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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.—1888.

The Era of Lachhman Sen.—By H. BEVERIDGE, Esq., C. S.

The object of this paper is to draw attention to the facts that the era of Lachhman Sen is mentioned by Abu-l-Fazl in the Akbarnáma, and that according to him it began in 1119 A. D.

The era has been discussed by more than one scholar, but it appears that its date, or even the event denoted by it, has not yet been positively ascertained.

According to Dr. Mitra the era began in 1106-7 and dates from the accession of Lachhman Sen I, the grandfather of the Lachhman who was dethroned by Bakhtiyár Khilji. According to General Cunningham the era began with the death of Lachhman Sen I, and the first year of it is 1108 or 1109.

The first European scholar who mentions the date is, according to Cunningham, Colebrooke who alluded to it in 1796. Afterwards it was referred to by Mr. Prinsep in 1836. But none of these writers refer to the Abkarnáma. Apparently it was thought that the only mention of the chronology of Bengal was to be found in the *Áin-i-Akbarí*, that being the only work of Abu-l-Fazl which had been translated into English. There is indeed a reference to Abu-l-Fazl's mention of the Lachhman era in a note on the last page of Price's *History of the Muhammadans*, but the date given to it is wrong by a thousand years, and the era is wrongly called that of Lachhman Singh.

The way in which the era comes to be mentioned by Abu-l-Fazl is as follows: Akbar, as is well known, invented a new era which he called the *Taríkh Iláhí* or the Divine Era. It is usually stated that it began with his accession, but this is not quite correct. Akbar ascended the throne at Kalanor on 2 Rabíu-*g*-*s*ání, 963 A. H., corresponding to

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14th February 1556, old style. He made his *Tarīkh Ilāhī* begin with the first year of his reign, but he took for its commencement the period of the vernal equinox or the time when the sun enters. This Aries was the Nauroz of the Persians and the first day of their month of Farwardín. This Nauroz began on 10th March, old style, or 21st March, new style, and so the Divine Era began on 21st March 1556. But though it was made to begin then, the era was not invented or at least not promulgated till 992 A. H., corresponding to 1584 A. D. In that year a farmán or edict was issued by Akbar. This farmán was probably drafted by the eminent astronomer and philosopher, called Mír Fath 'Alí of Shiráz, for it was he who corrected the Tables of Ulagh Beg for the purpose of the new era. The farmán is given at pp. 10-13 of Vol. II of the *Akbarnáma*, Ed. Bibliotheca Indica. In it the other eras in use in the world are referred to, and at p. 12, 7 lines from top, we have the important words

در ولایت بنگ تاریخ از ابتدای حکومت لچهن سین
است - و ازان باز تا حال چهار صد و شصت و پنج سال شده است

"In the country of Bang (Bengal) dates are calculated from the beginning of the reign of Lachhman Sen. From that period till now there have been 465 years."

Then the farmán goes on to mention the Sáliváhan and Vikramá-ditya eras, and states that 1506 years of the Sáliváhan, and 1641 of the Vikramá-ditya era have elapsed. If we deduct these periods, we get $1584-465 = 1119$ A. D. for the beginning of the Lachhman Sen era, $1584-1506 = 78$ A. D. for the beginning of the Sáliváhan era, and $1584-1641 = -57$, *i. e.*, 57 B. C. for the beginning of the Vikramá-ditya era. These two last dates are right according to chronologists, so that we may place reliance on the Lachhman Sen one. But if Abu-l-Fazl is right, and it is likely that he is right, for the date is given in a solemn public document and at a time when the Lachhman Sen era was in use, Dr. Mitra and the almanac-makers of Tirhut are wrong about the beginning of the era; and General Cunningham is wrong both about the date and the event commemorated by the era.

According to Abu-l-Fazl the era began in 1119 A. D., *i. e.*, about twelve years after the date given by the Tirhut almanac-makers.

Possibly Abu-l-Fazl is wrong, and possibly too there is a misprint* in the Bibliotheca Indica edition, but there is a circumstance which seems to me to corroborate Abu-l-Fazl. This is that the *Ṭabaqát-i-Násirí* says that Lachhman had been on the throne for eighty years, when he was expelled by Bakhtiyár Khiljí (Raverty's translation of the *Ṭabaqát-i-Násirí*, p. 554).

* Major Price's MS., however, must have given also the figures 465.

Now Bakhtiyár Khiljí took Nadiyá apparently in 590 A. H. = 1194 A. D. (Raverty's translation, p. 559 note), or in 1195 A. D. according to General Cunningham. If then Lachhman began to reign in 1119 and reigned eighty years, this would bring the termination of his government to 1199 A. D., which is a tolerably close approximation to the dates of the capture of Nadiyá given by Raverty and Cunningham. If we take Mr. Blochmann's date for that event, *viz.*, 1198 or 1199 then there is an almost complete coincidence between Abu-l-Fazl's date of 1119 for the commencement of Lachhman Sen's reign and the statement in the *Ṭabaqát* of Minháj-u-d-dín that Lachhman reigned eighty years. That is, if the eighty years be taken to be calendar years. If, on the other hand, they are taken to be Muhammadan or lunar years, they will amount to somewhat less than seventy-eight calendar years. Major Raverty, in a note at p. 558 of his translation of the *Ṭabaqát*, quotes one Munshí Shám Parsád as saying in an account of Gaur that Rai Lachhman ruled from 510 to 590 A. H. Major Raverty adds that this is correct, but it can only be made to agree with the *Ṭabaqát* by reckoning the eighty years of the reign as lunar years; for 510—590 A. H. is equal to 1116—1195 or 1194 A. D.

General Cunningham's idea, that the Lachhman Sen era was established on the death of that prince, is opposed to the statement of Abu-l-Fazl, and also seems to be improbable. It is not common either in the East or West to begin an era with a death. Men generally date from a birth or from an accession to a throne. Akbar, it is true, ordered that the *Tarikh* Alfí, or history of a thousand years, should begin from the death of Muḥammad, but this was a freak of despotism, occasioned apparently by a superstitious aversion to the word Hijrah, which was ill-omened from its meaning "flight."

If, however, we adopt General Cunningham's view and also hold that the Lachhman Sen of the era is the father of Lakhmania, the last king of Bengal, then we find that the death of the father and the birth of the son occurred almost at the same time, and in this way Abu-l-Fazl's statement and General Cunningham's may be reconciled. Lakhmania, the last king of Bengal, was a posthumous son. When his father died, his mother was far advanced in her pregnancy, and the nobles put the crown on her womb and did homage to her and the unborn child. She had herself hung up head downwards for two hours, in order that the birth might be delayed till an auspicious moment. He was born, and the poor mother expired, and then the infant was laid on the throne.

It is in this way that he is said to have reigned eighty years. If this horrible story is true, we need not wonder at Lakhmania's misfortunes. He was emphatically one *cui non risere parentes*. Thus then

it may be almost equally correct, so far as the initial year is concerned, to say that the era began with the death of Lachhman Sen, as that it began with the birth of his son Lakhmania. I prefer, however, Abu-l-Fazl's statement that it began with the commencement of the reign of Lachhman Sen. Even if we take this Lachhman Sen to be the father of Lakhmania, and not Lakhmania himself, still Abu-l-Fazl's date may be correct. We do not know how long the father reigned and if, as Lassen conjectures, he was an usurper, his duration of power is likely to have been short. Abu-l-Fazl's omission to say that he ever reigned at least implies that he did not rule long. There would therefore be no difficulty in supposing that his reign began about 1119 A. D. Perhaps an argument in favour of the view, that the last king of Bengal or his father gave his name to the era, may be derived from the fact that one of them founded a new dynasty and a new capital. This was a circumstance likely to be marked by the introduction of a new era. Stewart in his *History of Bengal*, p. 42, describes Lachhman, the last king of Bengal, as succeeding his father Lachhman, but the authority whom he seems to have followed, *viz.*, the author of the *Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí*, does not mention the father's name. The Persian original will be found, quoted at p. 135 of our *Journal*, Part I for 1865, in Dr. Mitra's paper on the *Sena Rájás*.

Abu-l-Fazl in his *Áin*, p. 414, mentions Lakhman (qu. Lachhman ?) as the father of Lakhmania, but he does not describe him as having ever reigned. In his list at p. 413, Rájá Nojah is the last king of Bengal. He is the last of the sixty-one kings who, according to him, ruled Bengal for 4544 years. Nojah reigned three years, and then, says Abu-l-Fazl, the country came under the dominion of Dehlí.

It is curious that he should say nothing here of Lakhmania, and that in the very next page he should tell us that he succeeded Rájá Nojah. Three suggestions may be made to reconcile the discrepancy, though none of them is quite satisfactory.

1st. The list, at p. 413, may be that of a particular family and so not include Lakhmania, who at all events was not a direct descendant of Nojah. Possibly he was not even a Kayasth.

2nd. The list may be that of the kings of Gaur or Lakhnautí and so not include Lakhmania who had his capital at Nadiyá.

3rd. Lakhmania may not be included, because his reign did not come to a natural end, but was violently interrupted by Bakhtiyár Khiljí.

Though the *Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí* does not mention the father's name, it represents the father as having reigned, and possibly Stewart combined the statements of Abu-l-Fazl and the *Ṭabaqát*.

The *Ṭabaqát* is the better authority of the two probably, and so

putting it and Abu-l-Fazl's statement together, we may take it that Lachhman the father of Lakhmania ruled Bengal.

Dr. Mitra, in the paper already quoted, describes Abu-l-Fazl as saying that Lachhman ascended the throne in 1116 and reigned eight years. But I have not been able to find either of these statements in Abu-l-Fazl. Apparently the Lachhman to whom Dr. Mitra refers is the Lakhan Sen who succeeded Balál Sen. But Abu-l-Fazl makes him reign only seven years. I submit too that clearly this Lakhan Sen or Lachhman Sen has nothing to do with the era we are considering. He succeeded Balál Sen the builder of the Fort of Gaur, and was in his turn succeeded by Mádhava Sen who, according to Abu-l-Fazl, reigned ten years. Then came Kesava Sen who reigned fifteen years, then Suda Sen (no doubt the Sura Sen of the Rájávalí, quoted by Dr. Mitra at p. 134 of his paper) who reigned eighteen years, and finally Nojah who reigned three years. Thus we have from Lachhman Sen or Lakhan Sen, the son of Balál, to Lakhmania, the son of Lachhman, a period of forty-six years. Four princes too intervened, so that Lakhmania can hardly have been the grandson of Lakhan the son of Balál. As Lakhmania reigned eighty years, his accession must date from 1114 or 1119, according as we take 1194 or 1199 as the date of the capture of Nadiyá. If then the Lakhmania era took its rise with Lakhan Sen, the son of Balál, its first year would be in 1068 or 1073 A. D., if we count from his death, and in 1061 or 1066, if we count from the beginning of his reign. Such dates, however, would be contrary to all the authorities. I venture, therefore, to think that the view of Dr. Mitra and of General Cunningham that the Lachhman Sen who gave his name to the era was the son of Balál Sen, is one which cannot be sustained.

In connection with this part of my subject I wish to caution my readers against accepting the lists of kings of Bengal given in Gladwin's translation as a correct rendering of the lists of Abu-l-Fazl. A reference to the original will show that Gladwin's translation is not quite accurate.

The last Hindú king of Bengal mentioned in Abu-l-Fazl's list, *Áin* p. 413 *Bibliotheca Indica* edition, is Rájá Nojah who ruled three years. This is the Rájá Noe or Noujah of Gladwin, for he has both spellings, and the Rájá Bhoja of Lassen. Abu-l-Fazl says that when Rájá Nojah died, the kingdom passed to Lakhmania the son of Rai Lachhman. He also says that Lakhmania ruled at Nadiyá and was expelled by Bakhtiyár *Khiljí* (*Áin*, p. 414).

In my humble opinion this Lakhmania is the Lachhman Sen of the *Akbarnáma*, and the prince who gave his name to the Lachhman era.

The point is, I submit, a most interesting one; for it concerns the

date of the accession of the last Hindú king of Bengal. I trust, therefore, that some one will take up the inquiry, and, if possible, reconcile Abu-l-Fazl with the almanac makers of Tirhut.

Colebrooke's date of 1104 A. D., i. e., 1796—692, does not agree with the almanacs, and it would appear that Halayudha was the spiritual adviser of Lachhman, the son of Balál. In that case it seems almost certain that the date 1104 is wrong. The only thing apparently that stands in the way of the acceptance of Abu-l-Fazl's date is the Tirhut almanacs. But it seems that they do not agree with one another, and also that the compilers of them are ignorant of the origin of the era.

It strikes me as strange that the era should be permanent in Tirhut and not in other districts. Lakhmania reigned at Nadiyá, latterly at all events, and I beg to suggest that inquiry should be made among the pandits and almanac-makers of Nadiyá as to whether they know of and make use of the era.*

I have consulted Tieffenthaler, but I do not find that he throws any light on the matter. In one place he gives the months as well as the years of the Sen Rájá's reigns, and speaks of Kesava Sen as being the son of Balál Sen and the father of Mádhava. This is against the notion that Lakhmania was the grandson of Lachhman. In another place, p. 473 of the account of Bengal, Tieffenthaler gives the same list as Abu-l-Fazl, but adds that after Rájá Nodja there reigned seven Hindú princes whose names are not known, and who ruled for 106 years. But it seems that this is merely a corrupt version of Abu-l-Fazl's statement. The seven princes of Tieffenthaler are really not the unknown descendants of Rájá Nojah, but are the seven Sen kings ending with Nojah. Abu-l-Fazl's list of them shows that they reigned 106 years.

Tieffenthaler apparently did not get his information direct from Abu-l-Fazl's book, but from some later compilation.

One important point remains to be noticed.

At p. 397 of Dr. Mitra's second article on the Sena Rájás, he gives a Sanscrit inscription from Buddha Gaya, and translates it as follows :

"On Thursday the 12th of the wane, in the month of Vaisákha Samvat or year 74 after the expiration of the reign of the auspicious Lakshmana Sena Deva."

But is it not possible that the Sanscrit words mean the 74th year of the reign of Lachhman Sena? In other words that the date is a Julús or regnal era.

If so, all our difficulties seem to be at an end, for no king is recorded to have reigned eighty years except the last Sena king, i. e., Lachhman.

* [The suggested enquiry is being made, and its result will subsequently be communicated. Ed.]

The 74th year must, therefore, be the year of his reign, and it follows that the era originated with him. If Abu-l-Fazl is correct, and my reading of the Sanscrit inscription admissible, then the date of the inscription is $1119 + 47 = 1193$ A. D.

My knowledge of Sanscrit is exceedingly small, but it looks to me as if the words of the inscription might bear the above interpretation.

Possibly it was because it never occurred to any one that a reign could last seventy-four years, that it was taken for granted that the seventy-four years must mean years after the expiry of the reign.



Notes on some Kolarian tribes.—By W. H. P. DRIVER.*

The Asurs.

Habitat.—The Asurs, a small tribe, speaking a dialect of the Kolarian language, are to be found only in the extreme west of the Lohardagá district. They are iron-smelters by profession.

Origin and history.—They appear to have considerable traditions in connection with their former history. The following is the story regarding their origin, and general history. In ancient times they were a great people and inhabited the Dhaulagir and Mainagir Hills on which there were two large lakes. They were clever artisans, travelled about in palkís, and used to eat red-hot iron. They did not cultivate the land, but had large herds of cattle. Then the Uráons, called Lodhás, appeared and took all their cattle, and they had to go into the jungles. (The saying with reference to the Uráons being stronger is *báro bhái Asur, terá bhái Lodhá, i. e.,* ‘the Asurs are twelve brothers, but the Lodhás are thirteen brothers.’) This drove them to desperation and they took to cattle-lifting and preying on the Uráons. (The mythology of the various Kolarian tribes always refers to the Asurs as robbers and fire-eaters.) These Uráons, unable to attack them in the jungles, called in the assistance of Bhag’wán, who built a great fort and invited all the Asurs to attend. Being afraid to refuse, they all came at the summons, and were told to enter the fort by Bhag’wán, who to allay their fears went in first. After they were all in, Bhag’wán shut the gate and disappeared from the top. He then filled the fort up with charcoal. When he got outside,

* [All names, terms and words quoted in this paper are spelled by the author as he heard them from the people. The system of spelling, or transliteration, is the usual one; but it should be noted that *ṅ* indicates the nasalisation of the preceding vowel, and that *õ* indicates the Eastern Gandian, or Bengálí, pronunciation of *a*; thus *gotõr* is the Hindí *gotar*, Skr. *gotra*; *bõr* corresponds to Hindí *bar* or *bará* ‘great.’ Ed.]

he found two Asurs (a brother and sister) who had not gone in with the rest, and he made these two fix up a bellows (such as the Asurs use for smelting iron) and immolate the whole tribe. These two were then carried away by the Uráons, and left in the jungles, where their descendants are now found, being condemned for ever to use the bellows. They say that the Uráons brought their two ancestors in palkís from the far East, but they have not the slightest idea how far, nor where Dhaulagir and Mainagir are situated.

In different parts of the Lohardagá and Chaibásá districts are found well finished stone, clay, glass, and metal beads, and also small silver coins (of the kind called 'old Hindú punch coins') which are attributed by the people to the Asurs, but it is difficult to say whether the present Asurs are descendants of the people who used these coins and beads or not. I am credibly informed that beads similar in every way to these are, at the present day, worn by the Bhutiyás about Darjiling, and this fact taken in conjunction with the legend about Dhaulagir appears to me very suggestive of the true origin of these people. The Bhagavat Purána (1, 3, 24) refers to the people of Kikāṭa (Bihár), who were in those days mostly Kols, as Asurs; and these Asurs of Lohardagá (who are also Kols) state that they have borne this name from ancient times. We, therefore, seem to have connecting links for tracing the present day Asurs from the Himálayan mountains to the hills of Chutiyá Nágpur.

Titles, sub-tribes and septs.—The Asurs assume the title of Mánjhi. They are divided into the following sub-tribes: Jaít Asurs and Lohará-Asurs, who smelt iron and make ploughs, &c.; Soënká or Agariyá-Asurs and Goṇḍ-Asurs, who smelt iron, but do not make ploughs, &c. All these sub-tribes have innumerable *gotōrs* such as Roṭe, Sikṭa, Aind, Ṭopo, Kerkeṭá, Kachhuwá, Tirkí, Nág, Chitri, Gundrí, and Sujúr, &c.

Festivals and religious customs.—They observe the following festivals and religious customs: *Mágh-parab* in January; *Phágund* in February; at this festival they offer a sacrifice of a fowl to *An-dhariyá Devatá* (the Earth God). The fowl is held by a pair of pincers, its head is placed on an anvil, and it is struck with a hammer, a prayer being offered with a request to be preserved from the sparks, that fly from red-hot iron. *Hariyári* in May, when a fowl is sacrificed to their parents; *Daliyá* (the God of Plenty), a sacrifice in June; *Sendrá*, the hunting festival, in June; *Karam* in August; *Soharái* in October. A sacrifice is offered to '*Bōr Pahári Boṅgá*' (great hill God) of a brown goat, and to '*Paṇḍ'rá Devatá*' (the sun) of a mottled fowl. These two are yearly sacrifices,

but may be offered at any time. All the above sacrifices are offered by the people themselves, without the assistance of *páhans*. The *páhan**, or priest, who must be either an Asur or a Muṇḍá, offers sacrifices at the *Sarhul* in May, and at the *Khaniyári* or harvest festival in November. Tuesday and the change of the moon are considered good times to offer these sacrifices. The *Dárhá* and *Churáil* are evil spirits who afflict people, and when they make their presence felt, they have to be propitiated with a sacrifice, by the *páhan*, and politely turned out.

Dances.—Asurs dance the *jhúmar*, *ḍomkañt*, *ṭhariyá*, *luohgí*, *desaḍlí*, and *jatrá* or *khariyá*. They use only the *ḍhol* and *mándar*, and they have no horns, flutes, cymbals &c.

Food.—They eat cows, pigs, buffaloes, tigers, rats, and lizards, and also poisonous snakes, such as the *nág* and *jára* for the cure of lumbago. The snakes' heads are cut off, and the flesh is separated from the bones and fried.

Marriage customs.—The marriage ceremonies of the Asurs are peculiar. The parents supply the trousseau, but the bridegroom gives his share towards the feast, and also gives a *dáli* of Rs. 5 to the parents. Parents arrange marriages and the ceremony takes place at the bridegroom's father's house. The following preparations are made for a wedding. In front of the house a shed of *Sál* branches is erected, and at some little distance all round this a temporary *Sál* fence is put up. This enclosure is called the *maruá-táñḍ*, and in the centre of it are planted a long bamboo and a mangoe branch, and alongside of these is placed a *biñḍ*, or basket, for storing grain, which is filled with earth and planted with a few grains of corn. The bride and bridegroom dine with the rest of the party. After dinner they anoint each other all over with oil and turmeric and then retire, while the rest of the party enjoy themselves drinking and dancing in the *maruá-táñḍ*. At dawn the couple are brought forth and made to stand at the front door on a yoke covered with *kher* grass, while two girls (relatives of both parties) fetch two small *gharás* of water and splash the happy pair, using twigs from the mangoe branch. The family party then go into the house, and the pair sitting together mark each other on the foreheads with *sindur*, using their right-hand little fingers. They all then go out and join the rest of the party dancing in the *maruá-táñḍ*. After the sun is well up, the married couple go home, and the wife commences to cook to show that she has undertaken her household duties.

* [This term is spelled sometimes *páhan* पाहन, sometimes *páham* पाहं. Possibly it may be a corruption of the Hindi *bráhmaṇ* or *bámhan*. Compare the Burmese 'paunha' for *bráhmaṇ*, in Bigandet's *Legend of Gaudama*, vol. I, p. 29, footnote 13. ED.]

Marriages usually take place in January, and the pair go to visit their parents in a year's time. Asurs usually marry only one wife, and widows can re-marry. They must marry in their own tribe, but the parties must be of different *gotörs*. Married people can separate but it is considered a disgrace to do so. Property descends to male heirs.

Customs regarding children.—A mother is considered unclean for fifteen days after the birth of a child. After this time both she and the child are anointed with oil and turmeric, the child's head is shaved, and it is named often after grandparents, or after the day on which it was born. Before deciding upon a name, they throw two grains of rice into a bowl of water; when the propitious name is called, both grains will sink and keep together. A dinner is given to all relatives on such occasions. The boys have their forearms burnt, but the girls are not tattooed. Every large village has a *Dhamkuriyá* or a bachelors' hall, in front of which the boys and girls dance. If the elders catch girls in the *Dhamkuriyá* the boys are heavily fined, and their fathers have to pay if they cannot.

Death customs.—The ceremonies for the dead are as follows:—Those who die a natural death or are killed by accident or by violence, are burnt on the banks of a river. Those who die of any disease are buried and three or four large stones are placed over the grave. It is customary to feed all relatives after a death.

The Asurs, like all Kolarian tribes, are very black, and have nothing to boast of in the way of features, but they are of good physique and have hardy constitutions, although they appear to be dying out.

The Birijiyás.

Habitat.—The Birijiyás are a small Kolarian tribe to be found in the *pargánas* of Bar'we and Chhechhári in the Lohardagá district, and also in the neighbouring Native State of Sir'gújá. In appearance they are black with flat faces, but of good physique, and many wear the hair in matted locks. They are quiet, unwarlike people (even those who live on the hills), and live by cultivation of rice, *urid*, *ráhar*, *bodí*, *maruá*, &c. They say they come from the Mahádeo Hills, and the following is the story of their origin.

Origin.—The god Mahádeo made the figure of a horse out of clay, but he was not pleased with it; he then made a dog, but this also did not take his fancy; so he finally found a scarecrow and put life into it, when it was turned into a man. He liked his appearance, and so made a wife for him in the same way by animating another scarecrow.

Titles and connections.—The Birijiyás sometimes take the title of

Májhí or Ganjhu. Those living on the hills are called Pahariyás, and those settled on the plains are known as Dánd-Birijiyá. They appear to be nearly allied to the Agariás and more distantly to the Asurs.

Religion.—Their gods are *Debí*, *Sing'bongá* or the Sun, *Nind-Bongá* or the Moon, and *Mahádeo*, and they have three priests of their own tribes to attend to these deities. The head priest, *Baigá Páhan*, and his assistant, the *Dewar*, offer the sacrifices, and the *Pujár* is the consulting priest who decides as to what the sacrifice is to be. The people themselves offer sacrifices to their dead ancestors whom they call *Mud*.

Festivals.—They keep the following festivals, *viz.*, the *Phaguá* in February, the *Sarhul* in April, the *Chíná-Parab* (at the sowing season) in June or July, the *Karmá* in October, and the *Arwá* or *Khar'waj* (or harvest festival) in November. At this season they sacrifice to *Mahádeo*. Like all other Kolarians they are fond of dancing and drinking.

Marriage Customs.—Marriages are arranged between parents by a male go-between or *bisut*. The hill Birijiyás have no *gotórs*, but marry from neighbouring villages. They only marry after coming of age. It is customary to buy their wives, the usual price being Rs. 4, which is paid to the parents. The bridegroom supplies the trousseau, which consists of a new cloth dyed yellow, brass bangles, earrings, and as many ornaments as he can afford. The chief feature of the ceremony is a big dinner at the bride's father's house, to which the bridegroom has to contribute his share in the shape of two or three maunds of rice and several *gharás* of rice-beer. All the relations of both parties and numerous friends are invited to the wedding feast, and after the dinner drinking and dancing go on all night. The hill Birijiyás anoint each other with oil at the marriage, but those of the plains have adopted the use of *sindur* instead.

Divorce.—A man may marry up to three wives; and divorcees, widows and widowers can re-marry. A divorce or separation is formally accomplished by the return of the Rs. 4 and marriage expenses, but the said expenses are seldom returned, and the matter generally ends in a compromise.

Customs regarding children.—After child-birth the mother is considered unclean for ten days, and she has to live and eat apart from her husband in a corner of the house, a door being cut at the back of the house for her special use. After the expiry of the proper time she washes, puts on a clean dress, and comes in at the front door, and the husband then blocks up the back door, until it is again required. Twins are very uncommon, and one or both usually die. Children are named after dead grandparents or great-grandparents. Boys' fore-

arms are burnt, but girls are not tattooed like Muṇḍás and Khariyás. Every village has a *Dhankuriyá* ' or bachelors' hall for the bigger boys.

Customs concerning the dead.—Birijiyás can either burn or bury their dead. They bury them deep and cover the surface with thorns and large stones in order to keep off jackals and hyenas. (Perhaps this was the real origin of monumental stones in other countries.)

Food.—Birijiyás are allowed to eat buffaloes, cows, and the *dháman* snake, but they are forbidden to eat monkeys, frogs and ordinary snakes. They effect cures by charms, mesmerism, and sacrifices. Disputes are settled by *pancháyats* or consultation by elders.

The Birhors.

Habitat.—The Birhors, a small tribe speaking a dialect of the Kolarian language, chiefly lead a wild nomadic life among the hills and jungles of Chuṭiyá Nágpur. They travel about in small communities, earning a precarious living by making string from the *chop* (*Bauhinia scandens*) bark. A few of their number have, however, settled down in different parts of the district amongst their more civilised neighbours and taken to cultivation. Those living in the jungles are usually very poor, their huts being made of leaves and branches, and measuring 8 or 10 feet in length by 6 feet in breadth by 6 feet in height, the doors being only 2 feet in height by 1½ feet in breadth. These huts are placed in a circular form, with the doors facing towards the inside of the circle, of which the open space in the centre is kept clean and used for dancing. In appearance the Birhors are amongst the most degraded looking of Kolarian tribes. They are usually very short, black, and dirty-looking, some of the men wearing the hair matted. They do not use bows and arrows, and their only weapons are small axes.

Food.—The jungle Birhors keep neither cattle, goats, nor pigs, but buy them when required for a feast or sacrifice. They eat cows, buffaloes, goats, pigs, fowls, rats, and monkeys, but not bears, tigers, jackals, dogs, snakes, lizards, &c. For vegetables they are dependent mostly on the jungles and the following is a list of the commonest kinds, *viz.* :

Leaves.—Koinár, Káná, Maṭhá, Kaṭai, Sári, Sáruberá, Síl'wer, Pich'kí, Chátom, Muchurí, Háru, Singh, Rong. *Roots.*—Háser, Durá, Piská, Kulu, Kund'rf, Gethí, Bír, Semar, Karíl, Chakond. *Fruits.*—Lariyá, Kudá, Poḍho, Kanduwer, Bel, Dumar, Bar, Pipar, Sarai, Piṭhor, Dau, Tiril, Kaṭ'kar'jí, Sir'ká. Their women help them to make the *chop* string, and also carry this and the monkey skins to the small

village markets situated nearest the jungles, and there either sell or barter their articles for rice, salt, and oil. The skins of monkeys are used for making Kol drums.

Hunting.—The following is the system in which they hunt. Strong nets about 4 feet wide, which they make of *chop*, are stretched against upright posts or trees in a line along the ground, for a distance of several hundred yards. They then beat up towards their nets, and the forests being almost denuded of large trees, the monkeys (small, brown and long-tailed) take to the ground, and so get snared along with other game.

Titles and sub-tribes.—The Birhors can tell you nothing of their origin or history beyond the fact that they have been 'Birhors', or jungle-men, from prehistoric times. They are commonly known amongst the people of these parts as *chopdárs* (chop string makers). They are divided into two sub-tribes, namely Bhuliyá or wanderers, and Jaghí or settlers.

Religion and superstitions.—Their religion is a peculiar mixture of Hindú and Kolarian ideas. They worship Debi-máy, a Hindú goddess; Mahá-máy (represented by a piece of wood painted red); Darhá-Bongá, river bank god (represented by a piece of bamboo stuck in the ground); Kudrí-Bongá, river god; Banhí-máy, jungle goddess (represented by a small piece of wood with some *sindur* on it, stuck in the ground); Lugu-máy, earth goddess; Dhuká-Bongá, air god; Bir'ku or Biru-Bongá, hill god; Burí-máy (represented by a white stone painted red on the top); Dadhá-máy (represented by an arrow head); Hanumán (represented by a trident painted red). Kap'sí and Jilingá are not represented by any images. They see no anomaly in worshipping 'Hanumán' and eating monkeys. The various representatives of their gods and goddesses are placed in a small cleared spot fenced in with thorns. The sun is sacrificed to once in four or five years. The larger communities have their own *páhan* or priest, who attends to all the above-mentioned worthies, but the smaller camps have to content themselves with the services of the *Mundá páhan* of some neighbouring village. The Birhors offer sacrifices to their parents every three years, taking care to avoid the month or months in which they died, and offering separate fowls to the father and mother.

Witchcraft.—They also have *Ojhás* or diviners, besides others who practise the 'black art.' Such persons are feared and disliked, and yet often employed by these superstitious people. If an aggrieved person wishes to have revenge, he or she (practising under the instructions of the *Ojhá*) puts a devil on the enemy or on his or her household, and very soon some one falls ill. The head of the afflicted house refers to the

Ojhá, who lights a *chirág*, goes through some mummery, and discovers the instigators of the obsession. Amongst the *Muṇḍás* the result is usually a free fight, but the *Birhors* take things more calmly, and the matter is amicably arranged by the party causing the devilment, giving the *Ojhá* a fowl to sacrifice, with a request to withdraw the devil.

The healing art.—The *Ojhá* is referred to on all occasions of sickness, when he goes through the performance of feeling the wrist and looking wise, just like our own quacks. His prescription is nothing so nasty as physic, but simply the sacrifice of a fowl, white, red or black, according to the occasion, and large or small according to the means of the patient. Light sicknesses, such as headache or stomach-ache, are cured by the *Ojhá* putting some 'ar'wá chául' into the right hand of the patient, and turning it five times round his (the patient's) head.

Festivals.—*Birhors* keep the following *Kolarian* festivals, *viz.*, *Mágh-Parab* in January; *Phaguá*, the hunting festival, in February; *Sarhul* in March; *Karam* and *Jiṭṭiyá* in September; *Dasá* and *Sohará* in October.

Dances.—They dance the *Lujh'ri* at the *Karam* and the *Jiṭṭiyá*, the *Jargá* at the *Phaguá* and *Sarhul*, and the *Sauntári* at other times.

Friendships.—The men make *karam'dál* friendships by putting a *karam* leaf in each other's hair, and giving each other a new piece of cloth; the women give pieces of cloth, but do not exchange *karam* leaves. The women also form other friendships among themselves by going to a river and splashing each other with water. They then call each other *Gangájal*.

Marriage customs.—The *Birhors* do not marry until full grown. They have only one wife, and widows are allowed to re-marry. They are not allowed to marry out of their tribe, but they cannot marry into the same gotra, *i. e.*, people of the same family name. They have such surnames as *Sing'puriyá*, *Nág'puriyá*, *Jag'sariyá*, *Liluar*, *Beharwár*, *Siruwár*, *Hem'rom*, *Maháli*, &c. Parents arrange matrimonial matters, the price of a wife being from Rs. 3 to Rs. 5, and the bridegroom goes to the house of his future father-in-law to get married. After eating and drinking, the *páham* or priest (one of their own tribe) cuts the right hand little fingers of both bride and bridegroom. They then mark each other on the breastbone with their blood, or put their blood on small pieces of cloth which they exchange and for three days wear round their necks. After this ceremony they anoint each other's heads with oil. Then the man takes some *sindur* in his right hand which, with an upward motion, he rubs on

the centre of her forehead. She then returns the compliment by putting five spots of *sindur* in a perpendicular line on the centre of his forehead. The *lokundí* or bridesmaid (generally a young relative of the bride) then comes forward and ties the end of the bride's *sárí* to the bridegroom's *gam'chhá*. The ceremony is concluded with drinking and dancing which is kept up all night, and next morning the whole party adjourn to a river or tank and bathe. After allowing the newly married wife to remain with her husband for a few days, the parents or guardians take her away and keep her for a week or so, during which time she is feasted and well-treated, and she is then made over to her husband. They usually marry in February, and at the following *karam* pay a visit to the wife's parents. Birhors do not appear to have any definite customs as to divorce. Such occurrences are very uncommon among them, but they say that if married people wished to separate, there was nothing to hinder their doing so.

Customs regarding children.—After the birth of a child, a door is cut at the back of the house for the use of the mother. When the child is six days' old, its head is shaved, its whole body is rubbed with oil and turmeric, and it is then named either after its grandparents or after the day on which it was born. The parents then offer a sacrifice after consulting the *Ojhá*. The hair is shaved by one of their own people who acts as barber for the whole community, and who is paid a *paila* (about 2 pounds) of rice for his services. All males, both young and old, have their heads shaved (with the exception of a top knot) at regular intervals. The boys, at the age of 10 or 12, have the backs of both forearms burnt, the operation being performed with lighted wicks made from oiled rags. The girls, at about the same age, are tattooed on the wrists, biceps, and ankles. This operation is performed by *ghási* women who make a profession of it. The month of November is always chosen as the most fitting time for the operations of tattooing and burning. Children of both sexes remain with their parents until they marry.

Death customs.—The Birhors first burn and then bury their dead near a stream, placing a stone of any sort over the spot. At a parent's death the youngest son has his head shaved clean. At the death of a child all male relatives shave the forepart of the head, and dine with the bereaved parents, and the parents themselves offer a sacrifice of a goat to *Debí* or *Mahá-máy*.

The Kharíyás.

Habitat.—The Kharíyás, a tribe speaking a dialect of the Kol language, are chiefly to be found in the South-west corner of the Lohardagá

district in the parganá of Paílkoṭ, Bíru, Keselpur, and Sasiá, and they also extend into the neighbouring native states of Gangpur, Jaspur, and Raigarh, some few being also found in the Northern portions of the Sambhalpur district. A few people bearing this name are said to exist in a most savage condition in small communities in the Mán'bhúm and Sing'bhúm Districts; but no one has yet ascertained if these people speak the Khariyá language.

History.—The Khariyás of Paílkoṭ and Bíru do not know any thing whatever about the Singbhúm Khariyás, and state that they came originally from the North, by way of Roidás (Rohtas), Patná, Khariyá-ghát (in Torí parganá), and Lohardagá. This story is, I think, got from the Uráons; for another tradition says they came from the South. Their earliest traditions refer back to the days of *Phen máruk* Muṇḍá who was the father of *Bhel bhadar* and grandfather of *Madrá*. They were evidently from the earliest times a good deal mixed up with Muṇḍás, whom they look upon as elder brothers.

Divisions.—They are divided into the following sub-tribes *viz.* : Dudh-Khariyá, Ber'gá-Khariyá, Dhel'kí-Khariyá, Khariyá-Muṇḍá, Perai-Muṇḍá, and Khariyá-Uráon. The Dudh-Khariyás rank first. They may drink with the others, but are forbidden to eat or marry with them. They will not eat animals that have died of disease. They can eat the buffalo, but not the cow. The others can eat cows, and the Perai-Muṇḍás are said to eat cattle that have died of disease.

Religion.—The religion of the Khariyás consists of the worship of the elements in the Sun and Air, the Hills and the Rivers, and also the spirits of their ancestors. They also propitiate various evil spirits, of whom they are in constant dread, and they have priests called *páham*s or *Baigás* who go through the ceremonies of offering up sacrifices. The *Páham* or *Baigá* is generally himself a Khariyá, but in villages with a largely mixed population the priest may belong to any other Kolarian tribe. No Hindú or Musulmán can hold this office. The sacrifices may consist of goats, pigs, fowls or buffaloes.

Marriage ceremonies.—The marriage ceremony consists chiefly of eating, drinking, and dancing. The bride is taken to the house of her future father-in-law, where she and her intended are anointed. The bride and bridegroom are carried about by their friends, while the rest of the party are dancing, and the songs (in which the names of the happy pair are introduced) are specially composed for such occasions. The festivities are kept up all night, and the next morning the whole party adjourns to the nearest tank or river, where they all bathe and wash their clothes, the bride and bridegroom being carried there by their friends; they are, however, allowed to walk home. Marriages are

usually arranged by the parents, and the children are wonderfully dutiful, as there is nothing to prevent their choosing for themselves. However when parents make the choice they generally marry them at a somewhat early age. The marriage present, consisting (amongst the wealthier people) of seven head of cattle, is given by the bridegroom's father to the father of the bride; and a month after the marriage the bridegroom receives a present of an ox from his father-in-law. January and February are the months to marry in. A *Khariyá* may marry four wives, the 1st is called *Bar'ki*, the 2nd, *Majh'li*; the 3rd, *Sajh'li*; and the 4th *Ohhoŋ'ki*; but besides these he may, according to his wealth, have various concubines called *Sagaís* and *Dhukkús*. Widows and divorcees can remarry, but their price is only two head of cattle as compared with seven for a virgin. A *Khariyá* man must marry in his own tribe, but from a different *gotör*. A *Khariyá* woman can marry a man of any Kolarian tribe, but then she is *out* of her own tribe, and can not eat with them. A *Khariyá* can marry his sister-in-law while his wife is alive, if she is lame, blind, or unfruitful, and if his wife leaves him he can legally claim her younger sister.

Laws of divorce.—Dissolution of marriage is effected by both parties going before the *Zamindár* and headmen of the village, and declaring themselves willing to separate. The formula is worded "If I call him (or her) I will pay a fine of Rs. 20 and receive twenty strokes from a shoe." If a woman leaves her husband, he may convoke a 'Pancháyat,' and recover the oxen and buffaloes, he or his father paid for her, either from her father if she returns to him, or else from the man whom she goes to live with. A woman seems to have no redress against her husband for desertion, but she is then allowed to live with any one else she may choose. If a husband lives happily with his wife for any length of time, his father-in-law makes him a present of an ox or buffalo. This is called a *dáj* and is considered a great honour. Either idiocy or infidelity can warrant a divorce.

Customs regarding children.—First children are named after their grandparents and omens and auguries are consulted on these as well as on all other occasions of any moment. A week after birth the child's head is shaved, and the father and mother having fasted give a big dinner to their friends and relatives, spending more money for a boy than for a girl. The child is named a month after its birth. The boys have their fore arms burnt, and girls are tattooed on the forehead and temple.

Festivals and dances.—The *Khariyás* keep all the usual Kolarian festivals. In January they dance the *Khariyá* which is peculiar to themselves and the *Uráons*. This is also the chief dance during the

Sarhul festivals which is kept in February. Some advanced Khariyás wear the *Janao* or sacred thread at this festival. The *Bisu* festival kept in March is peculiar to the Khariyás. The names of their dances are *Khariá*, *Gená*, *Lahasú* and *Tháryá*; and they are more energetic in their execution than the Muṅḍás and other Kolarian tribes. Their usual stimulant is the rice beer of the country which they prepare for themselves.

Ceremonies for the dead.—The Khariyás of the Lohardagá district are a well-to-do and advancing people, and the result is that they have acquired a number of customs which did not belong to them originally. Thus I believe that formerly they used only to bury their dead, but now they have learnt to burn them. The most approved ceremony now is as follows:—The body is buried with a vow that it will be burnt within a certain time (sometimes as much as two or three years). At the time appointed, the body is exhumed and burnt, and the bones and ashes are put into an earthen pot and thrown into the chasm of any rock in the vicinity of the village or near a river. In such cases they believe that the body waits intact for the burning ceremony, even though it be for years. These customs refer entirely to the Khariyás of the Lohardagá district, little or nothing being known about the small and degenerate branches inhabiting the most jungly parts of Mán'bhúm and Sing'bhúm, and who are said to be in habits and appearance more like the Birhors and Juángs.

*Couplets or 'Baits' on the coins of Sháh Núru-d-dín Jahángír, the son of Akbar, collected by CHAS. J. RODGERS, M. R. A. S., Associate Member, Asiatic Society of Bengal.**

So far as I can ascertain there are no coins before the time of Akbar which bear couplets or *baits* of Persian poetry. I know only of two coins of Akbar which have couplets on them. One of these is a rupee struck at Alláhábád in the 44th and 45th years of his reign. I have seen this rupee also without a year or month. It is said to have been struck by Jahángír when in rebellion against his father. The couplet runs thus:—

Obv. همیشه همچو زر مهر و ماه رائج باد

Rev. بغرب و شرق جهان سكه اله اباد

i. e. 'May the coin of Alláhábád be always current like the golden disk of the sun and the moon in the East and in the West of the world.'

* [The translations of the couplets have been supplied by Maulawí Mirza Ashraf Ali of the Calcutta Madrasah. Ed.]

The month *Abán* comes under the first line and the year 44 under the second one in one rupee I have. Another one has *Farwardín* month and year 45. A third I have has neither year nor month.

There is a mohur extant, but very rarely met with, of Akbar's. It was struck at *Agra* towards the latter end of his reign. Mr. Theobald of *Bedford* has one of the 44th *iláhi* year. I have one of *Ispandármuz*, 49th year *iláhi*. Mr. Delmerick* edited one of 50th year *iláhi*, month *Khurdád*, but which he reads "*jalús* 5." Now Akbar began to use the *Iláhi* year and Persian months in his 30th year on his coins, and he never used the word *jalús*. This word began to be used by *Jahángír* (see *Marsden* Pl. XL and XLI). Akbar uses *iláhi* instead of *jalús*. I have seen Mr. Delmerick's mohur. It reads distinctly ۵۰ that is 50.

The couplet on the mohur is:—

Obv. ضرب اگہ صہر صہر شاہ اکبر آبروي این زر است

Rev. اسفندارموز ۵۰ امیر تا زمین و آسمان را صہر انور زیور است

i. e., 'The sun of the seal of Akbar Sháh is the honour of this gold (coin) as long as the earth and the sky is adorned with the luminous sun. Struck at *Agra*. *Ispandármuz*—49 *Iláhi*.'

The mint occupies the lowest line and is no part of the couplet. On the reverse the month and year are out of the poetry.

When *Jahángír* came to the throne the *Amíru-l-Omará* composed a couplet, which I have seen on round and square rupees struck in *Láhor* and on round rupees of *Akbarnagar*, *Kashmír*, and *Qandahár*. It is as follows:—

Obv. روي زرا ساخت نوراني ب رنگ مہرو ماہ

Rev. شاہ نورالدین جهانگیر ابن اکبر باد شاہ

i. e., 'Sháh Núru-d-dín *Jahángír*, son of Akbar Bádsháh, has rendered the face of gold shining like the sun and the moon.'

In the *Tuzak-i-Jahángírí* we are told that *Asaf Khán* was ordered to make the following couple of *baits* on large gold coins, one on the obverse and one on the reverse:—

Obverse { بخط نور بوزر کلک تقدیر
رقم زد شاہ نورالدین جهانگیر

i. e., 'The divine pen has written on (this) gold (coin) in bright characters Sháh Núru-d-dín *Jahángír*.'

Reverse { شد چو خور زین سکہ نوراني جهان
آفتاب مہاکت تاریخ آن

i. e., 'The world became illuminated by this coin as by the sun, (consequently) *Aftáb-i-mamlakat* is the date.'

* *Journal A. S. B.* Vol. XLV, Pt. I, 1876, p. 292, and Pl. V, fig. 6.

Between the lines of the obverse inscription the Kalimah was written, while between the lines of the reverse were to come the name of the mint and the year of *jalús* and the Hijrī year. These gold coins were of 100, 50, 20, and 10 tolahs. I have never seen one, and never heard of one being in existence. The words *Āftáb-i Mamlakat* give the date 1014 A. H., the date of Jahángír's 1st year.

The first mention of a Persian month I find on a beautiful mohur (square) of Jahángír's. The month is *Abán* and the year 5. Mint *Ágra*.

Obv. درمه آبان باگرو سکه زد ظل اله سنه ۵
Rev. شاه نورالدين جهانگیر ابن اکبر بادشاه ۱۰۱۹

i. e., 'In the month of *Abán* the shadow of God, Sháh Núru-d-dín, son of Akbar Sháh, stamped this coin at *Ágra*. 1019 A. H., the 5th year of *jalús*.'

This mohur is in my cabinet. Mr. Theobald of Bedford has a duplicate.

Another couplet of the same year has the month *Bahman* and mint *Láhor*. My coin is a round rupee, several duplicates are known.

Obv. زر لاهور شد در ماه بهمن چون مه انور سنه ۵
Rev. بدور شاه نورالدين جهانگیر ابن شاه اکبر ۱۰۱۹

i. e., 'In the month of *Bahman* the gold of *Láhor* became like the luminous moon, in the reign of Sháh Núru-d-dín Jahángír, son of Akbar Sháh. 1019 A. H., 5th year.'

Two square rupees in my cabinet have the month *Isfandármuz* of the 5th year. The first is of the *Ágra* mint, the second of *Láhor*, both of 1019.

Obv. در اسفندارموز این سکه را در آگره زد برزر ۵
Rev. شهنشاه زمان شاه جهانگیر ابن شاه اکبر ۱۰۱۹

i. e., 'In the month of *Isfandármuz* the Monarch of the age, Sháh Jahángír, son of Akbar Sháh, has stamped this coin on gold at *Ágra*. 1019 A. H., 5th year.'

Obv. در اسفندارموز این سکه در لاهور زد برزر ۵
Rev. شهنشاه اسم شاه جهانگیر ابن شاه اکبر ۱۰۱۹

i. e., 'In the month of *Isfandármuz* the Monarch of the people, Sháh Jahángír, son of Akbar Sháh, stamped this coin on gold at *Láhor*. 1019 A. H., 5th year.'

I have two other square rupees of *Láhor* mintage. The months are *Tír* and *Urdibihisht*, the years 6 and 1020.

Obv. پناه تیر در لاهور زد این سکه را بوزر

Rev. پناه دین ملک شاه جهانگیر این سکه اکبر

i. e., 'In the month of Tír the king, the Defender of the faith, Sháh Jahángír, son of Akbar Sháh, stamped this coin on gold at Láhor.'

Obv. مه اوردی بهشت این سکه در لاهور زد بوزر

Rev. شهنشاه زمان شاه جهانگیر این شا اکبر

i. e., 'In the month of Urdibihisht the Monarch of the age, Sháh Jahángír, son of Akbar Sháh, stamped this coin on gold at Láhor.'

One beautiful mohur which is in my cabinet has the month *Farwardín*. It is of the *Agrá* mint and the years 6 and 1020.

Obv. پفروردین زر آگره فروزان گشت چون اختر ۶

Rev. زبور سکه شاه جهانگیر این شاه اکبر ۱۰۲۰

i. e., 'In the month of *Farwardín* the gold of *Agrá* became luminous like a star by the light of the stamp of Sháh Jahángír, son of Akbar Sháh. 1020 A. H., 6th year.'

Thus it will be seen that the names of six of the Persian months are here woven into the couplets. I daresay the other six months are to be found. These are all I have as yet seen after twenty years of search.

Some of the finest rupees and mohurs of Jahángír have on them the following couplet:—

Obv. سکه زد در شهر آگره خسرو گیتی پناه ۱۰۱۸

Rev. شاه نورالدین جهانگیر ابن اکبر بادشاه ۵

i. e., 'The king who is the refuge of the world, Sháh Núru-d-dín Jahángír, son of Akbar Sháh, stamped this coin in the city of *Agrá*. 1018 A. H., 5th year.'

This is on a mohur. On a rupee I have the years are 4 and 1017. The mint is *Agrá* on both. The following substitutes *Kábul* for *Agrá*, and the years are 6 and 1020. This is in my cabinet.

Obv. سکه زد در شهر کابل خسرو گیتی پناه ۱۰۲۰

Rev. شاه نورالدین جهانگیر ابن اکبر باد شاه ۶

i. e., 'The king who is the refuge of the world, Sháh Núru-d-dín Jahángír, son of Akbar Sháh, has stamped this coin on gold in the city of *Kábul*. 1020 A. H., 6th year.'

A remarkably fine rupee has

Obv. بدهر باد روان تا فلک بود در دور ۱۳

Rev. بنام شاه جهانگیر سکه لاهور ۱۰۲۷

i. e., 'May the coin of Láhor be current in the world in the name of Jahángír Sháh, as long as the sky is revolving. 1027 A. H., 13th year.'

A rupee in the possession of J. D. Tremlett, Esq., has the following unique couplet. The mint is Láhor, and the years are 6 and 1020.

Obv. بفروردین زر لاهور شه رشک مه انور ۱۰۲۰
Rev. ز نور سکه شاه جهانگیر ابن شاه اکبر ۶

i. e., 'In the month of Farwardín the gold of Láhor became an object of jealousy to the bright moon through the light of the stamp of Jahángír Sháh, the son of Akbar Sháh.'

Three rupees in my small collection have the following couplet. Zarb-i-Ahmadábád comes along with the first line, and Tír 2, Dí 5 and Azar 5 along with the second, one month and year on each rupee.

Obv. مالک الملک سکه زد در زر ضرب احمدآباد
Rev. شاه سلطان سلیم شاه اکبر آذر ۵ - دی ۵ - تیر ۲

i. e., 'The lord of the kingdom, Salím Sháh, Sultán (son of) Akbar Sháh, put a stamp on gold.'

The following is common enough. I have four or five rupees with it.

Obv. سکه زد در احمدآباد از عنایات اله
Rev. شاه نورالدین جهانگیر ابن اکبر بادشاه

i. e., 'Sháh Núru-d-dín Jahángír, son of Akbar Sháh, stamped the coin through the blessings of God, at Ahmadábád.'

My cabinet has only one rupee with the following couplet, without a year, the mint is Allahábád.

Obv. همیشه نور زر و سکه اله آباد
Rev. ز نام شاه جهانگیر شاه اکبر باد

i. e., 'May the brightness of the gold and the coin of Allahábád be lasting in the name of Jahángír Sháh, (son of) Akbar Sháh.'

The following is also in my cabinet. It is of the Ajmír mint, and the years are 9 and 1023.

Obv. جهان فرور باجمیر گشت سکه زر
Rev. ز نور نام جهانگیر شاه شاه اکبر

i. e., 'The gold coin became the light of the world at Ajmír by the light of the name of Jahángír Sháh, (son of) Akbar Sháh.'

The Qandahár rupees of Jahángír are of two kinds: those with Iláhi years and Persian months, and those with the following:—

Obv. سکه قندهار شد دلخواه
Rev. از جهانگیر شاه اکبر شاه

i. e., 'The coin of Qandahár became pleasant through Jahángír Sháh, (son of) Akbar Sháh.'

I have rupees of several years. They are all coarsely but deeply cut. A round mohur struck at Aḥmadábád is given by Marsden. I obtained a similar one for Government last year, but the years were different. Marsden's Pl. xli, fig. DCCCLXXI, has 14 and 1028. The couplet is as follows :—

Obv. الهی تاجهان باشد روان باد
Rev. بشرق و غرب مهر احمدآباد
 ۱۴ سنه جلوس
 سنه ۱۰۲۸

i. e., 'Oh God, may the coin of Aḥmadábád be current in the East and the West as long as the world exists. 1028 A. H., year 14.'

A small Dehlí mohur in my cabinet has this couplet :—

Obv. زر فتح و نصرت جهانگیر شاه ۲۱
Rev. بدھلی زد از فیض لطف الہ ۱۰۳۵

i. e., 'Jahángír Sháh stamped the coin of triumph and victory at Dehlí through the abundance of the favour of God.'

My cabinet furnishes another Aḥmadábád rupee of great beauty. Years are 12 and 1027. The couplet is :—

Obv. بہفت کشور این زر ہمیشہ باد روان ضرب احمدآباد
Rev. ز نقش نام جهانگیر بادشاہ جهان سنه جلوس ۱۲ ۱۰۲۷

i. e., 'May this gold (coin) be always current in the seven climes of the world through the impression of the name of Jahángír Sháh, the monarch of the world. Stamped at Aḥmadábád, 1027, year 12.'

I have also a poor one without years and with only portions of the couplet on it.

The town of Mandú in the 12th year of Jahángír, *i. e.*, in 1026 A. H., had mohurs struck in it with the following *baít*, which I fail to arrange properly :—

Obv. سکہ مندو ز نام جهانگیر شاه ۱۰۲
Rev. پرتو دھد بنور جهانی چو مهر و ماہ ۱۲

i. e., 'May the coin of Mandú through the name of Jahángír, give light to the world like the sun and the moon. 1026, year 12.'

Ajmír figures largely as a mint in Jahángír's time. Here is another couplet from a mohur of that mint :—

Obv. زد بزر این سکہ در اجبیر شاه دین پناہ
Rev. شاه نور الدین جهانگیر ابن اکبر بادشاہ ۱۱ ۱۰۲۵

i. e., 'The king Núru-d-dín Jahángír, son of Akbar Sháh, the defender of the faith, stamped this coin on gold at Ajmír, 1025, year 11.'

Some of the most beautiful coins of Jahángír were struck in Láhor. The following couplet is on several rupees in my cabinet :—

Obv. همیشه باد ابر روی سکه لاهور ۱۰۲۹
Rev. ز نام شاه جهانگیر شاه کبر نور

i. e., 'May there always be brightness on the face of the coin of Láhor through the name of Jahángír Sháh, (son of) Akbar. 1029, year 15.'

I have two rupees of Agrá with the following couplet :—

Obv. یافت در آگره روی زر زیور
Rev. از جهانگیر شاه شاه اکبر

i. e., 'The face of gold received adornment at Agrá through Jahángír Sháh, (son of) Akbar Sháh.'

The years are 17 and 18, but with the same A. H. 1032.

This is the couplet which occupies one side of the zodiacal coins of Jahángír struck in Agrá. There is, however, one exception. The mohur with Taurus on it (the full sized one) has the following :—

سکه آگره داد زینت زر
از جهانگیر شاه شاه اکبر

i. e., 'The coin of Agrá gave adornment to gold through Jahángír Sháh, (son of) Akbar Sháh.'

The Aḥmadábád zodiacal coins have a somewhat different couplet :—

زر احمد اباد را داد زیور
جهانگیر شاه شهنشاه اکبر

i. e., 'Jahángír Sháh, son of Akbar Sháh, gave adornment to the gold of Aḥmadábád.'

The couplet on the mohurs and rupees of Núr Jahán, the beautiful wife of Jahángír, is well-known. I give it a place in this collection :—

Obv. بحکم شاه جهانگیر یافت صد زیور
Rev. بدام نور جهان بادشاه بیگم زر

i. e., 'By the order of Jahángír Sháh gold received a hundred adornments through the name of Núrjahán the chief Queen.'

My cabinet contains rupees of his struck at Aḥmadábád, Patná, Láhor, and Agrá. A mohur I have of her's has on each side a *maḥrábé* lozenge, one of which contains ضرب احمد اباد and the other سنه ۱۰۳۷ جلوس ۲۳. One line of the couplet occupies the spaces above and below the lozenge.

For the following couplet I am indebted to the author of *Mukḥ-tasar Sair-i-Gulshan-i-Hind*, p. 67. It is on a rupee of Burhánpúr. I have only Iláhí rupees with Persian months of this mint.

Obv. سكهٔ زد در شهر برهان پور شاه دین پناه
Rev. شاه نورالدین جهانگیر ابن اکبر بادشاه

i. e., 'The king Jahángír, son of Akbar Sháh, the defender of the faith, stamped the coin in the city of Burhánpúr.'

On the Bacchanalian mohur of Jahángír are two couplets. The one along with the enthroned drinking king is as follows :—

شبهه حضرت شاه جهانگیر
قضا بر سكهٔ زر کرد تصویر

i. e., 'Fates have drawn the picture of his Majesty, the king Jahángír, on the coin of gold.'

The other side of the coin has the sun in a square in the centre. To the right is *ضرب احمدی ۱۰۲۳* یا معین هنه ۹ To the left is

Above is the first line of the following couplet, and below the second one :—

حروف جهانگیر و الله اکبر
ز روز ازل در عدد شد برابر

i. e., 'The letters in the word Jahángír and those in Alláhu Akbar, are equal in number since the first day.'

The meaning of this last couplet is that the letters in the word *Jahángír* جهانگیر and those in *الله اکبر* have the same numerical value in reckoning by the Abjad system. Thus ج = 3, ه = 5, ا = 1, ن = 50, ک = 20, ی = 10, ر = 200. Total 289. Again ا = 1, ل = 30, ل = 30, ه = 5, ا = 1, ک = 20, ب = 2, ر = 200. Total 289.

The couplet may be freely translated thus :—

The letters in Jahángír's name,
And in that of God the Greatest
From the first day have one value had,
And shall have to the latest.

There is, I suspect, more than one sees on the surface here ;—a sly attempt to make himself equal with God, seeing the letters of the name of the king and of God were of the same numerical value. This coin was struck in Ajmír probably during the time Sir Thomas Roe was resident there. Sir Thomas tells us how Jahángír lived and how, when he was very drunk, he could discuss religious subjects. Probably this couplet was made for the king by some of his flattering courtiers. As the manufacture of *Tárikhs* has always been a favourite one with poets, it need not surprise us that this couplet was made. The poet must have known the numerical value of every word.

I have given above about 30 coin couplets. They are as a rule pure poetic rubbish. But they show how the penny-a-liner of the day

(I strongly suspect they get more than a penny a line) could patch up into a couplet the king's name and titles, and that of the mint town, and sometimes of the month. They show culture of a certain kind, though certainly not of a high or elevating order. They are pure oriental flattery. I daresay there are in other collections rupees and mohurs bearing other couplets. I have had access to few cabinets other than my own, which represents the meagre collection made by me in twenty years.

I wish I could have given figures of the coins. They (the coins) are in my opinion better made than those of any other Muhammadan country, except perhaps the coins of the early Khalifas and those of Muhammad Tughlaq. As a rule each side of the coin has one line of the couplet on it. There was ample room. In some cases, however, both the lines come on one side. Even then every letter is perfect. It is evident die-sinking and seal-cutting were arts in which the artists of Jahángír's time excelled.

The couplet went out of fashion on coins in the time of Sháh Jahán. Aurangzib revived it and Jahándár Sháh and Rafi'u-d-Daraját an^d 'Azím Sháh, and Kám Bakhsh and the blind Sháh 'Alam used couplets, as did the Durránis.

On a zodiacal rupee of Jahángír, an imprint of which was made by General Cunningham at Lucknow in 1840, and which is now in my possession I find the following quite new couplet:—

بفتح چور فروزنده گشت سكه زر
ز نور نام جهانگیر شاه شاه اکبر ۱۰۲۸

i. e., 'The gold coin became bright at Fathpúr through the light of the name of Jahángír Sháh, (the son) of Akbar Sháh, 1028.'

The reverse has under the sign of the zodiac—the goat, Capricornus, سنه ۱۱ جلوس

This coin is in every way remarkable. It is the only zodiacal coin struck at Fathpúr that I know of. All given in Marsden were struck at either Agra or Ahmadábád. It is not a forgery, for the letters, the weak point in forgeries, are as beautiful as those on the very best coins of Jahángír.

*Couplets on coins of kings after the time of Jahángír**—By CHAS.
J. RODGERS.

The custom inaugurated by Akbar and continued by Jahángír of striking couplets on coins was kept up by succeeding kings, but not to so large an extent as by Jahángír. When Sháhjahán had built new Dehlí or Sháhjahánábád, he seems to have moved his mint into the new city. Coins of his early years, struck in Dehlí, have simply دهلي on them, but after the new city was built we have this couplet on mohurs and rupees :—

سکه شاه جهان آباد رابع در جهان
جاودان باد، بنام ثاني صاحبقران

i. e., “May the coin of Sháh-i-Jahán-ábád be ever current in the world, by the name of the second Şáhib-qirán.”

This couplet I take from a rupee of mine struck in 1065 A. H., the 28th of Sháhjahán's reign. In Marsden a mohur is given on Pl. XLII, No. DCCCLXXIV, but the word جاودان is spelt حاوال. As the coin seems from the drawing to have been in good order, I cannot account for this. My coin has all the dots required.

In the “Proceedings” of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for January 1883 is given a figure of a 200 mohur piece of Sháhjahán's. On the obverse of this was a *rubái* or quatrain which is not exactly a couplet and so does not belong to this paper.

Aurangzíb 'Álamgír had on most of his rupees the following couplet :—

سکه زد در جهان چو بدر منیر
شاه اورنگ زیب عالم گیر

i. e., “The emperor Aurangzíb 'Álamgír struck coins in the world like the bright full-moon.”

On his mohurs and on rupees of the Akbarnagar and Zafarábád mints بدر was changed to صبر thus :—

سکه زد در جهان چو صبر منیر
شاه اورنگ زیب عالم گیر

i. e., “The emperor Aurangzíb 'Álamgír struck coins in the world like the bright sun.”

The rupees of A'azam Sháh have on them :—

سکه زد در جهان بدوات و جاه
پادشاه صمالك اعظم شاه

i. e., “The monarch of the dominions A'azam Sháh struck coins in the world with prosperity and grandeur.”

* [The translations of the couplets have been supplied by Maulawí Abdul Hak Abid of the Calcutta Madrasah. Ed.]

From a comparison of two rupees I have drawn and the one given in Mr. Delmerick's paper in the "Proceedings" for May 1884, I build up the following couplet on the rupees and mohurs of Kám Bakhsh:—

در دکن زد سکه بر خورشید و ماه
بادشاه کام بخش دین پناه

i. e., "The emperor Kám Bakhsh, the protector of the religion, put (his) stamp on the sun and the moon, in the Dakkan, 1120."

I have not seen a coin of Bahádur Sháh with a couplet on it. Jahándár Sháh's rupees have the following:—

(1) در آفاق زد سکه بر مهر و ماه
ابوالفتح غازي جهاندار شاه

i. e., "Abu-l-Fath-i-Ghází Jahándár Sháh put (his) stamp on the sun and the moon, throughout the world."

(2) Same as above with چون instead of بر in first line.

(3) بود سکه بر زر چو صاحبقران
جهاندار شه بادشاه جهان

i. e., "Jahándár Sháh, the monarch of the world, put (his) stamp on gold (or silver) like the Şahib-qirán."

(4) Beale in his *Miftáhu-t-Tawárikh* gives the following:—

بود سکه در ملك چون مهر و ماه
شهنشاه غازي جهاندار شاه

i. e., "The victorious emperor Jahándár Sháh struck coins in his dominion like the sun and the moon."

The author of the *Mukhtasar Sair-i-Gulshan-i-Hind* gives the following variant of the first line of No. (1):—

بود سکه نقره چون مهر و ماه

i. e., "Struck silver coins like the sun and the moon."

Farrukhsiyar adhered steadily to one couplet:—

سکه زد از فضل حق برسيم و زر
بادشاه بحر و بر فرخ سير

i. e., "The monarch of water and land, Farrukhsiyar, put (his) stamp on silver and gold through the grace of God."

Rafi'u-d-Daraját, during his short reign of a few months, adorned his rupees with the following high flown *bait*:—

زد سکه بهند با هزاران برکات
شاهنشاه بحر و بر رفيع الدرجات

i. e., "The monarch of water and land, Rafi'u-d-Daraját, struck coins in India, with thousands of blessings."

Sháh Jahán II. and Muḥammad Sháh never used any couplets, so far as I can ascertain, on their coinage, but there is a rupee of the Súrat mint, without date, bearing the following :—

سكه زد در جهان بطف اله
بادشاه زمان محمد شاه

i. e., “The monarch of the universe, Muḥammad Sháh, struck coins in the world, through the favour of God.”

I do not think this is a coin of Muḥammad Sháh, but of some rebel king. The style is not that of Muḥammad Sháh. بادشاه زمان is a common title to give to a temporary king. Nádir Sháh who invaded India during the time of Muḥammad Sháh has on his Dehlí rupee :—

هست سلطان بوسلاطين جهان
شاه شاهان نادر صاحب قران

i. e., “The monarch of the monarchs, Nádir, of auspicious birth, is a Sulṭán over the Sulṭáns of the world.”

Aḥmad Sháh Durrání had on all his mohurs and rupees, struck in India and elsewhere, the following :—

حکم شد از قادر همچون باحمد پادشاه
سكه زن برسيم و زر از اوج ماهي تا بماه

i. e., “Orders issued from the almighty incomparable Being to Aḥmad Sháh to put (his) stamp on silver and gold, from the *fish* to the *moon*,” (*i. e.*, from the bottom of the abyss to the pinnacle of heaven).

On one rupee of his struck in Kashmír, in my possession, he was content with the following :—

سكه بر زر بزد بفضل اله
شاه عالم پناه احمد شاه سنه ۲

i. e., “The king, the protector of the world, Aḥmad Sháh, put (his) stamp on gold (or silver) through the grace of God.”

His son, Tímúr Sháh, when acting under his father as Nizám of the Panjáb, struck on his own rupees the following couplet :—

سكه تيمور شاه بعالم نظام
يامت بحكم خدا و رسول انام

i. e., “The coin of Tímúr Sháh got current in the world by the order of God and the prophet of the people.”

But, when he came to the throne, after his father's death, he went in for this extravagance :—

چرخ می آرد طلا و نقره از خورشید و ماه
تا زد بر چهره نقش سکه تیمور شاه

i. e., "The heaven brings in gold and silver from the sun and the moon, so that it may receive the impression of the stamp of *Tímúr Sháh*."

When the power of the *Durránís* began to wane in the *Panjáb*, and when the *Sikhs* began to rise under the brewer *Jassa Singh*, then this couplet is said to have been stamped on rupees:—

سکه زد در جهان بفضل اكال
ملك احمد گرفت جسا كلال

i. e., "The brewer *Jassa* seized the territories of *Aḥmad*, and struck coins in the world through the grace of the *Eternal (God)*."

When the *Sikh* commonwealth at *Láhor* struck rupees in 1765 A. D., they were content with this doggrel* :—

دیگ تیغ فتح و نصرت بی درنگ
یاوت از نانك گرو گویند سنگه

What the atrocity was on the rupees of *Ranjít Singh*, I have not yet been able to ascertain. It was not the above. I have examined some thousands of rupees, since I wrote my paper on "the coins of the *Sikhs*," but cannot yet get a clue to the couplet in its entirety and full resonant beauty.

The rebel king *Muḥammad Ibráhím*, who coined in 1132 A. H. at the beginning of the reign of *Muḥammad Sháh*, thought the following correct:—

سکه زد در جهان بفضل کریم
شاه شاهان محمد ابراهیم

i. e., "The king of the kings, *Muḥammad Ibráhím*, struck coins in the world through the grace of the merciful (*God*)."

Bídár Bakht, a gentleman of similar type in 1203 A. H., regarded as an exact description of his position and power:—

بزر سکه زد والي تاج و تخت
محمد جهان شاه بيدار بخت

i. e., "The master of crown and throne, *Muḥammad Jahán Sháh*, *Bídár Bakht*, put (his) stamp on gold (or silver)."

* [The couplet, as it stands, neither rhymes nor scans. *Maulawí Abdul Hak Abid* suggests to read it thus:

یاوت تیغ فتح و نصرت بی درنگ * از گرو گویند نانك سنگه رنگه

i. e., "The sword of victory and triumph received colour (*i. e.*, red colour) without delay, from *Guru Gobind Nának Singh*." Ed.]



According to Beale 'Alamgír II had this simple couplet on his coins :—

بزرزد سكه صاحب قراني
عزیزالدین عالم گیر ثانی

i. e., "Azízu-d-dín, 'Alamgír the second, put (his) stamp, like that of the Şáhib-qiráń, on gold (or silver)."

But a coin of mine, struck at Akbarábád, gives the following variant of the second line :—

بہادر شاہ عالم گیر ثانی

i. e., "Bahádúr Sháh 'Alamgír the second."

The *Mukhtasar-i-Sair-i-Gulshar-i-Hind* says that 'Alamgír the second was guilty of the following vanity on his coins :—

سكه زد بر هفت کشور همچو تابان مهر و ماه
شہ عزیزالدین عالم گیر غازی بادشاہ

i. e., "Sháh Azízu-d-Dín 'Alamgír, the victorious emperor, put (his) stamp on the seven climes, like the shining sun and moon."

As he gives the mint Sháhjahánábád and the year ۱۰۸۰, I suppose he must have copied it from the coin.

I follow the same writer in stating that the coins of Sháh 'Alam II. had the following couplets on them :—

سكه صاحب قراني زد ز تائید اله
حامی دین محمد شاه عالم بادشاہ

i. e., "The defender of the religion of Muḥammad, Sháh 'Alam, the emperor, through the aid of God, struck coins, like those of the Şáhib-qiráń, (or, as being in the position of the Şáhib-qiráń)."

or (2) سكه زد بر هفت کشور سایه فضل اله
حامی دین محمد شاه عالم بادشاہ

i. e., "The shadow of the divine favour, the defender of the religion of Muḥammad, Sháh 'Alam, the emperor, put (his) stamp on the seven climes."

The naughty children of Dehlí, when poor Sháh 'Alam was blind, and when the English held possession of the empire, parodied this couplet thus :—

سكه زد بر جهان و چہرہ کرد قلعه را تباه
حامی دین نصارا شاه نكہتو بادشاہ

i. e., "The defender of Christianity, the emperor Nikhattú Sháh, (*nikhattú* = idle, earning nothing) struck (his) stamp on thatch-roof and thatched house and made the fort desolate."

I strongly suspect they were big children who made this parody, and not only big but bigotted. (N. B.—No pun is intended.)

On a good many of the rupees of Sháh 'Álam II. there is no couplet.

Akbar II., according to the author just quoted, had this modest couplet :—

سکه زد در جهان بفضل اله
حامی دین محمد اکبر شاه

i. e., “The defender of the religion, Muḥammad Akbar Sháh, struck coins in the world through the grace of God.”

I have not as yet met with this couplet on any of the coins of the king; but his coins are rare, as his territory consisted of the Fort of Dehlí only.

The coins of Zamán Sháh Durrání had this couplet on them :—

قرار یافت بحکم خدای هر دو جهان
رواج سکه دولت بنام شاه زمان

i. e., “The use of the imperial coin was established in the name of Zamán Sháh by the order of the lord of both the worlds.”

I am indebted to the author* of the *Tárikh-i-Sultání* for the following *bait* from the coins of Sháh Shujá' :—

سکه زد برسیم و زر روشنتر از خورشید و ماه
نور چشم در دران شه شجاع الملك شاه

i. e., “The light of the eyes, the pearl of the Durrání tribe, the king Shujá'u-l-mulk put (his) stamp on gold and silver more brightly than the sun and the moon.”

The following is from the pages of the same author, but could never have been struck by the king's permission :—

سکه زد برسیم و طلا شه شجاع ارمني
نور چشم لاره برنس خاک پای کمپني

i. e., “The *Armanian* Sháh Shujá' the light of the eyes of lord Burnes, the dust of the foot of the company, put (his) stamp on silver and gold.”

This couplet beats the Dehlí parody hollow.

On some new rare rupees of Ranjít Deo of Jummún, struck a hundred years ago, we have the following :—

لچھمي نرآين دل شاد کرد
خانه رنجيت ديواآباد کرد

* Sultán Muḥammad Khán, son of Músá Khán Durrání.

This *bait* I have before translated thus :—

Ranjít Deo peopled this part,
Lachhmí Narain made glad its heart.

I am aware that many more coin couplets exist, but I think the above and those on the coins of Jahángír give a very fair idea of this kind of literature. It is somewhat amusing, and it is curious. It is somewhat helpful in the assigning of coins to their proper strikers. Ahmad Sháh Durrání used his coin couplet nearly everywhere, but Ahmad Sháh of Dehlí used no coin couplet, but styled himself on his coins درلق. Both these Ahmads began to reign in the same year. Of course the couplet coins belong to the Durrání. On some coins only part of the inscription comes. A few words from the couplet enable us to assign the coin to the proper king. Besides all this these couplets are historical compositions. They show us the vanity and ignorance of the kings who used them, and the flattery and ignorance of those who made them.

Father Jerome Xavier.—By H. BEVERIDGE, Esq., C. S.

In looking over our Library Catalogue I noticed the entry of a book by Father Jerome Xavier, called *Historia Christi Persica*, and printed at Leyden in 1639. On getting it out I found that it was a diglot, having Persian and Latin on alternate pages, and that its full title was *Historia Christi persice conscripta, simulque multis modis contaminata, ap. Hieronymo Xavier, Soc. Jesu, latine reddita et animadversionibus notata a Ludovico de Dieu.* The author of this work is said to have been a native of Navarre in Spain, and a near relative of the great St. Francis. According to one account he was his nephew. It appears, however, that he ordinarily wrote in Portuguese. He came to Goa in 1571, and there held the office of *Goanæ domus præpositus* (prior?). In 1594 he went on a mission to the emperor Akbar.

This was the third Jesuit Mission to Akbar's Court. The first*

* There was an embassy to Akbar in 1578 under Antony Cabral, and there were priests with it, but I do not know if they were Jesuits. Mr. Rehatsek has a valuable article on the Jesuit missionaries in the *Calcutta Review* for January 1886. He quotes Bartoli's work, which I have not seen, though I have read some extracts from it in the *Storia dei Viaggiatori Italiani delle India Orientali* of Angelo de Gubernatis. Mr. Rehatsek had apparently only access to the Lucknow edition of the *Akbar-náma*, and so states that the only priest mentioned by Abu-l-Fazl is one Padre Farmalyun. The account of Padre Radif, i. e., Father Ridolfo Aquaviva, will be found in Vol. III, pp. 254, 255, ed. Bib. Ind. Padre Farmalyun is mentioned

went from Goa in January 1580 under the leadership of Ridolfo Aquaviva, an Italian, and a nephew of Claude Aquaviva, the head of the Jesuit order. Ridolfo Aquaviva is the Padre Radif of Abu-l-Fazl. He seems to have been a noble-minded man, and when he departed from Agra in 1532, he would take no gift from the emperor except that of the liberty of a Christian slave. He died a martyr's death in July 1583, having been slain at Salsette in a fanatical rising of the Hindús. In 1582 Akbar wrote to the Jesuits at Goa, styling them *Dánáyán Farang*, or 'the wise men of the Franks,' and asked them to send him translations of the Pentateuch, the Psalms, and the Gospels, and also some one who could explain the mysteries of religion. It was probably in consequence of this letter* that another mission was sent in 1591. The members of it did not stay long, and came away without effecting anything. Akbar was displeased at their withdrawal, and so a third and last mission was sent under Xavier. He had two companions, Benedict of Goes, a town in Beira-Baxia Portugal, and Emmanuel Pignero. They joined the emperor at Láhor, in May 1595, and stayed with him for several years. Two of them, Xavier and Benedict, accompanied the Emperor and his son, Prince Salím, to Kashmír. On returning Xavier went on with the emperor to Agra, while the other two missionaries appear to have remained behind at Láhor. It was at Agra that Xavier composed his life of Christ. In his preface he tells us that he drew it up at the request of the emperor, who was desirous of having an account of the acts of Jesus Christ. Xavier thought that as he had been forty years engaged in religious work, and had spent seven or eight in learning Persian, he might be able to comply with the emperor's wishes. He finished it, he says, on the 15th Urdi-

at p. 577 of the same volume. I cannot make out who he was, but possibly the name is a corruption of Fra Emmanuel (Pignero). In that case he must have gone twice to Akbar's Court, for the visit recorded by Abu-l-Fazl was in 1589. At p. 669 of vol. III of the *Akbarnáma*, mention is made of the arrival of a large caravan from Goa on 19th Urdibihist 1008 (28th April 1595), and it is stated that there were several Christian priests along with it. No doubt this refers to Xavier's Mission. At p. 243, vol. III, *l. c.*, there is a curious reference to the arrival at Court of a European and his wife, named respectively *Partáb Tár* or *Bár*, and *Nasurna* or *Nasurta*. *Partáb*, we are told, was a leading merchant in Bengal, and there is a further reference to him at p. 320, where it is said that one of the Bengal rebels, *Mírzá Naját Khán*, went to *Salímábád* and took refuge with *Partáb Bár*. Elliot, VI, 59 says that the names of *Partáb* and his wife (he gives the name of the latter as *Basúrbá*) are very doubtful. I would suggest that *Partáb Tár* is perhaps a mistake for *Tavarez*, who is described by *Manrique* as a Portuguese captain who went from Hooghly on a mission to Akbar and was kindly received by him at Agra (*Murray's Discoveries in Asia*, II, 90.)

* Published and translated by Mr. Rehatsek in the *Indian Antiquary* for April 1887.

bihist, 1602 A. D. In a note at the end, he mentions that the Persian version was made by him in conjunction with Mauláná 'Abdu-s-Sanarín Qásim of Láhor. A final note, which was probably added by some Muhammadan, says that the manuscript was accurately written out on the 8th of the blessed month of Ramazán 1027 A. H. (1617). Xavier's work consists of four parts. It is chiefly taken from the Bible, but many legends are introduced. For instance he tells the story of Agbarus, the king of Edessa, relates the legend of St. Veronica, and quotes two letters, one of Pontius Pilate and another of Lentulus, giving an account of the personal appearance of Jesus Christ, etc. I do not think, however, that Xavier acted with bad faith. He tells his readers that he has used other sources than the Bible, and no doubt he believed all that he wrote. His work fell into the hands of Lewis De Dieu, a learned Belgian, who was professor in the Walloon College at Leyden. De Dieu was a somewhat violent Protestant, as one whose father had been driven out of Brussels by the prince of Parma might be expected to be. He himself was born at Flushing, and in dedicating his book to the magistrates of that city, he says that he glories in having sprung from a town which was the first to shake off the Spanish yoke, which sent a relative of the Duke of Alva to the scaffold, and was the origin of the Belgian liberties. "Quæ prima tyrannidis Hispanicæ jugum excutere ausa, Ducis Albani consanguineum patibulo decoravit, et Belgicæ libertatis, qua adhuc felices vivimus, fons exstitit atque origo." A reference to Motley shows that Flushing was the first town to rebel after the conquest of Brill. I do not know who the relative of Alva was, unless he was one of the two Spanish officers who were hanged alongside of the unfortunate engineer, Pacheco, in 1572. De Dieu was a man of worth and learning, and the Jesuit Alegambe admits that his translation of Xavier's Persian is a good one, though he says that he has added heretical notes which deserve to be burnt. There is a notice of De Dieu in Bayle's Dictionary. He is very bitter in his remarks on Xavier, and his object in making the translation and in publishing the work appears to have been to show how the Jesuits adulterated the pure milk of the Word. But still all must feel grateful to him for having been the means of preserving a knowledge of Xavier's curious work.

Xavier was the author of some other Persian works, of which the best known, perhaps, is the *Áinah-i-Ḥaq-Numá*, or 'the truth reflecting mirror.' This work was a controversial one, treating of the superiority of the Christian religion to the Muhammadan. An abridgement of this work fell into the hands of a learned Muhammadan of Persia, Sayyid Aḥmad bin Zainu-l-Ábadín, and he composed a refutation of it, entitled *Miṣqal-i-Şafa dar tahliyah-i-Áinah-i-Ḥaq-Numá*, or 'the polisher for the cleansing of the

truth reflecting mirror.' This again was followed by two rejoinders, one by a father Malvalia, and another and fuller one by father Gadagnol, a Franciscan monk, and published at Rome in 1631. There is something pathetic in the thought of this controversial literature, long so quietly at rest. An account of Xavier's works will be found in the valuable catalogue of Persian MSS. in the British Museum, vol. I, pp. 3, 4, and 28.

The Asiatic Society has another of Xavier's works, though it is wrongly entered in the catalogue under only the name of *De Dieu*. This is a life of the Apostle Peter. *De Dieu* published a Latin translation of it, with notes, in the same year that he published the *Historia Christi*, and appended two letters written from Akbar's Court by Xavier and Pignero in 1598. These are the valuable part of the book, for they give a very interesting account of Akbar and his son Jahángir. *De Dieu* took them from a Jesuit work published in 1601. As they appear to be little known, I proceed to give an abstract of them. Xavier's letter begins with an account of Kashmír, which he and Benedict had visited along with Akbar and Salím. He describes a dreadful famine which they saw there, and tells how mothers exposed their children in the streets from inability to give them any food. He then gives an account of Salím's hunting parties, and after this comes an account of the splendour with which Benedict had celebrated the incunabula, that is the representations of the birth of Christ. This leads him to describe the affection which Salím had for the Christian religion. He says that Salím publicly professed his devotion, and had pictures of Jesus Christ and the Virgin in his bedroom. The prince declared that if the Gospel did not prohibit polygamy, it would be embraced by many, for in all other respects it was a holy doctrine and conformable to reason. On this Xavier remarks that it is not wonderful that the prince should find the doctrine of monogamy a stumbling block as, though he is not yet 36, he has already twenty wives. Then comes the following very interesting account of Akbar:

"Rex a natura rara quadam et felicissima memoria donatus est, quo fit ut, tametsi legere et scribere nesciat, nihilominus, quod prudentiores et doctiores quosdam disserentes vel aliorum libros legentes audiverit, nulla sit res cujus aliquam non habeat notitiam. Pauci est et levis somni, bonamque noctis partem in audienda historiarum lectione impendit. Si quis extraneus ad Aulam accedit, subito ad se venire imperat, praesentem minutatim interrogat, quae et quanta viderit, qua transierit. Circa noctis medium horae dimidiatae spatio alio se ad orandum recipit, interim conferunt, et disputant inter se quos apud se habet doctiores, in quos quum aliquando incidissem, inveni examinantes quaestionem

Mauris novam atque insolentem, et ad credendum perdifficilem : Num Deus filium habeat ? Curavit mecum disputare quem habet temporum notatorem et observatorem ; Chronicum quidam nominant ; quem cum paucis convictum repressissem, jussit adesse doctiorem, qui haerentem adjuvaret. Ad quartum lunae importata sunt musica instrumenta quibus plurimum delectatur, et diversa simulacra quorum unum Solis erat, quod diebus singulis primo diluculo veneratur. Sed secum reputans, me posse objicere, Solem non Deum esse, sed rem creatam Deique opus, curavit auferri ; confestimque ex oculis evanuit idolum. Allata est postea Salvatoris nostri ad columnam alligati imago, quam vertici (quod Solis simulacro non fecerat) imposuit in signum quoddam reverentiæ et cultus. Grati illi fuerunt de S. Paulo et Constantino Magno ad Christi fidem conversis sermones.

“ Narravit viginti prope annos fluxisse, quum 30 infantes, priusquam voces primas formarent, certo loco concludi fecerit, adhibitis custodibus, ne nutrices in earum gremio lactentes ad loquendum pusiones provocantes propriam et nativam linguam edocerent ; ut hoc experimento disceret, quo idiomate jam adultiores facti uterentur ; quod illius gentis ritus et leges sequi vellet, cujus lingua loquerentur ; sed vanas has fuisse suas cogitationes et studia, quod nullus eorum distincte et intelligenter verba formaverit ; quare eo tempore nullam aliam a sua legem admisisse.

“ Post multam tergiversationem et contradicentium conatus, potestatem nobis fecit Cambaiae templum erigendi ; idem pro Sindo tentatum impetrari non potuit, ob acres et vehementes quas experti sumus adversantium reclamaciones.”

“ The king is gifted with a wonderful memory so that, although he can neither read nor write, he knows whatever he has heard learned men discoursing about, or whatever has been read to him. He sleeps little and lightly, and spends a good part of the night in hearing history read to him. If any stranger comes to Court, he at once sends for him, and minutely interrogates him as to what he has seen, and by what road he has travelled. At about midnight he retires for half an hour for his devotions, and then his learned men assemble and dispute with one another. One night I chanced upon them, and found them discussing the point so new and incredible to Muhammadans, “ Can God have a son ? ” The king set his chronologist* to dispute with me, and when I soon vanquished him, he ordered a more learned man to help the non-plussed one. On the fourth day of the moon, musical instruments, in which he much delights, were brought in, and also some images and among them the

* Perhaps Mír Fathulláh of Shiráz.

likeness of the sun which he worships each day at dawn. But thinking that I might object that the sun was not God, but only a created thing and the work of God, he ordered it to be removed, and straight-way the idol vanished. There was then brought in the likeness of our Saviour bound to a pillar, and this he placed on his head as a sign of reverence and worship, (a thing which he did not do to the image of the sun). He took pleasure in hearing the narratives of the conversions of St. Paul and Constantine the Great.

“He told me that nearly twenty years ago he had thirty children shut up before they could speak, and put guards over them so that the nurses might not teach them their language. His object was to see what language they would talk when they grew older, and he was resolved to follow the laws and customs of the country whose language was that spoken by the children. But his endeavours were a failure, for none of the children came to speak distinctly. Wherefore, at this time he allowed no law but his own.

After much vacillation and many attempts of opponents, he authorised us to build a church at Cambay, but we could not get permission to build one in India proper (?) ”

The Latin is apparently a translation of a Portuguese original, and perhaps does not always convey Xavier's meaning. If the words *ad quartum lune* had been *ad quartam (horam) noctis*, the account would have agreed better with that in the *Kin* (see Blochmann, p. 156). Still the resemblance between Abu-l-Fazl's and Xavier's accounts is striking. It is interesting to have the tradition confirmed that Akbar could not read or write.

The story about the children is curious, and shows that Akbar repeated the experiment of Psammetichus, the king of Egypt, (see Herodotus) on a larger scale. There seems no doubt that Akbar really made the experiment, for Badaoni tells us that he did so in 988 A. H., *i. e.*, 1580, which would be nearly twenty years before 1598 when Xavier was writing. Badaoni's account is very circumstantial. He says that at the end of three or four years all the children who survived were found to be dumb.

The rest of Xavier's letter is taken up with the account of an Armenian who wanted to marry his late wife's niece, and of the danger that the fathers fell into for refusing to celebrate such a marriage. There is also an account of the Hindú Avatárs and of their four ages.

Pignero's letter is written from Láhor and describes some conversions, but does not contain anything of interest at the present time. Xavier's letter shows that Akbar continued to worship the sun down to 1598. It thus adds something to our knowledge of Akbar's religious

views, and Mr. Blochmann's statement, *Áin*, p. 212, that we have no means of following up Akbar's religious ideas after 1596, requires modification. Xavier remained at Court till some years after Jahángir's accession. He eventually returned to Goa and died there in 1617.

I conclude with the following extract from a letter of Sir Thomas Roe. It gives the English version of the Jesuits' successes, and it is also interesting as confirming Jahángir's statement that his father died a pious Muhammadan.

Sir Thomas Roe's letter from Ajmir of 30th October, 1616, page 586 of Purchas, Part I.

"In this confusion they (the Muhammadans) continued until the time of Akbar Sháh, father of this king, without any noise of Christian profession, who being a prince by nature, just and good, inquisitive after novelties, curious of new opinions and that excelled in many virtues, especially in piety and reverence towards his parents, called in three Jesuits from Goa whose chief was Jerome Xavier, a Navarrais. After their arrival he heard them reason and dispute with much content on his, and hope on their part, and caused Xavier to write a book in defence of his own profession against both Moors and Gentiles, which finished he read over nightly, causing some parts to be discussed, and finally granted them his letters patent to build, to preach, teach, convert and to use all their rites and ceremonies as freely and amply as in Rome; bestowing on them means to erect their churches and places of devotion, so that in some few cities they have gotten rather *Templum* than *Ecclesiam*. In this grant he gave grant to all sorts of people to become Christians that would, even to his Court or own blood, professing that it should be no cause of disfavour from him.

"Here was a fair beginning to a forward spring of a lean and barren harvest. Akbar Sháh himself continued a Muhammadan, yet he began to make a breach into the law, considering that as Muhammad was but a man, a king as he was, and therefore revered, he thought he might prove as good a prophet himself. This defection of the king spread not far, a certain outward reverence detained him, and so he died in the formal profession of his sect.

"Jahángir his son, the present king, being, they say, of this new fancy and never circumcised, brought up without any religion at all, continues so to this hour and is an atheist."



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Part I.—HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

No. II.—1888.

The Sacred and Ornamental Characters of Tibet.—By SARAT CHANDRA DÁS.*
(With nine plates.)

It is a well known fact that Thon-mi, the son of Anu, who was one of the chief ministers of king Sroñ-tsan Gampo, introduced the art of writing in Tibet. He studied Sanskrit under several eminent Buddhist professors of Magadha for many years, and after acquiring a thorough knowledge of the sacred literature of the Buddhists, returned to Tibet, where he was cordially welcomed by his illustrious sovereign. During his residence in Magadha (A. D. 630—650) he enjoyed high reputation as a scholar and holy man, and was called by the name Sambhoṭa or the excellent Bhoṭa, *i. e.*, a native of Bhoṭ (Tibet). He wrote seven treatises on the newly formed written language, besides his celebrated grammar in verse which all beginners in Tibet commit to memory.

During the reign of king Sroñ-tsan Gampo and his immediate successors translations of Sanskrit books were occasionally made in Magadha by Tibetan students studying at Śrī Nálendra (Nálanda), but no regular attempt was yet made to translate the sacred books into Tibetan. At this period the thirty-four letters, which Sambhoṭa had introduced from Magadha and which he had shaped partly after the form of some of the 'Wartu' characters of Magadha (see Plate I), were found adequate for the conveyance of thought in writing. Then the language of Tibet was in its infancy and free from words either of Indian or Chinese origin.

* [With this paper may be compared Mr. Hodgson's account of the various Newári and Bhoṭiyá characters, published with numerous plates, in the XVIth volume of the Asiatic Researches, 1828. Ed.]

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During the reign of king Thisroñ Deu-tsan, Buddhism was made the state religion of Tibet, and the Pon religion was suppressed by royal edicts, and the country of snows attracted the attention of the Indian Buddhists. Sánta Rakshita, one of the professors of Srí Nálendra, visited Tibet where he was appointed the spiritual adviser to the king. Thisroñ embraced Buddhism with that earnest devotion to religion which marked the character of Aśoka. He was determined to follow that monarch's footsteps in the propagation of his adopted creed. At the advice of Sánta Rakshita he founded many religious institutions in central Tibet. Not satisfied with the religious works of minor importance which he had already done, the king desired the Indian pandit to introduce Buddhist monachism in his kingdom. In order to help Sánta Rakshita in this important work, the king invited Achárya Padma Sambhava, a native of Udyána, who was at this time travelling in Magadha. With the help of these two Indian pandits the king founded the famed monastery of Sam-yea after the model of the monastery of Uddanđapuri of Magadha. He richly endowed this monastery, and provided it with spacious accommodation in buildings designed in the Indian fashion for the residence of one hundred and eight Indian pandits.

The two Indian pandits commenced the introduction of Buddhist monachism by initiating seven Tibetan young men into the order of Bhikshu. After the completion of Sam-yea the king invited many Buddhist scholars from Magadha to conduct the work of translating Buddhist sacred scriptures into Tibetan. During the reign of this king and his successors, down to the accession of the apostate Lang Darma to the throne of Tibet, the work of translation was carried on with vigour. With a view to make Sanskrit accessible to the Tibetans, and also to save the Tibetan students, desirous of learning Sanskrit, the trouble of an Indian journey and residence, the Tibetan Lochavas (Sanskrit scholars and interpreters) wrote commentaries on Sanskrit grammars and translated Sanskrit dictionaries into Tibetan. The works of the best authors of ancient India, including those of Kapila, Válmiki, Vyása, Páñini, Kálidása, &c., were also translated. The thirty-four Tibetan letters of the alphabet, that were introduced by Sambhođa to form the basis of the Tibetan language, were now found insufficient for this kind of work. To facilitate the transliteration of Sanskrit words into Tibetan, additional letters were required. These they supplied by the simple method of inversion and duplication of some of the existing Tibetan, letters.

It is worthy of remark that a tongue which in its nature was monosyllabic, when written in the characters of a polysyllabic language like the Sanskrit, had necessarily to undergo some modification. The

result of these two opposite forces, operating on the Tibetan, was its conversion into a dissyllabic language. The tongue of the Tibetans being unaccustomed to pronouncing polysyllables and combinations of several consonants with one vowel, phonetic rules to help in pronunciation were formed; and though they were not written down by the Tibetan authors for the guidance of students, they were handed down orally. It does not appear to me that the Tibetans ever pronounced their words as they wrote them.

The thirty-four letters were now increased to fifty (see Plate II, No. b), and henceforth the Tibetan alphabet became capable of more extended use by the addition of aspirates, long vowels, and compounds. } 2.42

The Chinese professor Ssan than San Si, who visited Sam-yea at the invitation of king Thisroñ Deu-tsan, was so much struck with the capacity of the Tibetan characters to express Chinese words with their curious intonation and phonetic peculiarities, that he undertook both to transliterate and translate some of the Chinese works into Tibetan and certain Tibetan works into the Chinese language. In an inscription found at Sam-yea it is mentioned that he (Ssan than San Si) compared the two languages and shewed their resemblances at the great monastery of (Gssan yañ mi-hgyur Lhun gyis-grub) Sam-yea. I here give a copy of the inscription (see Plate VI, No. 1).

The written language of Tibet has undergone slow but gradual changes from the time of its formation between 640 and 650 A. D. to the present time, but a description of these changes does not fall within the scope of this short paper. I shall, therefore, only confine myself to dividing this long period into five divisions, having regard to the nature of the changes the language has undergone.

The first or the earliest period extends from the time of king Sroñ tsan Gampo to the accession of king Thisroñ Deu-tsan to the throne of Tibet.

The second period extends from the reign of king Thisroñ to the assassination of Thi Ralpachan.

The third or dark period, during which both literature and Buddhism collapsed, is the gap between the reign of Langdarma and the revival of Buddhism by Atisa and Brom-tan under the auspices of king Yeše kod in the beginning of the 11th century.

The fourth period, during which the study of Sanskrit was considered a necessary accomplishment for the scholars of Tibet, began with Atisa and Brom-tan and terminated with the downfall of the Sakya hierarchy.

The fifth period, which commenced with the rise of the Gelug-pa (yellow cap) school, continues to the present day.

The Tibetan authors have divided the age of their language into two parts according to its grammatical variations: 1, Dag-ñiñ, or the old grammar period, which belongs to the age of the compilation of the *Kahgyur* and *Tangyur* as well as to the *Sakya* hierarchy; 2, the Dag-sar, or the modern grammar period, which properly dates from the time of *Tsoñ khapa* and continues to the present day.

In the third or dark period the Pons did not adopt the newly formed language for writing their mystical mantras and charms. It is said that in that dark age the Pons used to make their amulets and charms of coloured bark of trees, rags and thread, and consecrate them by the hands of their priests without written charms.

In the second and fourth periods greater use of the Sanskrit characters was made, mostly in ornamental and mystical writings. In the grand sanctuary of *Sam-yea*, *Lan-tsha* characters were written and painted and engraved on prayer cylinders, walls, tapestries, doors, and chapels. On chaityas and votive piles there were numerous inscriptions written in the *Lan-tsha* character, which exist up to the present time round the central sanctuary of *Sam-yea*, (see Plates VIII and IX).

During the fourth period when the study both of Sanskrit and Chinese was encouraged by the rulers of Tibet, the *Svayambhu* or *Rañjuñ* characters of *Magadha* were introduced into Tibet. This form of characters, as its name *Svayambhu* or 'self-existing' signifies, is the most sacred of all the characters known to the Tibetans. When any mark resembling the *Svayambhu* letter, is found on any rock, place or thing, it becomes an object of veneration to the Tibetans.

Atiśa on his way to Central Tibet is said to have seen the mystic 'Om' miraculously inscribed in *Svayambhu* characters on a rock at the site of the great monastery of *Sakya*, and from that he predicted that it would in time to come be the scene of a great hierarchical government. This prediction was fulfilled to the very letter. *Svayambhu* characters are said to be observable on the leaves of the celebrated tree of *Kumbum* (*ku-bum* ཀུབུམ་ or hundred thousand images), the birthplace of *Tsoñ-khapa*. *Abbé Huc* who visited *Kumbum* has given, in his travels in Tibet and *Mongolia*, a very graphic account of the result of his examination of the leaves of that famous tree.* The pious

* "It is called *kounboun*, because, according to the legend, it sprang from *Tsong-kaba's* hair, and bears a Tibetan character on each of its leaves.

"It will here be naturally expected that we say something about this tree itself. Does it exist? Have we seen it? Has it any peculiar attributes? What about its marvellous leaves? All these questions our readers are entitled to put to us. We will endeavour to answer as categorically as possible.

"Yes this tree does exist, and we had heard of it too often during our journey

pretend to find Svayambhu characters on rocks, caverns, human skulls, &c. (see Plate V, *h*).

In Plate V, *c* are specimens of the Sa-chhen (*i. e.*, corpulent or fleshy) form of a second kind of ornamental sacred writing, probably introduced in Tibet during the Sakya hierarchy. There is a form of the U-chan characters, called Khoñ señ or the 'lion-hearted' character, so called on account of their inside being very narrow. This, too, was invented by some of the Sakyapa hierarchs (see Plate V, *b*).

The specimen in Plate V, *e*, called the Sintu Jod-pa or the 'finished or well described' characters, with the vowel *o* inherent in them, were probably introduced both in Tibet and Mongolia by some of the early Sakya hierarchs. These resemble the Yugur (Oigyr) characters, called the 'Gyaser yige' by the Tibetans. This form is found in almost all the old seals of Tibet. I am unable to name the letters individually, but I have obtained a transliteration of the sentences with their translation in Tibetan. I here attach both, with the English translation of the Tibetan version written in S'intu Jod-pa characters.

not to feel somewhat eager to visit it. At the foot of the mountain on which the Lamasonry stands, and not far from the principal Buddhist temple, is a great square enclosure, formed by brick walls. Upon entering this we were able to examine at leisure the marvellous tree, some of the branches of which had already manifested themselves above the wall. Our eyes were first directed with earnest curiosity to the leaves, and we were filled with absolute consternation of astonishment at finding that, in point of fact, there were upon each of the leaves well-formed Tibetan characters, all of a green colour, some darker, some lighter, than the leaf itself. Our first impression was suspicion of fraud on the part of the Lamas; but, after a minute examination of every detail, we could not discover the least deception, the characters all appeared to us portions of the leaf itself, equally with its veins and nerves, the position was not the same in all; in one leaf they would be at the top of the leaf; in another, in the middle; in a third, at the base, or at the side; the younger leaves represented the characters only in a partial state of formation. The bark of the tree and its branches, which resemble that of the plane tree, are also covered with these characters. When you remove a piece of old bark, the young bark under it exhibits the indistinct outlines of characters in a germinating state, and, what is very singular, these new characters are not unfrequently different from those which they replace. We examined everything with the closest attention, in order to detect some trace of trickery, but we could discern nothing of the sort, and the perspiration absolutely trickled down our faces under the influence of the sensations which this most amazing spectacle created.

"More profound intellects than ours may, perhaps, be able to supply a satisfactory explanation of the mysteries of this singular tree; but as to us, we altogether give it up. Our readers possibly may smile at our ignorance; but we care not so that the sincerity and truth of our statement be not suspected."

Abbé Huc's travels in Tartary, Thibet and China, Vol. II, page 53.

*Translation of Yugur Sentences.**

(1.) Jampal yañ (Manju Ghosha) is the Lord of speech and elocution.

(2.) The goddess Yañchan-ma (Sarasvatī) milched the wishing cow of science.

(3.) The noble Tshañ-pa (Brahma) holds the treasures of the four-fold classes.

(4.) The chief of the Dharapís can send forth fortune and bliss to the dead.

(5.) Thus the holy ones are not liberal in promises ;

(6.) But if their promises with difficulty once can be gained,

(7.) Those remain certain as figures cut on rocks.

(8.) These they do not gainsay even to death.

The specimens in Plate VII, No. 1, also a form of Gya-ser-yige, are wholly unintelligible to me. This kind of character was used by the successors of Chinghis Khán and Qúblái in golden tablets. I believe some specimens resembling this form of Yugur characters, are given in Yule's Marco Polo.†

During the decline of the Sakya hierarchy Rin-chhen Puñpa, one of the most powerful chiefs of Central Tibet, became the patron of learning. He invented the curious form of symbolical writing for secret state correspondence, which is called after his name, *i. e.*, Rin puñ yige. I have obtained a copy of some of the Rin puñ yige and have illustrated them in Plate IVa.

The specimen in Plate Va was invented by Sakya Pañdita Kungañ Gyal-tshan, who was appointed spiritual guide of Goyug and Gotan, the grandsons of Chinghis Khán. Kungañ gave the square form to the Tibetan characters, a modification of which he introduced in Mongolia prior to the invention of the modern Mongolian characters.

The two forms of characters, contained in Plate Vf and g, were probably designed by the Kahgyud and Gelugpa hierarchies. One of these is a modification of the Lan-tsha characters, and the other that of the ordinary Tibetan characters written with rounded corners.

- * (1.) S'bra ma gad di namag pyuñ yañab naphar na myag śa.
 (2.) Ta byak ajath śś tsho ka dsuk sak sha tot sha choshi tabs.
 (3.) Namah h fiat shakar ūa rñe nayili nah hassoña la seit.
 (4.) Dajiya nadi namad gahb syañr tsyir in kas rehoñ.
 (5.) Ssi bmal be, lak sa thsakh śi tsa ūishe ki ay chhi dsa.
 (6.) Tshad ye lam ūa ap tsap śi añ dsab tshyn th śa.
 (7.) Thlod thiko irb sa ssi achhi ślu.
 (8.) Nitads tsha chh ś be athiss l sath tshad ūtshtyutt.

Transliterated Yugur Mongolian sentences.

† [See his vol. I, pp. 14, 29, 30, 169, 344 ; and the plates at pp. 342 and 472. Ed.]

The monograms in Plate Vd, are in Lan-tsha characters. It is not easy to ascertain the date when this design was made in Tibet. They are found engraved on rocks, or slabs of stone, in votive piles, and on boards used in caves and corners of temples. I conjecture they were designed and matured by the five Sakya hierarchs who are recognised as the successive manifestations of Manju Ghosha, the god of science and learning.

In Plate VI, Nos. 2 and 3, there are two forms of Khando yige, *i. e.*, 'the letters of fairies.' These characters were used in the old Niñma works, said to have been discovered under rocks by some of the Tertons or 'discoverers of sacred treasure.'

In Plate VII there are six specimens of ornamental characters, of which :—No. 1 is used in seals and tablets.

No. 2 is the modified form of the Tibetan characters, called Chhag-lohi yig gsar, *i. e.*, 'the letters invented by Chhag Lochava,' a celebrated translator of Buddhist works. His name is mentioned in Sumpa's chronological list of Tibet.

No. 3 is the form that was given to the Tibetan characters by the historian of Tibet, called Hgos Lochava or Lama Shonnu dpal. He wrote the history of Tibet called Debther Ñon-po. This form is called Hgos lohi yig gsar, *i. e.*, 'the new letters of Hgos Lochava.'

No. 4 is the form of Tibetan characters introduced by Skyogs Lochava. These letters are called Skyogs lohi yig gsar, *i. e.*, 'the new letters of Skyogs Lochava.'

No. 5 is called Ño-mtshar-yig gsar or 'the curious new letters.'

No. 6 is the form of ornamental Tibetan used in the monastery of Rdorje-gdan.

The symbols, preceding each set of letters (Plates I—VIII) are called mgo-yig (lit. head-letter), and are always used to introduce writing. They represent the sacred invocation 'Om.'

In the appendix of Csoma's Tibetan grammar there are specimens of three forms of Tibetan characters and one form of ornamental Sanskrit; *viz.*, 1, U-chan (or headed); 2, U-me (headless); 3, Dutsha (round or granular), and 4, the Lan-tsha Sanskrit. These four forms being known to the Cis-Himálayan Buddhists, both Csoma and Jäschke obtained specimens of them.

I. The U-chan is confined to printing, and sacred writings, on paper, stone and wooden blocks; to inscriptions on cloth and paper for flags, amulets, charm boxes, and prayer wheels, &c.; and to inscriptions for casting lots.—Plate II, *a. l*

II. The U-me form is in general use, all over the country, it being the chief medium of conducting business in the writing of every day life

of the Tibetans. It has four subforms; viz., Plate II, *c, d*, and Plate III, *(a, b) c*.

(1.) Pema tshug-chhuñ :—small roundish letters, used in elegant writings, epistles, and love-letters.—Plate III, *a, b*.

(2.) Khyug yig :—running hand letters, used entirely in business and correspondence.—Plate III, *c*.

(3.) Ka-dpé or Khugs yig rKañ riñ :—long-legged letters for copy-writing, exercises in penmanship, &c.—Plate II, No. *c*.

(4.) Dpe yig rKañ thuñ :—short-legged letters for manuscripts, books, &c.—Plate II, *d*.

III. The third form called Du-tsha (Hbru-tshag), which is seldom used for the above four purposes, is used in public notices, placards, signboards, names of books on covers, and in making covers of goods, bales, furniture, &c., (see Plate III, *d*). Almost all the Pon books are written in this form. It appears to me that the Pons, out of their antagonism to Buddhism, were averse to adopt the Lan-tsha form of Sanskrit in their sacred writings and inscriptions. They, therefore, gave the ornamental shape to the U-me characters, and thereby formed the Du-tsha, (see Plate III, *e*). As in course of time the Pon religion declined, it (Du tsha) fell into disuse. Still the largest use is made of it only in Pon monasteries. The U-me form is now-a-days taking its place in the writing of notices and signboards. The three forms of characters are, however, modifications of that form of the Devanāgarī which was current in Magadha during the 7th and 8th centuries A. D.* The U-chan, U-me, and Du tsha run parallel to each other in their shape.—Plates II and III.

IV. The Lan-tsha (Ranja) form of Sanskrit is exclusively used in writing title-pages, headings of books, ornamental inscriptions, tapestries, painting, sacred objects and symbols, &c., &c. It was introduced in Tibet from Magadha.—Plates VIII and IX.

Some Pre-historic Burial-places in Southern India.—By A. REA, M. R. A. S.

(With two plates.)

Megalithic and earthenware tombs at Pallāvaram.

These remains, consisting of groups of dolmens, and round and oblong earthenware sarcophagi, are found around and over a range of hills to the east of the village of Trisulūr about a mile to the east of the

* "The Tibetan alphabet itself, as has been noticed in other places, is stated to have been formed from the *Devanāgarī*, prevalent in Central India in the seventh century. On comparing the forms of its letters with those of various ancient Sanskrit inscriptions, particularly that at Gya, translated by Mr. (now Sir Charles) Wilkins, and that on the column at Allahabad, translated by Captain Trover and Dr. Mill, a striking similitude will be observed." Csoma's Tibetan grammar, page 204.

cantonment of Pallávaram. A rock-cut cave on an adjoining hill shows that the place was in existence in the days of the Pallavas, or probably about or before the 7th century A. D. The name itself shows the origin of the town, and, from the extensive nature of these burial-places, the settlement was probably a large one. Like all this part of the country, included in the kingdom of Tondaimandalam, it would finally be wrested from the Pallavas and fall under the sway of the conquering Cholas in the 11th century. That it did so, is proved by the existence of a Chola temple in the village of Triśulúr. The tombs themselves most probably belong to the earlier settlement of the Pallavas, for they seem to be anterior in date to the 11th century. Stone circles similar to these exist near Amarávati, and at various places once part of the Pallava kingdom. Oblong earthenware sarcophagi have been found in the districts of Chingleput Nellúr and North Arkát; and the more common round or globular earthen tombs exist at places in the Chingleput Salem, Madura, Malabar and most other districts. Sir Walter Elliot believed that the dolmens were erected by the Pallavas, and this view seems to be to a certain extent borne out by subsequent observers, in so far as it relates to the fact that the Pallavas may have erected dolmens; it is very doubtful if they could have erected all of them. In the dolmens themselves, however, there is great variety of form observable in the various districts, and if these were all the work of one race of people, the differences would have to be accounted for by the forms adopted or practised by the various sects or castes. The problem is one not so easily solved, for dolmens with a greater or less similarity to each other exist, not only over the whole of India, but also over a great portion of the world. If we assume that the Pallavas or Kurumbar erected those in India, how is the resemblance to these in others, found out of India, to be accounted for? But even in India itself, though the Pallavas were undoubtedly a powerful dynasty, there is no proof that they had sway over anything like the whole of India. This being so, those megalithic remains, found outside the limits of the ancient Pallava kingdom, must have been erected by a different race or races from the Pallavas. Carrying the point still further, when considerable difference of plan, design, or arrangement is found—for example, circles, squares, and the almost infinite variety of classes of megalithic remains,—not only over wide areas within the limits of the Pallava kingdom, but even in those in close proximity to each other, how can it be proved that they were all erected by the Pallavas? If it is admitted that they may have erected certain of them, it must be qualified by the inferred supposition that the differences in arrangement must be due to the forms used by different castes or sections of the tribe; for, in a conservative people

like the Hindús, it would be an anomaly to find one caste practising a plurality of methods in the disposal of its dead. The Pallavas probably erected one or more classes of megaliths or other tombs in common with other races of the time. They could not have used all the different varieties we find existing. To ascertain which they really did use, we must find which forms are the commonest around the remains of the principal of their settlements. It has been suggested, originally I think by Fergusson, that the distribution of the dolmens might be due to the wanderings of a primeval tribe over the different parts of the globe. It is to be feared, however, that any such primeval remains must not be looked for on the present surface of the earth, but in one or more of the strata at some distance below it. The present level cannot by any possibility be such as was the surface in primeval times, else we must assume, that if primeval remains are now found on the earth's present surface, high above the strata which, each successively, formed the surface in early times, then the earth in those days must have been uninhabited; but, I think this is hardly asserted. The dolmens now seen cannot be much more than a thousand years old, else they would have been silted up long ere this. They cannot therefore be such as were erected by primeval tribes, though it is quite possible they may be the descendants or copies of dolmens which really were erected in such early times, and which may now exist with other fossilized remains of the time at some considerable depth underground. This might be expected; for, from the very earliest times, man must have had a reverence for his dead, and taken steps to mark the spot of its burial by the erection of some such rude monuments. Fergusson, in his *Rude Stone Monuments* has treated this part of the subject very clearly, going into the earliest forms of sepulture practised by primitive tribes, and showing how they developed under the effects of a more advanced civilization.

At Pallávaram, the stone circles occupy a position by themselves on the tops and sides of the hills, whereas the oblong and round earthen tombs stand on the sloping ground around and at some distance from the base; and all close to or on the surface. As the earthenware tombs are found scattered over one and the same piece of ground, they must have been used by one race, and by one section of it. They have all, certainly at one time, had high lids or covers, and had they been sunk in the earth till these were below the surface,—as the tops are now all away, and the rims of the tombs themselves are now above or on the surface of the ground—it would lead to the inference that the ground line in those days had been from three to four feet *higher* than it is now-a-days. Had there been no mounds, it would require to have been so, to cover the high semi-globular lids of the round tombs. This of course

would be absurd, for except in cases where the surface earth is washed away by rain or in similar exceptional instances, it will be found that the tendency is for the surface to *rise* by continual accumulations of soil, rather than fall. Ancient remains continue to sink below ground, or more strictly become covered up in proportion to their age. This will be found to be always the case, except in cases where there is some counteracting cause at work. Now the most probable explanation of the position of these tombs is, that they would seem to have been placed in the earth with their rim about or near the surface, and the lids above it: this was then covered up by a mound. The mound would gradually wash down, and as it went, the lids of the tombs would disappear also, leaving the tombs themselves exactly as we find them or just about the surface of the ground, and without their covers. It is out of the questions to suppose that the surface could have been so much higher than it is now; and the only possible way by which the high lids of the tombs could be protected or covered would be by a mound.* We have endeavoured to show that the practices of modern burying castes may be referred to as elucidating some of the ancient customs connected with these tombs; and in this instance the placing of the tomb partly above the natural surface of the ground, has its counterpart in the burying of the body up to its waist in the grave. (See subsequent remarks on the subject.)

Regarding the foregoing remarks on the gradual silting up of ancient remains, it may be observed that the fact, if properly investigated, might be the means of settling many disputed questions regarding the age of megalithic and other remains. Very little really is known as to the actual age of such tombs. Various dates have of course been assigned, but only on surmise; nothing certain has yet transpired to definitely fix their actual age. Now this silting of the soil goes on steadily from year to year, and, if the total accumulation in a century be known, we would have an important factor in ascertaining their date, from their position above or below ground. Various other matters would of course have to be taken into consideration, such as any peculiarities of the locality. For instance, remains on the sides of a hill, may silt up but gradually or not at all, through the water rushing down the sides and carrying away the accumulations of soil. These are exceptions; but in ordinary circumstances, the process must go on with ceaseless regularity. Most of the ancient remains now hidden by mounds, have been covered by this natural process; very few can have been artificially concealed. It can certainly be used as an auxiliary to

* See further remarks on the mounds, under the article on the Paravai tombs, also Plate X.

other means of fixing the date of certain remains, if not always with certain exactness, at least approximately. If we examine the section of a mound covering a building whose date is known, such as the stupa at Amarávati, several distinct former surfaces can be seen, marked in different instances by bricks or marbles which have fallen off, and are now lying on the level, several feet below the present surface. By proportionally dividing the height of the section of the earth bank, the accumulations of each century, which has elapsed since the erection of the building, can be almost exactly fixed. In this instance the application of the theory proves an important fact, namely, that the destruction of the stupa had been going on from the time it was deserted till it was completely covered up by the mounds; and disproves the supposition that the building must have remained complete till it was discovered at the beginning of the present century. This is proved by the finding of marble slabs at different levels. Some were lying about the level of the floor; these could only have fallen off when there was little or no accumulation of soil. Others again, were at varying levels above the floor line, these must have fallen when the ground line had risen or been silted up to the height at which they were found. This is alluded to simply as an exemplification of the application of the theory. It can undoubtedly be applied to aid in solving the problem of the age of these megalithic remains. It has been asserted that these earthenware tombs at Pallávaram were once enclosed by stone circles, though now no trace of them remains. It may have been so in certain cases, though from observations of similar examples at other places they would seem to have been simply covered by mounds. The stone circles even yet existing in the vicinity seem to enclose an entirely different class of tomb. It would be curious that these circles on the adjoining hills, enclosing the megalithic tombs, should even still exist in almost perfect condition, while no traces remain of circles at the earthen sarcophagi.

The round tombs are pointed on the bottom, and terminate in one leg. They are all near the surface, and, in most cases, their upper rim has been broken away, through projecting above ground; and for the same reason their covers are now away. On excavating one of these, I found a portion of an outer and separate rim remaining around the tomb itself, and advanced the theory that they must have been covered by a semi-globular lid, like an inverted chatty placed on the top. From some complete examples which I subsequently examined in the Madura District, I found this theory entirely borne out, for in those cases in which the lid still remained, its form was almost exactly a replicate of the tomb itself, only of a slightly greater diameter, so that it might be easily placed over and enclose the tomb proper (see Plate X, fig. 2). None of

the former observers of those remains at Pallávaram found any traces of iron, or other metal weapons or utensils; nor were there any bones. In one of a number which I opened, some bones were found; these were in a very decayed condition and uncalcined. A number of small earthen vessels have been found, principally in the round tombs: the oblong sarcophagi seem particularly devoid of such relics. In one of these latter I found a small oblong tomb placed inside the larger one, and from this I suggested that this oblong form may have been used for the females of the tribe: for, in certain cases with the Hindús at the present day it is the practice to bury the infant along with the mother. The bodies in the round tombs would be the males, placed in a crouching or sitting position. Certain tribes or castes among the Hindús still bury their dead in this position, though of course not in a receptacle, or enclosed tomb. The female is buried in a horizontal posture, and the male in a sitting position. In an interesting article* on pre-historic tombs in Malabar, it has been stated that the protuberance on the bottom of such round sepulchral urns probably signifies a representation of the *os uteri*; being emblematic of the religious ideas connected with the earth-goddess, and that such a burial was emblematic of the return of the individual to the womb of Mother Earth. The same idea was afterwards advanced in reference to the Pallávaram tombs.

The chief sect which adopts the custom of burying, (*uttara-kriyá*), is the Lingadháris or certain followers of S'iva,—who, in most cases, bury their dead in a sitting position. The grave is partly filled up to the waist of the deceased, when, after the saying of mantras and other ceremonies have been gone through, the friends who are present, throw in handfuls of earth till they raise a low mound over it. Sanyásis are always buried; they are considered so holy that they have no need of the ceremonies necessary for baser mortals. Boys who have not undergone the ceremony of *upanayanam* (similar to the Anglican confirmation); by some castes, all unmarried girls; with the Sudras, those under the age of ten; those who die of small-pox, and soldiers who die in battle, all are buried. A relic of the ancient custom of placing food with the deceased (*pretáháram* or food for the spirit) still exists in the practice of cooking different kinds of food, and taking it to the burial-place, scattering it there. The remains at Pallávaram are evidently those of a burying people, and not of those who first cremate, and afterwards collect and place the burnt bones in the ground.

Dr. Burgess had suggested that one or more of the earthen tombs should be removed to Madras, but from the brittle condition in which

* Logan, *Malabar*, 1887, Vol. I, p. 181.

they all were, it had been stated that it was impossible to remove any of them in their entirety. This certainly seemed to be so; the tombs were bulky, and the earthenware had so little cohesion, that it could be easily powdered between the fingers. The work thus seemed to be, if not altogether impossible, at least one of considerable difficulty, and requiring great care in execution. In addition, none of them were in a perfect condition; they were all cracked throughout, and it seemed that on any attempt to move one, it would instantly fall to pieces. As the removal therefore, of such a large unwieldy mass of cracked earthenware presented some rather peculiar difficulties, it may not be uninteresting to recount the method successfully adopted. On inspection, I first decided that it would be useless to attempt their removal if the earth had been taken from the inside. Though this added greatly to the weight, it was unavoidable, as the only cohesion the tombs had, rested in the hard earth which filled the interior. The tomb removed (see Plate X, fig. 1) is 6 feet long, 1 foot 8 inches deep, and 1 foot 6 inches broad, and has two rows of five legs. Like all the others it had a number of cracks over its surface, these were cemented, as, had this not been done, every piece would inevitably have separated whenever touched. The earth was cleared from around it, leaving it standing free on the ten legs. It was then lightly wrapped round with straw ropes; and bamboos were placed longitudinally above and below. Some packing-case planks were then cut to the necessary size, so as to form an enclosing box. Two planks were placed along each side, with upright supports fixed so that one would be nearly opposite each leg of the tomb; the wooden legs were cut so as to stand about 9 inches longer than the earthen ones. The box—open above and below—was then slipped over the top, and a hole dug in the ground below each wooden support, so that the box could be lowered till its lower plank was level with the under surface of the tomb. The space between the tomb and the sides of the box was then packed with straw, and a tarpaulin laid over as a cover. Cross bamboos were then inserted below, between each of the legs, and supported by ropes lashed around and over the top of the box. To ensure the safe lifting of the whole, the earth was cleared from under the tomb legs, thus leaving it suspended in the box. Large bamboos were then lashed over the top, and it was safely lifted to the surface. From thence it was removed to my tent half a mile distant. Before removing it further, it was considered desirable to put on some additional supports, as at that time the whole weight rested on the transverse bamboos below. Brackets of wood were therefore cut to fit the curve of the earthenware under surface; these were put underneath and fixed to the box sides. A longitudinal plank was then placed be-

low each row of the tomb legs, and, after the necessary cross-supporting pieces had been attached, the whole was removed by rail and cart to the Madras Government Museum. On its arrival, the two longitudinal planks, and cross wooden brackets were removed from under the large case, leaving the weight of the tomb resting on the bamboos as on its first removal. The legs of the box were then cut nearly level with those of the tomb, and it was lowered to the floor. As the earthen legs were not all of one equal length, wedges of varying thickness were fixed in below each; the ropes supporting the bamboos were then unwound, and the packing case lifted off. On removing the wrapping of straw rope, the tomb was found to be all right, without any new cracks, even in spite of the shaking it must have got in the journey to Madras.

A pyriform tomb was also removed to the Museum without much difficulty. The earth was left inside; the tomb wrapped round with straw rope, and placed point upwards in an ordinary packing case. (See Plate X, fig. 2.)*

In addition to the two large sarcophagi, a number of smaller articles were also unearthed and removed to the Museum. These are—

No. 1.—A round lid, broken in seven pieces; was probably meant as a cover for No. 2; colour a reddish brown with black on the surface, (Tam. *Ohannake*.)

No. 2.—A pot, unbroken; evidently intended for rice or rice water. It is not dissimilar in shape to some chatties used by the people now-a-days; colour a reddish brown; $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches diameter. (Tam. *Kanji-chattí*.)

No. 3.—Small, nearly round chatty, unbroken; probably intended for some liquid; red colour; 5 inches diameter. (Tam. *Kudúví*.)

No. 4.—Lota, partly broken, by being crushed against the under side of the tomb; red colour; $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches diameter. (Tam. *Kudúví*.)

No. 5.—A small cup or chatti; probably for curry or similar food; red colour; $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches diameter. (Tam. *Kattara*.)

No. 6.—Similar to No. 5; $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches diameter.

No. 7.—A round piece of earthenware, broken in two pieces; concave on one side, with a groove around its rim; convex on the other, with a piece broken away from the apex; colour red, but black on the surface. It has most probably been a lid, as the groove on the rim would seem to show; $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches diameter. (Tam. *Ohannake*.)

No. 8.—A variety of No. 7; $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches diameter.

No. 9.—Similar to No. 5; $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches diameter.

* None of the pyriform tombs as yet seen at Pallávaram have their covers complete. The majority of them have lost all trace of it: the one removed has none.

Nos. 1 to 7 were found in a pyriform tomb; and Nos. 8 and 9 in another, with fragments of other chatties.

I think there seems a probability that some at least, if not all, of the utensils which we find in these tombs were originally placed, not in, but over them. In almost every case traces of a pottery lid remain; with the pyriform tombs this was an inverted chatty with a large head moulding on the rim. With the oblong tombs, a flat slab of earthenware has, I believe, covered them in every case: some of these have disappeared, but fragments are always found inside. Now, in some tombs, there is simply an accumulation of soil, which has broken through the lid by its weight, and in these, the contents are usually in good preservation, and not lying on the bottom, but scattered about the inside. In others again the tomb is filled with earth and large stones, and in these, the chatties are usually broken, and the pieces are not on the bottom of the tomb, but are at different depths such as we would expect them, if they had fallen in with the mass of earth and stones through the broken lid. If the tomb had been intentionally filled with earth, which is very unlikely, the people would have shown some discrimination in filling it, and not used blocks of stone for the purpose. Then, if the small chatties had been originally placed inside, we would find them all on the lowest surface of the earth which fills the tomb; but in no case are they all so. On one of the oblong tombs which I partially exposed, I found a piece of its flat lid remaining at one end, and resting on it were the remains of a few broken chatties. These would thus seem to have been placed over and not in the tomb: if this portion of the lid had been broken, the small chatties would have found their way inside as in other excavated examples. All these facts are confirmatory of the theory of a mound having once covered each tomb. The earthenware would resist the superincumbent weight for a time, but becoming cracked by the expansion and contraction of the surrounding earth, would give way, and a mass of earth would fall in. This again, would cause a hollow in the core or centre of the mound itself, and so hasten its being washed down by the weather.

The first seven articles enumerated above, are exactly those which the ideas of those early people would suggest as necessary for the providing of meat, drink and lights for the spirit of the deceased. In some parts of China this custom still prevails. They believe that the hills—which they use for burial places,—are inhabited by spirits which protect the graves of the dead. They therefore offer to them a sacrifice of food, wine, and incense or candles. The graves at Pallāvaram are all either on the hills, or on the sloping ground immediately below them. This may have been the result of the ancient edict which forbade the

use of fertile land for burial; or it may have been that the same idea which the Hindús, along with other nations, have of the sacredness of the hills, induced them to choose such places for the deposit of their dead. The ancient Jews had such a belief; we see the Chinese and other nations have it; and that such is not foreign to the traditions of the Hindús is evinced by some of their finest carvings of deities and most sacred shrines being placed on the hills. The custom now-a-days of placing a pot of food at a grave may be the lingering traces of the earlier custom. Even with castes which bury their dead,—and, the evidences point to these relics being the work of an aboriginal people who used burial in preference to cremation, as the bones I found are not calcined—no custom of placing such a number of utensils seems to prevail now, nor do any of them use any such receptacle for the body. With such a conservative race as the Hindús, who take ages to change any of their customs, it seems a very sufficient reason for assigning these antiquities to a very early period in the history of this country.

These ancient burial-places in South India are known to the people by various names which indicate the belief that they are temples, and not places of sepulture, for example, *Paṇḍava kavil*, or temple of the Paṇḍavas. It is curious that this should be the same idea once firmly believed in by Antiquaries in Europe, till dispelled by Fergusson, who conclusively proved that they could only be temples in the sense that they were shrines of the dead, and might be shrines of the votaries of ancestor worship.

Megalithic remains at Perianattam near Ohingleput.

These consist of some fine groups of kistvaens and stone-circles. On the Villiyin hill, there are three or four tombs; and on the northern face of the Vallarí hill are from sixty to seventy examples. At least four classes of remains exist on the Villiyin hill; they are—

- (1.) Stone-circles, with kistvaens or dolmens in the centre,
- (2.) Circles, with no surface remains in the centre,
- (3.) Kistvaens or dolmens, without circles,
- (4.) Pottery sarcophagi, without stone enclosures.

The remains generally are much the same as the megalithic tombs at Pallávaram; but whereas at that place only one or two examples of the dolmens—in the centre of circles—occur, at Perianattam a large number exists in almost complete preservation. Of the first class, above noted, over a dozen were noted. They are formed of a number of large stones laid together, roughly forming three sides of a square, leaving the fourth side open, and the inside clear. A large flat slab is laid over the top of these as a roof. Close around the central group is a pile of

smaller stones, gradually rising towards the centre in a sort of cairn or mound. At a distance of a few feet from this first or inner circle is an outer concentric one, formed of blocks of stone, each stone about two or three feet in diameter; this outer ring encloses the tomb. Some of these stone-circles are quite complete, others have only a few of the central stones and outer circle remaining. A few stones from some of the circles had evidently been quite recently removed.

The majority of the remains consists of those noted under class 2. Some of these circles are quite complete, without a stone out of place, and they have no trace of anything remaining or having been in the centre. If there had been dolmens in the centre, their removal would have disturbed some of the stones in the outer circle: but in numbers of cases I observed no displacement. The earth level inside the circle is sometimes about two feet above the surrounding soil, forming a raised circular platform of earth; this may be due to a mound having been inside the circle and gradually washed down. One of these had a circle of 27 feet in diameter with 27 stones laid closely together: the inside level was 2 feet above the surrounding ground.

Of class 3, there are a number of examples. For classification, they might be included under those of the first, for they are simply the kistvaens or dolmens with their surrounding circles either wholly or partially removed. One had nine large stones laid together, with a flat slab, 6 feet by 5 feet and a foot thick, laid on the top.

Of class 4, only one partially complete example was seen projecting above the ground surface, but broken pieces of thick pottery at different places shewed that others did or still do exist there. The one referred to, was almost identical with the pyriform tombs at Pallávaram, and measured 1 foot 6 inches in diameter and 2 feet in depth. It was badly cracked, and had only some broken pieces of earthenware and large stones in the earth inside. This tomb, and the megaliths occupy the same relative positions on the hill as do the same classes of remains at Pallávaram. The stone circles are on the knolls and higher slopes, and the earthen urns lower down at the very base of the hill. No indications of the long earthenware coffins were observed, but it is quite probable they may also exist here.

An excavation was made in the centre of one of the simple stone circles, to ascertain what class of tomb it enclosed. The circle was incomplete, and without central dolmens. I only found two bones, and several broken pieces of small chatties. The shaft was carried down to a depth of 4 feet, but nothing else was found; these relics were 2 feet from the surface. Other remains there may once have been, but possibly they have been intentionally removed at one time or other;

or it might point to there having been a tumulus or mound inside the circle, in which case the funeral urn would be close to the ground surface, and when the mound disappeared, the relics would go also. The fragments of pottery may be of service in a classification of such articles found at other places: they are quite different from the chatties found in the Pallávaram earthenware sarcophagi; the pieces are moulded and have rude attempts at ornament. The contents of the Pallávaram tombs are all quite plain, and, with the exception of the crude notchings around the top of some of the larger tombs, there is no ornament of any sort: nor is there absolutely any on any of the small chatties yet found. As far as can be made out from these fragments, the outline also would seem to have differed from the others. The rim around the earthen sarcophagus seen at Perianattam, instead of being a bead-moulding as in some at Pallávaram, is moulded in a sort of spear-shaped section.

Another circle, which had only one of the centre stones remaining, was examined; but this had the appearance of having already been dug into at some previous time or other, and nothing was found but broken pottery. Could time have been had for an examination of one of the complete kistvaens, some relics, no doubt, would have been revealed.

MEGALITHS AND EARTHENWARE SARCOPHAGI AROUND MADURA.

Dadampattí.

At Dadampattí, on the eastern outskirts of the village, are traces of about a dozen megalithic tombs. Some have been at one time or other partly excavated, probably for the treasure they were supposed to contain, or for the large slabs of stone of which they were formed. Those remaining show a large stone kist underground, formed of stone slabs on the top, sides and bottom. These have once on a time been enclosed by stone circles, but in only one case does this remain, and that, only partially.

Close to these, a large stone covered a round earthenware tomb. I removed the slab and came to the tomb itself at over 3 feet below the ground surface: it was shaped like the pyriform earthen tombs at Pallávaram. The semi-globular earthen lid, which had once covered it, and which would extend up to the stone slab on the surface, was broken, but a few portions of it remained. Arranged around the outside of the rim was a series of chatties, but all broken; from the different fragments, there seem to have been about half a dozen of them: they were all very soft and brittle. One of a reddish material is shown in Plate XI, fig. 1. It is semi-globular, broken, $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter and $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep, with moulded rim and groove around the outside. Another was a portion of a black-glazed double-ringed stand for supporting the other

(Pl. XI, fig. 2). It is a fragment only, but the production of the curves gives a diameter of $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches with a depth of $2\frac{1}{4}$; similar articles complete are shown in figs. 60, 61. Another fragment (fig. 3) is pear-shaped, of a thin material, red below, but black inside, and also black on the exterior where the rim had been; another of the same kind, more complete, is shown by fig. 27. The tomb had a bead-moulded rim; and the portions of the cover which remained, overlapped it by 10 inches; the edge of the cover rim was plain without moulding. I cleared the inside, and found a few bones and an iron spear head (fig. 4). The ground around the exterior was extremely hard, and in digging it out—at 6 feet from the surface—the men turned out a large frog, which had been embedded in the solid clay. The animal had a semi-transparent look, and died a few minutes after being brought to light.

Mr. Turner found a similar tomb at Paravai, the contents of which were some bones and chatties (figs. 5 to 8) and a large number of beads. Fig. 5 is a fragment of a ring-stand, similar to figs. 2, 60 and 61, it is black-glazed,* $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, and $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches deep. Fig. 6 is a chattí of a reddish colour, $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep, and 7 inches at the widest diameter. Fig. 7 is a chattí; brownish red, slightly mottled with dark spots, and glazed; moulded rim; notched ornament round body of pot; 8 inches deep, and 9 inches in diameter. Fig. 8 is a chattí; reddish colour; slightly different in shape from the above; no ornament; 6 inches deep and 6 inches in diameter. The beads found in this are peculiar and interesting. Some are of a reddish semi-transparent material, with milky streaks through them; a few are of a greenish hue, and others of white crystal; most of them have a design in white inlaid work, the lines seeming to have been graved on the surface, and the white enamel filled in. These are important, among other respects, in that they resemble beads found at the seven Pagodas. Sir Walter Elliot states,† that such articles have been picked up near some mounds there. Mr. Loventhal of Vellore showed me a number he had collected himself. The mounds, referred to, were supposed to cover remains of buildings, but excavations revealed nothing in the shape of masonry. From a comparison of the beads from the seven Pagodas with those found in the Madura tomb, I am convinced the former came from burial places also, which would explain the absence of buildings expected by the excavators. The other articles mentioned as being found by Sir Walter Elliot seem to completely confirm this theory.

A few of the most typical of the beads from the Paravai tomb are illustrated in Plate X, fig. 3. Those marked *a* are red, *b* are red or

* See further remarks on this "glaze" or gloss.

† Carr's *Seven Pagodas*, p. 119.

various shades, *c* is red with white streaks, *d* is green, and *e* are red crystals.

These seem to be rather unusual, for I found none in any of the tombs I examined.

Another tomb removed from Paravai to Madura, was opened by myself. Inside were a quantity of human bones, evidently those of a large-sized person. An unusually large number of utensils were also found, fifteen in all. (Pl. XI, figs. 9 to 23.)

Figs. 9 to 14 are bowl-shaped, with a double curvature on the body. They have, as all the others, a slight glaze, and are of a rich red colour speckled with black spots. They vary in size from $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches to $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter, by $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches to $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep.

Figs. 15 to 21 are also bowl-shaped; but, with the exception of fig. 18, which has a slight hollow round its outer upper surface, are of a plain convex curve. They are black inside, and black on the upper surface of the exterior, merging into red on the under side. They vary in size from $6\frac{1}{2}$ to $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, by $\frac{3}{4}$ to $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep.

Fig. 22 is a chatti, similar to fig. 7; 8 inches in diameter and $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches deep.

Fig. 23 is a small vessel, semi-egg-shaped; broken. It is black inside, and on the exterior has the beautiful merging of the two colours, black and red, so characteristic of the pottery found in this neighbourhood; 5 inches in diameter and $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep.

Paravai.

At Paravai the tombs are of earthenware, pyriform-shaped. They occupy a level piece of waste land to the east of the village. A great many appear above the soil, covering an area of several acres. I excavated one, and found it to be completely filled with hard compact earth and stones; there was neither trace of bones nor chatties, not even a fragment: the interior was coated with lime. Probably it may have been emptied at some previous time or other.

Another I excavated, and found a number of bones and a skull, the latter being very nearly perfect (lower right of Plate XI), and two small broken vessels (figs. 24, 25). The bone forming the skull mostly remains in position, and the other broken fragments could, I doubt not, be fitted on: it is in very good preservation.

Fig. 24 is bowl-shaped; black inside, and black and red outside: $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter and $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches deep.

Fig. 25 is similar to fig. 23.

The last tomb examined here was perfectly complete, with cover in position. The tomb and cover were cracked in different places, but no

piece was out of place. The contents might therefore be expected to be complete. The cracks were sufficiently wide to admit of soil finding its way inside along with moisture. This tomb and others I have since examined, perfectly corroborate the theory I previously advanced in a report to Government, that all such tombs as these seemed to have had a lid on the top. I find also on comparing their proportions, that those pyriform tombs at Pallávaram are all broken off nearly midway down their original depth. This may have been the result of their having been placed half their depth in the earth (see Pl. X, fig. 4), the upper portion above the ground level being covered with a mound. As the mound was washed down, the portion of the tomb above the ground level would disappear also. We might account for others remaining perfect, with their covers complete, through having—tomb and mound—been placed in a hollow depression in the ground. The tumulus silting-down would not disperse, but remain and fill up the hollow ground. In these burial-places, a considerable silting-down has undoubtedly been in progress since the time they were first used; for, though they now mostly present a uniformly level appearance, tombs at one place may be several feet below the present surface, while at others the broken middle circumference of a tomb only appears. This would argue irregularity of the ancient surface. The contents of the tomb referred to above were four articles and other fragments of glazed earthenware (Pl. XI, figs. 26 to 29), and a large quantity of crumbling human bones, all embedded in loose fine-grained earth.

Fig. 26 is a large bowl-shaped vessel, $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter by 5 inches deep; black inside, black and red on the exterior; with rim mould externally and internally. It is the only one of its class found among all the examples I examined.

Fig. 27 is a conical-shaped vessel, 6 inches in diameter by $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep; colour, black and red.

Fig. 28 is cup-shaped, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter and 5 inches deep; black inside, and black and red outside. On the black surface, next the rim, is a peculiar attempt at ornament, met with on a few of the articles found in this district; I have as yet seen it nowhere else. It seems to have been put on in another colour, and this, coming off, has left a dull mark on the glazed surface. Some portions of the colour still adhere, and it appears of a whitish tinge. The marks are shown as small spots or short lines, arranged in groups of seven curved concentric lines, pointing diagonally downwards from the rim. (See Plate X, fig. 5.)

Fig. 29 is a large chattí, $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter and depth; colour red. It is similar to figs. 7 and 22.

Anapanádi.

The tombs at Anapanádi, on the south-east outskirts of Madura, are all of earthenware and pyriform in shape; they stand in a piece of waste ground to the east of the village. The ground in its extent and general appearance exactly resembles that at Paravai. The tombs appear above the ground singly and in groups. They vary considerably in size. One, which I dug out and removed, contained the bones of a child. It measures 1 foot $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, by 1 foot 7 inches deep. Others I saw, evidently broken off about their middle circumference, measured 3 feet 6 inches in diameter. These were the largest of any. All these were of a coarse red earthenware material, of a very different clay from the finely-grained light material of the enclosed smaller articles. Some few tombs, however, always small, which I noticed most particularly at this place, were made of a thin black and red glazed earthenware like that of the small vessels, about three-sixteenths of an inch thick. This species of tomb was comparatively limited in number; they were evidently used by a superior class, and—from the bones found inside—seemingly by females. One of this latter form of tomb, on examination, was found to contain three nicely-shaped little vessels. (Plate XI, figs. 30 to 32).

Fig. 30, small pear-shaped lota, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter and 2 inches deep; colour, black inside, black and red outside.

Fig. 31, small-necked chatty, with painted bottom; $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter and depth; colour, black and red.

Fig. 32, double ring or stand, probably for fig. 31; $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter and $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches deep; colour, black.

A tomb of the more ordinary earthenware I next dug out, remained with its globular cover complete. It measured 3 feet in diameter, and 4 feet deep including the lid. As usual, it was cracked in different places. The expansion and contraction of the moist earth which had found its way inside through the cracks could hardly leave it otherwise. It stood deep in the ground, with none others appearing on the surface within a considerable distance of it. In this I found one solitary vessel (Fig. 33) $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter and 5 inches deep, similar in shape to Fig. 28. There were no other fragments, and as the tomb was complete, none could have previously been taken out. Very different is this from the fifteen articles found in the one from Paravai (with figs. 9 to 23). Doubtless there were reasons for the difference—perhaps the poverty or wealth of the deceased, his surviving family, or some custom peculiar to these people. This one may have been the last of his family; the grave was apart from the others and buried deeply in the ground. In this one, I found a skull with some of the bone remaining; and the rest in

almost perfect outline, through having been filled in with the clayey soil. Its outline should be of importance in pointing to the class of people who originated these remains. The bones of the skeleton are large-sized, and evidently those of a person over the ordinary height. The proportions of these and most others found in the ordinary-sized tombs should, I am afraid, throw some discredit on the popular native legend, that people lived to a great age, shrunk into pigmies, and were then so buried. This fiction seems to be very general, for I heard it related by people at all these places I visited. None of the bones, found in any of these graves, were calcined. In another tomb, of thick earthenware, I found some bones and three vessels, besides broken fragments of others. (Figs. 34 to 36.)

Fig. 34, a necked chattí, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter and $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep; colour, black and red.

Fig. 35, similar to figs. 28 to 33; $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter and $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep; colour, black and red.

Fig. 36, semi-oval vessel, 5 inches in diameter and $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep; colour, black and red.

In a broken specimen of one of the small sarcophagi—of thin fine glazed material—four articles were found (figs. 37 to 40). It was about 18 inches high and was simply an enlarged example of fig. 27, with a series of grooves on the outer surface, parallel to and near the rim.

Fig. 37 is a small cup-shaped vessel, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep; colour, black and red. It has the peculiar dotted, diagonal-lined ornament I previously remarked in fig. 28; in this case the groups are of four lines each.

Fig. 38, a necked chattí, $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter and $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches high, colour red.

Fig. 39, similar to fig. 36; colour, black and red.

Fig. 40, small bowl-shaped vessel, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter and $2\frac{1}{4}$ deep; colour, black and red.

In some fragments close to the tomb, in which were the above, I found a small semi-globular pot nearly complete; size, 4 inches in diameter and 3 inches deep: colour, black and red, with the ornament on the black, before described. The small tomb found at this place, and which I removed complete to Madras, was opened after my return. Removing the soil, I found fragments of two small chatties, and also figs. 42, 43 and 62.

Fig. 42 is a small cup-shaped article, $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter and depth; colour, black and red.

Fig. 43, a small-necked chattí, 7 inches in diameter and $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep. Its colour is red, but on one side is an irregular patch of glazed

black colour, similar to that on others described. It would seem as if some of the organic substance which causes the black had been unintentionally mixed with the red clay, out of which the chattí had been made; or it may be due to the burning, as I shall note further on.

Fig. 62, a small semi-egg-shaped cup, $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter, and $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches deep: colour, black and red. It is similar in shape to one I found at Pallávaram; this other has no glaze, however. In addition to these, I found a number of bones and a skull. The skull had been somewhat crushed against the inside by the chatties, but I was able to remove it in as complete a condition as it was found. Its bone lining is very thin. It is shown at the left foot of plate XI. The bones—as were to be expected from the size of the tomb—are small-sized, and those of a child. The tomb itself is shown—reversed—in the upper centre of plate XI.

Figs. 44 to 61 are articles previously collected from various tombs at Paravai by Mr. Bartells, Inspector of Police.

Fig. 44, a small bowl-shaped vessel, $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter, $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches deep; colour, black and red.

Fig. 45, a lid with moulded handle on top; $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter and 4 inches high; colour, black. It is very similar to another I found at Pallávaram.* The checked rim for fitting the top of the vessel, which they were intended to cover, is the same in both cases. This one is slightly higher in proportion to its diameter than the other.

Fig. 46, a double-curved bowl, with moulded rim; $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter and 2 inches deep; colour, black and red.

Fig. 47, a bowl, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, and $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches deep; colour, black and red.

Fig. 48, a bowl, $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, 3 inches deep; colour, same.

Fig. 49, a bowl, $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches deep; colour, same.

Fig. 50, fragment of a similar vessel: colour, same.

Fig. 51, bowl, 6 inches in diameter, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches deep; colour, same.

Fig. 52, bowl, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, 2 inches deep; colour, same.

Fig. 53, a very small vessel, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter and $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches deep; colour, black: is of a heavier material than the others.

Fig. 54, a small double-curved vessel, similar to, but larger than Fig. 53; 4 inches in diameter, $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches deep.

Fig. 55, a small double-curved vessel, similar to, but larger than Fig. 53; 4 inches in diameter, 1 inch deep.

Fig. 56, a small lotá, similar to Fig. 30; $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter and $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches deep; colour, black.

Fig. 57, cup-shaped vessel, $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter, $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches deep; colour, black and red. The material is particularly thin and light.

* See No. 7 under description of articles found at Pallávaram.

Fig. 58, semi-egg-shaped cup, similar to Figs. 23, 36 and 39; $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, 4 inches deep; colour, black and red.

Fig. 59, double-moulded ring stand, with necking between the rings pierced through; $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter, $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches deep; colour, black. The surfaces are all smooth, black and glazed, with the exception of the under inner surface, which has been left rough, and wants the glaze.

Fig. 60, Do. Do., but larger, with the ring opening wider, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter and $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches deep; colour, black.

Fig. 61, Do. Do., $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter, $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches deep; colour, black.

The two preceding articles are complete examples of the fragments, Figs. 2 and 5.

One striking peculiarity in all these articles is the surface glaze, if it might be so called. It might be more properly described as a gloss, as it has little or no hardness or brittleness, but has more the appearance of polish on wood-work or horn. It might be the result of some organic matter in the clay, or probably may have been put on the surface only. This latter hypothesis finds credence for instance in Fig. 59, where the material is black throughout. The portions intended to be seen when the vessel was in use, *i. e.*, the top and exterior, are smooth and glazed, while the bottom side has been left rough by the potter, and is unglazed. In one fragment, the outside is the usual black and red glaze, while the inside is dull black. A slight portion of the inner upper surface has the glaze, and it has exactly the streaked appearance of having been laid on with a brush or rubbed with some material till polished,—almost certainly the latter. Had the glaze been caused by some material in the clay, it would have appeared equally on all sides. I showed one of these to Dr. Wilson, of the Presidency College, who thought it was not a true glaze. One other peculiarity is the difference in colour of material in the same vessel. One fragment shews this perfectly—the black, the full thickness at the top, tapering down towards the bottom centre of the inside, where its thickness is a mere line; while the red is thickest on the bottom, thinning up the outside, till it fades into the black at two-thirds of the height, (see plate X, fig. 6). This may be due to different clays, but it would be difficult to run the one into the other as shown on the section. If different, the red clay would be first turned on the wheel, the black afterwards gradually added to the upper surfaces. The most probable hypothesis, however, is, that there is simply the one clay, and the different colours are due to the degree of heat applied in the burning. In the large terra cotta images so common in certain districts, the material used in burning was straw; with this they were stuffed, and the fire applied left the inside a perfect

black, and the outside red. Straw is commonly used for the burning of some potter's work, and it may possibly have been used for those now under notice. Most of these articles are either round or pointed on the bottom, and, if kept upright in the kiln, would require a support to steady them. If so, they might have been placed in the kiln in some sort of soil or clay bed; this would partially protect the lower portion of their outer surface from the heat. The fire in burning would play freely on the inner exposed surface and the upper outer surface; these would thus be subjected to a more intense heat than the partially-protected bottom. Burned in this way, a certain heat would give the red colour, and a greater would burn black; the exact proportion of heat would leave the bottom red, the other flame-exposed portions black, as we now find them. One chattí already referred to (Pl. XI, fig. 43) would seem to bear out this theory. It is a red colour almost throughout, with two small portions of the upper surface showing black blotches. It appears as if the heat had not been sufficiently intense to fully blacken the top, and the fire had been banked or gone out, just as the black was beginning to appear, or before the temperature had been sufficiently high to give it the required shades. In regard to this matter I made inquiries of some native potters in Madras, as to the black and red colours and glazing of the pottery. I showed them a specimen, and asked if they could explain the colours and glazing, and produce something like it. I was told they could do so, and that the black colour was caused by a nut rubbed on the surface; a greater or less coating of the nutty substance giving a more or less thickness of black in one material, hence the merging of the black into the red.* The glaze was said to be produced by a species of nut likewise rubbed on the surface, and a certain degree of fineness could be given by burning the material with paddy husks or seed chaff. To test these statements, I asked a man to come and make a piece of pottery before me, which should have all the peculiarities of that from Madura. He offered to come, and did come, but I regret the wetness of the weather prevented his attempting it.

I have since been favoured by Government with the loan of a pamphlet† on some investigations conducted in the Salem District. Mention is therein made of red, and also black pottery;‡ some are said to have been black outside and red inside, and *vice versá*; but it is not clearly stated, if the two colours occur on one side of the same piece of pottery, as in the Madura examples. They had a glossy surface, and some were "ornamented with transverse lines" similar, I presume, to

* *Ib.*

† *Report on Tumuli in the Salem District*, by the Rev. Mr. Philips, 1872.

‡ *Ib.* p. 5, paragraph II, 1.

those from Madura. A few were submitted to Dr. Hunter, then in charge of the School of Arts at Madras. His opinion on the "glaze" or "gloss" was that "the surface is not glazed, but is merely polished by rubbing it with the juice of Toothee or *Abatilon Indicum*, a mucilaginous juice, somewhat like gum, that is used by the natives at the present day to give a gloss to black earthenware. The surface can be scratched with a knife, though it resists water. After rubbing the surface with the juice, the vessel is again fired, and a species of smear is thus produced which resists acids and water....." "Another method of producing a smear is in use in India, *viz.*, rubbing the vessel with mica ground in water, and exposing it to heat." This last method may, I believe, very possibly have been adopted in Madura, for most of the articles show small pieces of mica adhering to various parts of the surface. The beads found in these Salem tumuli would seem—from the description Dr. Hunter gives* of them—to also resemble those before mentioned. He says: "They are made of carnelian, ornamented with a pure white enamel of considerable thickness, which has been let into the stone by grinding the pattern, filling in probably with oxide of tin and exposing to heat. The enamel is very hard, cannot be touched with a knife, and is not acted on by a strong nitric acid. The small beads are made of white carnelian and icespar."

No description of the designs engraved on the surfaces is given,† so I cannot compare them in this respect; but the material and method of inserting the enamel would seem to have been the same in both cases. The large urns excavated at Salem were of the common round kind, and many swords and other iron weapons were found in the tombs. They had thus probably been used by warriors or hunters. In only one of the Madura examples, at Dadampatti, did I find a portion of an iron sword. The absence of such weapons from their sepulchres would thus seem to show that the people in these parts of Madura had been a pastoral race.

MEGALITHIC REMAINS NEAR KODAIKANAL.

Palmi Hills Kistvaens.

There are quite a number of groups of kistvaens scattered about the sides of the valley west from the Perumál Peak; these have been generally noticed in Mr. Sewell's *Topographical Lists of Antiquities* (Volume I, p. 288). In company with Mr. Turner, I visited one, which had been referred to by Bishop Caldwell. It is known as Arasi Parai,

* *It*, p. 6, para, II, 3.

† They may probably be in the photographs, but the copy I had did not have these.

is about 3,500 feet lower than Kodaikanal, and stands on a level outcrop of rock midway up the east side of the valley west from Perumál hill. It consists of a group of kistvaens, enclosed by a regularly-built masonry basement, measuring about 42 feet square. The stones forming the square are rough blocks, square-dressed on the exterior and fitted together without mortar. Many of them have fallen out of position, and the blocks lie heaped up outside; but the square can still be distinctly traced. The soil is only a few inches in depth, and the walls have been built on the solid rock. Inside the enclosure are a number of kistvaens, in various stages of preservation—placed regularly side by side. These are formed by four upright slabs resting on the rock, with a large slab laid on the top. The kists and the rest of the space in the square enclosure have been filled up to the depth of a few feet with earth and stones. The remains stand north-east and south-west. We examined a few of them, but found nothing but small pieces of broken pottery; they seem all to have been rifled at some previous time or other; I heard that some others in the vicinity had lately been privately opened, and beads found inside. The side stones of the tombs stand generally in proper position, but the top slabs are very dilapidated, and one—that in the west corner—has evidently been lifted bodily, and thrown outside. The slab lies in a position where it could by no possibility have fallen naturally; this does not, however, seem to have been done at all recently. The state of this group is one of general ruin.

A mile to the north of the previous one, and a few yards down from the path, is another fine group of kistvaens in very complete preservation. It was first discovered by Mr. Turner. This has also the same peculiarity of a square enclosing basement. Being built on a very decided slope of rock, and the stones of the basement not placed vertically, but at right angles to the rock surface, many of them have fallen out of position. On the north side, most of the stones of the wall have fallen out of place and rolled partly down the hill. The kistvaens themselves lie over at the same angle, but stand complete, with the top slabs in their proper positions. Some of these are very large, and one of them must weigh at least five tons. The position of this group is different from the other, standing north-west by south-east. It has not been altogether free from attempts at destruction, for one slab, at the west corner, has a piece four feet by two feet broken out of it by crow-bars, the marks of which are distinctly visible. Some one had evidently tried to throw the stone out of position, but it being too heavy, they had commenced to break it up. When we saw it, it was in rather a dangerous position, for the side stone had been removed; I therefore placed some stone supports under it. The attempted destruction may

have taken place many years ago, when the roadway was being constructed, or it may have been through natives searching for treasure. The contents of this have, at one time or other, been cleared out, and we only found a few pieces of broken pottery. These were interesting, however, in that they shewed the peculiar black and red glazed colours of the pottery found in the plains near Madura. If this does not show that these megaliths were erected by migratory sections of the tribes who used the others on the plains, it would at least prove they must have had some connexion with them, when they used the same kinds of pottery. It is curious that this should have been so; the one class of megalithic remains have an enclosure of stone circles whereas the others are erected in a square enclosure.

The square built basement of these kistvaens is a peculiarity in its way, and is but one of the many varieties of megalithic remains, pertaining to different parts of the country. Cromlechs and dolmens are found, with slight variations in their character, all the world over; and it is also interesting to find that funeral jars, seemingly such as these we have lately been examining, are found in other countries besides India. Between Carthage and Almeria, the remains of a pre-historic colony have lately been found, which are believed to have been inhabited by some unknown race previous to the Aryans. Numbers of utensils, ornaments, and arms have been found, some without trace of metal, and others in stone, iron, and bronze. Remains of bodies were found buried in large jars and in tiled square enclosures. This in Spain; and in Africa also, an aboriginal tribe—in Taveta—have burial customs which are similar in some respects to those remaining in India. From a recent traveller and explorer* we learn that “after death the body is buried in a sitting posture, the left arm resting on the knee, and the head supported by the hand, the contrary arm and hand being used by the women. When they have remained sufficiently long to be reduced to skeletons, the skulls of the man and his chief wife are taken out, and placed in deep, oval-shaped pots. These are laid on their sides at the base of dracena trees in the centre of his plantation, where in the shape of good spirits they keep watch and ward over the welfare of the crops.”

When we find cromlechs, stone circles, and other megalithic remains in different parts of the world, presenting a wonderful similarity in design and arrangement to each other, it would argue either a wandering tribe in early periods of ancient society, or different races having connexion with each other. We find in India megalithic and various forms of earthenware receptacles for the dead, which have evidently

* Thomson, *Through Masai Land*, 3rd edition, 1885, p. 110.

been used contemporaneously with each other. The probability therefore is, that these earthen tombs may perhaps be as widespread as the megaliths are known to be. Those buried in these ancient Indian jars could only have been placed in a sitting posture, similar to that practised by certain modern burying castes. It is certainly curious to find the same jars and a similar custom at the present day in Africa. A wider investigation might reveal a more widespread practice still prevailing in other countries.

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*The Mother of Jahángír.*—By MAHÁMAHOPÁDHYÁYA KAVIRÁJA SHYÁMAL DÁS, M. R. A. S., F. R. H. S., *Court Poet and Historian, Udaipur.*  
Translated from the Hindí by BÁBÚ RÁM PRASÁD.

“It is curious that there should be any uncertainty about the name and family of Jahángír’s mother,” is the opening line of a paper by H. Beveridge, Esq., C. S., published in the Bengal Asiatic Society’s Journal, No. 3 for 1887, page 164.

A careful perusal of the paper, instead of removing the *uncertainty*, gives rise to several fresh doubts and suspicions, which shall be treated in this paper, in the order in which they occur.

Q. 1. Was Jahángír’s mother a Hindú lady?

This question must be answered in the affirmative, and of this reply proofs are given below.

Q. 2. Was *ignorance* or *prejudice* the reason why the Muhamadan historians did not record the name of Jahángír’s mother?

There should be no wonder if they were guided by religious or national prejudice in withholding her name from their works, few of which are totally free from prejudice—a fact that needs no confirmation.

Q. 3. Was a Jodh Báí Jahángír’s mother?

No. The only lady of Jodh’pur wedded to Akbar (Jahángír’s father) was *Rukmáwati*, the daughter of Ráo Mall Dev by his concubine\* Típú. She had been given away in marriage to Akbar by Chandra Sen, the son of Mall Dev; and *she had no issue.*

Another Jodh’pur princess *Mán’matí*, the daughter of Motá Rájá Udai Singh, was married in the Samvat year 1645 (A. D. 1588) to Jahángír himself, who named her *Jagat Gosáyin* or ‘Mistress of the World.’ Prince *Khurram*, afterwards the emperor Sháh Jahán, was born of her.

\* The Hindú Rájás had no scruple in giving away girls of illegitimate birth in marriage to the Muhamadan emperors, who had not the least objection to accepting matches of this nature.



Q. 4. Was a sister of Pahár Khán, uncle of Rájá Mán Singh and a brother of Bhag'wán Dás, the mother of Jahángír ?

No. I second the statement of my learned friend Mr. Beveridge, that, granting a sister of Pahár Khán was in Akbar's haram, she was not Jahángír's mother.

Then, as regards Pahár Khán himself, Rájá Bhag'wán Dás (of Jaipur) had no brother of that name, as none of the eight sons of the latter's father, Rájá Bhár\* Mall, bore it. Perhaps by the word *brother*, Jahángír meant only a *relative*; as relatives of the Ráj'púts, removed even by ten generations, are called *brothers*.

Q. 5. Was Jahángír's mother (a) the daughter or (b) the granddaughter of Bhár Mall ?

(a) Jahángír's mother was the elder daughter of Rájá Bhár Mall Kachhwáhá of Amber (Jaipur). She had been married to Akbar, according to Abu-l-Fazl,† at Sámbar in H. 969 (A. D. 1562).

Like Abu-l-Fazl, the other Muhammadan authors have, through prejudice, omitted the name of this lady in their narrative of Jahángír's birth.

But Munshí Suján Rái who is considered a reliable authority by the Persian authors, and most likely derived the information relating to Jahángír's birth from the contemporaries of Akbar and Jahángír, plainly says in his *Khuláṣatu-t-Tawárikh*.‡ that Jahángír was born of the daughter of Rájá Bhár Mall Kachhwáhá, in H. 977 (A. D. 1570), which is also the uniform statement of the *Mirát-i-Aftáb Numá*,§ the *Siyaru-l-Mutakhirín*,|| and the *Tárikh-i-Rashidu-d-dín Khání*.¶ The historians of Ráj'pútáná likewise agree in stating Jahángír to have been born of an Amber princess.

(b) The granddaughter of Bhár Mall (and daughter of Bhag'wán Dás) was married to prince Jahángír, and their nuptials were celebrated with great pomp and splendour by Akbar. Prince Khusráu was the result of the union.

Jahángír writes in his Memoirs that, when this Begam committed suicide by swallowing a dose of opium at Alláhábád, he married another

\* In the paper under discussion the form *Bihárl Mall* is an error. Trans. [What proof is there for this statement ? ED.]

† Akbarnáma, Vol. II, p. 198. The page in the Bib. Ind. edition is 157.

‡ MSS. p. 221. Written in the 40th year of 'Alamgír's reign H. 1107 (A. D. 1697).

§ MSS. p. 216. Written in the 45th year of Sháh 'Álam II.'s reign, H. 1225 (A. D. 1811), by Sháh Nawáz Khán Háshimí of Delhi.

|| Luck. Ed. p. 116. Written in H. 1195 (A. D. 1781) by Munshí Sayyid Ghulám Husain.

¶ p. 71. Hyderabad, 1880 A. D. By Munshí Ghulám Imám Khán.

Jaipur princess, the daughter of Jagat Singh (son of Mán Singh and grandson of Bhag'wán Dás).

Q. 6. Jahángír's mother was not a Hindú lady, but a Muhamadan, the widow of Bairám Khán.

This affirmation is contradicted by the statements made in answering the last question.

The widow of Bairám Khán, named Salímah Sultán Begam, was a very intelligent lady, possessing many virtues and accomplishments ;\* she had certainly been married to Akbar, and was the most distinguished of his wives, as Mr. Beveridge says, and commanded the respect of all the ladies in the zanána : but the lady, who had the honour of giving birth to Jahángír, was a Jaipur princess—a princess, Hindú by origin.†

Q. 7. Was Núr Jahán entrusted by Jahángír to Ruqiyyah Begam or to Salímah Sultán ?

Núr Jahán, when brought to Court after the assassination of her husband Sher Afgan, was kept in the charge of *Ruqiyyah Begam* (the daughter of Mírzá Hindál, one of Bábar's sons), the Begam of Akbar, next to Salímah Sultán in respect.

Q. 8. Is the word *Ruqiyyah* or *raqabah* in the *Iqbálnáma* ?

The *Iqbálnáma*‡ has the word *Ruqiyyah*, the name of the daughter of Khálifah 'Alí, cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet—which being regarded as a blessed one, is given by the Moslems to their daughters.

The word *raqabah*§ would make no sense in the passage in question.

Q. 9. What is the correct meaning of the words *wálidah sabab-i-khesh* ?

This expression does not mean "own mother," but a lady regarded as a mother for some reason (*sabab*).

Q. 10. What authority is there for the statement that Salímah had adopted Jahángír, after his own mother's death ?

Salímah Sultán was considered the guardian of Akbar's zanána, and all the children of Akbar and Jahángír were tended by her: it was for this very reason that she mediated on Jahángír's behalf, when he had fallen out with Akbar, and brought him to Court from Alláhábád. Jahángír regarded her as his mother, and she in turn looked upon

\* The *Mírát-i-'Álam* and the *Tárikh-i-Khusháid Jahí* give the details of her noble attributes. Her metrical compositions were signed *Makhfí* (*hidden, anonymous*).

† It was impossible that a Hindú lady could, when married to a Muhammadan king, continue a *Hindú*, at least in the eyes of the Hindús; in that sense, it can be said that Jahángír's mother was not a *Hindú lady*. Trans.

‡ Lucknow Ed. 1870, p. 529.

§ Evidently there is a misprint in the Bib. Ind. Ed., the letter  $\text{ق}$  having lost a dot, we read *raqabah* (  $\text{راقبه}$  ), instead of *ruqiyyah* (  $\text{رقية}$  ). Trans.

him as her son. But it should be borne in mind that there was no system of adopting children among the Muhammadans, if the word *adoption* is taken in its *legal* sense.

Q. 11. Can there be any doubt that Salímah was Jahángír's mother ?

Salímah was only a step-mother of Jahángír. His own mother was the daughter of Bhár Mall.\*

Q. 12. Was Sháhzáda Khánam, the daughter of Salímah Sultán, Jahángír's full sister ?

As Salímah Sultán was not Jahángír's *own mother*, her daughter was not his *full sister*.

Before concluding this paper, I must criticise a statement of Abu-l-Fazl, implying flattery to the Muhammadan emperors. He says that, a certain Hindú Rájá *offered* his daughter in marriage to the emperor Akbar, beseeching His Majesty to honour him, by keeping her in his haram.

This statement is totally incorrect. The Hindú Rájás did not give away their daughters voluntarily to the Muhammadan emperors; the origin of the practice is given in the following paragraphs.†

When Humáyún had been expelled from India by the Paṭhán Sher Sháh Súr, and in his flight reached Irán, he was taken to task by the Persian king *Tahmásp*, that he could not have lost his hold on India, had he been prudent enough to have contracted marriage-ties with the Hindú Rájás, as Bábar had done. In that case, he said, the Hindú Rájás would have assisted him in times of need.

Humáyún perceived the value of the important political dodge suggested by *Tahmásp*, and was determined to act up to its very letter, on his return to India, but he died no sooner than he returned.

His son Akbar was fully alive to the advantages likely to accrue by adopting such a policy; and once he told Rájá Bhár Mall, that the relatives of the Imperial family, equal to them in rank and nobility, had been left in Turkistán, and it would be a good thing if the Hindú Rájás, belonging to ancient independent royal families, were to contract marriage relationship with the imperial household.

Rájá Bhár Mall, looking upon it as objectionable, on religious grounds, for Hindú Rájás to marry Muhammadan princesses, preferred the alternative of giving his daughter to the emperor in marriage, as stated by Suján Rái.‡

\* Vide ante Q. 5.

† [It would be interesting to know the Kaviráj's authority for his statements in those paragraphs regarding *Tahmásp's* advice and Humáyún's and Akbar's attitude towards it. Ed.]

‡ See Q. 5 of this paper.

In his Memoirs, Jahángír says that he solicited the hand of the daughter of Jagat Singh Kachhwáhá, son to Rájá Mán Singh of Jaipur, but his suit having been rejected by Ráo Bhoj of Búndí, the girl's maternal grandfather, he had a mind to return from Kábul to India, to punish the Ráo for his insolence, who, however, was dead before Jahángír's return.

When the Búndí Rájás threw off the allegiance to the Maháránás of Udaipur and entered into the Imperial service in S. 1625 (A. D. 1568), they had made a contract with Akbar, not to marry their daughters to the Moslem emperors; and like the Udaipur House they looked down upon those Rájás who had done so; and it was for this reason that Ráo Bhoj objected to his granddaughter being made a Begam.

*Summary.*

An attempt has been made in this paper to show that Jahángír's mother was a lady, Hindú by origin, having been the daughter of Rájá Bhár Mall of Jaipur; that Salímah Sultán was Jahángír's step-mother, and that the Hindú Rájás did not offer their daughters voluntarily to the Muhammadan emperors, but they gave their daughters, when solicited by the emperors, to contract marriage ties with them.

*Remarks on the above paper.—By H. BEVERIDGE, Esq., C. S.*

I am very glad that the subject has been taken up, and I am much obliged to Kaviráj Shyámál Dás for pointing out that the Khulásatu-t-Tawárikh gives Bihári Mall's daughter as the mother of Jahángír. The question is, if this is a sufficient authority. The Khulásatu-t-Tawárikh has not, I believe, ever been printed, but the MS. in the Society's Library is in accordance with the Kaviráj's statement. Munshí Subhán Rái (the name given him by Elliot) wrote at the end of the 17th century, in the time of Aurangzíb and some seventy years after Jahángír's death. He is therefore not a contemporary historian, and we do not know whence he got the fact about Bihári Mall's daughter. According to Colonel Lees, Subhán Rái is a good writer, but Sir Henry Elliot speaks very disparagingly of him. Many, however, may think his statement sufficient to determine the point. The other authorities, quoted by the Kaviráj, do not, I think, strengthen Subhán Rái's evidence, as they are very modern. Ghulám Husain Khán, the earliest of them, wrote about a century ago, and his statement seems to have been merely copied from

Subhán Rái. It seems that, as regards the times before his own, this writer is a mere plagiarist from Subhán Rái or some other munshí. Besides he clearly is not accurate, for he describes the marriage of Bihári Mall's daughter as having taken place after the capture of Chitor, whereas it occurred six years previously.

I still think the silence of all the leading historians remarkable. Neither Abu-l-Fazl, nor Nizámu-d-dín, nor Badáoní, nor Firishtah nor Kháfi Khán mentions Bihári Mall's daughter as Jahángír's mother. This cannot have been the result of bigotry; for Abu-l-Fazl, at least, was no bigot, and he and some of the others mention the marriage of Bihári Mall's daughter with approval. If they approved of the marriage, why should they not have approved of its resulting in the birth of a son? They distinctly mention that Bhag'wán Dás' daughter was the mother of Khusrú. The Mu'áshiru-l-Umará, now being printed by the Society, is a modern book, but it is an elaborate one, and was highly thought of by Professor Blochmann. It has biographies of Bihári Mall and his sons, but it nowhere mentions that Bihári Mall's daughter gave birth to Jahángír.

I have consulted the MS. of the Tawárikh-i-Salím in our library. The statement there is exactly as Price (p. 19) translates it, that Jahángír married a daughter of Bihári Mall, and had by her his son Khusrú. This daughter might possibly be a younger sister of the one who married Akbar, but the statement that she was the mother of Khusrú is certainly wrong. Undoubtedly his mother was the daughter of Bhag'wán. As for the passage about Pahár Khán, or Bahádur Khán, as it is in our MS., the Kviráj's remark, about the lax use of the word brother, is irrelevant as the word in the autobiography is uncle and not brother. The statement (Price, p. 34) is that Pahár Khán was a dignitary of 2000 and the uncle of Rájá Mán Singh, and that his sister was in Akbar's haram, but no favourite with destiny. A Bahár Khán or Bahádur Khán is mentioned in Abu-l-Fazl's list of Akbar's grantees. He is No. 87, and is described as one of the ghuláms or slaves of Humáyún, so that he may have been originally a Hindú, like I'timád Khán of Gujrát, but how he came to be Rájá Mán Singh's uncle, I do not know. There is a curious statement in the Tawárikh-i-Salím (Price, p. 47), that Akbar had a son by Bibí Maryam who was placed under the care of Rájá Bihári Mall. Could this be the Bibí Maryam about whom there seem to be traditions at Fathpúr Síkrí?

The Kviráj speaks of traditions and of the historians of Ráj-pútáná, but Tod and others do not mention any tradition about Bihári Mall's daughter. On the contrary, Tod tells us that the name of Bhag'wán Dás is execrated in Ráj-pútáná, because he was the first who

allied himself with the Moghul. This statement is repeated in the Political History of Jaipur by Col. Brooke. (Government Selections, No. 65, p. 14.) It is, however, certainly wrong, for there is no doubt that his father had previously given his daughter in marriage to Akbar. I admit, fully, that if a Rájput lady was the mother of Jahángír, there is better authority for her having been Bihári Mall's daughter, than for her having been of the Jodhpur family. I cannot find that Udai Singh, or the Moṭá Rájá gave his sister to Akbar, though he gave his daughter to Jahángír, and it would appear that Chandra Sen's introduction to Akbar and the marriage of his sister or other relative to Akbar did not take place till the 15th year of the reign, that is, after Jahángír's birth. I also admit that there are great difficulties in the way of holding that either Salímah or Ruqiyyah Begam was the mother of Jahángír. But I still think it not established that his mother was Bihári Mall's daughter. Perhaps the *Tárikh-i-Alfi* would throw light on the subject, but our Society's copy of that work is incomplete, and does not come down to Akbar's time. Possibly too, if discreet inquiries were made at the Court of Jaipur, the truth might be ascertained.

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Kudarkoṭ Inscription of Takshadatta.—By A. FÜHRER, PH. D.

This inscription is on a white sandstone slab, which was found, in 1875, amongst the ruins of the old fort of Kudarkoṭ, a small village in tahsil Bidhúna, 24 miles north-east of Etáwah, in the North-Western Provinces. That Kudarkoṭ was once a place of some importance, is evident from the rise and height of the mound upon which it is built, and the number of large bricks and sculptured stones scattered about the place. That it is a place of great antiquity, is proved by this inscription. The original slab is now in the Lucknow Museum, having been presented by Dr. W. Hoey, C. S., in December 1886, who found it at Etáwah in the Collector's godown, an open shed affording no proper protection for such a treasure.

The slab measures 2' 6½" × 1' 5" × 3". The most interesting point about this inscription is the character of the letters. On the whole they show the later *Gupta* type; but the mason has taken out the *kánas*, *i. e.*, the vertical strokes for the long *á*, and placed them above the letters after which they are to be read. The medial *i* is also highly ornamented. In this respect, as well as in the form of letters, the inscription resembles the Asígarh seal of S'aravavarman, published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol.

III, p. 377, and *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. V, p. 483; the two Jhálrápáthan inscriptions of Samvat 746 (A. D. 689 or 824), published in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. V, p. 180; the mutilated inscription of Ísvaravarman on the south gate of the Jámi' masjid at Jaunpur, published in General Cunningham's *Archæological Reports*, Vol. XI, Plate XXXVII; and two rock inscriptions which I lately found in the north scarp of the Kálinjar fort, and which will shortly be published in this Journal.

The preservation of the slab is perfect. With the exception of about four letters at the end of line 15, and one single letter in line 16, every letter is perfectly clear and distinct; so that, with the exceptions referred to, there can be no doubt whatever about the actual readings of the slab. The mistakes made by the engraver are few and unimportant and admit of easy correction. In respect of orthography we have to notice:—(1) the persistent doubling of *g, j, m, y, v, t*, in conjunction with a preceding *r* and, in the case of *t*, also with a following *r* (viz. ऋ); (2) the occasional use of the dental sibilant for the palatal; (3) the constant occurrence of final *s* remaining unchanged before initial *s*.

The inscription records the erection of a residence for Bráhmaṇas by one Takshadatta, the son of Harivarman, *alias* Mamma, son of Haridatta, and apparently mentions the names of the first six Bráhmaṇas who resided there. Unfortunately the inscription is not dated; but, according to the alphabet in which it is written, it belongs to the 9th or 10th century A. D. Of Haridatta, Harivarman, and Takshadatta nothing of any historical value is mentioned.

On p. 365 of Volume IV of the *North-Western Provinces Gazetteer* is given what purports to be a correct transcript and translation of this inscription, made by a Benares pandit. But it is evident that the pandit cannot have seen the original slab and had to rely on an apparently imperfect paper rubbing. It will, therefore, not be considered unnecessary to re-edit and translate afresh this interesting document.

*Text.**

- [1] षो नमः ॥ †सञ्चितनीलकण्ठा नितम्बतटा शोभिनी ससिद्धगुहा । जयति प्राज्ञे-
याचलभूरिव दुर्गा सदा द्युता ॥ [१॥] ‡शासीञ्जीहरिदत्ताः
- [2] श्वातो हरिदिवापरः । श्रीशेषे ससुत्कर्षे नीतोपि विलतो नयः ॥ [२॥] §शवि-
चक्षितरत्नसंघयनशुभितं भूददवष्टतभुजङ्गं । पुत्रपोतमस्य विसदृशमासी-

* From the original slab.

L. 1. † Metre : Áryá. Read ससिद्ध०. ‡ Metre : S'loka (Anuṣṭubh).

L. 2. § Metre : Áryá.

- [3] कश्चात्कर्त्तव्यं यस्य ॥ [१ ॥] *तस्याभवत्सुतनयो हरिवर्षेनामा श्रीमन् इत्यपरनामकृत-
प्रतीतिः । यस्मिन् रवाविव तपत्यच्छिखरवन्मुक्तीवक्त्रपङ्कजवनाणि विकासनीयुः ॥ [४ ॥]
- [4] †यस्याद्यापि चंतारातिमस्त्रोद्यानपादपान् । दावयाजेन दृष्टति प्रकामं कोप-
पावकः ॥ [५ ॥] ‡विशाखवचः फलकाभिलक्ष्य प्रकृतश्चद्रवसन्निवेशः । अनेकसंप-
द्विजयाङ्कसंख्या निश्चानरेषा इव यस्य राशः ॥ [६ ॥] §सुराजयापि यस्यासीद्दृश्यं द्रष्टुं
न पारितं । यत्पुष्टमरिवादिन्या यच्च वचः परस्त्रिया ॥ [७ ॥] ||प्रजापतिं निश्चित-
सप्तसामरचमाचरं यो लक्षयन्सिद्धयथा । महाद्भान्मुनिषीनकल्पयस्तुराधिवासान-
चलांश्च कीदृशः ॥ [८ ॥] ¶महान्नः कर्कशात्मानो बद्धुखा अपि क्षितौ । सावन्न-
माश्रया वेन नतिं नीता महीभूतः ॥ [९ ॥] **सप्रसादमहाभारजुबभूततनयो रिव । यः
कूपखननव्याजैस्त्रिरा भूजेरमोचयत् ॥ [१० ॥] ††मार्गेषाभिसुखा सुव्यासमेताः
फलकाक्षया । विसुखा वेन रिपवः कृता न पुनरर्थिनः ॥ [११ ॥] ‡‡लोकै प्राथं-
यता पूर्वं बवद्दारेषु कौशलं । वेनाथिलममलैव जिताः प्रत्यर्थिनः सदाः ॥ [१२ ॥]
§§जनयासास
[9] यः पुत्रं क्षयीरक्षयदीक्षितं । श्रीतच्छदनामानं नमितारिश्चिरोधरं ॥ [१३ ॥] |||सर्व-
धामभयप्रदेन सक्षयास्तन्नाशयानेकशो [1] यदनेन यशोर्थिना लक्ष्मिव त्यक्त्वा
[10] वयं केवलं ॥ [१४ ॥] ¶¶इत्युचैः परिहृष्टमन्यव इव प्रायावसानानारं [1] लब्धा
क्षप्रथरन्ध्रनिर्मोमपथं यस्यासवो निर्ययुः ॥ [१५ ॥] ***रम्यमविषमतिचंततवेद्विद्या-
व्याख्यान-
[11] घोषवधिरौकतदिक्कुञ्जोस्मिन् । उषैरश्लीकरदुबस्त्रिषारवधिनां त्रैविद्यमस्त्रिसुदा-
रमिदं च साधुः ॥ [१६ ॥] †††यावद्गुणास्त्रसिकरा इव तस्य लोकमाह्लाद्यन्नि
[12] क्षतसाम्प्रतमस्त्रसूहाः । रतद्विजातिभवनं भुवनाभिराममव्याहतादिहृतसन्निधि ताव
दासां ॥ [१७ ॥] ‡‡‡भद्रेषैते रचिता वामनतनयेन सुपरितन्त्रोकाः ।
[13] रेणानिनापि क्षिप्रिता [:] सन्नधुता देवदेवेन ॥ [१८ ॥] • ॥ बभूवुषरिषो
साङ्ख्यसगोत्रसूर्येक्षपुत्री महासेनदत्तः । काश्यपवरयो बत्सगोत्रः

L. 3. * Metre; Vasantatilaka.

L. 4. † Metre: S'loka (Anushtubh). ‡ Metre: Upendravajra.

L. 5. § Metre: S'loka (Anushtubh). || Metre: Drutavilambitakam.

L. 6. Read कीदृशः ¶ Metre: S'loka (Anushtubh).

L. 7. ** Metre: S'loka (Anushtubh). †† Metre: S'loka (Anushtubh).

L. 8. ‡‡ Metre: S'loka (Anushtubh). Read सदाः. §§ Metre: S'loka (Anush-
tubh).

L. 9. ||| Metre: Aryá. Read अनेकशः ।

L. 10. ¶¶ Metre: Aryá. *** Metre: Vasantatilaka.

L. 11. ††† Metre: Vasantatilaka. Read गुणाः शशि•

L. 12. ‡‡‡ Metre: Aryá.

L. 13. Read बभूवुषरयः साङ्ख्यसु•

- [14] गौणस्यसोमपुत्री ज्ञानवेदसोमः । इन्दोगचरसो कुहससमोन्नः कुहदीपकीर्तिपुत्रः
वेदानरकीर्तिः । बह्वृषचरसो वासिष्ठमोन्नः उदितचरपुत्रः
- [15] श्रीचन्द्रचरः । काशयचरसो श्रीपमन्यवसमोन्नो वदुखामिपुत्रः वज्रहपमयो । इन्दो-
गचरसो गालवसमोन्नो धृतिमुग्नखामिपुत्रः क + + + + [1]
- [16] रत्नैर्हृत्तमे श्रीमन्मैविद्याज्ञानुपाकनेः कारितं धाम धर्मस्ये श्रीमन्महा सम [अ-]
या ॥ ० ॥

Translation.

Om! Adoration! (V. 1.) Durgá, placed near Nílakanṭha (S'iva), slender-waisted, the lion* and Skanda sitting by her side, shining like the snowy mountain (Himálaya), ever pleasing, is victorious!

(V. 2.) There was one named *Srî Haridatta*, renowned like a second Hari (Vishṇu), whose conduct was uncorrupted, though Lakshmi lavished her smiles upon him;

(V. 3.) Whose gain of riches, immoveable in gems, undisturbed, [and exclusive alone of] the gems which serpents hid [in their heads] beneath the mountains, was like the lotus-stalk of the best of men (Vishṇu);

(V. 4.) Whose virtuous son was named *Harivarman*, known also by the name of *Srî Mamma*, under whose sunshine of glory, as it were, the lotus-forests, made by the faces of the damsels of his whole household, flourish.

(V. 5.) And even now, alas! the fire of his fury consumes, as it were, to his heart's content the trees, parks, and palaces of his enemies.

(V. 6.) The number of wounds inflicted by the sword, aimed successfully at his broad chest, are like an incised series [counting] the marks of the many successful victories of this king.

(V. 7.) Though desired, two objects could not be accomplished, *viz.*, by the army of his foe to see his back, and by the wife of another man his chest.

(V. 8.) He excelled even Prajâpati (the Progenitor), the creator of the seven oceans, the earth and the mountains, by his own power of creation in forming large lakes like oceans, and temples like mountains, by tens of millions.

L. 14. Read *चरसः कुहस* ; *पुत्री वेदानर* ; *गौण उदित*.

L. 15. Read *चरस श्रीप* ; *पुत्री वज्र*.

L. 16. Read रत्नै, अनुपाकने.

* i. e. Durgá's vehicle.

(V. 9.) The great supporters of the earth (*i. e.*, mountains or kings), with hardened hearts and roots fixed within the ground, were caused by him to bow down at his command with all indignity.

(V. 10.) He opened the veins of the earth under the pretence of sinking wells, the outward form of which had been, as it were, surfeited with his graciousness.

(V. 11.) His foes who, approaching with arrows and determined, came against him with a desire of success, were [sure to be] disappointed, but the suppliants were never so, who came soliciting, needy, and with a desire of gaining their object.

(V. 12.) In his policy he, being extremely anxious for the welfare [of his subjects], was never known to yield, but always put down his enemies with force.

(V. 13.) He begot a son, named *Takshadatta*, educated in the reverence of the three Vedas, and who bent down the necks of his enemies.

(V. 14.) "We, whose inborn virtue had repeatedly been the preservative of all [subjects], have entirely been forsaken like a blade of grass by that gift, desirous of glory."

(V. 15.) Thus (speaking) loudly the spirits of that [monarch], being now, as it were, at the top of their patience and having obtained some other residence, found out their way through the openings of some wounds which he had received with the sword.

(V. 16.) This venerable person, who had by the noise [caused] by the delightful, fervent and continual interpretation of the Vedas deafened the quarters of the heavens, built this lofty, large, lasting and very beautifully decorated institution for the instruction of the three Vedas.

(V. 17.) As long as his virtues, like the rays of the moon, gladden the world, free of thick darkness, so long let this institution of a different kind, the delight of the world, remain undisturbed in all its original designs.

(V. 18.) These well-composed verses have been written by *Bhadra*, the son of *Vámana*, and by *Aisáni*, and have been engraved by the mason *Devadeva*.

(L. 13.) Mahásenadatta, the son of Súryadatta, of the Sánkṛitya family, follower of the Bahvṛicha branch [of the R̥gveda]; Játavedasoma, the son of Govatsasoma, of the Vatsa family, follower of the Kāṇva branch [of the R̥gveda];

(L. 14.) Vaiśvánarakírtti, the son of Kuladípakírtti, of the Kuhala family, follower of the Chhandoga branch [of the Sámaveda]; S'ri Chandradhara, the son of Uditachara of the Vásishṭha family, follower of the Bahvṛicha branch [of the R̥gveda];

(L. 15.) Bahurúpaśarman, the son of Vasusvámín, of the Apaman-
yava family, follower of the Kánva branch [of the R̥igveda]; K * *
* * the son of Dhṛitaguptasvámín, of the Gálava family, follower
of the Chhandoga branch [of the Sámaveda]:—

(L. 16.) By these [persons] was this institution built for the
mightiest and lawful protection of those versed in the knowledge of
the illustrious three Vedas through the fame of S'ri Mamma.



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gzk



PREHISTORIC POTTERY from TOMBS in the MADURA DISTRICT.



Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.

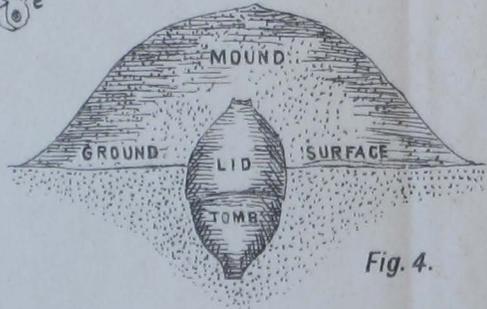


Fig. 4.



Fig. 5.

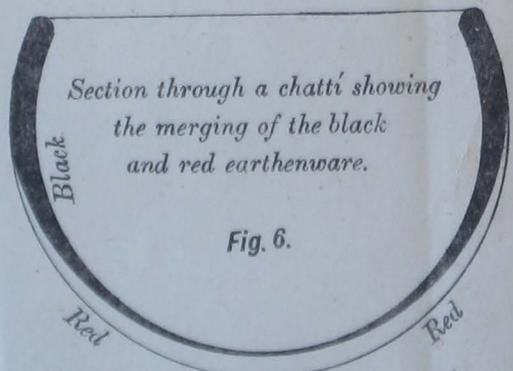
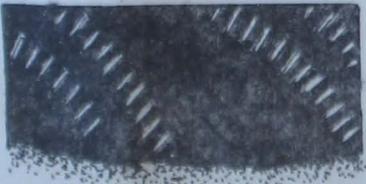


Fig. 6.

LITHOGRAPHED BY A. L. PAIN, CALCUTTA, AUGUST, 1898.

མཚུ་ Warty characters.

༡༥༥ འཇམ་བུ་ལྷ་མོ། འཇམ་བུ་ལྷ་མོ། འཇམ་བུ་ལྷ་མོ། འཇམ་བུ་ལྷ་མོ། འཇམ་བུ་ལྷ་མོ། འཇམ་བུ་ལྷ་མོ། འཇམ་བུ་ལྷ་མོ། འཇམ་བུ་ལྷ་མོ། འཇམ་བུ་ལྷ་མོ། འཇམ་བུ་ལྷ་མོ།

Namo Buddhāya, a, â, i, î, u, û, ri,rî,li, lî, ê, ai, o, au,am,ah, ka, kha,gā,g̃ha,nā, tsa,tsha,dsa,dsha,n̄, ta, tha,d,dha,na, ta,tha,da,dha,na,

པམ་པམ་པམ། པམ་པམ་པམ། པམ་པམ་པམ། པམ་པམ་པམ། པམ་པམ་པམ། པམ་པམ་པམ། པམ་པམ་པམ། པམ་པམ་པམ། པམ་པམ་པམ། པམ་པམ་པམ།

pa,pha,ba,bha,ma, ya,ra,la,wa, śa,sha,sa,ha, Kshah, ka, kâ,ki, kî, ku,kû,kri,kri,khi,khî,kê,kaj,ko,kau,kam,ka, kha,khâ,khi,khî,khu,khû,khri,khri,khli,khî,khê,khai,kho,khau.

ཀམ་ཀམ་ཀམ། ཀམ་ཀམ་ཀམ། ཀམ་ཀམ་ཀམ། ཀམ་ཀམ་ཀམ། ཀམ་ཀམ་ཀམ། ཀམ་ཀམ་ཀམ། ཀམ་ཀམ་ཀམ། ཀམ་ཀམ་ཀམ། ཀམ་ཀམ་ཀམ། ཀམ་ཀམ་ཀམ།

kham,kha, ga,gâ, gi, gî, gu,gû,gri,gri,gli,glî,ge,gai, go, gan,gam,ga, g̃ha,g̃hâ,g̃hi,g̃hî,g̃hu,g̃hû,g̃hri,g̃hri,g̃hli,g̃hî,g̃hê,g̃hai,g̃ho,g̃hau,g̃ham,g̃ha,nā,nâ,nî,nîê,nû,nû,nîri,

རྣམ་རྣམ་རྣམ། རྣམ་རྣམ་རྣམ། རྣམ་རྣམ་རྣམ། རྣམ་རྣམ་རྣམ། རྣམ་རྣམ་རྣམ། རྣམ་རྣམ་རྣམ། རྣམ་རྣམ་རྣམ། རྣམ་རྣམ་རྣམ། རྣམ་རྣམ་རྣམ། རྣམ་རྣམ་རྣམ།

nîrî,nîlî,nîê,nîi,nîo,nîau,nîam,nîa,h, kya,kra,kla,kva,khya,khra,khla,khva,gya,gra,gla,gwa,g̃hya,g̃hra,g̃hla,g̃hva,nîya,nîra,nîla,nîva,nîka,nîkha,nîga,nîg̃ha,nîtsa,nîtsha,nîdsa,nîdsha.

འཇམ་བུ་ལྷ་མོ། འཇམ་བུ་ལྷ་མོ། འཇམ་བུ་ལྷ་མོ། འཇམ་བུ་ལྷ་མོ། འཇམ་བུ་ལྷ་མོ། འཇམ་བུ་ལྷ་མོ། འཇམ་བུ་ལྷ་མོ། འཇམ་བུ་ལྷ་མོ། འཇམ་བུ་ལྷ་མོ། འཇམ་བུ་ལྷ་མོ།

nta,ntha,nda,ndha,nta,ntha,nda,ndha,mpa,mpha,mba,mbha, śka, śkha, śga, śg̃ha, śna, shta, shtha, shda, shdha, shna, ska, skha, sga, sg̃ha,lka,lkha,lga,lg̃ha,spa,spba,sba,sbha,sma,kka,kkha,kga,

(a) 
 ka, kha, ha, a, ki, ku, ke, ko, a, i, u, e, om,

(ug-Chhun)

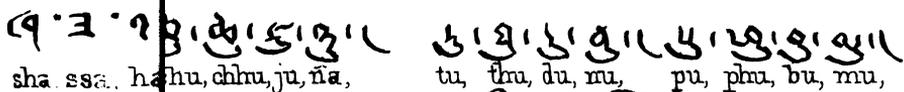
(b) 
 ka, kha, a, ki, ku, ke, ko, i, u, e, om

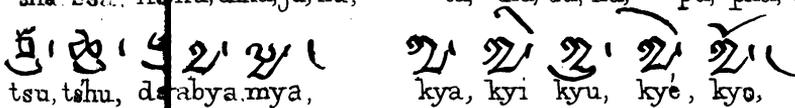
ing hand,

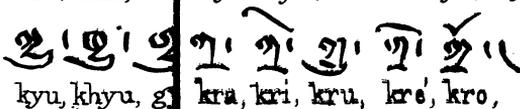
(c) 
 ka, kha, ha, a, ki, ku, ke, ko, i, u, e, om,

(d) 
 ka, kha, ga, na, ha, a, ki, ku, ke, ko, i, u, e, om,

(e) 
 ka, na, pa, pha, ba, ma, tsa, tsha, dsa, wa, va.


 sha, ssa, ha, hu, chhu, ju, na, tu, thu, du, mu, pu, phu, bu, mu,


 tsu, tshu, da, bya, mya, kya, kyi, kyu, kye, kyo,


 kyu, khyu, kra, kri, kru, kre, kro,

chha
N^o. 2. New letters

N^o. 5. New Curious letters. Explanation:

རེ་མཚོ་སྤིག་གསར་
No. mtshar yig g'usar

Hg
N^o. 3. New letters

N^o. 6. New letters of R Dorje g'dan, Monastery.

རྡོ་རྒྱལ་དགེ་ལོག་གསར་
Rdor g'dan yig g'usar.

N^o. 4. New letters

N^o. 2.

ལཱ ལ
Mgo-yig,

ཀ ཀ

ལཱཤཱཧཱལ
sha, ssa, ha, ya,

རཱལཱཤཱལ
Ra, la, sa, sa,

ཧཱལཱལ
ha, a,

ཧཱ
ge,

ཧཱ
no,

N^o. 3

ལཱ ལ

ཀ ཀ

ལཱཤཱཧཱལ
sha, ssa, ha, ya,

རཱལཱཤཱལ
ra, la, sa, sa,

ཧཱལཱལ
ha, a,

ལཱཤཱཧཱལ ཧཱལཱལ

N^o. 4.

ལཱ ལ

ཀ ཀ

ལཱཤཱཧཱལ
sha, ssa, ha, ya,

རཱལཱཤཱལ
ra, la, sa, sa,

ཧཱལཱལ
ha, a,

ལཱཤཱཧཱལ ཧཱལཱལ

N^o. 5.

ལཱ ལ

ཀ ཀ

ལཱཤཱཧཱལ
sha, ssa, ha, ya,

རཱལཱཤཱལ
ra, la, sa, sa,

ཧཱལཱལ
ha, a,

ལཱ

N^o. 6.

ལཱ ལ

ཀ ཀ

ལཱཤཱཧཱལ
sha, ssa, ha, ya,

རཱལཱཤཱལ
ra, la, sa, sa,

ཧཱལཱལ
ha, a,

ལཱ

ལཱཤཱཧཱལ
kya, khya, gya,

ལཱཤཱཧཱལ ལཱཤཱཧཱལ
tc, kyi

ལཱཤཱཧཱལ ལཱཤཱཧཱལ
m, chhog, tu, gyur, pa, yin,

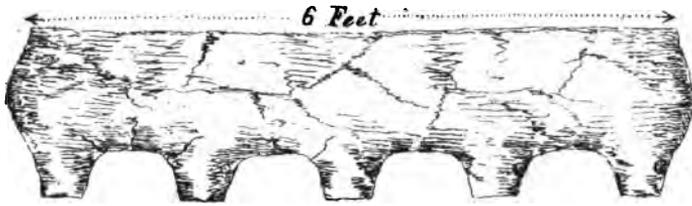


Fig. 1.

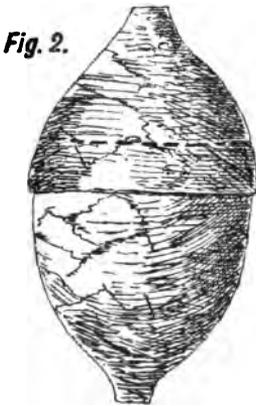


Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.

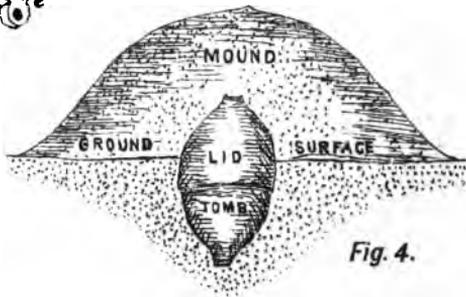
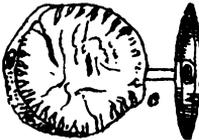


Fig. 4.



Fig. 5.

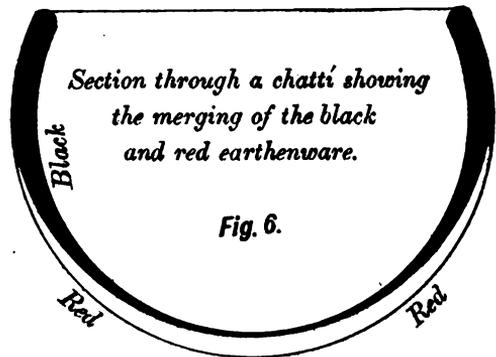


Fig. 6.

LITHOGRAPHED BY A. L. PAIK, CALCUTTA, AUGUST, 1888.

LITHOGRAPHED BY A. L. FAIN, CALCUTTA, AUGUST, 1882.

