434, coin 33, Pl. XX., fig. 19.) Fortunately we have the same word in Hindí on other coins. Here the word is *कुबाचा*, which gives us plainly *Kubáchá* as the pronunciation of the time. Comment would be superfluous.

Of the coins of *Shamsu-d-dín I-yal-titmish* we have the following given as the inscription in the work possessed by Major Raverty (p. 624):—

ضرب هذا الديفار بحضورت دهلي سنة اثنا عشر و ستمائة
جمع اللكفرو الصلاية سلطان شمس الدين جلوس احد

That this work was written after the time of *Sháh Jahán*, we have here almost certain proof. *Sháh Jahán's* coins of his first year have *سنة احد*. *Aurangzib's* coins begin the use of *julús ahd*. *Jahángir's* have | over the word *núr*, to indicate the first year of his reign. The word *هذا* is *always* written on the early coins *هذه*. The form *هذا* is modern.

If we wanted any other proof of the time when Major Raverty's book was written, we have it in the next coin given (p. 630):—

Obv. تخت را چون گذاشت شمس الدين پاي بروجي فشرود ركن الدين
ضرب دهلي جلوس ميمنت مانوس احد مطابق ۶۳۳ چري

Here we have *جلوس مانوس* associated with *جلوس*. This formula was invented by *Aurangzib*, (see *'Alamgír Náma*, published by the Society, p. 367), as will be seen when the coins of the Moguls of India shall be published. Then, the word *چري* is never used along with the year, except on some rare rupees of *Sháh Jahán*. *Akbar* and *Jahángir* had used the term *Iláhí* for their years. *Sháhjahán* returned to orthodoxy, and though he uses the words *سنة احد*, he adds the word *چري* to the year ۱۰۳۷. This is the only occasion on which I have seen the word used. I have never seen the word *مطابق* used on a coin as "equivalent to," as it is used in the above inscription.

The inscription on the coin of *Raziyyat* (commonly written *Rezia*) is given as follows (p. 637):

Obv. عهدة النسوان ملكة زمان سلطان رضية بنت شمس الدين ايلقمش
ضرب بلدة دهلي سنة ۶۳۴ جلوس احد

Here ۶۳۴ is a misprint for ۶۳۳. *Dehlí* is never termed on any coin I have seen *بلدة*. It is always *Házrat*, or in one case *Takhtgáh*. The whole

inscription is quite unlike anything *known* of the time of Rezia, or of her father, Shamsu-d-dín. The absence of the name of the *Khalifāh* stamps the inscription as the work of a person unacquainted with the coinage of the period. *ابلتمش* is always written *ابلتمش* on the coins of Shamsu-d-dín.

The next coin given is as follows (note 6, p. 649) :—

Obv. ضرب الدرهم والدينار باسم سلطان معزالدين بهرام شاه في سنة سبع وثلث وستمائة

Reverse :— ضرب دارالخلافة دهلي جلوس ا

Here we have the usual absence of margin. All the long inscription is on the obverse. How could it be on the surface of a rupee? The reverse, as usual, is full of anachronisms.

The next coin given is of Aláu-d-dín Maṣaúḍ Sháh, (note 9, p. 660) :—

Obverse :— المفق بنظام الملك من عند الله سلطان علاءالدين مسعود شاه

Reverse :— ضرب بلد دهلي سنة اربعين وستمائة جلوس احد

From this coin we note the absence of the full title given to all the early Paṭhán kings, so and so *ud-dunyá*. This always precedes the *ud-dín*. In all the coins given this part of the formula is absent, as is the introductory *as-Sultānu-l-'Azim*. It is more and more evident that the author of the book had seen few of the early rupees of Dehlí. The whole known series of coins follows a fixed formula.

Of Nāṣiru-d-dín Maḥmúd Sháh “The following is given as the inscription on two of his first coins, a *dirham* and *dínár*, (note, p. 672) :—

Obv.— هذا الدرهم مسكوك باسم سلطان العادل الد باذل ناصرالدين محمود شاه

Rev. :— ضرب بلد دهلي سنة ٤٠٧ جلوس احد

The other runs thus :—

Obverse :— الناصرا لحكام الشريعة بحق الميدين سلطان ناصرالدين جلوس ا

Reverse :— ضرب هذا الدينار بحضرت دهلي سنة اربع و اربعين وستمائة

Thomas did not give a *dínár* of this king. The British Museum has not got one. I had one. The Hon. Mr. Gibbs edited a second. Both these had *the reverse* above given as the margin on both sides. Both had *us-sikkah* instead of *ud-dínár*. The reverse of the *dínár* is the nearest approach to an inscription of the period. But it is not of the reverse, but of the margin of the reverse in case of rupees, and of the margin of both sides in case of mohurs. (See my 4th Supplement to Thomas just published in the Journal of the Society.) It is evident the author of the book had not made himself acquainted with the inscriptions used by

Maḥmūd, inscriptions which vary only in one word (year of course excepted),—**١٠٠٠** is used for **١٠٠١**.

The Ṭabaqāt was written in the reign of Nāṣiru-d-dīn Maḥmūd Shāh, and hence his coins are the last given from the book in the possession of Major Raverty. This book is of course responsible for the inscriptions. The Major says very judiciously about each coin that "it is said in the book in my possession to have the following inscriptions." Who the author may be, I cannot tell. I can only judge from what he puts before me. He says the coins are of a certain number of kings. The first suspicious thing about them is, that they are all of the first year. Now if the author obtained coins of the first year, he must have obtained coins of other years. After twenty years of diligent search I have obtained few rupees of the early Paṭhāns of Dehlī and not one of the 1st year of any king. I never heard of any one having a first year of any of these kings, though some of my correspondents have rupees of these early Sultāns. They all follow one formula.

Obverse :—Name and title of Sultān.

Reverse :—Name of Khalīfah.

Margin :—Mint and year.

In the case of gold mohurs the margins are on both sides in several instances.

In the series given by Major Raverty's author not one coin follows the formula. But as I have shown the author has followed the formula of the rupees of Aurangzīb and of those who succeeded him. Hence I am led to the conclusion that Major Raverty, ignoring the great labours of Mr. Thomas and desiring to give something new and striking to the world, has been taken in by a most impudent series of forgeries, the work of a man almost, if not altogether, unacquainted with the coins of the later Ghaznī kings and of the early Paṭhān Sultāns of Dehlī. Mr. Thomas gives six plates and a number of detached wood cuts to illustrate his text. If Major Raverty will publish his author with illustrations, the two works can then be compared. It is unfair on the part of Major Raverty, not to give the name of his author and to pit him against Mr. Thomas. It is only fair perhaps for me to state in conclusion that I think Major Raverty has been duped. A careful study of the chronicles of the Paṭhān kings would have compelled Major Raverty to put the book in his possession into the fire. Nothing in it is of the slightest value.

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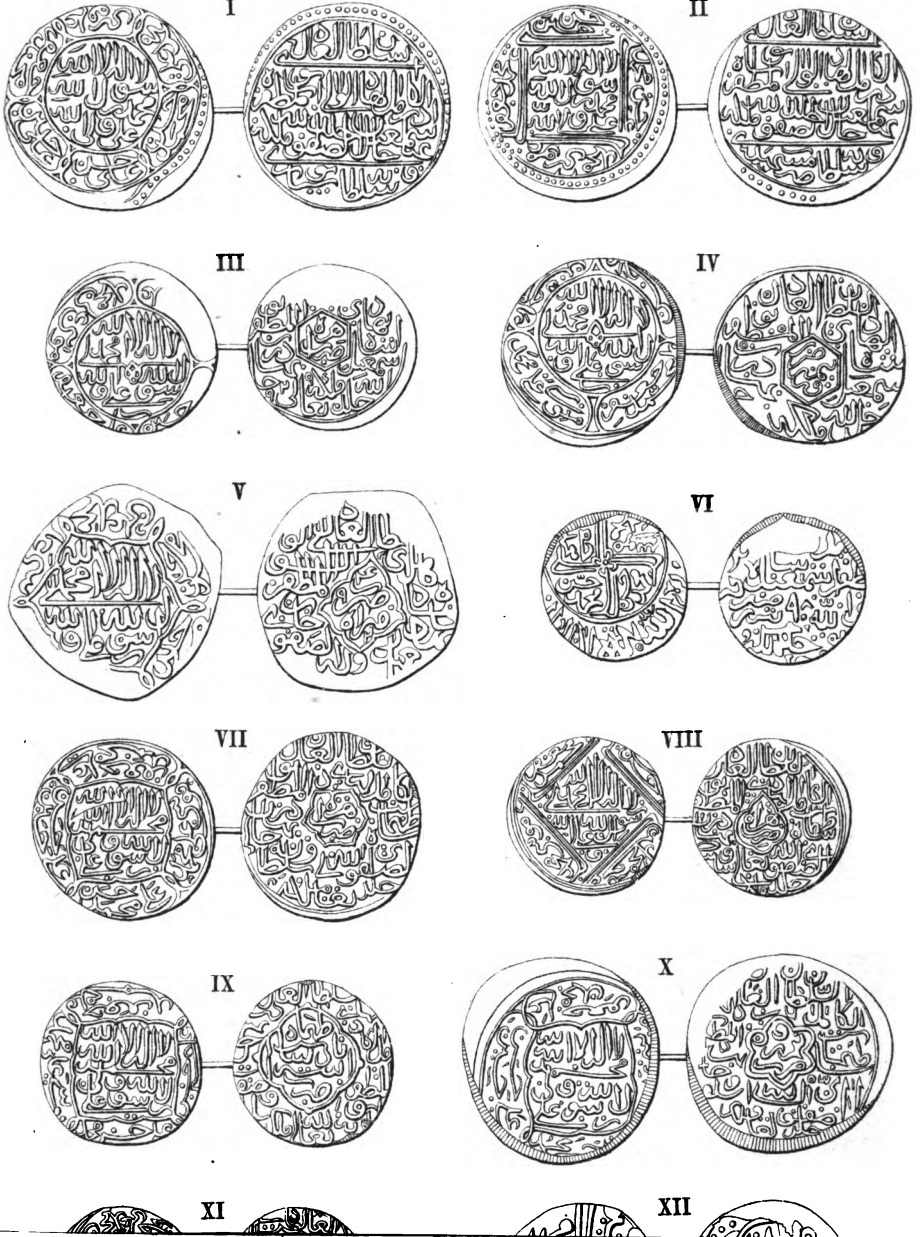
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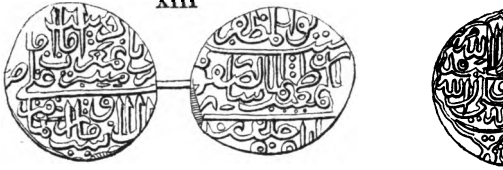
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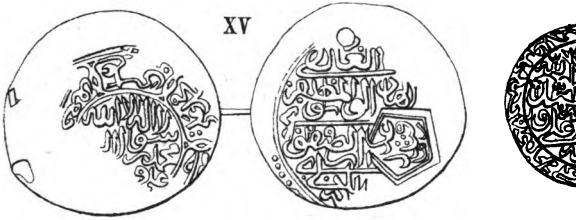
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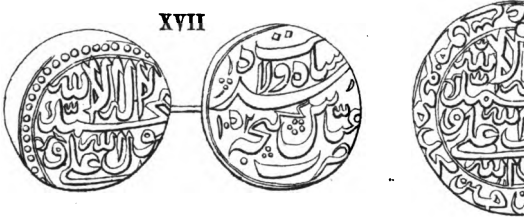
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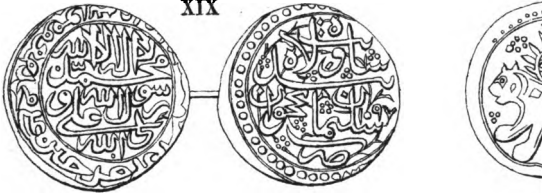
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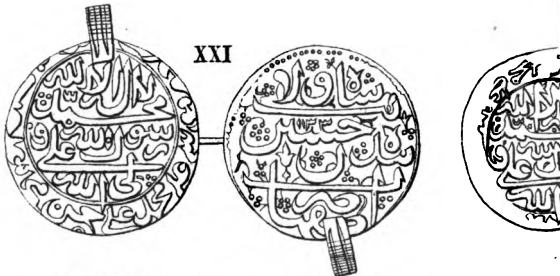
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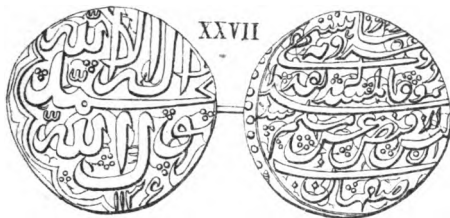
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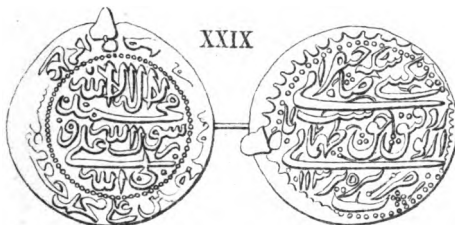
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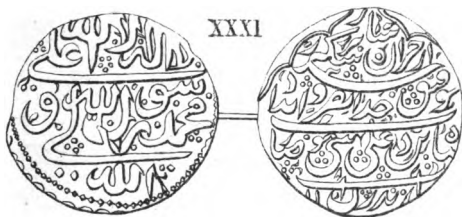
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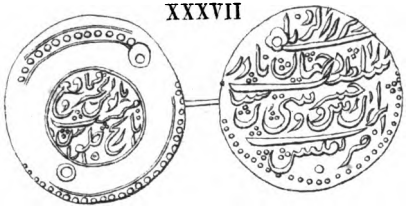
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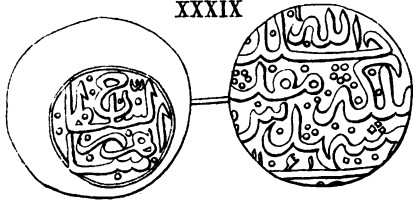
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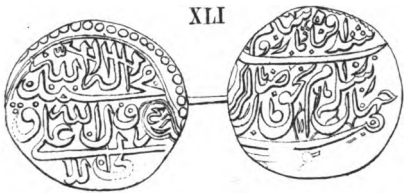
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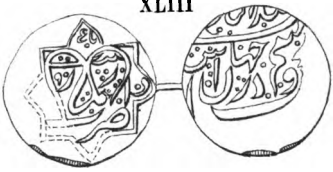
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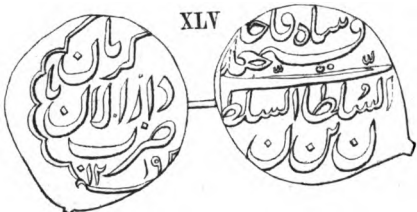
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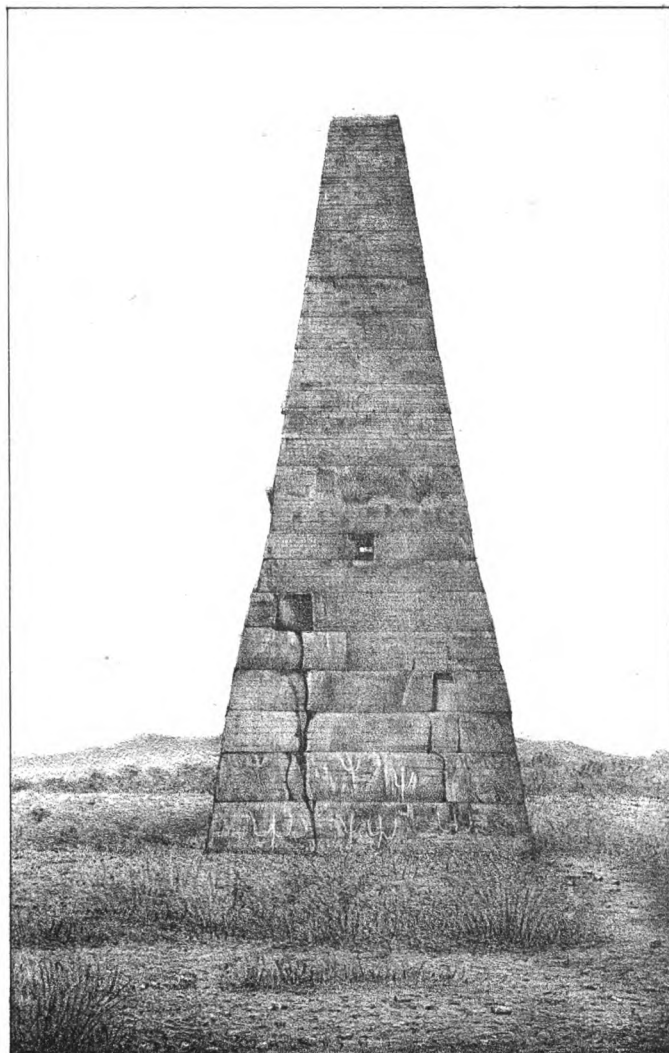


Photo. by Sirdar Vishnu Singh, Forest Ranger, Meywar.

THE 'UBH' DÍWAL OR AKBAR'S LAMP, NEAR NAGARÍ.

PLATE Va.



Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, December 1887.

AR.

॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ अथ शारदायाम्भुक्तिरुत्तम
 जाते शारदायाम्भुक्तिरुत्तमसीयद्युत्त
 न्दसमन्तः कृतस्त्रिषुमातु लोदियुत्त
 खेतीरुत्तमसतिराषमसमान्दुत्त
 मोगाङ्गित्यमानसदृतादिङ्गुत्तयेत्त
 ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ यस्यालियकुकुलशाल
 मितैः पत्न्यावतकेशिपदकेशमसु
 तनन्तस्यनमसोकाडनितो नानन्तः
 तस्यादृष्टवायो गानिन चन्द्र रतिचन्द्र
 रवीवराज्ञेत्तपुत्तितयत्तयेत्तपुत्तयेत्त
 ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ तस्व ननिड नयोपाङ्गि
 तशीकृतममाहस्वस्थी मन्मद नजा
 लयपपापतिनरुपतिराह वयाविप
 तिविविक्लिगामल लरीपाय कनस
 त्तिवाराङ्गिगामयतिवोवययाङ्गिस
 दलिकलश्याकृष्णगताषनःसम
 तिसयदन्तःसर्वतत्तमास्यमपि
 प्रकाश्वतापास्त्रो ताविविमन्त्रवत्त
 योर्त्तमाषावपतिरुकुलमेस नमस
 मुनिमदोसं मनस्यपुण्य यरोत्तिः
 त्यस्यपितृवसि च मजाति पासासु
 पदयेत्तमाप्रांश्रणा परदृक्
 त्रिप्रवरयाणसंपत्तीनममसा
 पापकारप्रयक तिडनेतो पुण्ड
 लयान्दित्तिः सरुमङ्गुति ॥ त
 कर्माणोत्तित्तिः सरुमङ्गुति ॥ त
 प्रगान्दित्तिः सरुमङ्गुति ॥ त
 त्तिः सरुमङ्गुति ॥ त

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निवस्यजातः आयातजातसुखिव
 गता गणारमत्रा यावयाारयावियशः
 तस्या नवप्रतायप्रमितासषप्रजापडवं
 शोभते नोषककलामान्प्रितःगप्रानिः
 प्रजा श्यनमदीमत्वात्तत्रडा इतविनित्र
 तालु लिवडावउद्वनवराक्षमाचानारत्र
 सोड नपवशिणः पाकुनिः पत्रपुरत्रुव
 लन वमगालु यवतिरुनामा फलतशी
 कन पादानुयातपरमनडा नकायनवा
 जा विवडरुयावा विडया ॥ प्रसाहप
 त्रननिनोडप्रविवाउपट निवानिपामि
 मिदिदिनमेनुनवतोयावा पाशतक्षित
 ग्रापयनः सिर्शह स्वतुवा विभुहम
 सी वेत्रशुदिग साजा ३२ श्रीतत्र
 एविषमुपस्थायोषविदि ॥ इनामप
 रदशोरिविवापणाक- ३५ ३३त्तप्र
 तथीनचपतिपुत्रपापडित ॥ ३३वनि
 सत्तिसर्वादायाना तावि ३३त्तया
 श्मिनो ॥ ३३त्तनडाभन क ३३त्तया
 वान्त्र मिस्त्रम्यतम्यनदाफना ॥ नाम
 वतिरुमिदः शोकेतावनुमशुव
 नवीनता नत्राविनपार्थिवचान
 वानेपेडु दीनानिव माषयमश्व
 ताटिप्रदाननत्रमिहवः नमरा

ED AT THE SURVEY OF INDIA OFFICES, CALCUTTA, AUGUST 1897.



Photo-Collotype.

Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, January 1888.

BRONZE FIGURE OF HERCULES, FOUND IN THE QUETTA MINE.

