

A. J. Hunter

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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.—1890.

A Grammar of the Dialect of Chhattísgarh in the Central Provinces. Written in Hindí by MR. HIRÁLÁL KÁVYOPÁDHYÁYA, Headmaster of the Anglo-Vernacular School in Dhamtarí, District Ráipur, Central Provinces, translated and edited by GEORGE A. GRIERSON, Esq., C. S.

INTRODUCTION.

1. **Chhattísgarh** (the thirty-six forts) is the name of the most eastern of the divisions of the Central Provinces. It is bounded on the north by Chutiyá Nágpur, on the east by Orissa, and on the south and west by other portions of the Central Provinces.

2. The **language** spoken in this tract belongs clearly to the Eastern Gauḍian Family. It may be classed as a dialect of Bihári. Its verbal forms are most closely connected with those of Baiswári, while its system of declension more closely resembles that of Bhoj'purí. In one important point, the formation of the plural, it shows a close connexion with Uṛiyá.

3. The **present grammar** has been written by Mr. Hírálál Kávyópádhyáya, Headmaster of the Anglo-Vernacular school at Dhamtarí, District Ráipur, Central Provinces. It was written in the Hindí language, and it has fallen to my lot to translate it, and to rearrange a portion of it, according to the custom of European grammars. Here and there I have added a few philological notes.

▲

4. We are all indebted to Mr. Hírálál Kávyópádhya for his very careful and interesting work, and I gladly welcome him as an accession to the small band of those who are attempting to throw light on the dark byways of Indian vernaculars. It is only by enlisting the assistance of gentlemen like him, who take an intelligent interest in the subject, and who are willing and able to put in writing that knowledge of facts which can only be attained by local experience, that we can hope to be able to finally map out the true relationship between the various languages of India.

G. A. G.

PART I.

CHAPTER I. ORTHOGRAPHY.

5. The nasals ञ, ञ, and ञ, when standing alone are all equally pronounced like the dental ञ, thus रण 'battle' is pronounced रन.

6. A Tatsama ञ is pronounced like स. Thus, शीत, 'cold' is pronounced चीत. A Tatsama ञ is pronounced like ञ. Thus, भाषा, 'language' is pronounced भाषा, and दोष, 'a fault' is pronounced दोष.

7. EXCEPTION,—In the word शेष-नाम, 'the serpent of eternity,' ञ is pronounced like स,—thus, शेष-नाम.

8. The remaining letters are pronounced as in Hindí.

9. In the following grammar, words will be spelled as they are pronounced. So that we shall spell रन and not रण, चीत and not शीत, भाषा and not भाषा, दोष and not दोष, शेष-नाम and not शेष-नाम.

10. *Note by translator.* The above are very few of the letter changes in this dialect. This is, however, of little importance, as all will be found in Dr. Hoernle's Gauḍian Grammar.

One very important change may be noticed here,—the **shortening of an antepenultimate vowel**. When, in a *tadbhava* word, a long vowel, owing to inflexion, conjugation, or other cause, finds itself in the antepenultimate or other earlier syllable of a word, that vowel is shortened. Thus, the long form of आम 'a mango' is आम.वा and of घोरा 'a horse,' घोरा.वा. For further particulars on this point, and also for particulars regarding **Long and Redundant forms**, the reader is referred to the Gauḍian Grammar, and to the Introduction to A Comparative Dictionary of the Bihári Language by A. F. R. Hoernle and G. A. Grierson.

The short vowels अ (like *a* in *ballo*), ए (like *e* in *mét*), and ओ, ो (the short of ओ, ो); the imperfect or neutral vowel ँ (as in घोरा.वा *ghor'wa*); and the peculiar long अ (pronounced like *a* in *fall*), which occurs in the root अ, will all be found in this dialect, and the reader is referred to the preface of the Bihári Dictionary, above referred to, for further information concerning them.

PART II. NOUNS.

CHAPTER II. FORMATION OF NOUNS.

(Secondary and other nominal suffixes.)

11. **Secondary suffixes** form nouns from other nouns, as distinct from primary suffixes which form them from roots.

12. The following secondary suffixes are those given by the author. The translator has added references to Dr. Hoernle's Gauḍian Grammar which will be found useful. Primary suffixes will be found discussed in chapter X.

13. Some of the so-called suffixes given by the author are not *tadbhavas*, being either *tatsamas* or of foreign derivation. These the translator has put at the end after the others.

14. **या**, feminine **यी**, signifies a person connected with anything, or a vessel for containing anything.

Example,—

उत्तर-या 'a traveller' from उत्तर 'a road.'
 घोरा-या 'a rider' from घोरा 'a horse,'
 बजार-या or बजारिया, fem. बजार-यी } 'a marketer,' 'a petty shopkeeper,'
 बजारिया, fem. बजार-यी } from बाजार, 'a market.'
 तैल-या 'an oil-vessel' तैल 'oil.'
 घी-या 'a *ghī*-vessel' घी 'ghī.'
 दुध-या, 'a milk-vessel' दुध 'milk.'

See Gd. Gr. §§ 206, 207.

15. **क** added to nouns forms **nouns of agency**.

Example,—

मया 'illusion' मयाक 'one who causes illusion.'

See Gd. Gr. §§ 209, 1, b and 210.

16. **चरि** or **चरि** added to adjectives forms **abstract nouns**.

Examples,—

करु 'acid.' करुचरि 'acridity.'
 सुन्दर 'beautiful.' सुन्दररि or सुन्दरारि 'beauty.'
 खामढ 'sour.' खामढरि 'sourness.'

See Gd. Gr. §§ 220, 221.

17. **पा** or **पन** added to adjectives forms **abstract nouns**.

Examples,—

बुढा 'old' बुढापा 'old age.'
 खामढ 'sour' खामढ.पन 'sourness'

See Gd. Gr. §§ 228, 229.

18. **Diminutives** are formed by using the feminine termination **रि**.

Sometimes the masculine long form in वा is used and more often the feminine long form in वया.

Examples,—

डोला 'a palanquin.'

डकना 'a basket.'

बेटा 'a son.'

खोटा 'a water-vessel.'

खोटा 'a pestle.'

डोली 'a petty palanquin.'

डकनी 'a little basket.'

बेटना 'a little son.'

खोटिया 'a little water-vessel.'

खोटिया 'a small pestle.'

See Gd. Gr. §§ 256, 257, 195, 199, 201.

19. वाच added to adjectives forms **abstract nouns**.

Examples,—

मीठ 'sweet.'

मीठाच 'sweetness.'

Cf. Gd. Gr. §§ 281, 282.

20. वाला, fem. वाली, added to nouns forms nouns signifying **possession**.

Examples,—

धन 'wealth.'

धनवाला, fem. धनवाली, 'a wealthy person.'

See Gd. Gr. §§ 293, 294, Cf. §§ 315 and ff.

21. हार, or हारा, feminine हारिन or हारनिन, signifies an **agent**.

E. g., लकऱिहारा, fem. लकऱिहारिन or लकऱिहारनिन, 'a woodman' from लकऱी 'wood.'

This is probably the same as वारा, through confusion of the suffixes वनेवारा and वनिहारा.

See Gd. Gr. §§ 293—296, 315—321.

22. ष added to substantives forms **adjectives**.

Example,—

भूख 'hunger.'

भूखे 'hungry.'

These are connected with the Bihári termination रच, forming the past participle. Cf. Gd. Gr. §§ 302 and ff.

23. क, or कया, added to a substantive, forms **adjectives of relation**.

Example,—

घर 'a house.'

घरक or घरका 'of' or 'belonging to a house.'

See Gd. Gr. §§ 330, 331, where however क is given only as a primary suffix.

24. ई is used to form **adjectives** from substantives; *e. g.*

गुनी 'possessing qualities,' 'wise' from गुन 'quality.'

This is not a *tadbhava* termination. It is the Sanskrit termination ई (इन्), and is only found in *tatsamas*.

25. वान 'possessing' is added to substantives to form **adjectives**.

Example,—

रूप 'beauty.'

रूप-वान, 'possessing beauty,' 'beautiful.'

This is not a *tadbhava* suffix at all. The word is borrowed direct from the Sanskrit, ready compounded as a *tatsama*.

26. नुन added to numerals, signifies **multiplication**.

Example,—

तीन 'three'

तिगुन 'three-fold.'

This is not properly a suffix at all, but is derived from a compound already formed in Sanskrit.

27. ई added to adjectives makes **substantives**.

Example,—

जुवान 'young.'

जुवानी 'youth.'

This is the Persian suffix *ی*.

28. दार, signifies **possession**, e. g. जमीन्दार 'a land holder,' from जमीन 'land.'

This is the Persian suffix *دار*.

CHAPTER III.

GENDER.

29. There are two **genders**,—Masculine and Feminine. The gender of names of living things follows their nature, males being masculine and females being feminine. Of things without life, those names which are identical or nearly identical with Hindí names generally follow the Hindí usage. The following rules will be found useful.

30. Words ending in वा and in a silent consonant which is not न, are generally masculine, and those in ई and न are generally feminine.

Examples.

Chattisgarhí.	<i>Masculine.</i> Hindí.	English.
दुवार	द्वार	'a doorway.'
चाउर	चाँवल	'rice.'
पाना	पान	'betel.'
डाढा	डाढ	'sackcloth.'
बोड़ना	बोड़ना	'clothes.'
पत्थना	पत्थर	'a stone.'
दसन	दसन	'bedding.'
	<i>Feminine.</i>	
माती	माटी	'earth.'
रूडी	—	'wood ashes.'

काठी	काठी	' a stick.'
चढई	चढई	' a mat.'
वात	वात	' a word.'
रात	रात	' night.'

EXCEPTIONS.

Masculine.

वांघी	वांघी	' an elephant.'
गंवई	गंव	' a village.'
चांढी	चौंढा	' a black-ant.'
भात	भात	' boiled rice.'

Feminine.

दास	दास	' pulse.'
ढार	ढार	' a shield.'
सुनिया	—	' a neck-ring.'
परिया	परिया	' a kind of veil.'

and others as described below.

31. **Abstract nouns in व, चव, उव, वव, वा, चाप, पा, पन, are masculine.**

Those in ई, वी, वारं, चरं, चास, वी, are feminine.

Examples,—

Masculine.	Feminine.
मिस्त्रव, 'meeting.'	जुषानी, 'ripeness.'
पिचव, 'drinking.'	ढमाची, 'cheating.'
सकाउव, 'decking.'	पिचारी, 'giving to drink.'
ढमावव, 'cheating.'	करचरं, 'acidity.'
दूषा, 'touching.'	मिठास, 'sweetness.'
मिस्त्राप, 'union.'	घवःराची, 'confusion.'
चमढःपन, 'sourness.'	

32. **Feminines are formed from masculines as follows :**

(1) **Masculines in वा form their feminines in ई ; Thus,—**

Masculine.	Feminine.
दूरा, 'a boy.'	दूरी, 'a girl.'
डोका or डैका, 'a master.'	डोकी or डैकी, 'a mistress.'

(2) **Long forms in वा form their feminines in र्या ; thus,—**

घोरःवा, 'a horse.'	घोरिया, 'a mare.'
बुढःवा, 'an old man.'	बुढिया, 'an old woman.'

so also

परिया 'a buffalo bull-calf.'	परिया 'a buffalo heifer.'
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(3) **Sometimes in the last case ञिन is substituted for र्या ; thus,—**

वचःवा, 'a tiger.'	वचःमिन, 'a tigress.'
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This ःनिन् is sometimes applied differently; thus,—

(4) Masculines containing a long vowel, shorten it before ःनिन्, thus,—

भाड, 'a bard.'

भडःनिन्, 'his wife.'

ऊँड, 'a camel.'

ऊँडःनिन्, 'a she-camel.'

(5) Masculines in ई, and its long form एया, take ःनिन् regularly; thus,—

हंघी, 'an elephant.'

हंघःनिन्, 'a cow-elephant.'

बानी, 'a shop-keeper.'

बनःनिन् or बनिन्, 'his wife.'

नाती, 'a daughter's son.'

नतःनिन्, 'a daughter's daughter.'

बनिया, 'a shop-keeper.'

बनःनिन्, 'his wife.'

घसिया 'a grass-cutter.'

घसःनिन् 'his wife.'

(6) So also words in a silent consonant, षा, and ई, signifying persons of a certain trade or profession; thus,—

बरेड, 'a washerman.'

बरेडःनिन्, 'his wife.'

खोहार, 'a smith.'

खोहारःनिन्, 'his wife.'

खदिरा 'a cowherd.'

खदिरःनिन्, 'his wife.'

तेखी, 'an oilman.'

तेखःनिन्, 'his wife.'

Sometimes the Hindī custom is followed; thus,—बरेडिन्, खदिरिन्, तेखिन्, &c.

(7) Names of Bráhmaṇ tribes take ःनिन्; thus,—

खोभा

खोभाःनिन्

तिवारी

तिवारःनिन्, or तिवरःनिन्.

खौवे

खौवःनिन् .

दुवे

दुवःनिन्.

(8) Some nouns are irregular; thus,—

ददा 'a father.'

दाई 'a mother.'

भाइ 'a brother.'

बहिनी, 'a sister.'

बोकःरा, 'a he-goat.'

बेरी or बेरिया, 'a she-goat.'

CHAPTER IV.

NUMBER.

33. There are two numbers, Singular and Plural.

34. (1) The Plural is formed from the Singular by adding the suffix मन; thus,—

Singular.

Plural.

मनुष, masc., 'a man.'

मनुष-मन.

बइला, masc. 'a bullock.'

बइला मन.

खौली, masc. 'a potter's wheel.'

खौली-मन.

चरु, masc, 'a cup.'	चरु-मन.
मन-से, masc., 'a man.	मन-से-मन.
भाँडी, masc, 'a sister's husband.'	भाँडी-मन.
जिनिस, fem., 'goods and chattels.'	जिनिस-मन.
सुतिषा, fem., 'a neck-ring.'	सुतिषा मन.
हेरी, fem., 'a she-goat.'	हेरी-मन.
पती, fem., 'a daughter-in-law.'	पती-मन.

35. (2) मन is sometimes omitted, especially in the nominative plural, and in the case of things without life; thus, मनुष्य, 'a man,' or 'men'; बरुआ, 'a bullock,' or 'bullocks'; हेरी 'a she-goat' or 'she-goats,' and so on.

36. (3) An old form of the plural, which is now very rarely used, is formed by adding न् to the singular. If the word ends with a long vowel, that vowel is shortened; thus बरुआ, 'a bullock'; nom. plur. बरुआन, acc. plur. बरुआन-का.

37. *Affinity.* With the plural suffix मन, compare the old Hindí मनर, 'men,' and the Uṛiyá plural suffix माने. The old form in न् is the regular Bihári plural oblique termination,

38. (4) Sometimes the plural is formed by prefixing the words सब, सबी, सब्बी, जमा, or जम्मा; thus,—

Singular.

Plural.

बरुआ	सब बरुआ, सबी बरुआ, सब्बी बरुआ, जमा बरुआ. or जम्मा बरुआ.
हेरी	सब हेरी. सबी हेरी, सब्बी हेरी, जमा हेरी or जम्मा हेरी.

39. (5) Sometimes with सब &c., मन is also used at the same time, thus,—

Singular पती.

Plural सब पती-मन, सबी पती-मन, सब्बी पती-मन, जमा पती-मन, or जम्मा पती-मन.

This last form is very common.

CHAPTER V.

INFLEXION.

40. The cases are formed with the following postpositions, which are added to the noun direct. In the plural, they follow the suffix मन.

Nominative	— or चर.
Accusative	का or ला.
Instrumental	से.
Dative	का, ला or वर.
Ablative	से.
Genitive	के.
Locative	माँ.
Vocative	—

41. The postposition **वर** of the nominative does not correspond to the Hindi **ने**. It is used to give the idea of definiteness. Thus **गर**, 'a neck,' but **गर-वर** 'the neck.' In the plural it is rarely used with the suffix **मन**, thus **गर-वर**, rarely **गर-मन-वर**, 'the necks.'

42. In the Accusative and Dative, **का** is more used by the polite, and **खा** more by rustics. In the Dative, rustics sometimes use **खानिर** or **खानर**, with or without the Genitive postposition **के** prefixed,—thus, **गर-खानिर**, **गर-खानर**, **गर-के-खानिर** **गर-के-खानर**.

43. The typical vocative interjections are **र** and **वो**, which are sometimes written **वे**, and **वो**.

44. *Affinities.*—Except **वर**, all these postpositions are the same as those in use in Bihári and other Eastern Gaudian languages, or, at most, are but slightly changed. Regarding **वर**, I do not know of any closely related word in other Gaudian languages. In Bihári, the pleonastic long form termination **वा** is used in a similar sense. This tends to point to the probability of the origin of **वर** being the Prákrit pleonastic termination **व** or **वङ्** (Hém. IV, 429.) Thus **मखा**, **मखवङ्**, **गरवर** or, with euphonic **व**, **गरवर**. G. A. G.

45. The following is an example of the declension of a masculine noun ending in a silent consonant.

गर, 'a neck.'

SINGULAR.	Nom.	गर, गर-वर	'a neck,' 'the neck.'
	Acc.	गर-का गर-खा	'a neck.'
	Instr.	गर-खे	'by a neck.'
	Dat.	गर-का, गर-खा, गर-वर	'to' or 'for a neck.'
	Abl.	गर-खे	'from a neck.'
	Gen.	गर-के	'of a neck.'
	Loc.	गर-माँ	'in a neck.'
	Voc.	र गर	'O neck.'
PLURAL.	Nom.	गर, गर-मन, गर-वर, (rare) गर-मन-वर,	'necks,' 'the necks'.
	Acc.	गर-मन-का, गर-मन-खा	'necks.'
	Instr.	गर-मन-खे	'by necks.'
	Dat.	गर-मन-का, गर-मन-खा, गर-मन-वर	'to' or 'for necks.'
	Abl.	गर-मन-खे,	'from necks.'
	Gen.	गर-मन-के,	'of necks.'
	Loc.	गर-मन-माँ	'in necks.'
	Voc.	र गर-मन.	'O necks.'

The old, rare, form of the plural is **गरन**, **गरन-का**.

Similarly are declined, **फर**, 'fruit,' **पौपर**, 'ficus religiosa,' **मनख**, 'a man,' **पिसान**, 'flour,' **कुङ्गर**, 'a dog,' &c.

46. The following is an example of the declension of a masculine noun, ending in long आ.

बालका, 'a boy.'

SINGULAR.	PLURAL.
Nom. बालका, बालका-वर	बालका, बालका-वर, बालका-मन
Acc. बालका-का, बालका-ला	बालका-मन-का, -ला
Instr. and Abl. बालका-ले	बालका-मन-ले
Dat. बालका-का, -ला, -वर	बालका-मन-का, -ला, -वर
Gen. बालका-के	बालका-मन-के
Loc. बालका-माँ	बालका-मन-माँ
Voc. व बालका	व बालका-मन.

The old, rare, form of the plural is बालकन, बालकन-का, &c.

Similarly are declined,

बालका 'a bullock,'	घोरवा 'a horse,'
पिल्लावा 'a whelp,'	ओढ़ना 'clothes,'
दुकुवा 'a basket,'	नेहा 'a moustache.'
बछरा 'a calf,' &c.	

47. All nouns are declined in the same way, and it is hence needless to give further paradigms. The following are examples of nouns of every possible termination.

48. (3) *Masculine in short इ.*

There are no nouns ending in short इ. Sanskrit words ending in इ, when adopted as *tatsamas* into this dialect, (a) sometimes drop the final vowel, and are declined like nouns ending in a silent consonant, and (b) sometimes lengthen it, and are declined like nouns in ई.

Thus, (a) मणि 'a gem,' becomes मन, and (b) बलि 'an offering' becomes बली, and हरि 'Vishnu,' हरि.

49. (4) *Masculines in long ई.*

Examples; हाँसी 'an elephant,' चाँडी 'a black ant,' परोसी 'a neighbour,' पीली 'a potter's wheel,' गँवई 'a village.'

50. (3) *Masculines in short उ.*

There are no nouns ending in short उ. Sanskrit words ending in उ, when adopted as *tatsamas* into this dialect, (a) sometimes drop the final vowel, and are declined like nouns ending in a silent consonant, and (b) sometimes lengthen it, and are declined like nouns in ऊ.

Thus (a) पशु 'a brute,' becomes पश, and (b) साधु 'a saint,' becomes साधू.

51. (6) *Masculines in long ऊ.*

Examples; चक्र 'a cup,' गहूँ 'wheat.'

52. (7) *Masculine in ष.*

Examples; मन्त्रे 'a man,' मन्त्रे 'a man,' परन्ते 'the last day.'

53. (8) *Masculines in षो.*

Examples; भाँडे 'a sister's husband'; चारो (Skr. चारण) 'news.'

54. (9) No masculine nouns end in रे or in षो.

55. (10) *Feminines in a silent consonant.*

Examples; जिनिस 'goods and chattels,' मन 'mind,' बुध 'wisdom,'
बोट 'conversation,' मस 'ink.'

56. (11) *Feminines in long वा.*

Examples; जाना 'a mill-stone,' घुनिया 'a neck-ring,' चरिया 'a
small basket,' फरिया 'a kind of veil.'

57. (12) *Feminines in short इ.* See masculines in short इ, No. 3.

58. (13) *Feminines in long ई.*

Examples: हेरी 'a she-goat,' गोडी 'gravel.'

मानो 'earth,' दारै 'mother,' दीदी 'sister,' मसानो 'ink-stand,' चेंधनी
'a washer.'

59. (14) *Feminines in short उ.* See masculines in उ, No. 5.

60. (15) *Feminines in षो.*

Examples: पनी 'a daughter-in-law,' परन्तो 'a test.'

61. (16) There are no feminine nouns in रे or in षो.

CHAPTER VI.

ADJECTIVES.

62. The following is a list of **common adjectives**, with their Hindi and English equivalents.

<i>Ohhattisgarhí.</i>	<i>Hindí.</i>	<i>English.</i>
बने, नरुद	अच्छा	good.
बड़, बड़े, बड़का, बड़के,	बड़ा	big.
छोट, छोटे, छोटाका, माम, माम्, माम्,	छोटा	small.
नमका,	लम्बा	long.
लाम, लामा,	चौरा	wide.
चाकर, चकरा,	पीला	yellow.
पीकर, पिंकरा,	नीला	dark blue.
लीला, लील,	काला	black.
कारा, करिया,	श्वेत	white.
पँडरा, धौरा, धौरा,	हरा	green.
हरिचर,	लाल	red.
लाली,		

बुधियार, चतुरा,	चतुर	'intelligent.'
बहुत, बहुतें, बहुती, खूबी, खूब,	बहुत	'many.'
घोर, घोरें, घोरिक, घोर-की, चिडिक,	घोड़ा	'few.'
चिड-की,		

63. *Tadbhava* adjectives in चा form their **feminines** in ई; thus,—
कारी, बड़-की, होट-की, नन-की; but this rule is often neglected, and the
genders are mixed up; thus, होट-का बाबू, or होट-की बाबू 'a little gentle-
man'; होट-का लीली, or होट-की लीली 'a little girl.'

64. To give the meaning of **likeness** or **resemblance**, the follow-
ing suffixes are used,—equivalent to the Hindí सा.

With nouns or with the genitive cases of pronouns, रेसन, असन, अस,
सन.

With adjectives, प्रकन, अकन, कन, अक, कुन, किन, क; thus,—

<i>Ochhattāgarhī.</i>	<i>Hindī.</i>	<i>English.</i>
गँवर-रेसन, गँवर-असन, गँवर-अस, or गँवर-सन	गाँव-सा	'like a village.'
चन्दा-रेसन, चन्दा-असन, चन्दा-अस, or चन्दा-सन	चाँद-सा	'like the moon.'
मीर-रेसन, मीर-असन, मीर-अस, or मीर-सन	मेरा-सा	'like me.'
ओकर-रेसन, ओकर-असन, ओकर- अस, ओकर-सन	उस-का-सा	'like that.'
बड़-प्रकन, बड़-अकन, बड़-कन, बड़-अक, बड़-कुन, बड़-किन; बड़-का-अकन, बड़-का-अक, बड़-का-कन, बड़-का-कुन, बड़-का-क	बड़ा-सा	'biggish.'
होटा-कन, होट-अकन, होट-अक, होट-प्रकन, होट-कुन, होट-किन	होटा-सा	'littleish.'

Numerals.

65. The **Cardinals** are the same as in Hindí. The syllable जो
added to a cardinal makes it definite; thus,—एकी 'the one,' दूजो 'the
two,' 'both,' तीनी 'the three,' सैसो 'the hundred.'

66. **Indefiniteness** is given by adding प्रकन or अकन, thus पाँच-
प्रकन 'about five,' दू-अकन 'about two,' कौरी-प्रकन 'about a score,'
सै-अकन 'about a hundred.'

67. **Exactness** is given by adding the syllables डी, टिन, or टन;
thus,—प्रक-डी, प्रक-टिन, प्रक-टन 'exactly one.' दू-डी, दू-टिन, दू-टन 'exactly
two.'

68. **Multiplication** is denoted by adding the syllables गुन, पैत,
घन, or बेर, before the first of which a long vowel is usually shortened;

thus,—दु-गुन, दू-गुन 'twice,' ति-गुन, ती-गुन 'thrice,' चर-गुन, चार-गुन 'four times,' एक पैत 'once,' दू पैत 'twice,' तीन घाव 'thrice,' चार घाव 'four times,' पाँच बेर 'five times,' पँच-गुन 'five times,' सत-गुन 'seven times,' चाठ-गुन 'eight times.'

69. **Fractional numbers**;—the following may be noted.

खुका or खुखा,	'a quarter.'
आधा	'a half.'
पवन	'three quarters.'
देड़	'one and a half.'
बढ़ई	'two and a half.'
बसठ	'three and a half.'

70. **Ordinals**;—the following may be noted.

First,	पहिल, पहील, पहिलावन, पहिलावत, पहिलावठ.
Second,	दूसर, दुसःरावन, दुसःरावत, दुसःरावठ.
Third,	तीसर, तीसःरावन, तीसःरावत, तीसःराठ.
Fourth,	चौथ, चौथावन, चौथावठ.

The words in चावत and चावठ may optionally have *anunásik* on either of the last two syllables; thus, दुसःरावत, or दुसःरावँत, दुसःरावठ, or दुसःरावँठ, and so on.

Adjectives used as Substantives.

71. When adjectives are used as substantives, they are treated as such.

Thus बड़ें 'a big' is thus declined as a substantive.

	Singular.	Plural.
Nom.	बड़ें, बड़ें घर	बड़ें-मन.
Acc.	बड़ें-का,-खा	बड़ें-मत-का,-खा

and so on.

CHAPTER VII.

PRONOUNS.

72. The declension of pronouns is somewhat peculiar. Each pronoun has in each number three forms,—a direct, an oblique, and a genitive. The direct form is that used with the nominative, the oblique is that used in the accusative and sometimes in the dative, the genitive is that used in the other cases, and sometimes in the dative. In other words the oblique form is used in the accusative, with the postpositions का and खा, and it is also used in the dative with the same postpositions. The genitive form is used by itself for the genitive, and with the usual postpositions for the other cases. Moreover it is used with the post-

position-वर and चातिर or चातर of the dative. We thus get the following scheme.

Nom.	Direct form.
Acc.	Oblique form with का or खा.
Instr.	Genitive with से.
Dat.	Oblique form with का or खा, and Genitive with वर, चातिर, or चातर.
Abl.	Genitive with से.
Gen.	Genitive form.
Loc.	Genitive with माँ.

73. In the plural, there are moreover two forms, a simple, declined as above, and a periphrastic formed by adding मन to the simple plural form. This periphrastic form is declined regularly like a substantive.

74. In some places the instrumental and ablative are used with the oblique and not with the genitive form, but this custom is dying out.

Personal Pronouns.

75. The Personal Pronouns of the first and second persons are as follows.—For the third person, the Remote Demonstrative Pronoun is used.

		First person.	Second person.		
Singular	{	Direct	मैं or मैं 'I'	तू or ते 'thou.'	
		Oblique	मी 'me'	ती 'thee.'	
		Genitive	मीर 'my'	मीर 'thy.'	
Plural	{	Simple	Direct	हम, 'we'	तम, 'ye.'
			Oblique	हम, 'us'	तुह 'you.'
		Periphrastic	Genitive	हमार 'our'	तुम्हार 'your.'
				हम-मन 'we'	तुम-मन 'ye.'

The forms मैं and तू are used by the vulgar, मैं and ते by the educated; sometimes तू or तुह is used instead of तू, to express respect.

76. मैं or मैं 'I' is declined as follows :

Singular.

Nom.	मैं or मैं	'I.'
Acc.	मी-का, मी-खा	'me.'
Instr.	मीर-से	'by me.'
Dat.	मी-का, मी-खा; मीर-वर, मीर-चातिर, मीर-चातर,	'to' or 'for me.'
Abl.	मीर-से	'from me.'
Gen.	मीर	'my.'
Loc.	मीर-माँ	'in me.'

Plural.

	Simple.	Periphrastic.	
Nom.	हम	हम-मन	'we.'
Acc.	हम-का, हम-सा,	हम-मन-का, -सा	'us.'
Instr.	हमार-ले	हम-मन-ले	'by us.'
Dat.	हम-का, -सा; हमार-वर &c.	हम-मन-का, -सा, -वर, &c.	'to' or 'for us.'
Abl.	हमार-ले	हम-मन-ले	'from us.'
Gen.	हमार	हम-मन-के	'our.'
Loc.	हमार-माँ	हम-मन-माँ	'in us.'

77. तँ or तै 'thou' is similarly declined; thus,—

Singular.

Nom.	तँ or तै	'thou.'
Acc.	तो-का, तो-सा	'thee.'
Instr.	तो-ले	'by thee.'
Dat.	तो-का-सा; तो-वर, -चाविर, -चावर,	'to' or 'for thee.'
Abl.	तो-ले	'from thee.'
Gen.	तो-र	'thy.'
Loc.	तो-र-माँ	'in thee.'

Plural.

	Simple.	Periphrastic.	
Nom.	तुम	तुम-मन	'ye.'
Acc.	तुम्ह-का, -सा	तुम-मन-का, -सा	'you.'
Instr.	तुम्हार-ले	तुम-मन-ले	'by you.'
Dat.	तुम्ह-का, -सा, तुम्हार-वर, &c.	तुम-मन-का, -सा, -वर &c.	'to' or 'for you.'
Abl.	तुम्हार-ले	तुम-मन-ले	'from you.'
Gen.	तुम्हार	तुम-मन-के	'of you.'
Loc.	तुम्हार-माँ	तुम-मन-माँ	'in you.'

In the oblique plural form, तुम is sometimes written for तुम्ह.

When तू or तुह is used to express respect, the forms are as follows :—

	Singular.	Simple Plural.	Periphrastic Plural.
Direct	तू or तुह	wanting	तुह-मन.
Oblique	तुह	wanting	तुह-मन.
Genitive	तुहार	तुहार-मन	तुह-मन.

This respectful form is rarely used, and appears to be dying out.

78. As already explained, the instrumental and ablative of these pronouns in some places are used with the oblique instead of with the genitive forms; thus—**मी-से, हम-से, तौ-से** and **तुम-से**, instead of **मीर-से, हमार-से, मीर-से** and **तुम्हार-से**.

79. The periphrastic plural is formed, it will be seen, by adding **मन** to the simple nominative plural. Sometimes, however, it is added to the simple genitive plural, thus **हमार-मन, हमार-मन-का, हमार-मन-से**; **तुम्हार-मन, तुम्हार-मन-का, तुम्हार-मन-से**, &c.

Reflexive Pronoun

80. The Reflexive Pronoun **अपन** 'self' is declined regularly in the singular like a substantive, except that the genitive takes no termination; thus—

Nom.	अपन, अपन-हर	'self.'
Acc.	अपन-का, -खा	'self.'
Instr.	अपन-से	'by self.'
Dat.	अपन-का, -खा, -वर	'to' or 'for self.'
Abl.	अपन-से	'from self.'
Gen.	अपन	'own.'
Loc.	अपन-माँ	'in self.'

The plural is formed by repeating the word thus Nom. **अपन अपन अपन अपन-हर** 'selves,' Acc. **अपन अपन-का**, and so on.

This pronoun is frequently compounded with personal pronouns; thus,—

Acc.	मैं अपन-का	'myself.'
Acc.	तैं अपन-का	'thyself.'
Acc.	हो अपन-का	'himself.'
Acc.	हम-मन अपन-का	'ourselves.,'
Acc.	तुम-मन अपन-का	'yourselves.'
Acc.	वो-मन अपन-का	'themselves.'

The Mutual Reflexive Pronoun.

81. The mutual reflexive pronoun **आपुस** or **आपुसी** occurs only in the Genitive and Locative of both numbers; thus,—

SINGULAR.

Gen.	आपुस के आपुसी-के	'of each other.'
Loc.	आपुस-माँ, आपुसी-माँ	'in each other.'

PLURAL.

Gen.	आपुस आपुस-के, आपुसी आपुसी-के	'of each other.'
Loc.	आपुस आपुस-माँ, आपुसी आपुसी-माँ	'in each other.'

The vulgar sometimes make a plural with **मन**; thus,—**आपुस-मन क आपुसी-मन-के**, &c.

Demonstrative Pronouns.

82. The proximate Demonstrative Pronoun **ए**, sometimes spelt **वे** 'this' and the Remote Demonstrative Pronoun **ओ** 'he,' 'she,' 'it,' 'that,' are declined exactly like the personal pronouns.

The principal forms are as follows :

Singular	{	Direct	ए, ए-हर	ओ, ओ-हर	
		Oblique	ए	ओ	
		Genitive	ए-कर	ओ-कर	
Plural	{	Simple	Direct	इन, इन-हर	उन, उन-हर
			Oblique	इन्ह	उन्ह
			Genitive	इन्ह-कर,	उन्ह-कर
	Periphrastic	ए-मन or इन्ह-मन		ओ-मन, उन-मन	

The accusative frequently drops its postposition thus **ए देख** 'see this,' instead of **ए-का देख**; **ओ देख** 'see that,' instead of **ओ-का देख**.

In the genitive case singular, the forms **ए-के ओ-के** are sometimes used. So also, in the genitive case plural, the forms **इन्ह-के** and **उन्ह-के** are sometimes used.

Instead of **इन्ह** and **उन्ह**, **इन** and **उन** are sometimes used.

It is unnecessary to decline these in full.

The Correlative Pronouns.

83. These include the Relative Pronoun **जे** 'who,' and its Correlative **ते** 'he (who).' They are declined exactly like the Demonstrative pronouns, except that the nominative has three pairs of forms, founded on the three sets, **जे, जोन** and **जउन**, and **ते, तोन** and **तउन** respectively.

The principal parts are as follows :

Singular	{	Direct	जे, जे-हर; जोन, जोन-हर; ते, ते-हर; तोन, or जउन, जउन-हर	ते, ते-हर; तोन, तोन-हर; or तउन, तउन-हर	
		Oblique	जे, जोन or जउन	ते, तोन or तउन	
		Genitive	जे-कर	ते-कर	
Plural	{	Simple	Direct	जिन, जिन-हर	तिन, तिन-कर
			Oblique	जिन्ह	तिन्ह
			Genitive	जिन्ह-हर	तिन्ह-कर
	Periphrastic	जे-मन, जोन-मन, जउन-मन ते मन, तोन-मन, or जिन्ह-मन		तउन-मन, or तिन्ह-मन	

The accusative frequently drops the postposition; thus **जउन देख** '(He) whom you see'; **जे कहत-हो, ते बताव** 'show that about which you speak.'

In the genitive case singular and plural **के** is sometimes substituted

for कर; thus जे-के, जिन्ह-के; ते-के, तिन्ह के, instead of जे-कर, जिन्ह-कर; ते-कर, तिन्ह-कर, &c.

Instead of जिन्ह and तिन्ह, जिन and तिन are sometimes used.

It is not necessary to decline these pronouns in full.

Interrogative Pronouns.

84. The **Masculine and Feminine Interrogative Pronoun** कौन or कउन is declined like the Correlatives. The only difference is that there is no direct form के as might be expected, and that there is an additional singular oblique form का.

Principal Parts.

Singular	{	Direct	कौन, कौन-हर, or कउन, कउन-हर
		Oblique	कौन, कउन or का
		Genitive	का-कर
Plural	{	Direct	} not used.
		Oblique	
		Genitive	
	Periphrastic	कौन, कौन-मन, or कउन, कउन-मन	

The genitive singular is also कौन-के, कउन-के or का-के

To signify 'which of many,' this pronoun is frequently repeated, and is then thus declined in the plural.

Nom. कौन कौन (-हर); कउन कउन (-हर);
कौन कौन-मन; or कउन or कउन-मन.

Acc. कौन कौन-का,-ला; कउन कउन-का,-ला;
कौन कौन-मन-का,-ला; कउन कउन-मन-का,-ला;
का-ला का-ला; or का-का का-का.

And so on: when the oblique form का is used, the postposition is repeated after each member of the compound, while with other forms, it is only used after the second member.

85. The **Neuter Interrogative Pronoun** का 'what,' is one of the few survivals of the neuter gender in the dialect.

It has an oblique form काहे, but in other respects is declined in the singular regularly like a substantive, thus,—

Nom. का; Acc. काहे-का,-ला; Instr. काहे-से, and so on.

Sometimes का is used instead of काहे; thus, का-का,-ला, का-से, and so on.

The plural is formed by doubling the pronoun; thus—

Nom. का का; Acc. काहे काहे-का,-ला; Instr. काहे काहे-से, and so on.

Indefinite Pronouns.

86. The **Indefinite Pronoun** कौनो or कउनो 'any one,' 'some one,' is declined regularly in the singular like a substantive; thus,—

Nom. कौनो, कानो-हर; or कउनो, कउनो-हर
 Acc. कौनो-का,-ला; or कउनो-का,-ला, and so on.
 The plural is formed by reduplication,—thus,
 Nom. कौनो कौनो, कौनो कौनो-हर;
 or कउनो कउनो, कउनो कउनो-हर
 Acc. कौनो कौनो-का,-ला; &c.
 and so on.

The vulgar sometimes add मन; thus,—Acc. कौनो कौनो-मन-का, and so on. Sometimes an oblique form का-करो is used; thus, Acc. का-करो-का, and so on.

87. कुहू 'anything,' 'something' is declined similarly; thus,—sing. Nom. कुहू; Acc. कुहू, कुहू-का,-ला, and so on.

Plur. Nom. कुहू कुहू; Acc. कुहू कुहू, or कुहू कुहू-का,-ला and so on, the vulgar adding मन as above.

88. Other Indefinite Pronouns are एक 'a,' 'a certain'; दूसर, आन, बिरान 'another,' अउर, अऊ 'other': दुनो, दुनो 'both'; सब, सबो 'all'; कत-को 'some,' 'several.'

These are all declined like कुहू, above.

89. When **two pronouns are used together**, or when a pronoun and a noun are used together, the case postpositions are added to the latter of the two; thus,

एक दूसर-का	(acc.) 'one or other'
जउन जउन-ले	'from whosoever'
कउन बरसा-वर	'for what bullock'
दूसर दूसर मन-खे-का	'each to a different man'
दूसर दूसर मन-खे-मन-खे	'each by different men'

and so on.

90. The following are **Pronominal Adjectives**.

A. Quantity.

Proximate Demonstrative or or (vulgar) or	प्रतःका,	प्रतक,	प्रतःकी,	प्रतीक,	प्रतःके,	} 'this much'
	अतःका,	अतक,	अतःकी,	अतीक,	अतःके,	
	इतःका,	इतक,	इतःकी,	इतीक,	इतःके,	
	अइक					

Remote De-					} 'that much.'	
monstrative	ओतःका,	ओतैक,	ओतःकौ,	ओतीक,		ओतःके
or	वतःका,	वतैक,	वतःकौ,	वतीक,		वतःके
or (vulgar)	उतःका,	उतैक,	उतःकौ,	उतीक,		उतःके,
or	बहुक.					
Relative	जतःका,	जतैक,	&c.		} 'what much.'	
or	जतःका	जतैक,	&c.			
or (vulgar)	जितःका,	जितैक,	&c.			
or	जहुक,					
Correlative	ततःका,	ततैक,	&c.		} 'that much.'	
or	ततःका,	ततैक,	&c.			
or (vulgar)	तितःका,	तितैक,	&c.			
or	तहुक					
Interrogative	कतःका,	कतैक,	&c.		} 'how much.'	
or	कतःका,	कतैक,	&c.			
or (vulgar)	कितःका,	कितैक,	&c.			
or	कहुक					

Sometimes **जे** is used to mean 'what much,' and **के** to mean 'how much?'

B. Quality.

Proximate Demonstrative	ऐसन,	ऐसःने,	ऐसे,	अस	'in this way,' 'this.'
Remote Demonstrative	वैसन,	वैसःने,	वैसे	(वस is not used),	'in that way.'
Relative	जैसन,	जैसःने,	जैसे,	जस	'in what way.'
Correlative	तैसन,	तैसःने,	तैसे,	(तस rare)	'in that way.'
Interrogative	कैसन,	कैसःने,	कैसे,	कस	'in what way.'

PART III. THE VERB.

CHAPTER VIII.

INTRODUCTORY.

91. There are two **numbers**,—Singular and Plural.
 92. There are three **persons**, first, second, and third.
 93. There is no distinction of **gender**.

94. In the present tense of the defective auxiliary verb in the future tense indicative of all verbs, and in tenses derived from them, the **polite** and the **vulgar** use different forms for each person. These will be made clear in the paradigms.

95. Every verb has a **root**, from which every other form is derived. The root may be found by taking the infinitive in **न** and discarding that letter. The remainder is the root. Thus **बुचन** 'to move,' Root **बुच** 'move' or it may be found by taking the third singular present conjunctive, and discarding the termination **रे**. Thus **बुचे** '(If) he move,' Root **बुच**. The 2nd singular Imperative is always the same as the root.

96. There are two **auxiliary verbs** in use;—(1) the **Defective auxiliary verb**, (2) the **Complete auxiliary verb**.

The **Defective auxiliary verb** uses up two roots in its conjugation, *viz.*, $\sqrt{\text{हव}}$ 'be,' and the $\sqrt{\text{रव}}$ 'remain.'

The **Complete auxiliary verb** is formed from the $\sqrt{\text{बो}}$ 'become,' and is conjugated regularly throughout; except that its preterite is irregular. Its preterite is never used as an auxiliary, but only as a verb substantive.

CHAPTER IX.

FORMATION OF MOODS AND TENSES.

97. There are three **moods**, the Indicative, the Conjunctive or Conditional, and the Imperative.

The moods have the following **tenses**:

INDICATIVE,—	Preterite.
	Future.
	Present Definite.
	Imperfect.
	Future Durative.

	Perfect.
	Pluperfect.
	Future Exact.
CONJUNCTIVE,—	Present.
	Preterite.
	Future.
	Present Durative.
	Future Exact.
	2nd Preterite.
IMPERATIVE,—	Present.

The Imperative has also an Honorific form.

Tenses may be also divided into simple (or Radical and Participial), and Periphrastic. The former are formed by taking the Root or a Participle, and adding the personal terminations direct. The latter are formed with the aid of auxiliary verbs subjoined to the present or past participle. Classifying them according to this system we get

Simple,—Indicative,—Preterite and Future ; Conjunctive,—Present and Preterite ; Imperative,—Present and Honorific.

Periphrastic,—Indicative,—Present Definite, Imperfect, Durative Future, Perfect, Pluperfect, and Future Exact ; Conjunctive,—Future, Durative Present, Future Exact and 2nd Preterite.

In the following Paradigms, the tenses will be classed according to this last system. First the Simple and then the Periphrastic tenses, in order.

The tenses are formed in the following way :

A. *Simple Tenses.*

98. The **Preterite Indicative** is formed by adding the following terminations to the root :

Person.	Singular.	Plural.
1st	ऊँ	ऊँ
2nd	ए or एष	एष
3rd	इष	इष

99. The **Future indicative** is formed by adding the following terminations to the root. This tense has two forms, one used by the polite and the other by the vulgar.

Person.	Singular.		Plural.	
	Polite.	Vulgar.	Polite.	Vulgar.
1	रहैँ	रहँ	अब or रहन	ःबो or ःबोन
2	ःवे	ःवे	रहौ	रह
3	रहै or ई	ःवी	रहैँ	ःवीँ

When the root ends in a vowel, these terminations are liable to slight changes.

100. The **Present Conjunctive (Conditional)** is formed by adding the following terminations to the root.

Person.	Singular.	Plural.
1	ःवीँ	अन
2	अस	ःवी
3	ः	ःवी

When the root ends in a vowel, the अ of अस and अन is sometimes elided.

101. The **Preterite Conjunctive (Conditional)** is formed by adding the terminations of the Preterite Indicative to the Present Participle.

102. The **Present Imperative** is the same as the Present Conjunctive, except that the termination अस is dropped in the second person singular.

The Honorific Imperative is formed by adding ई to the root.

B. Periphrastic Tenses.

103. The **Definite Present** is formed by adding the persons of the Present tense of the Defective Auxiliary Verb, to the Present Participle; thus,—मै घुचत-ःवैँ, or (vulgar) मै घुचत-ःवैँ 'I am moving.'

With negative particles, irregular forms like ओ नर जान-रे 'he is not going,' हम नौ जान-अन 'I am not going,' occur.

104. The **Imperfect Indicative** is formed by adding the persons of the Preterite tense of the Defective Auxiliary Verb to the Present Participle; thus, मै घुचत-रहँव 'I was moving.'

Sometimes the Perfect of the Defective Auxiliary Verb is used instead ; thus, मैं घुचत-रहे-हैं 'I was moving.'

105. The **Durative Future Indicative** is formed by adding the persons of the Future Indicative of the Complete Auxiliary Verb to the Present Participle ; thus,—मैं घुचत-ही-हैं 'I shall be moving.'

106. The **Perfect Indicative** is formed by adding the following terminations to the root. It will be seen that the latter half of the terminations is the Present of the Defective Auxiliary Verb.

Person.	Singular.		Plural.	
	Polite.	Vulgar.	Polite.	Vulgar.
1.	घ्र-हैं	घ्र-हैं	घ्र-हैं	घ्र-हैं
2.	घ्र-हैं	घ्र-हैं	घ्र-हैं	घ्र-हैं
3.	हस-हैं	हस-हैं	हस-हैं	हस-हैं

If the root ends in a vowel, ये is used instead of घ्र.

107. The **Pluperfect Indicative** is formed by adding the persons of the Preterite tense of the Defective Auxiliary Verb to the Past Participle ; thus, मैं घुचे-रहें 'I had removed.'

Sometimes the perfect of the Defective Auxiliary Verb is used instead ; thus—

मैं घुचे-रहें-हैं 'I had moved.'

108. The **Future Exact** is formed by adding the persons of the Future Indicative of the Complete Auxiliary Verb to the Past Participle ; thus,—मैं घुचे-ही-हैं 'I shall have moved,' 'I may have moved.'

In the third person, sometimes, instead of adding घ्र to the root, the third person of the preterite is used. This gives the idea of greater uncertainty. Thus, वो घुचे-ही-है means 'he will almost certainly have moved,' but वो घुचिस-ही-है 'he will probably have moved.' आज बाल मकुन्द पाठ-साला-नां गये-ही-है 'to-day Bál Makund will almost certainly have gone to school.' This would be said if he always went regularly, and never missed attendance ; but if every now and then he missed, and his attendance to-day would not be so certain, the phrase used would be आज बाल मकुन्द पाठ-साला-नां गइस-ही-है.

109. The **Future Conjunctive** is formed by adding the persons of the Present Conjunctive of the Complete Auxiliary Verb to the Present Participle : thus,—मैं घुचत-ही-होँ '(If) I be moving.'

110. The **Durative Present Conjunctive** is formed by adding the persons of the Preterite Conjunctive of the Complete Auxiliary Verb to the Present Participle; thus,—**मैं घुचत-होतव** ' (If) I were moving.'

111. The **Future Exact Conjunctive** is formed by adding the persons of the Present Conjunctive of the Complete Auxiliary Verb, to the Past Participle; thus,—**मैं घचे होखी** ' (If) I have moved.'

112. The **Second Preterite Conjunctive** is formed by adding the persons of the Preterite Conjunctive of the Complete Auxiliary Verb, to the Past Participle; thus,—**मैं घुचे-होतव**. ' (If) I had moved.'

113. The **Conjunctive Participle** is formed by adding the participle **के** to the first infinitive; thus,—**घुच-के** 'having moved'; **होय-के** 'having been.'

CHAPTER X.

OTHER VERBAL DERIVATIVES (PRIMARY SUFFIXES).

114. The formation of **verbal nouns** and **adjectives**, including **infinitives** and **participles** will now be described. In the paradigms only the Present and Past Participles and the three Infinitives will be given.

115. The following terminations make **nouns of Agency**.

रेया,	e. g. added to	✓ बोल 'speak,'	forms बोलेया 'a speaker.'
"	"	✓ पी 'drink,'	" पियेया 'a drinker.'
"	"	✓ कमा 'labour,'	" कमेया 'a labourer.'
वैया	"	✓ बोल 'speak,'	" बोल-वैया 'a speaker.'
"	"	✓ खा 'eat,'	" खवैया 'an eater.'
"	"	✓ पी 'drink,'	" पिवैया 'a drinker.'
"	"	✓ कमा 'labour,'	" कम-वैया 'a labourer.'
वार	"	✓ राख 'keep,'	" रख-वार 'a keeper.'
खा, fem. ई	"	✓ गिजर 'laugh,'	" गिजर-रा fem. गिजर-री 'a laugher.'
हा, fem. ही	"	✓ गिजर 'laugh,'	" गिजर-हा, fem. गिजर-ही 'a laugher.'
"	"	✓ डग 'cheat.'	" डग-हा, fem. डग-ही 'a cheater.'
"	"	✓ चटर 'gabble,'	" चटर-हा, fem. चटर-ही 'a gabbler.'
न-हा, fem. न-ही	"	✓ रो 'weep,'	" रो-हा, fem. रो-ही 'a weeper.'
क	"	✓ कमा 'labour,'	" कमाक 'industrious.'

116. The following terminations form **abstract verbal nouns** or nouns expressing the act of the root. The first three are usually treated as **infinitives**.

—,* oblique ष (first infinitive)	✓ बोळ 'speak,'	बोळ, obl. बोळे 'the act of speaking.'
	✓ वुच 'move,'	वुच 'the act of moving;' dat. वचने-च्या 'for moving.'
	✓ हो 'be,'	होय, 'the act. of being;' obl. होये .
	✓ जा 'go,'	जाय 'the act of going,' ablative जाये-ले 'from going.'
न (2nd infinitive)	✓ दे 'give,'	देन, 'the act of giving,' 'to give.'
	✓ बोळ 'speak,'	बोळन 'the act of speaking,' 'to speak.'
अव, उव, वव, † इव (3rd infinitive)	✓ बोळ 'speak,'	बोळव 'the act of speaking,' 'to speak.'
	✓ मिळ 'meet,'	मिळव 'the act of meeting,' 'union,' 'to meet.'
	✓ पी 'drink,'	पीव or पीवव 'the act of drinking,' 'to drink.'
	✓ सजा 'array,'	सजाव or सजावव 'the act of arraying,' 'to array.'
	✓ डगा 'to cheat,'	डगाव, or डगावव 'the act of cheating,' 'to cheat.'
	✓ आ 'come,'	आव 'the act of coming,' 'to come.'
	✓ गा 'sing,'	गाव 'the act of singing,' 'to sing.'
	✓ वव-रा 'be amazed,'	वव-राव 'the act of being amazed,' 'to be amazed.'

* I. e., the root is used without termination in the nominative, but takes the termination ष in the oblique form. Sometimes य is added to the direct form of verbs ending in vowels.

† उव is used when the root is causal, and ends in a long आ; also with the roots आ 'come' and गा 'sing'. इव is used with other verbs in आ. वव may be used whenever the root ends in a vowel.

	✓ दिख 'be visible,'	दिखाव 'the act of being visible,' 'to be visible.'
	✓ देखा 'show,'	देखाव 'the act of showing,' 'to show.'
	✓ खा 'eat,'	खाव 'eating,' 'to eat.'
बाप	✓ मिला 'unite,'	मिलाप 'union.'
बास	✓ पी 'drink,'	पिबास 'the act of drinking.'
बाची	✓ घबरा 'be amazed.'	घबराची 'amazement.'
बा	✓ छू 'touch,'	छूबा 'a touch.'
बाई, बाई*	✓ छा 'cut,'	छुबाई 'cutting.'
	✓ पी 'drink,'	पिबाई 'drinking.'
	✓ आ 'come,'	आबाई 'arrival.'

117. The following terminations form nouns of instrument :

ना	✓ ढोढ 'cover,'	ढोढना 'clothes.'
	✓ बन्ध 'bind,'	बन्धना 'bonds.'
	✓ बेल 'to spread out,'	बेलना 'a rolling pin.'
	✓ झूल 'swing,'	झूलना 'a swing,' 'a cradle.'
नी	✓ खोद 'dig,'	खोदनी 'a hoe.'
ई	✓ बोहार 'sweep,'	बोहारी or बहिरी 'a broom.'

118. Participles are formed with the following terminations :

Present, त, or ते; e. g.	✓ कर 'do,'	pres. past करत or करते 'doing.'
	✓ जा 'go.'	„ जात or जाते 'going.'
Past, ऋ (der. & obl.);	✓ कर 'do,'	past past. करे 'done.'
	✓ रह 'remain,'	„ रहे 'remained.'
	✓ मार 'beat,'	„ मारे 'beaten.'
	✓ चुच 'move,'	„ चुचे 'moved.'
	✓ धर 'seize,'	„ धरे 'seized.'
	✓ जा 'go,'	„ जाचे or गचे 'gone.'

Examples of the adjectival use of participles.

जाते मज-खे-खा	'for a going man,' 'for a man who is going.'
करत काम-का भिन्न रोकी	'do not stop a work in progress.'
रहे डेरी-खा	'for the she-goat that has removed behind.'

* बाई is used only with causal roots in बा, and with the roots आ 'come,' and ना 'sing.'

CHAPTER XI. AUXILIARY VERBS.

119. As already stated, there are two **auxiliary verbs**, one Defective, and the other Complete.

The **Defective auxiliary verb** is quite irregular, and is not bound by the foregoing rules.

The **Complete auxiliary verb** is only sometimes slightly irregular in the Past Participle and the tenses connected with it.

DEFECTIVE AUXILIARY VERB.

हृव 'be,'

✓ रह 'remain.'

120. There are only three **tenses**, the present, the preterite and the perfect; the rest is borrowed from the complete verb ✓ हो 'become.'

The present is formed from the ✓ हृव, and the preterite from the ✓ रह.

121. Present, 'I am' &c.

Pro-noun.	Singular.		Pro-noun.	Plural.	
	Polite form.	Vulgar form.		Polite form.	Vulgar form.
मी, मैं, मां	हूँ हूँ	हूँ हूँ हूँ	हम तुम उन	हैं हो हैं	हैं हो हैं

The final vowel of the second person plural is often not clearly pronounced, so that it is difficult to say whether it is हो, हो, or हा.

122. Preterite, 'I was' &c.

	Singular.	Plural.
मैं	रहूँ	हम रहें
तू	रहे, रहस, or रहस	तुम रहें
वो	रहिस	उन रहें

123. Perfect, 'I have been' &c.

Pro-noun.	Singular.		Pro-noun.	Plural.	
	Polite.	Vulgar.		Polite.	Vulgar.
मैं तुम्हें वो	रह-रैँ रह-रैँस रहिस-रैँ	रह-रैँ रह-रैँस रहिस-रैँ	हम तुम उम	रह-रैन रह-रौ रहिन-रैँ	रह-रैँन रह-रैँनी रहिन-रैँनी

NOTE. In future paradigms the Personal Pronouns will be omitted and only the numbers of the persons will be specified.

COMPLETE AUXILIARY VERB.

✓ हो 'be' 'become.'

A. SIMPLE TENSES.

INDICATIVE MOOD.

124. Preterite Indicative, 'I became' &c.

(Irregular)

Person.	Singular.	Plural.
1.	भयैँ	भयैन
2.	भये, भयैँस	भयव
3.	भइस	भइन

Sometimes this tense is conjugated regularly;—thus, होयैँव, होयैँस, &c.

This tense is never used as an auxiliary but always as a verb substantive.

125. Future Indicative, 'I shall be,' &c.

Person.	Singular.		Plural.	
	Polite.	Vulgar.	Polite.	Vulgar.
1.	होहौँ	होहूँ	होव	होवो
2.	होवे	होवे	होहो	होहू
3.	होहैँ, or होहूँ	होहो	होहैँ	होहो

CONJUNCTIVE (CONDITIONAL) MOOD.

126. Present, 'I may be,' '(If) I be' &c.

Person.	Singular.	Plural.
1.	होषीं	होन
2.	होष	होषी
3.	होरे	होरे

127. Preterite, '(If) I had been been,' &c.

Person.	Singular.	Plural.
1.	होतेश	होतैन
2.	होते, होतेश	होतेश
3.	होतिष	होतिन

IMPERATIVE MOOD.

128. Present, 'Let me be' &c.

Person.	Singular.	Plural.
1.	होषीं	होन
2.	हो	होषी
3.	होरे	होरे

Honorific Imperative, 'Please to be.'

2nd Person होरे,

B. PERIPHRASTIC TENSES.

129. Present Participle (in Composition) होत
 Past Participle भवे or होय

INDICATIVE MOOD.

130. Present Definite, 'I am becoming,' &c.

Person.	Singular.		Plural.	
	Polite.	Vulgar.	Polite.	Vulgar.
1.	होत-हैं	होत-हैंवीं	होत-हैं	होत-हैंवम
2.	होत-हैंस	होत-हैंवस	होत-हो	होत-हैंवो
3.	होत-है	होत-हैंवै	होत-हैं	होत-हैंवै

131. Imperfect, 'I was being' &c.

Person.	Singular.	Plural.
1.	होत-रहेंव	होत-रहेंम
2.	होत-रहें or होत-रहंस	होत-रहेंव
3.	होत-रहिस	होत-रहिस

Sometimes the Perfect of the Defective Auxiliary verb is used, and the forms are होत-रहें-हैं or होत-रहेंव-हैं, and so on.

132. Future Durative, 'I shall be being' &c.

Person.	Singular.		Plural.	
	Polite.	Vulgar.	Polite.	Vulgar.
1.	होत-होहैं	होत-होहैं	होत-होव	होत-होवो
2.	होत-होवै	होत-होवै	होत-होहो	होत-होहो
3.	होत-होहै	होत-होहै	होत-होहैं	होत-होहैं

133. Perfect, 'I have been,' &c.

Person.	Singular.		Plural.	
	Polite.	Vulgar.	Polite.	Vulgar.
1.	भये-हैं	भये-हँवै	भये-हंग	भये-हँवग
2.	भये-हंस	भये-हँवस	भये-हो	भये-हँवो
3.	भइस-है	भइस-हँवै	भइग-है	भइग-हँवै

Sometimes होयें हैं &c. are used instead of भये-हैं, &c.

134. Pluperfect, 'I had been' &c.

Person.	Singular.	Plural.
1.	भये-रहँव	भये-रहँग
2.	भये-रहे or भये-रहस	भये-रहँव
3.	भये-रहिस	भये-रहँग

Sometimes होये-रहँव &c. are used instead of भये-रहँव.

Sometimes the Perfect of the Defective Auxiliary verb is used, and we get भये-रहँव-हैं or भये-रहे-हैं, and so on.

135. Future Exact, 'I shall have been,' 'I may have been,' &c.

Person.	Singular.		Plural.	
	Polite.	Vulgar.	Polite.	Vulgar.
1.	भये-होहैं	भये-होहँ	भये-होव	भये-होवो
2.	भये-होवै	भये-होवै	भये-होवो	भये-होहँ
3.	भये-होह	भये-होहो	भये-होहँ	भये-होहो

Sometimes होयें-होहैं, &c. are used instead of भये-होहैं &c. If doubt is to be clearly expressed, the third person would be भइस-होहै, भइस-होहो भइग-होहँ, and भइग-होहो; or होइस-होहै, होइस-होहो, होइग-होहँ, and होइग-होहो, See § 108.

CONJUNCTIVE (CONDITIONAL) MOOD.

136. Future. '(If) I be being,' &c.

Person	Singular.	Plural.
1.	होत-होखीं	होत-होम
2.	होत-होस	होत-होखी
3.	होत-होरे	होत-होरें

137. Present Durative. '(If) I were being,' &c.

Person.	Singular.	Plural.
1.	होत-होतैव	होत-होतैम
2.	होत-होते, होत-होतैस	होत-होतैव
3.	होत-होतिस	होत-होतिस

138. Future Exact. '(If) I have been,' &c.

Person.	Singular.	Plural.
1.	भये-होखीं	भये-होम
2.	भये-होस	भये-होखी
3.	भये-होरे	भये-होरें

Sometimes होये-होखीं, &c. are used instead of भये-होखीं, &c.

139. 2nd Preterite. '(If) I had been,' &c.

Person	Singular.	Plural.
1.	भये-होतैव	भये-होतैम
2.	भये-होते, भये-होतैस	भये-होतैव
3.	भये-होतिस	भये-होतिस

Sometimes होये-होतैव &c. are used instead of भये-होतैव, &c.

140. PARTICIPLES.

Adjectival.

Present.	होत or होति,	'being.'
Past	भवे or होये,	'been.'

Conjunctive.

हो-के or होय-के, 'having been.'

141. INFINITIVES.

- | | |
|-------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. हो or होय, obl. होये | } 'the act of being,' 'to be.' |
| 2. होत | |
| 3. होय | |

The first is declined like a noun,—thus

Nom.	होय or हो
Acc.	होये-का
Instr.	होये-से
Dat.	होये-सा
Abl.	होये-से
Gen.	होये-के
Loc.	होये-माँ

CHAPTER XII. THE REGULAR VERB.

142. There is only **one conjugation** of all verbs, if we except a few irregular ones to be noted further on. Active and Neuter Verbs are conjugated in the same way. Verbs whose roots end in vowels exhibit slight variations, which will be explained at the proper place.

Example of a Neuter Verb.

घचन 'to move' (✓ घृच, 'move').

A. SIMPLE TENSES.

INDICATIVE MOOD.

143. (a) **Preterite:** 'I moved,' &c.

Person.	Singular.	Plural.
1.	घृचँ	घृचन्
2.	घृचे, घृचंस	घृचव
3.	घृचिस	घृचिन

144. Future : 'I shall move,' &c.

Person.	Singular.		Plural.	
	Polite.	Vulgar.	Polite.	Vulgar.
1.	घुचिहीं	घुचःळं	घुचव or घुचिहन	घुचःनी or घुचःनीन
2.	घुचःने	घुचःने	घुचिही	घुचःळ
3.	घुचिही or घुची	घुचःही	घुचिही	घुचःची

CONJUNCTIVE (CONDITIONAL) MOOD.

145. Present : 'I may move,' '(If) I move,' &c.

Person.	Singular.	Plural.
1.	घुचीं	घुचन
2.	घुचस	घुची
3.	घुचे	घुचें

146. Preterite : '(If) I had seen,' &c.

Person.	Singular.	Plural.
1.	घुचःनेव	घुचःतेन
2.	घुचःते, घुचःतेस	घुचःतेव
3.	घुचःतिस	घुचःतिन

IMPERATIVE MOOD.

147. Present : 'Let me move,' &c.

Person.	Singular.	Plural.
1.	घुचीं	घुचन
2.	घुच	घुची
3.	घुचे	घुचें

Honorific form, Second Person ; घुची, 'be good enough to move.'

B. PERIPHRASTIC TENSES.

148. As these are conjugated fully in the case of the ✓ हो, it will suffice to give here the first person singular of each tense.

149. **Present Participle** (in composition) घुचत.
Past Do. घुचे.

INDICATIVE MOOD.

150. **Present Definite** : 'I am moving.'
 मैं घुचत-हैं, vulgar मैं घुचत रहैं.
151. **Imperfect** : 'I was moving.'
 मैं घुचत-रहँव.
152. **Future Durative** : 'I shall be moving.'
 मैं घुचत-हाहैं, vulgar मैं घुचत होऊँ.
153. **Perfect** : 'I have moved.'
 मैं घुचे-हैं, vulgar मैं घुचे-हूँ.
154. **Pluperfect** : 'I had moved.'
 मैं घुचे-रहँव.
155. **Future Exact** : 'I shall have moved', 'I may have moved.'
 मैं घुचे-हाहैं, vulgar मैं घुचे-होऊँ.

CONJUNCTIVE MOOD.

156. **Future**, '(If) I be moving.'
 मैं घुचत-होचौँ.
157. **Durative Present**, '(If) I were moving.'
 मैं घुचत-होतँव.
158. **Future Exact**, '(If) I have moved.'
 मैं घुचे-होचौँ.
159. **Second Preterite**, '(If) I had moved.'
 मैं घुचे-होतँव.

160. PARTICIPLES.**Adjectival.**

- Present**, घुचत or घुचतँ, 'moving.'
Past, घुचे, 'moved.'

Conjunctive.

घुच-के, 'having moved.'

161. INFINITIVES OR VERBAL NOUNS

- | | |
|--|--------------------------------------|
| (1.) घुच, oblique घुचे
Acc घुचे-का
Instr. घुचे-के, and so on | } 'The act of moving,'
'to move.' |
| (2.) घुचन | |
| (3.) घुचव | |

162. Similarly is conjugated the **हीटन** 'to come out' (✓ **हीट**, 'come out'), 'separate.' As this root contains a long vowel, it is shortened when it falls in the antepenultimate.

The four simple tenses are as follows :

Indicative; Preterite: मैं हीटेव, 'I came out.'

Future: मैं हिडिहौं, 'I shall come out,' तैं हिट-वे 'thou wilt come out,' and so on.

Conjunctive Present: मैं हीडौं, '(If) I come out.'

Preterite: मैं हिट-तेव, '(If) I had come out.'

The **Periphrastic tenses** are quite easy; thus, **Indicative, Present,** मैं हीटत-हौं, 'I am coming out,' and so on.

163. **Transitive verbs** are conjugated in the same way. An example is **तोपन** 'to cover' (✓ **तोप**, 'cover'). Thus:—

164. **Indicative; Preterite:** 'I covered,' &c.

Person.	Singular.	Plural.
1.	तोपेव	तोपन
2.	तोपे or तोपेस	तोपव
3.	तोपिस	तोपिन

165. **Future:** मैं तोपिहौं, 'I shall cover;' तैं तोप-वे, 'thou wilt cover,' and so on.

166. **Conjunctive; Present:** मैं तोपेँ, '(If) I cover.'

167. **Preterite:** मैं तोप-तेव, '(If) I had covered.' and so on.

CHAPTER XIII, VOCALIC ROOTS.

168. When a **root ends in a vowel**, the conjugation is slightly different, owing to the fact that, when the termination commences with a vowel, an euphonic च or व is usually inserted. In the future, however, the terminations हौं, &c., which commence with ह, lose that vowel.

The following examples will make the matter clear.

169. मङ्गान 'to place,' (√ मङ्गा, 'place.')

Indicative ; Preterite : मैँ मङ्गायें, 'I placed' तैँ मङ्गाये, or तैँ मङ्गायें, 'thou placedst,' चो मङ्गाय, 'he placed,' and so on.

170. **Future :** मैँ मङ्गाचौँ, 'I shall place,' तैँ मङ्गावे, 'thou wilt place,' and so on.

171. **Conjunctive ; Present :** मैँ मङ्गाचौँ or मङ्गाव, '(If) I place,' तैँ मङ्गाच or मङ्गावच '(If) thou place,' चो मङ्गारे or मङ्गावे, '(If) he place,' हम मङ्गान or मङ्गावन, '(If) we place,' तुम मङ्गाचो or मङ्गावो, '(If) ye place,' उन मङ्गारे or मङ्गावे, '(If) they place.'

172. **Preterite :** मैँ मङ्गातेंव, '(If) I had placed,' and so on.

173. **Present Participle :** मङ्गान, 'placing,'

Past " मङ्गायें, 'placed.'

Conjunctive ,, मङ्गा-कें, मङ्गाव-कें, 'having placed.'

174. **Infinitives :** (1) मङ्गाय, obl. मङ्गायें } 'to place.'
(2) मङ्गान,
(3) मङ्गाव or मङ्गावन }

175. ऋपोन 'to fill up' (√ ऋपो, 'to fill up.')

Indicative ; Preterite : मैँ ऋपोयें, 'I filled up,' तैँ ऋपोये or ऋपोयें, 'thou filledst up,' चो ऋपोय, 'he filled up.'

176. **Future :** मैँ ऋपोचौँ, 'I shall fill up,' तैँ ऋपोवे, 'thou wilt fill up,' and so on.

177. **Conjunctive ; Present :** मैँ ऋपोचौँ, '(If) I fill up,' तैँ ऋपोच '(If) thou fill up,' चो ऋपोरे, '(If) he fill up,' हम ऋपोन, '(If) we fill up,' तुम ऋपोचो '(If) you fill up,' उन ऋपोरे, '(If) they fill up.'

178. **Preterite :** मैँ ऋपोतेंव, '(If) I had filled up,' and so on.

179. **Present Participle :** ऋपोत 'filling up.'

Past ,, ऋपोयें 'filled up.'

Conjunctive ,, ऋपो-कें, ऋपोय-कें 'having filled up.'

180. **1st Infinitive :** ऋपो or ऋपोय, obl. ऋपोयें, 'to fill.'

CHAPTER XIV. IRREGULAR VERBS.

181. The verbs √ हो, 'become,' √ जा, 'go,' √ कर, 'do,' 'make,' √ दे, 'give,' √ ले, 'take,' are **irregular** in the formation of the past participle, and its derived tenses. The conjugation √ हो has already been given in full. The irregular past participles are as follows :

Past participle.

होन (√ हो), 'to become,'

होये or भये.

जान (√ जा), 'to go,'

गये.

करन (√ कर), 'to do,'

करे, किये, or किये.

Past participle.

देन (✓ दे), 'to give,' दिखे, or दिखे.

लेन (✓ ले), 'to take,' लिखे or लिख.

Examples. मैं भयेंव or मैं होयेंव, 'I became,' मैं गयेंव 'I went,' ओ गइस, 'he went,' ओ करिस, ओ किरस, ओ किरिस, 'he did,' मैं दियेंव or मैं दिखेंव, 'I gave,' ओ लिखिस 'he took.'

CHAPTER XV. THE USE OF NEGATIVES.

182. The following examples will show the use of **negatives** used emphatically.

मैं नई जाँव, मैं नी जाँव	}	'I certainly will not go.'
मैं नई जायेंई, मैं नी जायेंई,		
तैं नई जास, तैं नी जास,	}	'thou shalt not go.'
तैं नई जावस, तैं नी जावस,		

and so on.

Note also irregular optional forms like

ओ नई जात-रे, for ओ नहीँ जात-रे, 'he is not going.'
 हम नी जात-वस, for हम नहीँ जात-वस, 'we are not going.'

CHAPTER XVI. THE PASSIVE VOICE.

183. The **Passive voice** of any verb is formed by conjugating the ✓ जा with the past participle of the verb: thus,—

✓ हँक, 'stop,' 'prevent,' 'stand across the way.'

Passive Indicative,—

Preterite: मैं हँके-गयेंव, 'I was stopped.'

Future: मैं हँके-जायेंई, 'I shall be stopped.'

Present: मैं हँके-जायेंई, '(If) I be stopped.'

Preterite: मैं हँके-ज तयें, '(If) I had been stopped.'

And so on.

CHAPTER XVII. CAUSAL VERBS.

184. A **Causal verb** is regularly formed by adding चा to the root of the simple verb, and a double causal by adding वा. The stems thus formed are conjugated exactly like verbs whose roots end in चा. See § 169.

185. Thus take the simple verb ✓ धउँर, 'run.' The first future indicative of its causal would be मैं धउँर-रायेंई, 'I shall cause to run,' and of the double causal, मैं धउँर-वायेंई, 'I shall cause to cause to run.'

186. The following are examples of the **regular formation** of causals and double causals.

Simple Verb.	Causal.	Double Causal.
✓ धरं, (Hindí दौर) 'run,'	धरं, 'cause to run,'	धरं.वा, 'cause to cause to run.'
✓ चष (Hindí चढ़) 'ascend,'	चषा 'lift,'	चष.वा, 'cause to lift.'
✓ फष, 'benefit,'	फषा, 'fit,'	फष.वा, 'cause to fit.'
✓ घुष, 'be moved,'	घुषा, 'move,'	घुष.वा, 'get moved.'
✓ उष (Hindí उठ) 'rise,'	उषा 'raise,'	उष.वा, 'cause to raise.'

187. If the simple root contains a **long vowel**, it is shortened in the causal and double causal; thus,—

✓ चीर, 'split,'	चिरा, 'cause to split,'	चिर.वा, 'cause to cause split.'
✓ चांड़, 'let go,'	चंड़, 'get set free,'	चंड़.वा 'cause to get set free.'
✓ पी, 'drink,'	पिषा, 'give to drink,'	पिषा, 'cause to give to drink.'
✓ तीर, 'draw,'	तिरा, 'cause to draw,'	तिर.वा, 'cause to cause to draw.'
✓ दे, 'give,'	देषा, 'cause to give,'	देषा, 'cause to cause to give.'
✓ ले, 'take,'	लषा, 'cause to take,'	लषा, 'cause to cause to take.'
✓ पेर, 'press,'	पेरा, 'cause to press,'	पेर.वा, 'cause to cause to press.'
✓ धो, 'wash,'	धोषा, 'cause to wash,'	धोषा, 'cause to cause to wash.'
✓ पोष, 'cherish,'	पोषा, 'cause to cherish,'	पोष.वा, 'cause to cause to cherish.'

188. Some causals are formed by **adding ची** Thus,—

✓ कील, 'be wet,'	फिलो, 'moisten,'	फिल.वा, 'cause to moisten,'
✓ क्षुर, 'dry' (neuter),	क्षुरो, 'dry' (active),	क्षुर.वा, 'cause to dry.'
✓ चुर, 'ripen' (neuter),	चुरो, 'ripen' (active),	चुर.वा, 'cause to ripen.'
✓ जम, 'solidify' (neuter),	जमो, 'solidify' (active),	जम.वा, 'cause to solidify.'
✓ पढ, 'be watered,'	पढो, 'irrigate,'	पढ.वा, 'cause to irrigate.'

189. Some primitive neutre verbs, having a monosyllabic root enclosing a short vowel, form the first causal by simply lengthening that vowel. The double causal is formed either like a regular causal or in the usual way; thus—

✓ पड़ or पर 'fall,	पाड़ or पार 'throw down,'	पड़ा or परा or पड़वा or परवा 'cause to throw down.'
✓ पिठ 'be beaten,'	पौठ 'beat,'	पिठा or पिठवा 'cause to beat.'
✓ दिख 'be open,' 'be let go,'	दौख 'open,' 'unlock,'	दिखा or दिखवा 'cause to open,' &c.
✓ चिर 'be split,'	चौर 'split,'	चिरा or चिरवा 'cause to split.'

190. The following are irregular.

✓ फट or फाट 'burst,'	फार 'burst,'	फरा or फरवा 'cause to burst.'
✓ रह 'remain,'	राख 'place,'	रखा or रखवा 'cause to place.'
✓ जा 'go,'	पढी 'send,'	पठा or पठवा 'cause to send.'
✓ आ 'come,'	लान or लान 'bring,'	लैवा 'cause to bring.'
✓ हो 'be,'	कर 'make,'	करा or करवा, 'cause to make.'
✓ बीठ 'come out,'	बेर 'take out,'	बेरा or बेरवा 'cause to take out.'
✓ दिख or दिखा 'be visible,'	देख 'see,'	देखा or देखव 'show.'

CHAPTER XVIII. COMPOUND VERBS.

191. **Compound verbs** are either formed from a **verb and a noun**, or from the union of **two verbs**. The first are called **nominal verbs**; and examples are, **सुध कर**, 'to do remembering,' 'to remember,' **ध्यान देन**, 'to give attention,' 'to attend,' and so on.

192. The **second class** consists of **compound verbs proper**. The compound consists of either a verbal noun or a participle prefixed to some other verb. The latter alone is conjugated.

(1) Those formed with a verbal noun are—

(a) Intensives,	|	(e) Desideratives,
(b) Potentials,		(f) Inceptives,
(c) Completives,		(g) Permissives,
(d) Frequentatives,		(h) Acquisitives.

(2) Those formed with participle are—

(a) Continuatives,		(b) Staticals.
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Class I.—COMPOUNDS FORMED WITH THE VERBAL NOUN.

193. There are many varieties of the verbal noun, but only two are used in compound verbs; *viz.*,

(a) Those ending in च (silent) with an oblique form in च्; thus चच 'the act of moving,' oblique च्चै.

This oblique form should be carefully distinguished from the similarly formed Past Participle.

(b) Those ending in न्; thus चुचन 'the act of moving.'

194. With the **direct form** of the **first variety** are formed—

(1) Intensives, (2) Potentials, (3) Completives.

With the **oblique form** of the **first variety** are formed

(1) Frequentatives, (2) Desideratives, (3) Inceptives, and sometimes (4) Permissives, (5) Acquisitives.

With the **second form** are sometimes formed—

(1) Permissives, (2) Acquisitives.

195. **Intensive Compounds** intensify or otherwise modify the meaning of the verb whose root stands first in the compound. They are formed by adding, to the direct form of the first variety of the verbal noun, one of certain other verbs, which latter verb, in conjunction with the verbal noun, is then conjugated as usual. This second conjugated member does not, however, retain its separate character and significance, but only modifies, in accordance with the general idea which it embodies, the meaning of the unconjugated verbal noun to which it is attached. Examples are—

मङ्गान 'to place,'	मङ्ग देन 'to put down.'
खान 'to eat,'	खा लेन 'to sit down and eat,' 'to eat up.'
धरन 'to place,'	धर देन 'to put down.'
पीन 'to drink,'	पी डारन 'to drink up.'
खान 'to eat,'	खा डारन 'to eat up.'
खान 'to come,'	खा जान 'to arrive.'
चलन 'to go,'	चल देन 'to set out.'
निहार 'to look at,'	निहार लेन 'to inspect.'

196. The **auxiliary verbs** usually employed to form intensives are—

देन 'to give,'	implying	<i>intensity.</i>
डारन 'to throw,'		<i>violence.</i>
खान 'to come,'	}	<i>completion.</i>
जान 'to go,'		
पड़न or परन 'to fall,'		<i>chance.</i>

उचन 'to rise,'

suddenness.

लेन 'to take,'

reflexiveness.

197. **Potentials** are formed by adding to the same form of the verbal noun of any verb, the verb सकन 'to be able,' which may then be conjugated throughout. Examples are कर सकन 'to be able to do,' जा सकन 'to be able to go,' सो धडर सकत-हे 'he can go.'

198. **Completives** are formed by adding to the same form of the verbal noun, the verb चकन 'to finish,' which may then be conjugated throughout. The compound denotes the *completion* of the act denoted by the primary member of the compound. Examples are—

सो खा चुकिस-हे,	'he has done eating.'
जब सो खा चुकिहे,	'when he shall have eaten.'
सो तो जा चुकिस,	'he is indeed already gone.'

199. **Frequentatives** are formed by adding, to the oblique form of the first variety of the verbal noun, the verb करन 'to do,' which may then be used in any tense. Examples are—

साये करी,	'be good enough to come often.'
तै मोर बात माने कर,	'always obey my words.'
सने करन,	'to keep digging.'
जाये (not गये) करन,	'to go often.'

200. **Desideratives** are formed with the same form of the verbal noun, substituting चाहन 'to wish,' for करन. The compound denotes primarily *desire* to do action expressed by the principal member, and secondarily, the *immediate futurity* of the action. Examples are—

सो बोले चाहत-हे,	'he wishes to go.'
सो जाये (not गये) चाहत-रहिस,	'he was wishing to go.'
घड़ी बाजे चाहत-हे,	'the clock is on the point of striking.'
सो मरे चाहत हे,	'he is at the point of death.'

The desiderative compound in the precative form with चाही is idiomatically used to express obligation or duty. Examples are—

र पीथी-का पढ़े चाही,	'one ought to read this book.'
तो-का उहाँ जाऊ चाही,	'you ought to go there.'

201. **Inceptives** are formed by using the oblique form of the first

variety of the verbal noun with the verb **आरम्भ** 'to begin;' and denotes the action of the verbal noun as *beginning*. Examples are—

वो बरु आरम्भ, 'he began to say.'
 बघ-वा खाये आरम्भ, 'the tiger began to eat.'

202. **Permissives** are formed by combining the same form of the verbal noun with the verb **देन** 'to give,' and express *permission* to do the act denoted by the verbal noun. Examples are—

मी-का जाये देओ, 'let me go,'
 वो वी-का खाये दिहिस, 'he allowed him to eat.'

203. **Acquisitives** are the exact converse of the preceding; and are formed in the same way, substituting **पान** 'to get,' for **देन** 'to give.' Examples are—

ते उहाँ जाये नई पावे, 'thou wilt not obtain permission to go there.'
 मै बैठे नई पायें, 'I was not allowed to sit.'

Sometimes **Permissives** and **Acquisitives** are formed with the second variety of the verbal noun **न**: thus **करन देन** 'to allow to do;' **वो वी-का जान दिहिस** 'he allowed him to go;' **हम वी-का मझान पाव** 'we shall be allowed to place it.'

Class II.—COMPOUNDS FORMED WITH THE PARTICIPLES.

204. **Continuatives** are formed by combining the present participles of any verb with the verbs **जान** 'to go,' or **रहन** 'to remain.' The compound with **जान** implies *steady progression*, and that with **रहन**, the *continuance of a complete action*. Examples—

वो लिखत जात-रहे, 'he is going on writing.'
 वो रंगत मईस, 'he went on walking.'
 वो दूरी पढ़त जात-रहिन, 'those girls were going on reading.'
 पानी बहत जात-रहे, 'the water keeps flowing away.'
 नदी-के धार बहत रहत-रहे, 'the stream of the river keeps flowing on.'

205. **Statics** denote motion in a state of doing anything. They are formed by combining a verb of motion with a present participle. Examples are,—

वो रोवत आत रहे, 'he comes weeping.'
 रकी डेकी मत आत-रहिस, 'a woman was coming singing.'

PART IV. INDECLINABLES.

CHAPTER XIX.

ADVERBS.

206. Adverbs of **Time**

अब,	'now.'
जब,	'when.'
तब,	'then.'
कब,	'when?'
आज,	'to-day.'
काली,	'to-morrow,' 'yesterday.'
परो,	'the day after to-morrow,' 'the day before yesterday.'
चरो,	'the fourth day hence' or 'to come,' (three days intervening).
बिहनियाँ,	'to-morrow morning.'
सम्झा, सँझ सँझे,	'at evening.'
मँझनिया,	'at midday.'
नित,	'continually.'
लऊचा,	'quickly.'
पुन,	'again.'
तुरन्ते,	'at once.'

207. Adverbs of **Place**.

इहाँ,	'here.'
उहाँ,	'there.'
जहाँ or जिहाँ,	'where.'
तहाँ or तिहाँ,	'there,' (correlative).
कहाँ or कहाँ,	'where?'
एतो, एते or इतो,	'hither.'
ओतो, ओते or उतो,	'thither.'
जेतो, जेते or जितो,	'whither.'
वेतो, वेते or तितो,	'thither,' (correlative).
केतो, केते or कितो,	'whither?'
दुरिहा,	'far off.'
कगर or कगरा,	'near.'
आगू or अनौत,	'before.'
पाछू or पछौत,	'behind.'
अनो,	'elsewhere.'

ए कोत or ए कोती,	'on this side.'
ओ कोत or ओ कोती	'on that side.'
जे कोत or जे कोती,	'on what side.'
ते कोत or ते कोती,	'on that side,' (correlative).
के कोत or के कोती,	'on what side ?'
ए में,	'here.'
ओ में,	'there.'
जे में,	'where.'
ते में,	'there,' (correlative).
के में,	'where ?'

208. Adverbs of **Manner**.

ऐसन, ऐस-ने, ऐसे, अस,	'in this way,' 'thus.'
वैसन, वैस-ने, वैसे,	'in that way.'
जैसन, जैस-ने, जैसे, अस,	'in what way,' 'how.'
तैसन, तैस-ने, तैसे, (rare) तस,	'in that way,' (correlative).
कैसन, कैस-ने, कैसे, कस,	'in what way ?' 'how ?'
सैंती सैंती,	'gratis.'
न, नई, नौ, नईँ, नो	'not.'
भन, भिन,	'do not,' (prohibitive, with im- perative.)
भट, भप, भट-दिनीँ, भट-दिसेँ	'at once.'
मिचट, नोचर,	'entirely.'
वाचित,	'certainly,' 'truly.'

209. Adverbs of **Quality**.

अतीक, अतःका, अतःकी, अतेक, अतःके	'this much,' 'so much.'
ओतीक, ओतःका, ओतःकी, ओतेक, ओतःके	'that much,' 'so much.'
जतीक, जतःका, जतःकी, जतेक, जतःके	'how much.'
ततीक, ततःका, ततःकी, ततेक, ततःके,	'so much,' (correlative).
कतीक, कतःका, कतःकी, कतेक, कतःके,	'how much ?'

For other forms see § 90.

अघात, बड्ढो or बड्ढे, बड्ढियन, बड्ढियन,	'very,' 'much.'
चिटिक, चिटिकुन, चिटिकन, चिटिकिन,	
रँचःकिन, रँचःकुन, रँचःकन,	'little.'

210. च or चे, or एच or एचे added to an adverb give **Emphasis**.

Examples—

अभीच,	'at this very time.'
कहाँचे,	'at even any place.'

चिटिक-चे,	'even a little,' 'very slightly.'
बहु-बहु,	'even much,' 'very much.'
निचट-चट, निचटेचट,	'absolutely and entirely.'
अतकेचे,	'even this much.'

211. By inserting न between two adverbs, **indefiniteness** is expressed. Examples—

कहाँ न कहाँ,	'in some place or other.'
कधू न कधूचट,	'even at some time or other.'
आज न काली,	'now-a-days.'

212. Adverbs are sometimes **compounded**. Thus—

वेर वेर	'continually.'
कहाँ नही	'never.'
दू दू आव,	'twice each.'

213. They are capable of being **declined, like substantives**; e. g. आव-ले 'from now,' कब-ले 'from when?' इहाँ-के 'of here;' but they or adjectives used adverbially do not change for gender: e. g. बी बने रेंबन-के 'she walks well.'

CHAPTER XX.

PREPOSITIONS.

214. आमू, अगीत,	'before.'
पाहू, पचीत,	'behind.'
भितरी	'within.'
बहिरी,	'outside.'
आमू,	'in front of.'
खाले तरौ,	'beneath.'
नेर,	'near,' 'by the side of.'
बरोबर,	'on a level with.'
सुझा,	'together with.'

These are added either to the noun or pronoun direct, or to its genitive. Examples—

दाई आमू or दाई-के आमू,	'before the mother.'
रुख तरौ or रुख-के तरौ,	'beneath the tree.'
मीर पचीत,	'behind me.'
बी खाले or बी-कर खाले,	'beneath it.'

Sometimes the nominal postpositions are added to prepositions. Examples—

पीपर खाल-नी	'under the fig-tree.'
मीर नेर-ले,	'from by me.'

CHAPTER XXI.

CONJUNCTIONS.

215. Examples—

एव or एतद्,	'and.'
तो,	'then' (illatively).
पुन,	'on the other hand.'
चाहे,	'whether,' 'or.'
नाहीं तो,	'otherwise.'
भलुक (Hindí बहिक),	'nay rather.'
के,	'that.'

CHAPTER XXII.

INTERJECTIONS.

216. Examples are—

Interjections of sorrow ;	हाय हाय, आह, अथा,	'alas.'
„	अबो दारै,	'ah Mother,' &c.
„ of astonishment ;	अरे ददा-रै, बाप-रै,	'O Father !
„ of joy ;	वाह, वाह-वा, वा, वह-वा, वह-वा, &c.	
„ of disgust ;	ही, जह,	'fie.'

CHAPTER XXIII.

PARTICLES OF EMPHASIS.

217. These are एव, ए and एवम्, which mean 'even' and भी, भीष्म, ऋ, which mean 'also.'

Examples—

इ ईश्वर-का,	'even to the mother.'
मीरेष्व,	'even mine.'
ओकरो,	'his also.'
मीम्,	'I also.'
मीरे,	'even thy.'
मीरोष्व,	'thy also.'

CHAPTER XXIV.

PREFIXES.

218. These are the same as in Hindí. Examples—

भी, signifying 'deficiency,' e. g. भीमन 'a fault,' भीकाली 'untimely.'
 चह, 'connexion,' e. g. चरौ 'a companion,' चरपरी 'a fellow.'

- क, कु, 'inferiority,' e. g. कपूत, 'a bad son,' or 'a bad-tempered fellow,'
कुलक्षणा, 'a bad sign.'
- स, सु, 'excellence,' e. g. सपूत, 'a good son,' or 'a good-tempered fellow,'
सुलक्षणा, 'a good sign.'
- परि, 'circuitry,' e. g. परिकरणा, 'circumambulation.'
- उप, 'subsidiariness,' e. g. उपकार, 'benefit.'
- दुष्, 'badness,' e. g. दुर्घट, 'difficult of accomplishment.'
- अ, 'negation,' e. g. अच्युत, 'inaccessible.'

PART V.

CHAPTER XXV. SYNTAX AND COMPOUND WORDS.

219. The rules of syntax are the same as those in Hindí.

The following notes on Compound Words may be useful.

Compound words.

220. These may be classified as in Sanskrit. Examples are—

- (a) **Tatpuruṣa**, मांस-खाव, 'the eating of flesh;' खात-मार, 'a kicking;'
घर-रहव, 'staying at home;' बूता-चोर, 'a work-
thief,' i. e. 'a lazy servant.'
- (b) **Dvigu**, तिर-लोक, 'the three worlds;' तीन-मुड़िया (fem. -ची)
'one with three heads.'
- (c) **Karmadhāraya** बड़-ददा (बड़ + ददा) 'great-father,' 'a father's
elder brother;' बड़-दारी (बड़ + दारी) 'great-mother,'
'a father's elder brother's wife;' बान्धन-देवता, 'a
Brahmanical god,' i. e., 'a Bráhmaṇ equal to a god;'
भार-ददा 'a fraternal father,' i. e., 'an elder brother.'
- (d) **Bahuvrīhi**, सब-देखैया, 'he who sees everything,' 'God;' पार-
खैया 'he who crosses one over (the sea of exis-
tence),' 'God.'
- (e) **Dvandva**, मार-पिछा or मार-पौछा, 'mother and children;' जमा-
पूजी, 'capital and stock;' खवार-पिखार, 'giving to
eat and giving to drink,' also 'eating and drinking.'
- (f) **Avyayībhāva**, कुरीती 'in a bad fashion;' सु-चास 'in a good way.'

(To be continued.)

[Mr. Grierson wishes to explain, that he has put the sign ⁵ on ह्व on his own responsibility, on the analogy of the pronunciation of the word in neighbouring dialects. He has not been able to satisfy himself on the correct pronounciation of this root in Chhattisgarh, and the sign is inserted subject to subsequent correction. The meaning of the sign is that ह्व is pronounced something like the English word "haw," while the ह in हव, without the ⁵ would be pronounced like the hu in "hurry." The sign will be omitted, as doubtful, in the selections to be subsequently published. Ed.]

Notes on a Buddhist Monastery at Bhoṭ Bágán (Howrah), on two rare and valuable Tibetan MSS. discovered there, and on Púran Gír Gosain, the celebrated Indian Achárya and Government Emissary at the Court of the Tashi Lama, Tibet, in the last century.—By GAUR DÁS BYSACK.

(With two Plates.)

Opposite to Calcutta, on the right bank of the river, is the village of Ghusari.¹ Ascending the flight of steps of a ghát at this place, a visitor is struck at the sight of a range of temples, behind which is a building of a peculiar structure, exhibiting marks of old construction with subsequent additions. It is a two-storied house of worship with a boundary wall, having in its centre a gateway facing the river, and affording a passage into the main quadrangle within the enclosure. The special feature in the construction is the absence of arches, and its partaking of a Tibetan character. A garden is attached to it, and the lands which formed part of the *demesnes* are let out to tenants on permanent leases; on one of the holdings, stands the "Goosery Cotton Mill." The following is a detailed description of the building for which I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. W. B. Gwyther, A. R. I., B. A., of the Public Works Department, who very readily complied with my request to visit the place and examine the structure. (See Plate I.)

"The structure, in the main, consists of the principal courtyard for religious, and a back-yard, for domestic purposes. The former is towards and entered from the riverside by the gateway which forms the subject of one of the sketches. A casual visitor arriving at the ghát would, on glancing at this face of the structure, find his attention first drawn to the portion over the entrance where the primitive trabeated form of construction is now seen in its original character, "despoiled of course to a great extent by the hand of time."

"Without speculating upon the details and forms in any minute degree, it must be expected, from the history and associations of the Tibetan visitors who established this place of worship, that a feeling

¹ *Ghusarir tyámk* (घुसरिर त्यांक, sometimes spelled घुसुरिर *ghusurir*, Ed.), 'the turning jut of Ghusari,' and the *Vishálakshmir** *daha* or *Visúálakshir† daha* 'the whirlpool of disastrous water' or 'whirlpool of the broad eyed (Durgá),' are the Scylla and Charybdis of the Hughli river between Calcutta and Barrackpur, the *maelstrom* being near Titagarh. The dangers in doubling the *tyámk* are illustrated in the familiar song of the East Bengal boatmen. They are now not so much dreaded as in former days.

* *Visha* 'water,' *alakshmi* 'misfortune.'

† *Visála*, large,' *alashi* 'eye.'

“and peculiarity common to their own architectural instincts must have been imported: but there is nothing at present known which can show how much was originally built, and when and by whom subsequent additions were made. It cannot, however, be questioned that the portion closest to the river presents those peculiarities which might be looked for in a structure built under Tibetan influence. A plain wall, pierced here and there with small openings, forms the outer boundary, in the centre of which is the doorway. Over this doorway is a sort of gallery which overlooks the river on one side and the principal court on the other. Just within the enclosure wall is a double-storied construction: the ground floor, about a foot high, extends from that wall to the edge of the court; about a yard back, a row of massive square pillars, about 7 feet high, stand carrying a wooden architrave which forms the outer support to the beams, resting on the wall at one end and cantilevered forward at the other to form a projecting verandah.”

“The same construction is repeated on the upper story. The projecting ends of the beams are in some cases moulded ogee or double-ogee fashion and protected by means of an eaves-board, the lower edge of which is ornamented with a tooth or saw profile. The moulded beams and particularly the eaves-boards have come down to us from the original structure. The saw-edges are those which merely have triangular pieces cut out so as to leave a row of consecutive triangular points. In the tooth form, the face of the projecting points is dressed back towards the apex and a line or groove cut longitudinally where the teeth spring from.”

“The construction of the roof over the gallery appears to be a feature of no small significance. The strictly trabeated arrangement, to the exclusion of the arch, the use of which is suggested by the circumstances of the case, and the manner of obtaining height and prominence to this central portion by stilting the roof, are decidedly classic in idea. That classic influence extended to Kashmir and North Western India is well-known, and it is quite as possible as not that a careful examination of existing buildings in Tibet would reveal traces of several features associated with European architecture.

“The windows which pierce the enclosure wall already mentioned, and others which look out into the quadrangle, are peculiar in their construction, and must have been put up in the first instance, being made up on the lines given to the builders by Tibetan architects. The outer frame is cross-braced by means of a vertical and a transom bar, which divide the opening into four equal spaces. In some cases ordinary square bars are interspersed vertically for the sake of security.

“The two leaves of the window, which open inwards, close up against the stouter bars.”

The locality goes by the name of *Bhoṭ Bāgán*,¹ the structure is called *Bhoṭ Mandir* or *Maṭh*, the priest in charge of it is styled *Bhoṭ-Gosain*² or *Bhoṭ-Mahant*,³ and the ghát passes under the designation of *Bhoṭ-Mahant's Ghát*.

Inside the Maṭh are to be seen a lot of idols of the Hindú and mostly of the Tibeto-Buddhist mythology. Among the former may be mentioned those of Vishṇu, Durgá, Vindhýávásini, Gaṇeśa, Gopála, Sálagráma, and S'iva-lingas of various sorts, including the rare oviform ones of three different colours, also S'iva's bull; and among the latter those of Arya Tárá, Mahákála Bhairava, Sambhara Chakra, Samája Guhya, Vajra Bhrúkuṭi and Padmapáni.⁴ There are also a stamp of Kapila Muni's foot, and a pair of *kharams* or wooden sandals. A description of the first five Tibetan divinities, by my friend Bábú Sarat Chandra Dás, is given below. Such a room full of images is designated *Lha-khang*⁵ in Tibet. On the ground immediately be-

¹ *Bhoṭ Bāgán*, lit., 'Tibet garden.' *Bhoṭ* or *Bhoṭ* is the name by which the Tibetans call their country; *bāgán* is the Bengali form of the plural of the Persian *bāgh*, 'garden.'

² *Bhoṭ Gosain*, lit, Tibet Gosain. *Gosain* (properly *gosáin* गोसाई) is the vernacular form of Goswámí, which has several literal significations such as master or possessor of kine, controller of the organs of the senses, the comprehender of the *Gáyatrí*, the lord of the earth or of the heaven. In these latter significations the term implies a holy man, a religious teacher or a saint. Among the S'aivas, or followers of S'iva, the *Udásís*, or non-householders, prevail more than in any other sect, and they pass under the designation of *Sannyásís* or *Gosáin*s, though the latter appellation is appropriated in Bengal by the *Vaishṇava gurus*, specially the followers of Chaitanya, the descendants of Adwaita and Nityánanda. In the Upper Provinces the term *Sādhu* is applied to the Vaishṇava Udásís, and Gosain to the S'aiva Sannyásís. The people of the two persuasions are easily distinguished by their *tílakas* or lines painted on the forehead.

³ *Bhoṭ Mahanta*, lit. a mahanta or chief or superior of a Tibetan monastery. The term *Mahanta* generally signifies the head of a religious establishment of the mendicant orders.

⁴ This is the name of the Bodhisatva who incarnated himself as Gedun-tubpa, a reformer, who received the spirit of the previous reformer Tsong-khapa in 1419, and built the monastery of Tashi Lhunpo in 1445 and repeatedly appeared as a Tashi Lama.

⁵ *Lha-Khang* (ལྷ་ཁང་) *Lha* is the Tibetan for gods and spirits who, by transmigration into other bodies in blissful regions, reap the rewards of their meritorious deeds. They are invoked and revered. There are six places for the transmigration of the soul of every living being.

hind the Maṭh is a low roofed small house, which may be characterised as a temple. Within it is a cubiform *samádhi-stambha*¹ ro tomb, which the Tibetans would call a *Dungten* or relic repository. It is surmounted by the usual *lingam* or phallus of Śiva or Mahádeva. The services performed in the Maṭha consist of a mixture of Hindú and Tibetan rituals.

No. I. TÁRÁ.

“The principal deity is Árya Tára. She is identified by the Nepalese Buddhists with Prajñá Páramitá or transcendental wisdom and is universally believed to be the mother of all the past Tathá-gatas, or Buddhas, in Tibet. According to the esoteric doctrine of the Tántric school of the Northern Buddhists, she is the wife of all the present, past and future Buddhas, in which case she resembles the female energy or *Sakti* of the Indian Tántrics. The Tibetan name of Tára is Grolma. Her image is made of copper, gilt with Chinese gold. It was evidently brought from China (Peking) by Púran Gir who accompanied the Tashi Lama to Peking.

“During my stay at Peking I paid a visit to the image manufactory near Hwangs-se or the yellow temple, which is situated at a distance of three *li* to the north of the Antaman gate, where I saw images resembling this (image) in construction. The goddess Tára holds a mendicant’s bowl filled with gems in her left hand. With her right hand she holds a lotus. She wears a crown with five spires all of which are studded with rubies and turquoises. Her locks are coiled, in the Indian Buddhist fashion, at the crown of her head, at the top of which there is a beautiful gem, called *Norbu-mimbar*. Her dress is different from that of the Tibetan image of Tára. She wears a Chinese petticoat with broad and loose sleeves, and a pair of Chinese embroidered shoes like a Manchu lady. The image is about two feet high. The daughter of the Emperor Tai-tsung of the great Tang dynasty was married to the first Tibetan king in 630 A. D. Sh^o

¹ *Samádhi-stambha*. Its familiar meaning is a tomb, with a *stambha* or monumental column erected on a *samádhi-kshetra* or burial ground. But this term *samádhi*, in its esoteric signification, is the absorption of the *jívátmá* or vital principle in the *paramátmá* or supreme soul of the universe, as stated in the verse **सुरीयमन्त्रं ब्रह्म ब्रह्मसि परम्यद् । अद् ब्रह्मत्ववस्थानं समाधिरिति गीयते ॥** Though the burning of the dead is now the principal custom among the Hindús, yet among most *Akhará-dhárí Vairágyís* and *S’áva Sanyásís*, burial or throwing the corpse into the river is the unvarying custom. In Benares, Mirzapur and other districts in the North-West, the dead body is often put into a stone coffin before depositing it into the earth.

was an acknowledged incarnation of Tárá. The image probably represents her figure."¹

No. II.

"The most ingeniously constructed image is that of Mahákála Bhairava. It represents him in a hideous mood, with his *Sakti* in his embrace. His nine heads on all four sides, with a central one on the top, his thirty-six arms and eighteen legs, his weapons, and the string of skulls hanging down his neck to the extremity of his belly, give him a truly horrible appearance. He is the principal guardian of the Tibetan Lamas, particularly of the Tashi Lama."

No. III.

"Sambhara Chakra is the chief of the Tántric deities of Tibet. He has ten arms, but one head. He also has the *S'akti* in his clasp. He stands on the breast of a vanquished demon, probably the devil *Márá*. He is painted with yellow. The image is of copper gilt, about nine inches high."

No. IV.

"Samája Guhya is another Tántric deity, with three faces and six arms. He clasps his consort *S'akti* who also has three faces and six arms."

No. V.

"Another form of Tárá is called Vajra Bhrúkuṭi. The figure of it, evidently cast in Nepal, represents the second wife of king Srongtsan gampa. She was the daughter of king Prabhávarma of Nepal, who reigned between 630 and 640 A. D. There is a saint's glory round her head."

There is an inscription on the door top of the tomb in the Bengali language and character. It states, in very ungrammatical and corrupt language, that the principal *Mukhtiyárkár*² and *chela* (or disciple) Daljít Gir Mahant placed the symbol of Mahádeva on the *samádhi* of the late Púran Gir Mahant, and enjoins that all people should honour and worship this shrine and the Mahádeva; a Hindú not doing so would incur the sin of bráhmanicide, and a Musalmán and others, for the like offence, would go to *dozakh* (hell), as affected with guilt at the seat of

¹ On the pedestal of the statue is inscribed in Bengali the name S'rí Khás Kámini (কামিনী or female energy and *خامی* chief, favourite), and the date, perhaps of the consecration, Samvat 1852, 15th of the light half of the month of Margaśira (November). Then follows the name Bholá Giri of Lhasa in the country of Bhoṭa-kshetra.

² *Mukhtiyárkár* is the Ar. *مختار كار* "a superintendent."

Khodā-ta'āllā or the most high God. The date of the consecration is given as Samvat 1852, Śakābda 1717, Bangābda 1202,¹ 23rd Vaiśākha, Sunday, within 12 daṇḍas² of the Pūrṇimā. This date corresponds with the 3rd May 1795.

This cursory examination of the place, and its important objects suggest most important enquiries such as these: what is the history and origin of the Buddhistic temple on the river side so near to Calcutta, established in the early days of the British power in India? How comes it that images of Hindú gods and goddesses are mixed up with those of Tibet and receive due worship? Who was Púran Gir Gosain Mahant, claiming worship and honour from Hindús, Musalmáns and other religionists?

My request to the present head of the establishment Umráo Gir Gosain Mahant for any papers and documents in his custody that may throw light on these questions, was very readily and kindly complied with. His presentation to the Society, at my suggestion, of two rare and valuable Tibetan manuscripts was noticed at the January meeting. He produced four Persian *sanads* or grants and a passport in Tibetan. He produced four Persian *sanads* or grants and a passport in Tibetan. Of which I have taken copies; and these, with translations, in the annexures appear, I believe, for the first time before the public.

Nos. 1 and 2 show that the former grants, free of rent, 100 bíghás and 8 biswás³ of land on the river side, made up of one portion situated in Mauza Bárbakpúr, Parganah Boro, and of another portion situated in Mauza Ghusarí, Parganah Páikán, unto Púran Gir Gosain,⁴

¹ [The Bangābda or B. S. (Bangálí Samvat) is the same as what is commonly known as the "Fazli year." See the Tables in General Sir A. Cunningham's *Book of Indian Eras*, p. 196, Ed.]

² *Daṇḍa*, one-sixtieth of a day and night; hence equal to 24 minutes.

³ *Biswá*, *lit.* a twentieth part of a bíghá. Hence it is equivalent to a *kaṭṭhá*.

⁴ *Púran Gir Gosain*. In the sanads, Púran is written *پوران*, but in the Bengálí inscription *পূরণ* Purán. I think these are vulgar readings of the Sanskrit *पूरुणा* *Púrṇa*. Gir, of course, is the vernacular of *Giri*, indicating that the Gosain belonged to the *Giri* sect of the *Daśanámís*, and that he was initiated at the *Jyost Maṭh* in the Badarikárama, a fact which is confirmed by the statement of the present Mahanta of the Bhoṭ Bāgān. It is said that the great philosopher Ś'ankarāchārya, towards the end of the 8th century, tried to introduce reforms based on the doctrines of the Vedantic school, and for the purpose of spreading his teachings, founded four *maṭhas* in four different places; *viz.* *Ś'ringa Giri Maṭha* near Tungabhadra where Vyása is said to have had his monastery, *Sáradá Maṭha* in Dwáriká in Gujarát, *Govaradhana Maṭha* in Jagannáthapurí, and *Jyost Maṭha* in the Badarikárama, situated near the sources of the Ganges. Ś'ankarāchārya had at first four disciples and each of them had several others: 1, Padmapáda who had two followers who received the titles of *Tírtha* and *Árama*; 2, Hastámalaka who had

the most sage and wise and the head of all the seekers of truth, in consideration of his virtue and piety that he may erect a temple thereon and plant a garden. The latter grants to the same individual in the same terms, 50 bighás of land on the same site in Mauza Bár-bakpúr, consisting of three portions situated within the properties of Mahárája Nab Kishan,¹ Ráj Chand Rái, and Rájá Rám Lochan.²

also two with the titles of *Vana* and *Aranya* : 3, Mandana who had three designat-
ed *Giri*, *Párvata* and *Ságara* : Totaka who had likewise three with the appellations
of *Saraswatí*, *Bhárati* and *Purí*. Daśanámí (having ten names) is the name of these
four disciples and their followers collectively. The first two founded a school of
teaching in the Sárada Māṭha ; the second two in the Govardhana Māṭha ; the next
three, including *Giri*, in the Jyosí Māṭha ; and the last three in the S'ringagiri Māṭha.
The common characteristic of all the Daśanámís is their regarding S'iva as another
name of Brahma, and their faith mainly accepts the teachings of the Vedantic philo-
sophy according to the interpretation of S'ankara's commentary. The S'iva Samhitá
teaches the contemplation of S'iva as *nirákára* (having no form), the *achintya* or in-
conceivable, the *ananta* or infinite, the *amara* or immortal, the one, the all-pervading
&c. Among the Daśanámís were celebrated characters of great scholarship and ascetic
lives, authors and commentators : the name of Ananda *Giri* is well-known as
the writer of the S'ankara Digvijaya and of the glosses on the commentaries of
the Vedanta Sútra and of the Upanishats ; Rámásrama was a commentator of the
Veda, Mádhaváchárya had the title of Vidyáranya Svámí. There were also, amongst
this class of ascetics, men who were possessed of indomitable courage and of extra-
ordinary powers of endurance, who were great travellers in India or in the most
distant countries beyond it, as seekers of knowledge and experience, or as enter-
prising merchants. Our Púrṇa *Giri* Gosain and Púrṇa *Purí* are the names of two
most unique characters reflecting the highest credit on the Daśanámís as enter-
prising spirits, combining the qualities of active benevolence and philanthropy with
knowledge of philosophy, piety, devotion, and in the case of the latter, of a travel-
ling *tapaswí* practising the most astounding austerities. The life of the former
appears in the text, and that of Púrṇa *Purí* has appeared in the Researches of the
Society and in other books. Captain Turner saw him and heard much of him from
the Regent at Tashi Lhunpo, and he gives some notices of him in his report. [See
Jonathan Duncan's account in the *Asiatic Researches* Vol. V, p. 37ff, VI, p. 102.
With regard to S'ankaráchárya and the Daśanámís, see H. H. Wilson's account, *ibid.*,
vol. XVII, p. 178-182. According to him, the *Giris*, *Párvatas* and *Ságaras* are
disciples of Totaka. Ed.]

¹ *Nab Kishan*, corruption of *Navakrishna*. The sanad has only نكبش *Nab Kish*.
The well-known Mahárája's estate still holds lands in Bár-bakpúr, on the other side of
the river opposite to Calcutta.

² *Rájá Rám Lochan* and *Ráj Chand Rai*. These persons were the sons of Ráma-
charan Rai, who was the Dewán of Governor Vansittart and General Smith. He
acquired a large fortune and lived in Pathuriyághaṭṭa in Calcutta, his descendants
removed to Andul, and were known as Andul Rájás. One of their scions, Rájá Rájá-
náráyana, attempted to establish the identity of his caste (*Káyastha*) with the
Kshatriya, and is said to have put on the sacrificial thread, but his caste-men
repudiated the pretension, or dared not follow his example. He was also vain
enough to introduce a new era in his family, styled the *Andulábda* !

Both these sanads are as usual addressed to Mutaṣaddís,¹ Chaudharís,² Qánungos, Ta'aluqdárs, &c., their jurisdiction being described as that of Darí Bárbakpúr, Parganah Boro, in Sarkár Sātḡáon,³ appertaining to Chaklah Húglí in Šúbáh Jannatu-l-bilád⁴ Bangálah. Both

¹ *Mutaṣaddí* has various meanings, such as clerk, accountant, &c., but in the last century it was used to signify superior officers in the fiscal department.

² *Chaudharí* is used both in Hindí and Bengalí to mean the headman of a caste or profession, also as an honorific title. Mr. Bogle speaks of a "*chaudri*" who came to visit him while he was in Tibet; and Markham, p. 172, on the authority of Hamilton, explains in a note that "*chauduri*" or '*desali*' in Nepal is a subordinate revenue officer under the Fauzdár, and he identifies the word with *chautariya* (minister), an officer next in rank among the Kerantis in Nepal whose title and office were hereditary. Hamilton also describes a *chauduri* as a zamíndár acting as a minister to a chief among the Kerantis, and says *chautariya* is the title of the collateralers of the royal Gorkha family who sometimes became ministers. In Bengal the titular affix *chaudharí* is common to names of persons belonging to the highest as well as to the lowest castes. In the latter case it bears the sense of headman of a guild or profession, and in the former it is an honorific epithet, which is borne out by tracing it to the Sanskrit *chaturadhurīṇa* "sagacious chief or manager of affairs" or to *chaturdhurīṇa* "chief of four (departments)." In the Upper Provinces the term is applied, I believe, only to the headman of a trade or guild. In early days, in Bengal, it was a title of landholders superior to taluqdárs. There are many families whose ancestors, from one reason or other, had this title, and among them it has become, like Majumdárs, Sarkárs, &c., hereditary.

³ *Sarkár Sātḡáon*. The Muhammadan empire in the time of Akbar was at first divided into twelve large sections, called *šúbahs* or viceroyalties, which were subsequently increased to fifteen. Each of these was subdivided for fiscal purposes into *sarkárs* or provinces, each *sarkár* comprehending a number of *parganahs* or *mahals*. Aggregates of several *parganahs* again were formed into groups which in the reign of Sháh Jahán were designated *chaklahs*. In the tables of the *taqsím jama'* in the *Áin-i-Akbarí šúbah Bangálah* is divided into 24 *sarkárs*, one of which is *Sātḡáon* (Sanskrit *saptagrāma*), a group of seven villages. In its relation to *chaklah* Húglí, as described in the sanads to the Tashi Lama and Púran Gir, it must, with the latter district, have formed part of the dominions of the ancient kings of Támralipti (Támruk) which had been visited by Fahian. It was formerly of immense size, the residence of kings, and had a famous place of worship in it. A reference to the tables of the fiscal divisions of the Mughal empire in the *Áin-i-Akbarí*, will show that *Sarkár Sātḡáon*, in which the sanads speak of the place being comprehended, contain *mahals*, two of which are named Bárbakpúr. One stands by itself, and the other is linked to *Kalkattá* and to another place Bakuá. No doubt the place opposite to *Kalkattá* (Calcutta) derived its name from the one at the Calcutta side. Whether the names *Bárbakpúr* and *Bakud* were the old designations of the place, now known as Sutánutí and Govindpur, which together with *Kalkattá*, formed old Calcutta, is a point worthy of research. As to the Mahal Bárbakpur in the 'Ain, Blochmann indicates in a note to the Persian text that another reading gives Báríkpur. So has Bakuá many other readings, as Maçumá &c. Our *Kalkattá* is variously named Káltás, Kalná and Talpá.

⁴ *Jannatu-l-bilád*, the paradise of civilized nations. This epithet was applied

of them also bear on the top two square seals.¹ The date of No. 1 is 12th June 1778, 1st *Asháda* 1185 B. S., 16th *Jumáda-l-awal* of the 20th year of the imperial reign; and that of No. 2 is 11th February 1782, 2nd *Fálgun* 1189 B. S.

The two other sanads, marked No. 3 and No. 4, bear the same dates as, and grant the same quantities of land as those mentioned in Nos. 1 and 2 respectively. In fact the two former appear to be duplicates of the latter two, with this very material difference that, in Nos. 3 and 4, in place of the grantee's name being *Púran Gir*, it is *Teshé Lámah Panchan Ardani Bakdeo Panchan*,² and the attributes of the latter are exactly those of the former. The seals also are different: on Nos. 3 and 4 they are those of the East India Company as *dewán* and servant of *Sháh 'Álam Bádsháh*. No. 3, moreover, bears two seals, one at the top, the other on the right margin. Both sanads bear the signature of *Warren Hastings* almost obliterated.

The simple facts now disclosed are, that in the years 1778 and 1782, a *Hindú* ascetic, named *Púran Gir Gosain*, and a *Buddhist* Pontiff conjointly, but by two sets of grants, one in the name of each, received a certain quantity of land on the river side, which aggregated 150 *bíghás* and constituted the area of *Bhoṭ Bágán*, and that the former died in 1795, and was buried as a saint near his *Maṭh* there, by his *chela* or disciple *Daljít Gir Gosain*.

This information, though by itself it does not satisfy but rather magnifies the curiosity already raised, affords a clue to the line of historical investigation which would carry us to the goal. The inquiry, however, leading, as it does, into the most eventful period of British Indian history, proves almost unfructuous. Vain is the search for such apparently trifling incidents as the foundation of the *Bhoṭ Mandir* or the career of merely a *Hindú* mendicant, in the annals of the

to Bengal by *Aurangzib*, and in the last century it was customary to describe Bengal in public records and formal documents with this title. *Humáyún* called *Gaur Jannatábád*, 'a paradise settlement,' though when the plague was raging there, which depopulated it and led to its desertion, the pun came into vogue as *Gaur ba gor*, "from *Gaur* to the grave."

¹ One seal has an inscription in *Nágari* characters. See footnote on p. 95.

² *Teshé* (تيشي), so spelled in the sanads. The Tibetan is *dkraśis blama*, pronounced *Tashi Lama*. The full name of the Lama was *Panchen Nagwañ Lossañ Paldan Yeshe*. The first element, spelled *panchan* (پانچن) in the sanads is a compound of *Pan* 'a *pañḍita*' or 'learned man' and *chan* 'great' or 'conspicuous.' *Ardani* is a corruption of *Erteni*, a gem. The Gem epithet, though not exclusively applied to a *Tashi Lama*, indicates, in his case, perfection and the efficacy of his adoration. The terms *ertení* and the Sanskrit *ratna* seem to be congeners. *Bakdeo* is the Sanskrit *Vákyadeva*, equivalent to the Tibetan *Nagwañ*.

statesmen who were laying the basis of the British Power in India. In practice, "History," says Arnold, "has been beguiled, so to speak, from its proper business, and has ceased to describe the life of a Commonwealth," much more so in respect of the history of this country under its peculiar circumstances. It is, therefore, from the bye-ways of history, personal narratives, accounts of travellers, published correspondence, and official reports, and authentic traditions, from materials in fact out of which history is constructed, that threads have been gathered and woven into the following story. The story itself, apart from many of its interesting features and almost romantic character, has important bearings upon questions of the greatest moment which occupied the attention of the infant British Indian Government, and which still perplex its Council in its imperial growth.

The first part of the retrospective inquiry leads to the time when the great *Chhiyāttara Manwantara*,¹ as the great famine of 1176 B. S. is called by the people of Bengal, was raging in its fiercest fury in the country, and decimating its people by thousands, when the streets of Calcutta were strewn with bodies of the dying and the dead, and when Governor Cartier was feeding daily 15000 people in the city. A little earlier than this catastrophe on the plains, a cruel and destructive war had broken out on the mountain heights and valleys on the frontier.

The aggressive incursions of the ambitious Prithvī Nārāyan, chief of the Gorkhas, into the valley of Nepal, led to that great revolution in this State which subverted its tripartite rule,² and brought it under

¹ *Chhiyāttara Manwantara* the famine of 1176 B. S. or 1770 A. D. Preceded by three years of scarcity, and followed by three years of plenty, it was strictly a one-year's famine, but it was the most appalling and disastrous calamity that ever visited Bengal, or perhaps any other part of the world. It exhibited, in its course and its sequel, such harrowing and extensive scenes of dreadful suffering, pain, misery, disease and death, as to have obtained in our country the singular name of a *manwantara*, which literally means a period equal to 4,320,000 years, implying thereby that it was such a visitation as recurs only at intervals of æons, the ordinary names of famine *durbhiksha* ('when alms are not obtainable') and *akāla* 'bad time' not being thought of sufficient significance. In fact, no Sanskrit dictionaries that I have consulted attach to *Manwantara* famine as its synonym. Some information on this great famine will be found in Sir W. Hunter's *Rural Bengal* and in the letters of Mr. Bogle (see Markham, p. cxxxix) who was himself an eye-witness of the calamity, as well as in sundry notices and poems.

² *Tripartite rule of Nepal*. Before the Gorkha conquest of Nepal proper, it was occupied by an agricultural and commercial race called Newars, who had borrowed their arts and civilization from Tibet, and who encouraged trade between Tibet and India by allowing it to be carried on through the Nepal passes. Their chiefs had the title of Mall (Sanskrit *malla*.) Since the death of the sixth king of this dynasty, his dominions according to his directions, were divided into three

the subjection of that warlike tribe. It is said that unheard of cruelties were perpetrated in this war, which were witnessed by two members of the Roman Catholic Mission. This warfare, brought on by internecine dissensions, led one of the Nepalese old dynasties to entreat for aid from the English in India, with the result of the despatch, in 1769, perhaps for the first time, of a force under Captain Kinloch to the frontiers, though it proved unfruitful. Following close upon the Gorkha conquest of Nepal, Depa Shidar,¹ the chief of Bhutan, urged by purely hostile propensities, pounced upon Sikkim, retained possession of it, for a short while, and subsequently in 1772, when Warren Hastings had just assumed the rule of Bengal, invaded the Kuch Behar Ráj.² This Ráj, in its distress, sought the aid of that keen-sighted statesman, who lost no time to send a battalion of native infantry against the invaders.³ The Bhutanese, after a desperate resistance, were utterly routed, pursued into their fastnesses, and forced to sue for peace. Depa Shidar entreated the Tashi Lama who was then Regent of Tibet and

principalities governed by three branches who had their respective capitals in Kathmandu, Lalita Pattan and Bhatgáon. These were subverted by the Gorkha chief. Their religion was Buddhist, but they recognised caste. Their descendants, now obscure, still follow the Buddhist faith. The dissensions of the kings of the three principalities led to the chief of Bhatgáon to seek the aid of the Gorkha Prithví Náráyan who, after subduing the enemies of his ally, turned his arms against the latter, and after long years of fighting made himself completely master of the whole country.

¹ *Depa Shidar* (ཐེཔ་ཤི་ར་ལ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་); also called *De-tar-yag* or *De-tar-ya*, the "Dêh Terria" of Turner.

² Kuch Behar, a state on the north-east frontier of British India. It lies between Bengal and Assam, and is divided from Bhutan by the *Duárs*. In olden times it was very extensive, and formed the western division of the ancient Kám-rúp Ráj. The name of the place is a museum of mythic history. According to a certain Tantra (the *Yogini*) Hírâ Devi was a great devotee of S'iva who incarnated himself and lived in *Kuchinápárâ*, a settlement of the *Kuch* or *Konch* tribe, and the fruit of his amour with her was a chief who became a great Rája, and as the Ráj was the result of S'iva's *vihára* (cor. Behar) or 'dalliance,' the State received the appellation of *Kuch Vihár*. Kám-rúp is the mine of the Tantras, and hence these works spread on both sides, to the hills and the plains. Wilson, in a note in his translation of the *Vishnu Purâna*, includes Kuch Behar in the *Matsya Desâ*.

³ Hastings in his two letters to Sir George Colebrooke and John Purling dated, respectively, 15th January and 31st March 1773, writes of the famine and of this war. Among other things, he says, "I shall ever oppose remote projects of conquests, yet I shall sedulously promote every undertaking which can complete the line of our possessions or add to its security." The Bhutanese "are a resolute and daring people. They made a desperate defence of the fort of Behar." (Cooch Behar.) "Many of them meeting death at the muzzle of the sepoy's pieces." (See Gleig's *Memoirs of Warren Hastings*, I. pp. 278 and 295.)

the guardian of the minor Dalai Lama of Lhasa, to intercede in his behalf, and the Lama accordingly sent a deputation to Calcutta, with a letter to Warren Hastings in 1773. This letter of mediation was received by Warren Hastings on the 29th March 1774, when it was laid before the Board. It is a remarkable document, and is given in Captain Turner's Account of an Embassy to the Court of the Tashi Lama in Tibet.

“ The affairs of this quarter in every respect flourish : I am night and day employed in prayers for the increase of your happiness and prosperity. Having been informed, by travellers from your country, of your exalted fame and reputation, my heart, like the blossoms of spring, abounds with satisfaction, gladness, and joy. Praise be to God that the star of your fortune is in its ascension. Praise be to him that happiness and ease are the surrounding attendants of myself and family. Neither to molest, nor persecute, is my aim : it is even the characteristic of my sect, to deprive ourselves of the necessary refreshment of sleep, should an injury be done to a single individual ; but in justice and humanity, I am informed, you far surpass us. May you ever adorn the seat of justice and power, that mankind may, in the shadow of your bosom, enjoy the blessings of peace and affluence. By your favour I am the Rájá and Lama of this country, and rule over a number of subjects, a circumstance with which you have no doubt been made acquainted, by travellers from these parts. I have been repeatedly informed, that you have been engaged in hostilities against the Dêh Terria (De-tar-ya), to which, it is said, the Dêh's own criminal conduct in committing ravages and other outrages on your frontiers, gave rise. As he is of a rude and ignorant race, past times are not destitute of instances of the like misconduct, which his own avarice tempted him to commit. It is not unlikely that he has now renewed those instances : and the ravages and plunder which he may have committed on the skirts of the provinces of Bengal and Behar,¹ have given you provocation to send your avenging army against him. Nevertheless his party has been defeated, many of his people have been killed, three forts have been taken from him, and he has met with the punishment he deserved. It is as evident as the sun that your army has been victorious ; and that, if you had been desirous of it, you might, in the space of two days, have entirely extirpated him ; for he had not power to resist your efforts. But I now take upon me to be his mediator ; and to represent to you, that, as the said Dêh Terria (Deb Rájá)² is dependent upon the Dalai

¹ Kuch Behar.

² The person who performs all administrative functions in Blutan is called

“Lama, who rules in this country with unlimited sway, though, on account of his being yet in his minority, the charge and administration of the country, for the present, is committed to me; should you persist in offering further molestation to the Dêh Terria’s country, it will irritate both the Lama and all his subjects against you. Therefore, from a regard to our religion and customs, I request you will cease from all hostilities against him; and in doing this, you will confer the greatest favour and friendship upon me. I have reprimanded the Dêh for his past conduct; and I have admonished him to desist from his evil practices in future, and to be submissive to you in all things. I am persuaded that he will conform to the advice which I have given him; and it will be necessary that you treat him with compassion and clemency. As to my part, I am but a Fakeer; and it is the custom of my sect, with the rosary in our hands, to pray for the welfare of mankind, and for the peace and happiness of the inhabitants of this country; and I do now, with my head uncovered, entreat that you will cease from all hostilities against the Dêh in future. It would be needless to add to the length of this letter, as the bearer of it, who is a Gosein,¹ will represent to you all particulars; and it is hoped that you will comply therewith. In this country the worship of the Almighty is the profession of all. We poor creatures are in nothing equal to you. Having, however, a few things in hand I send them to you as tokens of remembrance and hope for your acceptance of them.”²

It will be seen from the letter that the Tashi Lama alludes therein to a Gosain who headed the deputation, and Turner thus speaks of him:—“Of the persons deputed on this occasion by the Lama, two only ventured to encounter the burning atmosphere of Bengal; one a native of Tibet, named Paima; the other a pilgrim from Hindostan whose name I have already mentioned, Poorungheer Gosein.”³

The request of the Lama was very favourably received. Warren Hastings became eager to know more intimately the writer of this letter, which was conceived in a very friendly spirit and founded on

Deb Rája, also Kusho Depa, while the spiritual head is called Lama Binpoche or Dharma Rája. “But the real power has long been in the hands of the military governors, or Penlos of east and west Bhutan, whose capitals are respectively at Tong-sar and Paro.” Markham, *Narrative of the Mission of George Bogle to Tibet, etc.*, Introd., p. lv.

¹ This is Púran Gir.

² Turner’s *Account of an Embassy to the Court of Teshoo Lama in Tibet*, Introd., pp. ix—xii.

³ Turner, *ibid.*, Introd., p. xiii.

good sense, which evinced high sentiments and self-respect and, at the same time, conveyed a gentle menace, couched in the most humble language. He perceived in it also the best opportunity to carry out his cherished view for the extension of British intercourse with the *terra incognita* on the Himalayan heights.

A treaty of peace was accordingly entered into and ratified between the Governments of Bengal and Bhutan, on the 25th of April, 1774. By the different articles of this treaty it was, among other things, agreed that the English would relinquish the Deb Rája's possessions acquired by conquest; that they would deliver up the Kuch Behar Rája Dwijendra Náráyan and his brother Devan Deo who had been taken away as prisoners of war; that the Bhutanese Mahants shall have their former privilege of duty-free trade, and allowed to visit Rangpur annually; that the Bhutanese shall not cause incursions into the country, nor molest the rayats (or subjects) of the Company; whatever Sannyásis are considered by the English as enemies, the Deb Rája shall not allow to take shelter in any part of the districts now given up, nor permit them to enter into the Honourable Company's territories or through any part of his.¹

This treaty having been concluded in the interest of Kuch Behar and the Company on the one hand, and in that of Bhutan on the other, whereby the Lama's intercession was completely respected, Warren Hastings' mind was turned upon commercial schemes, which were not a little matured at the sight of the presents which the Lama had sent by his deputation. He conceived the idea of sending a mission to the Lama in Tibet, and accordingly framed a letter to him, proposing, among other things, a treaty of amity and commerce between the Bengal and Tibetan states, and entrusted it to a deputation composed of Mr. George Bogle, servant of the Company, and Dr. Hamilton, with Púran Gir Gosain, as their sincere and faithful friend.

This is the first of a series of missions which Hastings successively sent to the *cis-* and *trans-*nivean states on the frontier heights, and it is from among the incidents of this initial deputation that the main facts which led to the grant of the *sandás*, the foundation of the Bhoṭ Mandir, and the consecration of the motley group of idols there, are to be gleaned. In this mission as well as in the second attempted embassy to Tibet under Mr. Bogle in 1779, in the third, under Captain Turner in 1783, and in the last, under Púran Gir Gosain himself, just at the closing period of the same statesman's career in 1785, are to be sought all the important services that the great Gosain has rendered to the British Government, and the conspicuous traits of his remarkable character, and

¹ Captain B. Boileau Pemberton's Report on Bhutan, App., p. 178.

some portions of the concluding history of the Bhoṭ Bágán down to the period of the chivalrous Gosain's tragic end. A rapid sketch therefore follows, of the broad features of these missions, bearing upon the present subject, based mainly upon the records left by Mr. Bogle, which form the narrative of Mr. Markham, and upon Turner's report.

It was moreover from the proceedings of these missions that the first administrator of India obtained a thorough knowledge of the wonderful politico-religious influence which, emanating from Tibet, operated, with more or less effect on China and Mongolia, and on its then protected state of Sikkim, and the semi-independent principality of Bhutan as well as on Nepal.

The communication of the Lama stirred the fertile brain of Warren Hastings, to conceive a consummate policy of peace and friendship with the hierarchical chief, believed to be an incarnation of Buddha himself, seated in his snow-clad mountain home. By this policy he aimed at the commercial prosperity of Bengal. Through two successive missions to Tibet, and four to Bhutan, he succeeded, in some respect, to re-establish the old trade routes and re-open, in a partial way, that active commercial intercourse which had subsisted and prevailed, from before the Muhammadan rule, between the plateau of Tibet and the plains of Bengal through the passes of Nepal, Bhutan and other channels, but which were sadly interrupted and checked by diverse causes.

The first mission under Mr. Bogle started from Calcutta in 1774, and, after proceeding to the hills, called Nagarkoṭ in Bengal and Boḍla¹ in Tibet, which form the common boundary of these two countries in the north, Bogle says, the only scanty information about the roads, the climate and the people which he there received, was from the Sannyásis.

Proceeding, stage after stage, Mr. Bogle, with his party, arrived at Tashi Chhoijong,² the capital of Bhutan, and met the Deb Rája,³ who gave him a good reception, but great obstacles having been raised in respect

¹ *Boḍ* (native name of Thibet) + *la* 'a pass' = 'The pass into Thibet' Markham, *ibid.*, p. 15.

² Tashi Chhoijong is the modern capital of Bhutan, 106 miles from the town of Kuch Behar. There is in it a palace and a citadel. The latter is a lofty stone building of seven stories, in the fourth of which the Deb Rája of Bhutan resides.

³ Deb Rája. According to Sir Ashley Eden, the country, now called Bhutan, was formerly occupied by a people from Kuch Behar, who were, three centuries ago, driven away by an invading army of Tibetans over whom a Lama of the Red sect named Dugwang Sabdung acquired paramount influence as "Lama Rinpoche or Dharma Rája. On his death Sabdung became incarnate in a little child at Lhasa who "was conveyed to Bhutan. When this child grew up, he confined himself to spiritual "concerns and appointed a Regent called the Deb Rája." He is now elected by a council of six for three years.

of his intended visit to Tibet by a concatenation of influences ultimately emanating from China, they were finally removed by the zealous, persevering and masterly services of Púran Gir Gosain. The party accordingly left that capital, on the 13th October, and came to a place called Phari-jong,¹ where were observed the boundary-marks that separate Bhutan from Tibet. Thence they rode up, on the 8th November, to the gate of Tashi Rabgya,² the palace of the Tashi Lama. After several interviews with him, and residence there for some time, they, at his desire, accompanied him to his next palace and monastery, Tashi Lhunpo. Here, during a sojourn of five months, Mr. Bogle picked up some knowledge of the Tibetan language, acquainted himself with the religious tenets and practices of the people, studied their character, habits and manners, noted their unique marriage customs, penetrated into the mystery of their peculiar hierarchical government, threaded his way into the mysterious labyrinth of their politics, and, with cautious or rather furtive observation, acquired a partial knowledge of the productive resources and the trade routes of the country, old and new, but could carry out the object of his mission in only a limited way. And the little that he was able to do in this last respect, was due to his frankness and ability to understand the people and above all to conform to their ways that were innocent. He himself says, "The Lama used daily to send a priest to me in the early morning, with some bread and tea or some boiled rice and chopped mutton, of which last, as I always like to do at Rome as they do at Rome, I used to eat very heartily." He used even to put on "a Tibetan dress consisting of a purple satin tunic lined" with "Siberian furskins, a yellow satin cap, faced round with sable, and crossed with a red silk tape and a pair of red silk Bulgar hide boots." He followed the Lama's example and gave alms to the Sannyásís and Faqírs. He was not only admitted into the churches where he saw the idols, and the nature of the holy service, but introduced to the ladies of the Lama's household; and thus there grew up between Mr. Bogle and the good Lama a real personal friendship. Púran Gir Gosain, who enjoyed the esteem and confidence of both these persons, contributed in a great measure to bring about this desirable state of things. The deputation left Tashi Lhunpo, in April 1775, and returned in June following. Warren Hastings, in order to keep up an intercourse with the Himalayan states, so auspiciously opened, sent Dr.

¹ Phari-jong is a pass at the head of the Chumbi valley which was used both by Bogle and Turner. Near it is the city of Paro which Mr. Bogle selected as a trade mart for the merchandise of Bengal and Tibet.

² Tashi Rabgya is a small place in which the Tashi Lama temporarily resided, when small-pox broke out at Tashi Lhunpo.

Hamilton, who had accompanied Mr. Bogle to Tibet, to Bhutan on two successive missions, one in November 1775, and the other in July 1777. With these the present theme has no concern.

Mr. Bogle was again appointed an envoy to Tibet in April 1779, and Púran Gir Gosain, who had returned with him, was also to have accompanied the mission as before, but it was postponed on account of the arrival of the news that the Tashi Lama was, at the invitation of the old Chinese Emperor Kúnglung, about to start for Peking. During this delay Mr. Bogle, with all the persevering zeal he possessed in the cause of the Government, made the grand project of presenting himself before the Chinese Court, through the influence of the Lama, that he might thereby explain matters in a proper way, in the hope of removing Chinophobia from the Tibetan authorities in the matter of dealings with foreigners. And in this affair also, as on other important occasions, Púran Gir, the trusted and favourite agent of the Lama and the Bengal Government, was desired previously to join the Lama before he left Tibet. This the Gosain accordingly did, when the Lama had already started on his journey, and accompanied the Lama to the Chinese capital where his most important services will be described further on. There was the greatest probability of the success of Mr. Bogle's most wisely conceived scheme, which was founded upon the previous assurances he had received from the Lama while at Tashi Lhunpo, and which, as the sequel will show on the evidence of Púran Gir, the good honest Lama had almost brought about, but the death of the Lama in November 1780 from small-pox at Peking, and of Mr. Bogle at Calcutta in April 1781, prevented the realisation of this great object.¹

According to the politico-religious theory which regulates the elective hierarchical Government of Tibet, and of its dependencies, and of the territories which acknowledge a theocratic sway, a grand Lama revivifies himself after his death in some infant form which is discovered by some signs, and the child becomes the succeeding Lama. There are two principal Lamas in Tibet: one the Tashi Lama, at Tashi Lhunpo, the other the Dalai Lama at Lhasa, with equal authority, but the latter, on account of the residence of Chinese officials and troops at his capital, is assumed to be the superior.

At the time of Bogle's mission in 1774, the Dalai Lama was a minor, and the Tashi Lama was his Regent, and on account of his learning, piety and great virtue, was deservedly esteemed and revered throughout Buddhodom. On his death, his brother Chanjo Kusho was ruling at Tashi Lhunpo, as Regent during the interregnum.

This Regent communicated to Warren Hastings the sad intelligence

¹ Markham, *ibid.*, Introd., p. lxx.

of the death of the Tashi Lama at Peking by a letter which was received on the 12th February 1782. In this letter, among other things, the Regent spoke of his fervent hope in the return of the hour "of transmigration, that the bodies may be speedily exchanged, and our departed Lama again be restored to our sight."¹

The happy news of the discovery of the spirit of the Tashi Lama, incarnated in an infant in the valley of Painom,² was soon received by Hastings, and he determined to seize the opportunity of communicating to the Regent his congratulations on this auspicious event, as the best occasion for sending another mission to Tibet. He accordingly selected Captain Samuel Turner for this purpose, who, with Lieut. Samuel Davis and Dr. Robert Saunders and the inevitable Púran Gir Gosain as their guide and adviser, left Calcutta on the 9th January 1783.

Captain Turner followed the previous route of Mr. Bogle, and on arriving at Tashi Chhoijong transacted such affairs relating to Bhutan as he had been instructed to attend to, and after a stay of three months at this capital, proceeded to his destination. Early in the morning of the 22nd September, dazed at the sight of the resplendent beams of the rising sun reflected from the gilt tops of the monasteries, and regaled with "the deep tone of many sonorous instruments which were "summoning the religious to their morning orisons," the party found themselves ushered into the very splendid apartments of the Tashi Lhunpo palace.³ The Regent gave the Governor-General's envoy a hearty and respectful reception, assured him of the identity of the Lama who, in his previous existence, had been a great friend of Hastings', and informed him of his regeneration having been acknowledged by the Emperor of China. The mission had indeed arrived in Tibet at one of its most important eras; it was at a time when the nation was preparing by a grand demonstration to announce their acknowledgment of the regenerated Lama who was then being removed into the Tharpa Ling monastery for that customary training and education, for which the Chinese Emperor had issued strict injunctions. The Captain witnessed here most interesting objects and scenes, and collected materials by his intelligent observation and inquiry, whereby he confirmed and widened the knowledge regarding the country which had been laid open by his predecessor. When the time came to leave the place, he was introduced to the infant Lama, then only a child eighteen months old, and he gives the most surprising and most romantic account of this audience, and of the manner in which this little *Avatár* comported himself. Throughout the whole period of the sojourn of the mission our Púran Gir was most

¹ Turner, *ibid.*, p. 450.

² Turner, *ibid.*, 280.

³ Turner, *ibid.*, p. 240.

actively engaged in all such departments of business in which he could prove himself useful. At length on the 2nd of December the mission departed from Tashi Lhunpo on the return journey to Bengal, where they reached Patna in March 1784, and there the Captain submitted to Mr. Hastings his official report detailing an account of the result of his mission.¹

At the commencement of 1785 Warren Hastings contemplated appointing Púran Gir Gosain as a diplomatic agent at the Tibetan court, and delivered to him despatches for the new or rather regenerated Tashi Lama and the Regent. On the 8th of February 1785, he resigned his Governor-Generalship and embarked for England. Captain Turner introduced the Gosain to the officiating Governor-General John Macpherson, and he was allowed to proceed on his mission which started in March of the same year. Passing through Bhutan and transacting business there, the Gosain arrived at Tashi Lhunpo. He too had come here on a momentous occasion, he saw the removal of the child Lama from the Tharpa Ling monastery, and his installation on the throne of his predecessors, who in fact were believed to have been different corporeal forms of his own spirit. He had frequent interviews with the Regent and various Tibetan authorities, during which he did his best to confirm the friendship between the Bengal Government and the Tashi Lhunpo Court, under the shadow of which he remained for five months, and then returned to Calcutta with letters from the Lama and the Regent, which together with his own report he delivered to the above statesman.²

Thus ends a brief summary of the salient points of the missions to Tibet under Warren Hastings' rule; and in fact Púran Gir's diplomatic agency is the last of the missions which the British Government has, up to this moment, been able to send to that land of mystery.

The Bhoṭ Bágán originated from the incidents of the first mission in the following way. Mr. Bogle in relating the conversations he had with the Tashi Lama at Tashi Rabgya says, that on one occasion the Lama assured him that "his heart was open, and well disposed towards the English, and that he gave no credit to the representations which had been made to their disadvantage."

"I wish to have a place on the banks of the Ganges to which I might send my people to pray. I intend to write to the Governor on this subject, and wish you would second my application." "I replied that as I knew how desirous the Governor was to cultivate his friendship, I was persuaded on this or on any other occasion he would find him very ready to gratify him as far as in his power."³

¹ Turner, *ibid.*, pp. 326—358.

² Markham, *ibid.*, p. 138.

³ Turner, *ibid.*, p. 419.

Mr. Bogle in his letter to Mr. Hastings of the 5th December, which perhaps he wrote from the above place, alludes to the Lama's desire of founding a religious house on the banks of the Ganges, and adds what he had heard from the Lama. "About seven or eight hundred years ago, the Tibetan Pontiffs had many monasteries in Bengal, and their priests used to travel to that country in order to study the religion and languages of the Brahmans and to visit the holy places in Hindustan. The Musulmáns, upon conquering Bengal, plundered and destroyed their temples, and drove them out of the country. Since then there has been little intercourse between the two kingdoms. The Lama is sensible that it will throw great lustre on his pontificate, and serve to extend his fame and character, if he can, after so long an interval, obtain a religious establishment in Bengal, and he is very solicitous about this point. He proposes, also, to send some of his Gylongs, during the cold season, to wait upon you at Calcutta, and afterwards to go on pilgrimage to Gaya and other places, and has written to Chedzum Tamba,¹ at Peking, who has great interest with the Emperor, informing him that the English are now masters of Bengal; that you, their chief, have shown him great favour; that the English allow every one to follow his own religion unmolested; and advising him to send some persons to wait upon you, and to visit the principal temples in Bengal. I own I encouraged all this, in the view of strengthening the intercourse and connection with Tibet, and thinking it would be of advantage to the Company to open any channel of communication with the Court of China; and although I am not so sanguine as the Lama about the success of his endeavours, however sincere, to obtain leave for you to send a person to the Emperor, I do not altogether despair, by your favour, of one day or other getting a sight of Peking."²

Again, in the course of the first visit which Mr. Bogle paid to the Tashi Lama, on his return to Tashi Lhunpo, the latter referred to his previous proposal in respect of forming a religious house on the Ganges, and on receiving the reiterated assurance of the former, as to its compliance, the Lama spoke of the Chankya Lama,³ the high priest at Peking, and of his great influence at the Chinese Court, and of his intention to

¹ Properly *Jetsun Dampa*, identified with the Táránáth Lama. He is the third Pontiff of the Gelugpa or yellow cap sect, and resides north of Tibet among the Khalka tribes of outer Mongolia near Urga.

² Markham, *ibid.*, p. 134.

³ The Tashi Lama always spoke to Mr. Bogle of this high priest of China with great respect, and described him as having great influence over the Chinese emperor. Through his mediation an attempt was made for resort of Chinese trading pilgrims to Hindústán.

write to this personage, to the effect that the Feringis¹ were masters of Bengal, and had shown him great favour, and added that he thought it probable that the priest would send some of his people to visit the principal religious places, and expected, in the event of his doing so, that the Governor would give them a good reception.² At another interview, the Lama desired that Mr. Hastings should send an embassy to the Dalai Lama, when he would come of age, and that, in the event of his obtaining a grant of land on the banks of the Ganges, *he would place Púran Gir Gosain there*, and if he should stand in need of any small matter, he trusted the Governor would supply him.³

On Mr. Bogle's inquiry as to what site he would prefer, the Lama said, *he would like some place in the neighbourhood of Calcutta*, that the people to be sent down might have opportunities of seeing the Governor, to whom and to the Pandits he would leave the matter; the only thing he would press for, was that it might be near the Ganges. He further explained his idea on the subject of building a house there, and said, "I propose that Púran Gir who was then down in Calcutta should settle it. I do not wish it to be a large house, and let it be built in the fashion of Bengal." He intimated, that he would give the necessary instructions to Púran, who, he said, "has served me well, and I have not found him guilty of so many lies as most other fakirs, and I hope the Governor will show him favour." He here mentioned the name of another old Gosain 'Sukh Deb' who, he said, "has also asked me leave to go down to Calcutta, he will accompany you; and I have also written to the Governor about him, and I hope he will favour him."⁴

On another occasion the Lama showed Mr. Bogle *the images with their dress which he intended to send down to Bengal*, through Púran Gir, to be put up in the proposed temple, and inquired particularly about the situation of a town called S'ambhal.⁵ The reason assigned by the

¹ *Feringis*, a term usually applied in most parts of Asia to Europeans. It is said to have been derived from Frank. A stranger is generally called *Peling*.

² Markham, *ibid.*, p. 146.

³ Markham, *ibid.*, p. 164.

⁴ Markham, *ibid.*, p. 165.

⁵ Markham, *ibid.*, p. 168. S'ambhal is a fabulous city, the Utopia of the Northern Buddhists, on which Bábú S. C. Dás has supplied the following information. The Tashi Lama wrote a book called *Shambalai Lamyig*, i. e., a journey to Shambala. According to the Tibetan work "Selki-melon," the name S'ambhala is derived from that of king S'ambhaka of the S'akya race. Literally it means "one who makes happy," and S'ambha is the name of Íswara. According to the Tibetans, the position of the country of S'ambhala is as follows. It is a vast plain of the shape of a lotus of eight petals, entirely surrounded by a wall of snowy

Lama for his fondness for Bengal was that "although in the different periods of his reviviscence he had chosen many regions for the places of his birth, yet Bengal was the only country in which he had been born twice; for which reason," he said, "he had a predelection for it beyond any other, and was desirous of making it a place of his abode, apparently esteeming the sanctity of the Ganges, as a consideration of inferior importance."¹

The religious prejudices which endear Bengal to the Tibetans, are again thus explained by Turner, who bases his information upon what he had heard from the Regent and Sapon Chenpo:²—"But Bengal is rendered peculiarly dear to them by the powerful influence of religious prejudice. The regeneration of their Lama is said to have taken place, in times of remote antiquity, near the site of the ancient and ruined city of Gowr, and all those places held in veneration by the Hindoos, as Gya, Benares, Mahow and Allahabad, are equally objects of superstitious zeal, with a votary of the Tibet faith, who thinks himself blessed above his fellow disciples, if he can but perform a pilgrimage to these hallowed spots."³

After Mr. Bogle's return to Calcutta, the Lama, as he had proposed in his first conversation with him on the subject of his proposed temple, wrote to Mr. Hastings on the subject,⁴ and Mr. Bogle in his general report, speaking of the apprehension of Tibet merchants, in respect of the heat and unhealthiness of Bengal, urged that "prejudices of this kind are to be cured only by habit, and your compliance with the Teshu Lama's desire of founding a monastery and temple on the banks

mountains, and conveniently intersected by many great rivers. At the centre of this great country stands as the filament of a lotus, its capital, the city of Kalápa, with extensive gardens and parks round it, which are protected by a circular wall of very lofty snowy mountains with four gates. Four rivers issuing from the snowy barriers, water the city and its garden, and then flow into two lakes, called Upaságara and Puṇḍaríka, which adorn the earthly paradise of Kalápa. At the southern extremity of the city stands the garden of Malaya, with the palace of the Chakravartí Rája Chandra Bhadra. The mansions of the 25 Kulika emperors, who followed the line of the seven Dharma Rájas, stand on the bank of the river and line the lotus. The first Chakravartí emperor of Sambhala was Súryaprabha. In each of the eight petal-like divisions of S'ambhala there are 12,000,000 cities, in consequence of which 96,000,000 of cities cover the entire empire. The European scholars of Northern Buddhism are inclined to identify S'ambhala with Europe, making London (the Western) Kalápa.

¹ Turner, *ibid.*, p. xv.

² Sapon Chenpo was cup-bearer and minister to the Tashi Lama; he was during the Regency of Chanjo Kusho second in rank at the court of Tashi Lhunpo.

³ Turner, *ibid.*, p. 268.

⁴ Markham, *ibid.*, p. 138, note.

“of the Gauges will probably tend to remove these strong prepossessions against the climate of Bengal, and to produce an intercourse with the northern nations. The safe return of the people whom the Lama proposes to send next winter to visit the holy places in Bengal will serve to inspire their countrymen with confidence; the fondness for the Tibetans for every thing strange or curious, strengthened by religion, will probably lead many others to undertake so meritorious a journey; and these pilgrimages, like the Hajj at Mekkah, may in time open a considerable mart for the commodities of Bengal.”¹

Warren Hastings, apprised of the Lama's wish by his direct communication, and urged by Mr. Bogle as to the paramount necessity of complying with it, issued the necessary orders under which a piece of land was purchased and given to the Tashi Lama, and the construction of a Buddhist temple was commenced under the direction of Mr. Bogle, who had been previously trusted by the Lama with a considerable remittance in money. As soon as it was completed, Hastings wrote thus on the subject to the Lama, who had previously sent images to be deposited in it—“By the blessing of God it will be the means of making your name known in this country, and of strengthening the friendship which is between us, and you will consider it as a mark of the confidence and regard which I bear to you.”²

Mr. Markham discovered a note on the manuscript of Mr. Bogle which he supposes to be in the handwriting of A. Dalrymple, Esq. It records some of the above facts, and adds that “people from Tibet and Bhutan constantly resorted to it “(Bhot Mandir)” during the time for which my knowledge reaches.”³

The connection of the British Government in India with the Bhot Bágán is now so far revealed as to make it clear that Warren Hastings at the earnest and repeated solicitations of one of the Grand Lamas of Tibet designated the Tashi Lama, and wishing to cultivate his friendship in the interest of Tibeto-Bengal trade, made choice, at his direction, of a little upwards of a hundred bighás of land (either originally rent-free or subsequently made such), purchased it, and in 1778 by the sanad No. 3 gave it to him formally, and actually to Púran Gir Gosain as their protégé and deserved favourite. It does not appear in the history of the missions how the 50 bighás of land, mentioned in the sanads Nos. 2 and 4, came to be granted to them in 1783,⁴ but from

¹ Markham, *ibid.*, p. 198.

² Markham, *ibid.*, note 1, p. 138, note 1, p. 146, and Turner, *ibid.*, Intro., p. xv.

³ Markham, *ibid.*, note 1, page 138.

⁴ It should be noted here that the Sanad No. 4 for 50 bighás was executed in favour of a Lama in 1783, but his name is identical with that of the then deceased Lama, who had, while living in 1778, received a grant of 100 bighás by sanad No.

an episode relating to the Bhoṭ Bágán, which will be noticed hereafter, it will be seen that Captain Turner refers to these 50 bighás, when he says in one of his communications to the Governor-General (John Macpherson) in 1786, that it "is a part of the land situated on the western bank of the river, opposite to Calcutta, which was formerly granted, under a sunnud of this government, to Teshoo Lama, for the foundation of a place of worship, and as a resort for those pilgrims of his nation, who might occasionally make visits to the consecrated Ganges."¹ He also in the same paper describes the whole as Púran Gir's little territory."

History then corroborates the statements in the sanads that the total area of the Bhoṭ Bágán is a trifle upwards of 150 bighás, and shows that the object of the grant was fully carried out by the liberality of the Lama, the amount of whose remittance, received by Mr. Bogle for the construction of the temple and dwelling, though not traceable now, is stated to have been 'considerable,' and hence the structures were no doubt originally commensurate with the large expenditure that had been incurred on account of them. There were also guest-houses, (as the traditions of the place confirm), in which people from Tibet, some of whom were important enough to have been introduced to Warren Hastings, were lodged. The building that is now seen, with partial reconstruction of some ruined portions, must be the remains of what was once of much larger dimension and extent.²

Of the grantees whose names the sanads mention, one is the Lama, the other Púran Gir Gosain. The title of the former, as given in the Persian, and as already set forth, is *Teshí Lámah Panchan Ardání Bak-deo Panchan*, which I think would be correctly *Tashi Lama Panchan Ertení Vákya Deva*, meaning "the Tashi Lama Paṇḍita, the gem of great Paṇḍitas, Vákya-deva (lord of speech.)" It was thus for the first and last time in the annals of Tibet and Buddhodom and of British India, that an *Avatár*, the living divinity, who from his palace on the highest regions where man can dwell, exercises his hierarchical sway over the largest extent of territories in the world, condescended to accept sanads from the representative of the British Power in India and to become his Jagírdár a hundred and twenty years ago! The personage who gave the kindest reception to Mr. Bogle and formed with him a real friendship,

2. This anomaly may be explained by the fact that it is not the name of a person, but the official designation that is mentioned in both the sanads.

¹ Turner, *ibid.*, p. 432.

² The Bhoṭ Bágán or rather Bhoṭ Mandir in fact was constituted a *maṭh* in which character it is perhaps the only one besides that of the celebrated Tarkeśwar, in Bengal.

and who was in fact the formal assignee of the Bhoṭ Bágán land, is described by the latter as having been forty years of age, and of low stature, fairer than an ordinary Tibetan with jet-black hair, and eyes small and black. He could speak Hindústání tolerably. His disposition was open, candid, and generous, and merry and entertaining in his conversation. Says Mr. Bogle, "I endeavoured to find out, in his character, those defects which are inseparable from humanity, but he is so universally beloved that I had no success, and not a man could find in his heart to speak ill of him."¹ He remarks elsewhere, that the Lama's thirst for knowledge was insatiable. The other assignee's name in the sanads appears in Persian as Púran Gir, and in the Bengalí inscription on the tomb-house door-top in the Bhoṭ Bágán as Purán Giri Mahanta.

The next point of inquiry is, how under the influence of Buddhism, a religion so well-known to be antagonistic in its main tenets to Hinduism as derived from the Vedas and Purápas—representatives of Hindú and Buddhist mythology are found mixed up in the Bhoṭ Mandir ?

In the sixth century before the Christian era Buddhism was founded in India; three centuries later it became the state religion of the country, and in the early part of the fourth century before the same era, it was introduced into Ceylon where it is believed to have been preserved in its purest state, but as missionaries began to spread it in different countries out of India, great departures from the original institution began to take place. It was accepted in China, at the commencement of the era, and it reached Tibet,² in the beginning of the seventh century through the influence of a Chinese princess. It came from China and India in two mixed streams; from the former country flowing through successive beds of old religions and indigenous philosophy, and from the latter, as from its main source, it came in continuous currents through translations and retranslations of its hagiology, and through Puránic and Tántric literature under the teachings of the Bráhmans, and from both weighted with exhaustless legends since the days of Sákjamuni. Among the holy books imported into Tibet from India are mentioned the Tantras in twenty-two volumes. According to the commentary on the Kálachakra Tantra, after Buddha's death "the compilers *writing* in three books the three vehicles (or works on

¹ Markham, *ibid.*, p. 84.

² "It is said that a native king established the seat of Government at Lhasa in 617 A. D.; that he married a Chinese princess of the Buddhist persuasion, and that he sent his minister to India, who returned with the great body of truth contained in the Buddhist canonical Scriptures, framed the Tibetan alphabet from the Devanagari of India, and commenced the translation of the canon from Sanskrit into the language of the country. Markham, *ibid.*, pp. xlv, xlvi.

“three fold principles), they expressed all the three true repositories of “Sutra, of Tathagata, in his language. The Prajñyá-páramitá and the “Mantras in Sanscrit; the several sorts of Tantras in several languages, “Sanskrit, Pracrit, Apabhransha, in that of the mountaineers, and all “sorts of mlechchhas. Accordingly all the three Vehicles (yánam) in “Tibet were written in the Tibetan language.”¹ Csoma Kőrösi describes four different systems of Buddhism derived from India.

Mahámáyá², a revered name in Hindú mythology, and specially in the Sakti doctrine, is also the name of the mother of Buddha, and as such, around it have accumulated legendary accretions, which, in Tibet, have greatly predominated. The incarnation of the Grand Lamas, though it may at first appear, in its temporal aspect, peculiar to Tibet, is in its essence the widely accepted doctrine of metempsychosis in Hindú mythology and philosophy.

Besides the circumstance of the import of Hindú Sástras of different periods into Tibet, its very situation in the midst of mountains and lofty peaks, sources of great rivers and springs, and lakes held equally sacred by the Hindús and Buddhists, has, from the remotest times, rendered it the common meeting ground of pilgrims of both faiths, not to mention the frequency of such meetings between the mountaineers and the people of the plains bent upon mercantile errands, whereby a blending of the two religions became inevitable.

The history of the missions, moreover, brings out striking proofs of such blending. The very first thing, at every stage of their journeys from the *dúars*³ of Bhutan up to the mountain terraces, to Tashi Lhunpo, which the two envoys Bogle and Turner marked, was the very great respect paid by the people and the chiefs to the Gossains and Sannyásis, the Gelongs,⁴ and even Faqírs.⁵ They both saw in the palace of the Lama, in the temples and monasteries, and in other places, idols and church services, to confirm them in the belief that Tibetan Buddhism was intimately connected with many important phases of mediæval and modern Hinduism. Says Bogle “The religion of the Lamas is some- “how connected with that of the Hindus, and many of their deities are “the same, the Shaster is translated into their language; and they hold

¹ Hardy's *Eastern Monachism*, pp. 188-189.

² Mahámáyá. In one of the Játakas there is a legend that king Sanja became Suddhodana, the father of Gotama Buddha; the queen Phusatí became Mahámáyá Deví, his mother. Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 118, 133.

³ *Dúars* from Sanskrit *dvára*, door, gate.

⁴ Gelong, i. e., *dGe-slong*, a monk.

⁵ *Faqírs*. Though applied to Muhammadan mendicants, the term is loosely applied to mendicants of all religions.

“in veneration the holy places of Hindustan.” In the gallery of the Tashi Lhunpo palace he saw, among others, the image of the god of war; probably it was that of Kártikeya. In speaking to him on one occasion on the subject of trade, the Tashi Lama said that “the Lama had temples “in Benares, Gaya, somewhere in Purneah and at several other places; “that their priests used to travel there to study the Shaster and the “religion of the Brahmans; and after remaining there ten, twenty, or “thirty years, returned to Tibet communicating their knowledge to “their countrymen, and thereby gaining great reputation; that about “eight hundred years ago Bengal was invaded and conquered by the “Mussulmans, who destroyed and pillaged the temples and plundered “the people, so that such as escaped returned to their mountains along “with some Brahmans who fled from the persecutions; since which “time the inhabitants of Tibet have had little connection with Bengal “or the southern countries.” In a conversation turning specially on religion, the Lama pointed out the connection between his faith and that of the Bráhmaṇ, said, the Tibetans worshipped the three Hindú gods Brahmá, Vishṇu and S'iva, but not their inferior deities.¹ These three names symbolically express the three attributes of the deity as comprehended in the Vedic holy syllable *Om*, but the three emblems *Om Han Hoong* which Bogle saw on three round brass plates on the front of the Tashi Rabgya palace, are said to refer to Buddha, Dharma and Sangha.

Turner, when speaking of the places of pilgrimage in India which Tibetans frequented, says “Gungasaugor (Gangá ságara) an uninhabited “island situated at the confluence of the Ganges with the sea, and the “pagoda of Juggernath (Jagannátha) on the coast of Orissa, are also “deemed of equal sanctity.” He notices also the practice of pilgrimage by proxy—he had heard the late Tashi Lama having by his agents pilgrimized to Kási, Prayága, Gangá Ságar, and Jaggannáth Purí. Among the assemblage of gods he saw in Tibet, he mentions the Hindú deities, Durgá and Káli, Gaṇeśa and Kártikeya. He refers elsewhere to a Bhutanese Durgá Pújá. Thus cumulative proof is found to justify Tibeto-Buddhism, allowing Buddhistic and Hindú idols to be worshipped in the same temple, as it is seen in the Bhoṭ Mandir.

The public services of Púran Gir commenced, so far as records show, when as a young Sannyási, not more than perhaps twenty-five years old, he received from the Tashi Lama, the famous letter of mediation on behalf of Depa Shidar of Bhutan, and with a single Tibetan companion of the name of Paima, came down the mountain heights, and “ventured “to encounter the burning atmosphere of Bengal” towards the end of March 1774.

¹ Markham, *ibid.*, pp. 72, 142.

We see in our mind's eye this personage in his ascetic garb with *danḍa* and *kamaṇḍalu* in his hands, and with his tiger skin flung on his shoulders, ushered into the saloon of our Government House, and introduced to the first Governor-General as the holy envoy from the Grand Lama. He presents his credentials to him, and lays before him the Lama's presents, which included "talents of gold and silver, bulses of gold dust, and bags of "genuine musk." Long and searching were the inquiries which were made by the inquisitive Mr. Hastings, and the answers he received were most satisfactory and suggestive, and led to the mission of Mr. Bogle. When Púran Gir accompanied Mr. Bogle on this mission, his services were found of immense value, and almost indispensable at every important stage of the journey. At Tashi Chhoijang, while the mission waited to receive the Lama's permission to proceed to Tibet, Chinese intrigue and jealousy at Lhasa, operating at the Tashi Lhunpo Court, threatened to cut short the progress of the deputation. The Tashi Lama had written letters to Mr. Hastings, to Mr. Bogle, and to Púran Gir, which were received by the Deb Rája. In the two former, the addressees were informed that "his (the Lama's) country being subject to the Emperor or of China, whose order it is that he shall admit no Moghul, Hindu-stani, Patan or Fringy, he is without remedy, and China being at the "distance of a year's journey, prevents his writing to the Emperor, for "permission, and desires me therefore to return to Calcutta."¹ The communication to Púran Gir again informed him that he (the Lama) wished to postpone Mr. Bogle's visit to Tibet on account of small-pox breaking out there. Suspecting these to be mere pretences to cover some real cause of aversion on the part of the Lama to see him, Mr. Bogle now almost in despair turned towards our Gosain Púran, and says he, "In this "situation all my hopes of seeing Teshu Lama were chiefly founded on "the Gosain. As my journey had been undertaken upon his assurances, "he was engaged in honour to see it accomplished, and I endeavoured "to strengthen this principle by powerful motives. While he remained "at Tassisudon (Tashi Chhoijang), he could be of no service, and I "readily consented to his proceeding to the Lama."²

The noble Gosain was keenly alive to a true sense of honour; he was much trusted by the Lama, and his words carried weight. He explained to him the true state of things, and disabused his mind of wrong impressions against the English, and at his suggestion the Tashi Lama wrote to the Dalai Lama's Minister, drawing his attention to the courtesy and high-mindedness of the Feringís in their dealings with the defeated Depa Shidar in compliance with his request, and warning him of the consequence of refusing permission to the admittance of the mission.

¹ Markham, *ibid.*, p. 45.

² Markham, *ibid.*, p. 46.

The permission was granted and forwarded to Mr. Bogle through the Deb Rája. Not content with being instrumental in obtaining passports, he came down to meet the mission in their journey up, and joining them at Giansu, conducted them at once to the Lama's Tashi Rabgya palace.

During the whole period of Mr. Bogle's sojourn in Tibet, Púran Gir was not only his cicerone, interpreter, and adviser, but he was unremitting in his endeavours to establish a friendly disposition in the mind of the Tashi Lama towards the British Government, and to bring about that intimacy which grew up between these personages. He was the constant referée of both on various matters of importance, and often cited by them as a witness in respect of the personal dealings of each relating to the mission on any points in the administrations of Tibet and Bengal. Bogle asking him to say how tolerant of religious matters, and how successful in promoting security of life and property was the Government of Hastings, and the Lama inviting him to testify how peace-loving and quiet were his people, and how grateful were his sentiments towards Mr. Hastings for his ready compliance with his request, of whom he said "he (Mr. Hastings) has made him very happy, and "has done a very pious action. My servants (among whom was "Púran Gir) who went to Calcutta were only little men, and the kind "reception they had from the Governor I consider as another mark of "his friendship."¹

It has been already stated that the contemplated second mission to Tibet under Mr. Bogle in 1779 was prevented by the departure of the Tashi Lama at the time to Peking, and by the death of Bogle himself in 1781, and that Púran Gir Gosain had, at the instance of the Government of Bengal, accompanied the Lama to China.

He showed his powers of observation by taking notes of every important event in the journey of the Lama, of his interview with the Emperor and of his reception. He actually wrote out a graphic account of all this. Who translated it is not known, but a translation was with Mr. Hastings from whom, through various channels, Mr. A. Dalrymple obtained it, and published it in the *Oriental Repertory*. It is most interesting and of special value in connection with the present subject, it, or rather its original, being the literary production of our versatile Gosain. Among many facts contained in it, those that should be noted here are:—the extraordinary veneration and esteem which the Chinese Emperor exhibited towards the Lama in his repeated entreaties, whereby he pressed him to come to China on his having at first declined to go there; in the grand and expensive preparations that were made throughout the entire course of a long and slow journey, and in the assiduous

¹ Markham, *ibid.*, p. 136.

and respectful attentions shown him during his sojourn in Peking, where, on his arrival, he was seated on the highest cushion on the imperial throne on the right side of the Emperor; the proceedings of the spiritual 'initiation through the Lama's whispering of the *mantra* or sacred text into the Emperor's ear after the Hindú fashion in the presence of Changya guru;¹ and the particular interview in which the good Tashi Lama, true to his word, informed the Emperor that "in the country of Hindústán, which lies on the borders of my country, there resides a great prince or ruler for whom I have the greatest friendship. I wish you should now regard him also, and if you will write him a letter of friendship and receive his in return, it will afford me great pleasure, as I wish you should be known to each other, and that a friendly communication should, in future, subsist between you."

The Emperor, on hearing this request from the much venerated Lama, replied that it was a very small one indeed, "but that this or any thing else he desired, should be complied with. He continued to inquire of the Lama what that Prince or Governor's name was, the extent of the country he ruled over and the number of forces &c." At this stage the Lama sent for his confidential Púran Gir, presented him before his Celestial Majesty, and desired him to answer the inquiries of the Emperor regarding the Governor of Hindústán "as (he) the writer² had often been in his country. The writer "then informed him that the Governor of Hindústán was called Mr. Hastings, that the extent of the country he governed was not near equal to that of China, but superior to any other he knew, and that the troops of that country were upwards of three lacks of horsemen."³

On another occasion the Lama in the presence of Púran Gir reminded the Emperor that "he had some time before mentioned to him a prince or governor of Hindústán, called Mr. Hastings, with whom he (the Lama) held strict friendship, and repeated his wish that the Emperor should know him and hold friendly intercourse with him also by writing to him and receiving his friendly answers. Much more was said by the Lama on this subject, to all of which the Emperor replied, that he could only assure the Lama, he joined most heartily with him in what he wished, as it would give him much pleasure to know and correspond with the Governor of Hindústán, his friend; and to convince him of his sincerity, he would, if the Lama desired it, cause a letter immediately to be written to the Governor in such

¹ The Chinese high priest.

² Púran does not speak of himself in the first person but as 'the writer.'

³ Oriental Repertory, VII, pp. 145—164.

“ terms as the Lama should dictate, or if the Lama thought, it would be more effectual towards establishing the friendship, he wished that the letter should be in readiness when the Lama took his departure from China, and that he should take it with him, and have the care of forwarding it, in such manner as he thought best, to the Governor of Hindústán. The latter mode the Lama made choice of, and expressed much satisfaction.”

It was destined, however, that all this friendly endeavour on the very eve of bearing fruit should be frustrated, for the Lama was seized, as elsewhere stated, with small-pox, about which he had forebodings before he left Tashi Lhunpo, and in fact had written to the Emperor as one of his apprehensions which disinclined him to go to China. Of this disease the Lama died on the evening of the 12th November 1780 as he sat at prayer. Púran Gir, whom the Lama in his dying hour had sent for and conversed with, describes his death “to have been remarkably tranquil.”

The Emperor who, on receipt of the sad news, had come to see the dead body still remaining in a sitting posture through the help of pillows, was moved to tears.¹ In that position it was put into a coffin, then into a large temple-shaped receptacle of pure gold, with an outer covering of copper, and was sent in great procession to Tashi Lhunpo, under the charge of the departed Lama's brother, to whom the Emperor said that “he trusted to the Almighty soon to hear of his arrival there, “but above all other things he would impatiently long to hear of the *Lama's regeneration,*” which it was his special request strictly to inform him of.

Púran Gir accompanied this procession, and saw the gold cased earthly tenement of the Lama deposited in a mausoleum in Tashi Lhunpo, while the Buddha world in the north remained expectant for the appearance of an infant, vivified by the departed spirit of the Tashi Lama to be elected his successor.

The Chinese Emperor Kuen-lung's proceedings with reference to the Lama closed with a letter which he addressed to the Dalai Lama, informing him of his death, and touchingly alluding to the foreboding which had at first disinclined him to visit China.²

¹ The affecting scene described by Púran Gir, when the Chinese Emperor was shedding tears at the bedside of the dying Tashi Lama, bears some resemblance to the great Akbar repairing with his *Hakim* to the house of his favourite Faizi the celebrated poet and scholar, when he found him breathing his last, throwing away his head gear as a mark of great sorrow and bitterly uttering an extemporised mourning verse.

² A translation of this letter by M. Amiot, a missionary, is also published in the *Or. Rep.* vii, p. 273. Mr. Amiot had previously communicated information to

The Regent¹ above named as well as the minister to the late Lama Soipon Chenpo, in two very curious letters, conveyed to Warren Hastings the melancholy intelligence of the death of the Lama at Peking, expressing at the same time a hope for the speedy incarnation of his soul. In both these letters our Púran Gir is often and often mentioned with expressions of great confidence in his character and ability. The Soipon Chenpo writes—"From the relation of Púran Gir inform yourself of those things which are past, and of those which are present, and of those things which are to come to pass," and the Regent after giving a brief account of the late Tashi Lama's visit to China and his melancholy fate and funeral, says, "Poorungheer Gosein arrived here in the year 1193, after the departure of the Lama towards China and two letters, and nine strings of pearls, &c. &c. arrived safe" * * "I have communicated other matters, and other things, to the faithful Poorungheer by whom you will be informed of them. In compliance with your wishes, you will permit him to remain under the shadow of your protection, and favour him with such marks of your kindness, as may enable him to pass his days in returning thanks for your goodness.²

There is, in the last letter, allusion in two places to some "village of the Raja" in respect of which Hastings had shown the Lama some favour and likewise with reference to "the certain portion of land and the *mahsool* thereon and in settling the disputes appertaining thereto." It is obvious that the allusions refer to the encroachment on the Bhot Bágán to be noticed further on. The Regent also applies for the grant of "a lot of land³ in the noble city of Calcutta, on the bank of the river." Concerning this affair says he, "I have spoken fully and particularly to the Gosein Poorungheer, and he will make known to you the whole thereof, and you will comply with my request."

Púran Gir, when he accompanied Captain Turner to Tibet, rendered services in promoting the object of the mission as valuable as in the case of Mr. Bogle, and the Regent reposed in him the same confidence as had been done by the deceased Tashi Lama; and though the Captain does not, in his report and narrative, refer to him as often as his prede-

a Paris Journal of the imperial preparation for the celebration of a ceremony on the seventeenth birthday of the Emperor, to which the *Pan-tchan Erteni*, as he calls him, was invited. The Emperor writes in the above letter, "Although I am well aware that to come and to go are but as the same thing to the *Panchan Erteni*, yet when I reflect &c."

¹ The Regent's letter has already been incidentally noticed.

² Turner, *ibid.*, Ap., pp. 449—456.

³ This seems to have been a fresh request for land within the city of Calcutta. It is not known how it was dealt with.

cessor did, he always speaks of him with great appreciation, calls him a Hindú Gosain, a kind of religious hermit or pilgrim, and says, "Motives of religious duty, which, among the order of Goseins more specially, attaches peculiar respect to every kind and degree of penance, having occasionally led Poorungheer among the different tribes of Tartars, he had acquired, during his residence amongst them, a very competent knowledge of their manners, and of their language, which he spoke with apparent ease; and by the exemplary regularity of conduct he had uniformly preserved in his intercourse with the inhabitants of these regions, I found that he had strongly recommended himself to their notice, and obtained the favour of all their chiefs."¹ And again that he as well as the Tibetan Pauima "were men of acute understanding and ready information, and from them much knowledge was collected both of the country from which they came, and of the way which led to it."

It was a grand and momentous occasion when the Bengal Mission arrived in Tibet. It was the celebration of a festival on the Tashi Lama's (a Boddhisatwa) having sacrificed his Buddhahood for the behoof of his devotees and reappeared in the flesh. There was a mighty stir and flutter throughout the Buddha domains, extending on the one hand to China and Tartary, and on the other to Bhutan, Sikkim and Nepal. Magnificent preparations, calculated to produce a spectacular effect, were made to remove the infant Lama from his house in the Painon valley to the monastery of Tharpaling for his training. Turner sought, through the mediation of Púran Gir, to obtain for him admittance into the arena of the imposing ceremony, but the assiduous Gosain failed in his endeavour. Chinese jealousy of strangers was apprehended, and the Regent's and Soipon Chenpo's conversation on a former occasion explained this, when they cited Púran Gir as witness to "the anxiety they had laboured under, in contriving to conduct" the Captain to Tashi Lhunpo. Captain Turner was perfectly satisfied as to the genuineness of this dread of Chinese influence, though this nation deify the Lama. He says in the recital of their embarrassments, "though they are averse to own any immediate dependance upon the Chinese, I could plainly trace the greatest awe of the Emperor of China, of his officers stationed at the court of Lassa styled Umbas, as well as of the Jasoos, and the Raja of that place, Gesub Rimbochay² who had usurped even,

¹ Turner; *ibid.*, p. 38, note.

² Properly Gyetshab Rinpoche (also called Sadag for which Turner finds no exact English equivalent, but supposes it to mean Prime minister and something more, *ibid.*, p. 245) is a temporal sovereign who, during the minority of the Dalai Lama at Lhasa, presides as the Regent. As this minority is of frequent occurrence, the

“from the hands of the Dalai Lama, the greatest portion of his temporal power.”

The Regent and the minister, however, soon after the retirement of the Chinese troops and officers, who had been sent by the Emperor to escort the infant Lama to the monastery, allowed Captain Turner to obtain, through the Gosain's endeavour, a ready compliance with such requests as he made from time to time. He was admitted into the monasteries, and allowed to enter the mausoleum of the late Tashi Lama, the structure, adornments, and riches of which, and the ceremonies in which, he describes with great circumstantiality. He saw depicted, upon the pedestal, the imperial Chinese dragon—a conspicuous indication of the suzerainty of this nation. Under the portico of the mausoleum, sat a priest reading a book¹ with the greatest attention, indifferent to what was going around; there were others to relieve him, it being their duty to pray perpetually upon the same spot, and keep alive the sacred fire² that burns before the shrine. The departed Tashi Lama, whose corpse cased in gold was deposited at the base of the pyramidal tomb, in an upright sitting devotional attitude, was represented on the top in an effigy of gold. Púran Gir Gosain and others “prostrated themselves nine times with devout humility.” The Captain saw also every religious edifice adorned with the head of the lion evincing the Tibetan veneration for the animal.

Towards the commencement of December, when, on the return journey, the deputation came to the foot of the hill on which was situated the Tharpaling monastery already noticed, in which the infant Lama, then eighteen months old had been lodged for education, Captain Turner was allowed to visit this Lama, whom he found seated in great form upon his throne with his parents on each side. The child turned towards a crowd of visitors that came to worship him, “and received them all with a cheerful look of complacency.” The father, among other things said, that the Lama rose earlier than usual, “because the English gentlemen were arrived, and he could not sleep.” “During the time we were in the room,” says the Captain, “I observed that “the Lama's eyes were scarcely ever turned from us, and when our “cups were empty of tea, he appeared uneasy, * * * until “they were filled again. He took some burnt sugar out of a golden cup,

Gesab in fact is considered as the real sovereign, the Dalai on coming to years of maturity often tries to shake off the control of the ambitious Gesabs, but the latter succeed by foul means to retain power.

¹ Like the reading of the *Chandi* in the Hindú shrines; but the Tibetan practice of unremitting recitation is unique.

² The preservation of the sacred fire is another old Hindú religious practice adopted by the Tibetans.

“containing some confectionary, and, stretching out his arm, made a motion to his attendant, to give them to me. * * * * *

“I found myself, though visiting an infant, under the necessity of saying something; for it was hinted to me, that notwithstanding he is unable to reply, it is not to be inferred that he cannot understand.” He, the Captain, then made a brief speech, beginning with an allusion to his (the Lama’s) death in China and happy regeneration, and to the joy of the Governor-General at this last auspicious event, and ending with a request for an extensive communication between his votaries and the dependants of the British Nation. “The little creature turned,” writes Captain Turner, “looking stedfastly towards me, with the appearance of much attention while I spoke, and nodded with repeated but slow movements of the head, as though he understood and approved every word, but could not utter a reply. * *

“His whole attention was directed to us; he was silent and sedate, never once looking towards his parents; * * * his behaviour, on this occasion, appeared perfectly natural and spontaneous, and not directed by any external action, or sign of authority. * *

“He made the most expressive signs, and conducted himself with astonishing dignity and decorum. * * He had an animated expression of countenance; altogether, I thought him one of the handsomest children I had ever seen.” When a watch on another visit was presented to him, “he admired it, but with gravity and without any childish emotion.”¹

The work performed by Púran Gir, when he himself as envoy of the Governor-General presented himself before the Regent of the minor Tashi Lama, has already been briefly noticed. In his journey through Bhutan, he received from the subjects of the Deb Rájá the most ample and voluntary assistance to the frontier of his territory, and experienced upon the borders of Tibet such an unusually inclement weather by a heavy fall of snow as to leave him no doubt of his falling a victim to it, but an early change taking place, the party were enabled to advance. The mission reached Tashi Lhunpo on the 8th May, and Púran Gir immediately presented himself at the Durbar of the Chanjo Kusho, Panchhen Ertini Nomankhan, and explained the object of his mission which was the same as the previous ones. The Gosain received a most favourable reception, as due to one in whom the late Lama, the Regent himself and the Governor-General of India reposed the utmost confidence and whom the people of Tibet and Bhutan venerated. He was introduced into the garden, where the young Lama² was then taking

¹ Turner, *ibid.*, p. 334-36.

² Then within his fourth year.

his recreation, attended by the Regent, his parents and others. Here he made his prostration, and showed other marks of veneration. The despatches were broken open by the Lama, who examined every article of the present brought to him, and regarded the Gosain with a very kind and significant look, talked to him in the Tibetan language, and gave his dismissal by laying his hand upon his head which he had previously uncovered for the purpose.

Púran Gir witnessed one of the grandest and most imposing ceremonies in Tibet, which was the removal of the child Lama from the Tharpaling monastery to that of Tashi Lhunpo, and his installation there on the throne of his predecessors. Here he saw ambassadors from China, the Dalai Lama himself from Lhasa, and deputies from many other countries, accompanied by numerous trains of attendants and officers, swelled by an unprecedented crowd of people whose devotion or the pleasure of sight-seeing had drawn thither, and he beheld with wonderment arrangements which were conducive to pomp and parade, grandeur and magnificence.

The Gosain had frequent interviews with the Regent and the Tibetan authorities at Tashi Lhunpo, who all assured him of their desire to encourage the commercial intercourse established under the auspices of the late Governor-General, and of the respect they entertained for the integrity of the character of the English nation, of which they had been convinced by intercourse with the agents of Warren Hastings, specially as the Regent said that "the views of the English tended to "no scheme of ambition, but were confined merely to objects of utility "and curiosity."

With Púran Gir's mission in 1785 ended the statesmanly and most wisely concerted proceedings of the first Governor-General of India, to open friendly and commercial relations between the Tibetan, Bhutanese and other Himalayan states and Central Asian regions on the one side, and the British Government and its subjects on the other—relations which received a rude shock under the Government of Lord Cornwallis, when he failed to realise the importance of promptitude of action in protecting the Tashi Lama's realm from the unprovoked and wanton invasion by the Gurkháli dynasty of Nepal, in 1792. The tardy measures which led to "the despatch of Captain Kirkpatrick, followed too late after the Chinese General Sund Fo had vindicated the honour of the Tashi Lama, and curbed the ambitious chief of Nepal by a crushing defeat of his army."

It will now be seen that while the establishment of Bhoṭ Bágán and the despatch of the Tibet missions owe their origin remotely to the Gurkha invasion of Sikkim, followed by the Bhutanese invasion of

Kuch Behar, in 1769, and the masterly and conciliatory policy of Warren Hastings ; and proximately to the mysterious doctrine of Lama metempsychosis and the zealous and faithful service of a Sivite Sannyási ; the most audacious Gurkháli invasion above alluded to, culminating in the sack of Tashi Lhunpo and the flight to Lhasa of the same Tashi Lama who as an infant had received the Turner and the Gosain missions, as well as the foresightless and the masterly inactive policy of the Cornwallis rule, are to be regarded as immediate causes of the final closure of the gates for British officials to the *Cis-* and *Trans-nivean* states. It was also within a short while subsequent to those events that in the Bhoṭ Bágán the brave Gosain met his death at the hands of robbers, as the sequel of the narrative will show. The Gurkha invasions, therefore, of 1769 and 1792, should be remembered as the two mile-stones of very important occurrences in the history of British India.

The important features of the extraordinary character of Púran Gir, the co-assignee of the Tashi Lama, have been gleaned from the history of the missions to Tibet. He possessed remarkable intelligence and wisdom, a fund of inexhaustible energy, a mastery of many languages including Tibetan and Mongolian, a wide range of experience acquired by travel in and out of India, a practical insight into all the commercial relations of Asia of which Tibet formed the heart, and enjoyed and deserved a reputation for piety and integrity which made him the trusted agent of the Tashi Lhunpo authorities and the Bengal Government.

Of the personal history of this remarkable and extraordinary Sannyási, unfortunately there exists no record ; whatever was known of him, has, like that of most of our illustrious countrymen, passed into oblivion. It is a happy thing that so many particulars and incidents connected with his public life and such abundant testimony to his character, capacity and comprehensive knowledge of the important affairs of the time, have been preserved in the pages of Markham's "Narrative of the Mission of George Bogle to Tibet"—a narrative the materials of which were traced by the author in the possession of private individuals, and were not found in the public records of Government ; and in the Reports of Captain Turner as well as of the Gosain himself. The statement of the Gosain was taken down by Turner and submitted to the Governor-General Macpherson, and this forms an annexure of the Report. But even such information as is here given from these works is of a meagre character, and is so promiscuously scattered rather as digressive matter that it had to be collected with great circumspection.

Among the papers which were kindly delivered to me by Umrao

Gir, the present Mahanta of Bhoṭ Bágán, is, as already stated, a passport¹ in Tibetan, which had been given to Púran Gir by the Tashi Lama for his pilgrimage to the celebrated sacred Lake of Mana Sarovara, the source of the Sutlej, 800 miles from Lhasa. This document shows what great regard and respect the Lama had for our Gosain, for whose comfort and convenience most minute injunctions were given in it. A facsimile of the text (see Plate II) with a translation by Bábú Sarat Chandra Dás is annexed.

Some particulars about the Gosain have been gathered from the statements of the said Mahanta. According to him Púran was a Bráhmaṇa by caste, though as a *Daṇḍí*² he had cast off his sacrificial thread. His title Gir (or Giri) shows he was a follower of Śankarácárya's teachings and one of the *Daśanámí daṇḍís*, and must have been initiated at the *Jyosí maṭh*. In the passport the Tashi Lama describes him as an *Achárya*. He was a young man when he went to Tibet as a pilgrim, he had fair features, and was tall, strong and sinewy. His usual dress consisted of the Sannyásí's *kaupina*, with a short red ochre-dyed piece of cloth wrapped round his loins, and a tiger skin thrown over his shoulders, but on certain public occasions he wore a kind of toga, and covered his head with a turban. He was also a good rider, as testified to by Messrs. Bogle and Turner, with whom he rode races on the Himalayan plateau. His habits were simple and his heart pure, he took a single spare meal, and cooked his own food consisting of rice and vegetables only. He never ate before feeding his guests. Pious men of all sects frequented his monastery, and many of them lodged there. He used to be entrusted with valuable commodities, chiefly gold, for sale in Bengal, and he had a concern of his own also, but he never amassed any fortune, which he could easily have done, but he bestowed what he gained in large and open-handed charities. It was the special wish of the Lama that in the

¹ The passport granted to Púran Gir by the Tashi Lama, from Tashi Lhunpo, may be compared with the one granted by the Dalai Lama, from Lhasa, to an Armenian in 1688, published with a translation by Csoma de Körös in the 2nd volume of this Journal. Though indeed they are for different purposes. It may be here stated in passing that the seal attached to Púran Gir's passport is the oval signet seal of the Tashi Lama, and that on the Armenian's passport is a square seal of the Dalai Lama. If the engraving in the latter had been shown, there would have been an opportunity of comparing it with the seals on the Persian sanads given to Púran Gir. Púran Gir is described in the passport as an *Achárya*.

² *Daṇḍí*, *lit.* one who carries a *daṇḍa* in his hand. Though this term applies generally to a mendicant carrying a staff, it is the peculiar appellation of a mendicant of that particular order which follows the teachings of Ś'ankarácárya.

* *Kaupina* is a strip of cloth worn crosswise between the thighs to cover the privities.

Bhoṭ Bágán monastery Tibetans, who resorted to places of pilgrimage in Bengal and its neighbourhood, should meet with Púran Gir's hospitality. Captain Turner himself gives an instance of a tall, emaciated Sannyási pilgrim from Tibet, whom he met in the streets of Calcutta, introduced to the Governor-General, and made over to Púran Gir to be lodged in the Bhoṭ Bágán during the period of his sojourn in Bengal. Mr. Dalrymple also, as alluded to elsewhere, testifies to such facts by his personal knowledge.

In speaking of Púran Gir's last mission it has already been stated that he returned to Bengal after its successful prosecution. Captain Turner, in his most valuable memorandum of information, which he gathered from the Gosain and which he submitted to Mr. Macpherson on the 6th February 1786, draws among other things, the attention of the Governor-General to the important facts which he ascertained with infinite satisfaction from the Gosain and says "I learn from the reports " of Poorungher, the flourishing state of the lately projected scheme of " trade ; to promote which, he assures me, not anything has been want- " ing in facility of intercourse ; that the adventurers, who had invested " their property, had experienced perfect security in conducting their " commerce, had carried their articles to an exceeding good market, and " found the rate of exchange materially in their favour."¹

When Púran Gir was away in Tibet on the Government service, he had left the Bhoṭ Bágán in charge of his *chela* or disciple Daljit Gir, but when he returned with despatches from the Tashi Lama, he found to his mortification that a portion of his, or the Lama's, property on the banks of the river had been invaded and taken possession of by a zamíndár. On the subject of this encroachment, the good Captain Turner thus put in a paragraph in the memorandum alluded to:—"the " little territory his adopted *chela* was left in charge of, having during " his absence been violently invaded by Raaj Chund, a neighbouring " zemeendar, and to the amount of 50 begas forcibly taken out of his " hands. Prevailed on by his earnest and repeated solicitation, I am " induced to say for him, that in your justice and favour are his only " hopes of relief from his embarrassments, and he humbly asks your pro- " tection in restoring and securing him in the possession of his invaded " rights. The liberty of this intercession, I am confident to think, would " be forgiven, were it not in favour of one who has rendered various " useful services to this Government ; but though of trivial importance, " it affords also an authentic instance, of the encroaching disposition of " inferior zemeendars. Yet another circumstance, it may not be improper " to point out ; that the ground alluded to, is a part of the land situated

¹ Turner, *ibid.*, p. 433.

“ on the western bank of the river, opposite to Calcutta, which was
 “ formerly granted, under a *sunrud* of this Government to Teshoo Lama,
 “ for the foundation of a place of worship, and as a resort for those
 “ pilgrims of his nation, who might occasionally make visits to the
 “ consecrated Ganges.”¹

It will be remembered that in one of the sanads already described, dated 11th February 1783, a portion of the 50 bighás of land, thereby granted to Púran Gir or the Lama, is stated to be situated within the property of Rájchand Rái. Now in the absence of Púran from his *maṭh*, this Rájchand, believing perhaps he was dead and not recognising the title of his *chela* to the property, seized not only the portion of land which no doubt had been purchased of him or his brother Rámlochan, but the other portions which, together with it, made up the 50 bighás mentioned in the sanad. It does not appear what was the result of Captain Turner's mediation for the restoration of the land; probably Púran regained possession of it.

Our Púran Gir Gosain, now between 1785 and 1786, settled down for good in his *demesne*, which, in his time, it is said, was exclusively and rigidly devoted to the purposes intended by the Lama. They were both religious and secular, that is, the encouragement of the Tibeto-Buddhist religion and the promotion of the interests of the Tibeto-Bengal trade. His little territory had numerous cottages all around for the accommodation of pilgrims and traders from Tibet, and he divided his time between devotion and the carrying out of mercantile projects, which latter, so far as he was concerned, he advanced to enable him to perform those acts of piety and charity, in which the Lama, his patron, and he took supreme pleasure.

He is said to have understood the esoteric principles of the *S'ákta Tantras* as well as those which, perhaps in a modified form, found their way into Tibet or were of indigenous origin there, and he adopted the ideas of the Vedánta philosophy, as represented in Saivism by Sankarácárya, to the *Giri* branch of whose school he belonged. He, moreover, was constituted an agent to conduct mercantile transactions in which regular traders as well as pilgrims from Tibet and Bhutan participated. With reference to the latter it is stated by Mr. Bogle and Turner, that Sannyásis used to be entrusted with “articles of great value but of little bulk and weight.” His principal agency business was directed to help the traders or their people in disposing of their wares and making purchases. The principal commodities,

¹ Turner, *ibid.*, pp. 431, 432.

which people from the various regions used to bring, were gold dust¹ in bambú barrels, musk, &c. ; and the goods they carried back to their countries consisted chiefly of cotton, Maldah cloth, broad-cloth, spices, sandalwood, indigo, amber, and various miscellaneous articles, such as knives, snuff boxes, &c.

For about a decade since his final return from Tibet, Púran Gir Gosain lived happily, piously and usefully in the Bhoṭ Bágán, enjoying the pious veneration of all people who came into contact with him, and the high esteem and regard of the Bengal Government. The Governor-General, it is said, used to visit him at times in his maṭh.

But a terrible catastrophe soon happened which cut short his extraordinary career and the happy and useful life he was enjoying under almost the very shadow of the Government House. The fame of Bhoṭ Bágán, as a store-house of the richest gold, had spread far and wide. Dakoities, which in their terrible aspect, formed the sequel of the great famine known to our countrymen as the *manwantara* of '76, were then the order of the day. The ranks of the dakoits² were also swelled by roving bands of sannyásis, who in the guise of mendicants traversed different countries, and lost no opportunities of ravaging and plundering them. The official correspondence of the time is rife with statements regarding them, and projects for their suppression. It will be remembered that, in the treaty with the Deb Rájá already noticed, there is an extradition clause regarding these sannyásis.

On an unlucky night a gang of dakoits, whether dakoits or hypocrite sannyásis who had perhaps experienced the hospitality of the Bhoṭ Bágán, it is not known, burst within its precincts and sacrilegiously entered the *maṭh* with the intention of plundering it; but our valiant Gosain, it is said, snatched a sword, kept the robbers at bay by its dexterous use, fought for a short while, and at last was overpowered and fell senseless, pierced with the thrust of a *sarkí* or bambú spear. The robbers took no further notice of him, and swept clean the temple and dwelling of whatever valuables could be found therein, and decamped as quickly as possible. The news of this calamity was promptly conveyed to the Governor-General, who lost no time to send a surgeon to help the poor Gosain, and if possible to bring him round, but all the arts of the physician were of no avail, and the victim of violence and perhaps treachery and ingratitude, after lingering for about thirty-seven hours, breathed his last, unfavourably commenting no doubt on his own statement to the Tashi Lama and Regent as

¹ It is said a *maund* of gold dust used to come from Tibet every year. This quantity at the rate of 16 Rs. a *told* would be worth 51,200 Rs.

² Dakoits, properly *dákait*, i. e., robbers.

to the undisturbed security of life and property under the British *rāj* at that time. This occurred most probably in the early part of 1795, the date of the consecration of the tomb being the 23rd Vaisákha of 1202, 3rd May 1795. At this time his age is said to have been not less than fifty years, a statement which harmonises with the fact, which Mr. Bogle has incidentally noticed in his narrative, that Púran Gir, when he first saw him, that is in 1774, was a young man.

Thus ended the life of the great Púran Gir Gosain, the Bhoṭ Bágan mahant, the linguist, traveller, religionist, and merchant, the first and the only ambassador of the Tashi Lama sent to Bengal, the guide and material helper of the British missions to Tibet, the companion of the Lama in his journey to China, where in the court of Peking he stood before the Emperor, and perhaps in Chinese described to him the grandeur of the Ráj of Hindústán ruled by a great king of the name of Hastings Sahib who was solicitous to open a friendly and commercial intercourse between Bengal and Tibet and his empire, and lastly, the man who exhibited such strong and repeated instances of his ability, intelligence, intrepidity and faithfulness as to be appointed, by that keen-sighted statesman Warren Hastings, the sole envoy accredited to the court of Tashi Lhunpo in 1785.

One may be excused in indulging a hope that had this Gosain's life been prolonged, he would no doubt have succeeded, with officers of the style of Bogle, Turner and Hodgson, to open that desirable commercial intercourse between the Himalayan states generally, and specially the commerce-promoting, peace-loving and peace and knowledge-seeking Tibet, on the one hand, and the Indian provinces on the other, and saved that trouble, expense, and waste of energy which our Government, under one policy or other, is, up to this time, undergoing to attain that great object.

Daljít Gir Gosain mahant, the *chela* and successor of Púran Gir, formally reported the melancholy news of his death to the Government. Sharp was the enquiry and quick the vindication of justice that followed:—four dakoits expiated their guilt on the gallows, erected in the Bhoṭ Bágan itself.

The pious Daljít lost no time in performing the funeral rites of his *guru* or spiritual teacher, whose corpse was laid in a coffin in a sitting posture, as was the case with the Tashi Lama's dead body, and interred in a place behind the main portion of the *maṭh*. A *samádhi stambha* or tomb was raised over the grave with the already mentioned inscription in the Bengálí language and character, and the structure was crowned at the top with the phallus emblem of Mahádeva, into whose spirit, as the inscription describes, that of Púran Gir was absorbed. In

order to carry the account of Bhoṭ Bágán and Púran Gir Bhoṭ mahanta, down to the present time, I should say in passing, that the Lama, or rather the Regent, had requested Captain Turner to take with him to Bengal the old Suk Deo (Sukha Deva) Gosain, who was afraid to travel through Bhutan with his wealth accumulated by his forty years' mercantile journeys over various distant countries reaching to Siberia on the north. This old Gosain is said to have lived for a short time in the Bhoṭ Bágán monastery.

After Púran Gir's death, his successor Daljít Gir continued to be the head of the *maṭh* for nearly forty-three years, as his death is recorded on the said tomb to have happened on the 6th Mágha 1243 B. S. His place was taken by Káli Gir Mahanta, who built one of the Siva temples in the vicinity of the *maṭh* previously noticed, on the 15th Áswina 1254 B. S., and died on the 2nd Vaisákha 1264 B. S. One of the two present¹ Mahantas, Bilás Gir Gosain, having consecrated the said temple in the month of Vaisákha 1265 B. S., was installed on the *gaddí* of the *maṭh*. There was some litigation between him and another Gosain, named Umráo Gir, who, having established his claim, has become an associate Mahanta with equal rights and privileges.

The Bhoṭ Bágán has gradually lost its primitive character; for a long time since the murder of Púran Gir, and the plunder of the *maṭh*, the place became notorious as a nest of robbers and wicked people; guest houses fell into ruins, and hospitality and charity died away, a mere mummery of unmeaning *púja* has been kept up, the lands have been leased away piecemeal in *maurúgi* and *muqarrarí* tenure, and nothing but the *maṭh* now remains, enshrining grotesque and even obscene figures of Hindú and Tibeto-Buddhistic mythology, a solitary monument of the genius and policy of the first Governor-General of India, of the piety of the Tashi Lama, and of the Tibeto-Bengal trade which flourished centuries ago, and was restored, though in a stifled form, a century ago.

Before concluding this paper I am tempted to point to certain facts and make some observations, which the account of Bhoṭ Bágán and the story of Púran Gir Gosain suggest. In the first place, the history of the missions connected with these accounts unfolds the fact that Tibet, from time immemorial, has been the resort of merchants.

Tibet, in the days of Warren Hastings, was little known except to readers of the rare works containing accounts of the travellers and Capuchin Missionaries, whom curiosity, love of knowledge, or religious

¹ Bilása Gir Mahanta, who had been suffering from a lingering disease for some time, expired on the 28th February 1889, and was duly buried by his associate Umráo Gir Gosain, who has now become the sole mahanta of the *maṭh*.

zeal impelled to visit that place, and it is said by his faithful Boswell, Gleig, that he prepared himself by a study of some of these books to give proper instructions to the first mission under Mr. Bogle, as to how he should proceed, and what he should do. With an eagle's glance he ascertained what wealth the bleak regions on the summits of the lofty *Himálaya* could yield, and through his missions completed his knowledge of the trade and commerce, and of the most curious hierarchical form of government existing in the world that, with the aid of religion, minimises the dangers of an elective monarchy. His grand policy was to tap, by a really sincere and friendly method, the vast productive resources of that region, to link the trade of Bengal with those commercial arteries, which from Tibet as their heart, ramify down the Himalayan slopes, and extend to China and Scythia, and confines of Siberia; and well did he, with his reputed sagacity for selection, choose his officers, not despising the mendicant Gosain Púran Gir to make one of his ambassadors. He moved step by step, understood the difficulties of his friend, the Tashi Lama, inspired though the latter was with a natural and sincere desire to promote Tibeto-Bengal trade, in the face of Chinese opposition. He understood the people he was dealing with, an unambitious, peace-loving, peace-seeking race, bent upon promoting commercial prosperity, and in spite of repeated attempts by interested monopolisers and prejudiced Chinese, embracing Europeans with open arms, who by their learning, sincerity and ways of dealing captivated their hearts.

Great and most powerful are the ties which bind Tibet to Bengal; the religious associations, the traditions and remembrance of ancient commercial intercourse should attract the Tibetans to our country. If the policy of the first administrator of India had been only continuous, our Government could, by this time, have enjoyed its best results. A sensitive people like the Tibetans, where a disturbing object is rightly or wrongly apprehended, shrinks from contact, as the tortoise draws in its limbs under a similar instinctive fear. A statesmanship with tact, caution, delicacy and foresight, and guided by a knowledge of the political history, religion and customs of the country, cannot but serve to restore the old policy of the last century. Nor at times should native agency, about which Bogle and Hodgson say much, be despised. Even if sannyási agency be sought, there would be no difficulty perhaps to find men who, though not equal to Púran Gir and Púran Purí,¹ may be their not undeserving followers. We lately saw sannyásis,

¹ Púran Purí. Turner saw him in 1783 in the streets of Calcutta riding upon a Tangan horse from Bhutan. He was then forty years of age. Two Gosains attended him and assisted him in mounting and alighting from his horse, for his hands were

learned in the Śāstras, with an unquenching thirst for knowledge, in their mendicant dress, and with matted hair, orating cleverly in English in the midst of a large audience at the Town Hall, and at other places.

And cannot Bhoṭ Bágán or any other place be utilised to draw the affections of the Lama towards Bengal ?

I cannot resist the temptation of quoting here a kind of peroration and prayer of Mr. Bogle.

“Farewell ye honest and simple people ! May ye long enjoy that happiness which is denied to more polished nations, and while they are engaged in the endless pursuits of avarice and ambition, defended by your barren mountains, may ye continue to live in peace and contentment, and know no want but those of nature.” And who would not say Amen !

APPENDIX.

Sanad, No. 1.¹



متصدیان مهمات حال و استقبال و چودھریان قانونگوہان و تعلقداران و رعایا

و مزارعان

دری باریک پور وغیرہ عملہ پرگنہ بورو وغیرہ سرکار سانگام متعلقہ چکلہ
ہوگلی مضاف صوبہ

immovably fixed over his head with the fingers locked into each other. “The circulation of blood seemed to have forsaken his arms, they were withered, void of sensation and inflexible,” but he assured the Captain that he would recover their use in the following year when his penance would end. He is said to have been a Panjábí of the Kshatriya caste, he started “by crossing the Peninsula of India, through Guzerat ; he then passed by Surat to Bussora, and thence to Constantinople, from Turkey he went to Ispahan ; and sojourned so long among the different Persian tribes, as to obtain a considerable knowledge of their language, in which he conversed with tolerable ease. In his passage thence towards Russia, he fell in with the Kussaucs (hordes of Cossacks) upon the borders of the Caspian Sea, where he narrowly escaped being condemned to perpetual slavery : at length he was suffered to pass on, and reached Moscow ; he then travelled along the northern boundary of the Russian empire. and through Siberia arrived at Pekin in China, from whence he came through Tibet, by the way of Teshoo Loomboo and Nipal, down to Calcutta.” Turner, *ibid.*, p. 271.

¹ Of the two square seals on Sanads I and II, the red seal is larger than the black one. The former, which is the Grand Lama’s seal, contains a legend, in three perpendicular lines, in Lantshan (Nágari) characters, the exterior ones beings मं (man-

جنت البلاد بنگاله بدانند موازی یکصد بیگه و هشت بسوه اراضی که منجمله آن شست و شش بیگه از موضع دري بارک پور پرگنه بورو و سي و چهار بیگه هشت بسوه از موضع کھوسادي پرگنه پایکان که بلب گنگ در یکجا واقع است نظر بر حق پرستي و حق بيني بمسجم دانش و فرهنگ سالار حق پڑوهان بي رپورنگ مظهر کمالات حق بيني پورن گیر گسائين در وجه اخراج بنابر احوادث معبد و باغات من ابتداے سنه ۱۱۸۵ یکهزار و یکصد و هشتاد و پنج مقرر گشته که جاي عبادت و باغات احوادث نموده قابض و متصرف بوده باشند باید که آنها خراج اراضی مذکوره را معاف و مرفوع القلم دانسته اخذ مالگذاري آن ننمایند و بوجهي من الوجوه مزاحم و متعرض نباشند و سند مجدد نطلبند درینباب تاکید مزید داند بتاريخ دوازدهم ماه جون سنه ۱۷۷۸ انگریزي مطابق فرغ ماهه اساده سنه ۱۱۸۵ بنگله موافق شانزدهم شهر جمادي الاول سنه ۲۰ جلوس والا قلمي شد •

No. 2.



متصدیان مهمات حال و استقبال و چودھریان و قانونگویان و تعلقداران و رعایا و مزارعان دري بارک پور عملہ پرگنه بورو سرکار سانگام متعلقہ چکلہ هوگلي مضاف موہے جنت البلاد بنگاله بدانند موازی پنچاے بیگه اراضی در موضع بارک پور مذکور کہ منجمله آن نہ بیگه هفت بسوه در تعلقہ مهاراجه نبکش و بیست ونه بیگه در تعلقہ راج چند رای و یازده بیگه سیزده بسوه در تعلقہ راجه رام لوچن بلب گنگ

gala), the medial, an illegible monogram. The latter is the Court seal of the Tashi Lama, containing an illegible legend in two perpendicular lines, in the square form of the ancient Mongolian character, called the Yungar, used in Mongolia in the 11th and 12th centuries A. D. In the upper margin of the red seal is inserted the sign of the *lingam*, in that of the black seal the mark 卐.

در یکجا واقع است نظر بر حق پرستی و حق بینی بمسئع دانش
و فرهنگ سالار

حق پژوهان بی ریزنگ مظهر کمالات حق بینی پورن کیر گسائین در وجه
لاخراج بنابر احداث معبد و باغات من ابتدای سنه ۱۱۸۹ یک هزار و یکصد
و هشتاد و نه بنگله مقرر گشته که جای عبادت و باغات احداث نموده
قابطس و متصرف بوده باشند باید که آنها خراج اراضی مذکوره را معاف
و مرفوع القلم دانسته اخذ مالگذاری آن نمایند و بوجهی من الوجوه مزاحم
و متعرض نباشند و سند مجدد نطلبند درین باب تا کید مزید داند

بتاریخ یازدهم

سنه ۱۷۰۰ انگریزی مطابق دوم ماه پهاگن سنه ۱۱۸۹ بنگله قلمی شد •

No. 3.

Warren Hastings.

Black oval.
Seal of English
Government.

متصدیان مهمات حال و استقبال و چودهریان و قانونگویان
و تعلقداران و رعایا و مزارعان دری بارک پور و غیره عملی پرگنه
بورو و غیره سرکار ساتگام متعلقه چکله هوگلی مضاف صوبه
جنت البلاد بنگالا بدانند موازی یکصد بیگه و هشت بسوه اراضی
که منجمله آن شست و شش بیگه از موضع دری بارک پور پرگنه بورو
و سی و چهار بیگه هشت بسوه از موضع کهوسازی پرگنه پایکان
که بلب گنگ یکجا واقع است نظر بر حق پرستی و حق بینی
بمسئع دانش و فرهنگ سالار حق پژوهان بی ریو

Black oval.
Seal of English
Government.

ورنگ مظهر کمالات حق بینی تیشی لامه پنچن
اردنی بکدیو پنچن در وجه لاجراج بنابر احداث
معبد و باغات من ابتدای سنه ۱۱۸۵ یک هزار و یکصد و
هشتاد و پنچ مقرر گشته که جای عبادت و باغات
احداث نموده قابطس و متصرف بوده باشند
باید که آنها خراج اراضی مذکوره را معاف و
مرفوع القلم دانسته اخذ مالگذاری آن نمایند
و بوجهی من الوجوه مزاحم و متعرض نباشند
و سند مجدد نطلبند درین باب تا کید مزید داند

¹ Two figures of the English date are torn away.

بتاریخ دوازدهم ماه جون سنه ۱۷۷۸ انگریزی مطابق غره
 ماه اسلاسه سنه ۱۱۸۵ بذكله موافق شانزدهم شهر جمادی الاول
 سنه ۲۰ جلوس والا قلمی شد •

[N. B. This seal bears the autograph signature of Warren Hastings
 on the left of the seal.]

No. 4.



منصفیان مهمات حال واستقبال وچودھریان و قانونگویان
 وتعلقداران ورعایا ومزارعان دري باریک پور عملہ پیرگنہ
 بورو وسرکار ساتنام متعلقہ چکلہ ہوگلی مضاف صوبہ
 جنت البلاد بنگالا بدانند موازی پنچاہ بیگہ اراضی در
 موضع باربکپور مذکور کہ منچملہ آن نہ بیگہ ہفت بسوہ در تعلقہ
 مہاراجہ نبکش و بیست ونہ بیگہ در تعلقہ راج چند رای
 و یازدہ بیگہ سیزدہ بسوہ در تعلقہ راجہ رام لوچن بلب گنگ
 در یکجا واقع است نظر برحق پرستی و حق بینی بمستجمع دانش
 وفرہنگ سالار حق پڑوہان بی ریورنگ مظہر کمالات
 حق بینی تیشی لامہ پنچن اردنی بکدیو پنچن دروجہ لاخراج
 بذابر احداث معبد و باغات من ابتداے سنہ ۱۱۸۹ یکہزار یکصد و
 ہشتاد ونہ بنگلہ مقرر گشتہ کہ جایی عبادت و باغات
 احداث نمودہ قابض و منصرف بودہ باشند
 باید کہ آنها خراج اراضی مذکورہ را معاف و
 مرفوع القلم دانستہ اخذ مالگذاری آن نمایند و بوجہی
 من الوجوہ مزاحم و متعرض نباشند و سند مسجد
 نطلبند درینباب تاکید مزید دانند بتاریخ یازدہم
 ماہ فبروری سنہ ۱۷۸۳ انگریزی مطابق دوم ماہ پہان سنہ ۱۱۸۹
 قلمی شد •

Translation of Sanad I.

Know ye, the Mutaşaddís of affairs, for the present and future times, Chaudharís, Qánúngos, Ta'aluqdárs, tenants and cultivators of Darí Bárbakpúr, etc., in parganah Boro etc., sarkár Satgáon, appertaining to chaklah Hughlí, in the şubah of Bengal, the Paradise of countries, ¹[that 100 bigahs and 8 biswahs of cultivated land, out of which 66 bigahs are situated in mauza' Darí Bárbakpúr, parganah Boro, and 34 bigahs and 8 biswahs in mauza' Ghusarí, parganah Páikán,] and all collectively situated on the bank of the Ganges, are rent-free granted to ²[Púrangir Gosain], the store of wisdom and prudence, the head of the unpretending seekers of truth, and the source of perfect righteousness, in consideration of his righteousness and devotion to truth, for the purpose of erecting a temple and planting a garden, from the beginning of the Bengalí year ³[1185]. It is desired that in erecting a temple and planting a garden on the land, he should possess and enjoy the same. You must know the said land to be free of rent; you shall not receive the rent thereof, shall not in any way interfere, and shall not demand any new sanad. You are to know that in this matter strict observance is required.

³[Dated the 12th June 1778 English, corresponding to the 1st Asárh 1185 Bangalí and 16th of the lunar month Jamádi-l-Awal of the 20th year of the reign].

Sanad II is identical with Sanad I in every respect, excepting the two portions, marked¹ and² in brackets, which run as follows:

¹[that 50 bigahs of cultivated land in the said mauza' Bárbakpúr, out of which 9 bigahs and 7 biswahs are on the property of Maharájah Nabkish, 29 bigahs in that of Rájah Rái Chand Rái, and 11 bigahs and 13 biswahs in that of Rájah Ram Lochan].

²[Dated the 11th, 17 ... English, corresponding to the 2nd of Fálgun 1189 Bangalí].

Sanad III is identical with Sanad I in every respect, excepting the portion marked² in brackets, which runs as follows:

²[to Teshí Lámah Paachan Ardani Bakdeo Paachan].

Sanad IV is identical with Sanad II, but contains the portion, marked² in brackets, as given in Sanad III. The date, which is mutilated in Sanad II, is perfect in this Sanad, and runs as follows:

²[Dated the 11th February 1783 English, corresponding to the 2nd of Fálgun 1189 Bangalí].

Literal translation of the Lam-yig or passport from Tashi Lhunpo.

To—the districts of Narthañ, Gya-chhūñ, Ņo-dsoñ, Phuñ-tshog-liñ, Lhar-tse, Ņamriñ and the Lama of Neriñ. Take notice—that one of the servants of this (Government) Āchārya Punagiri with three attendants proceeds to make ablution in the lake Mapham (Mansarawara) and to walk round it. In the above mentioned places, (the party) should be provided with fuels, earthen ware, &c., cooking utensils, ponies, cook servants, &c., other necessaries when required, during morning and night halts.

Four ponies and seven strong beasts of burden will be required. The relay of ponies should be arranged from here to Phun-tshog-liñ, from Phun-tshog-liñ to Lhar-tse, from Lhar-tse to Ņamriñ, from Ņamriñ to Sagah-wa. The chief grooms in charge of the pasture lands in the different districts and sub-divisions, should, as directed by the letter preceding this, arrange for relaying strong ponies of the above named number and also send pony returners quickly and render (the party) all possible help (in the journey). The relay of the beasts of burden should be arranged from the town of Shiga-tse to Phun-tshog-liñ, from Phun-tshog-liñ to Ņamriñ through, from Ņamriñ to Neriñ and from Neriñ to Sagah-wa at once. The party should be furnished at every stage with returners of the conveyance animals and an experienced and intelligent guide to accompany them (in their journey). All possible help should be rendered to (the party). Similar arrangements to the above effect should be made during the return journey. This is important—dated year Earth-Dog, 1778 A. D.



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JOURNAL

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ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.



Part I.—HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

No. II.—1890.

A Grammar of the Dialect of Ohhattisgarh in the Central Provinces.
 Written in Hindi by MR. HIRALAL KAVYOPADHYAYA, Headmaster of
 the Anglo-Vernacular School in Dhamtari, District Raipur, Central
 Provinces, translated and edited by GEORGE A. GRIERSON, ESQ., C. S.

(Continued from p. 49.)

PART VI.

Specimens of the Ohhattisgarhi dialect.

CHAPTER XXVI. ELEMENTARY.

*Section I. Useful Words and Idiomatic Phrases.**

कोड़ी-बोड़ी,	money generally, (<i>lit.</i> a score of cowries).	
काहीं-कुछ्,	somewhat, something.	
घर-दुआर,	dwelling place, (<i>lit.</i> house and door).	
आगी बारन,	to light fire, to begin cooking, to cook.	
बहारन बढोरन,	to sweep (a place clean) ; <i>lit.</i> to sweep and	5
	collect (rubbish).	
सिरान,	to die (<i>lit.</i> to become cold).	
चार-कै कांधे जान,	to die (<i>lit.</i> to go on four men's shoulders).	

* Verbs are given in the infinitive form in न्.

- ठड्डा मङ्गल,
 खियाल मङ्गल,
 परःलोक खीन,
 परःलोक जान
 5
 अभाग खीन,
 करम हाङ्गन, or करम फाडन,
 परःले खीन,
 10
 निठ जान,
 तिहार बार,
 खोसहा पानौ,
 हाठ करन,
 बजार करन,
 15
 अघात करन,
 गजब करन, गजबे इतःरान,
 20
 बडियन (or बडियन) खीन,
 मन माङ्गन,
 मूङ्ग गडिया-के बैठन (or बैसन)
 25
 or मूङ्ग मडियान,
 मङ्गी-मां चघन,
 मोर बूती खीन,
 30
 बनी भूती करन,
 साक (or साग)-तरःकारी,
 लरका-बचा,
 अलःवा-अलःवा,
 35
 मरे जान,
 जीव डारन, जीव रेसे डारन,
 40
 सुताई-बूता,
 खवाई बूता,
- to jest.
 to jest.
 to depart to the other world, to die.
 to lose the other world, to lose the virtue
 which gives heaven.
 to have ill-luck, to fall into misfortune.
 to have ill-luck, to fall into misfortune.
 to have ill-luck, to fall into misfortune
 (*lit.* to be the deluge).
 to die, to disappear.
 a holiday, a festival-day.
 medicated drinks, medicine.
 to buy or sell in the market.
 to buy or sell in the market.
 to do a great deal, to act extravagantly,
 to give oneself great airs, to be a tyrant.
 to do a great deal, to act extravagantly,
 to give oneself great airs, to attempt an
 impossibility.
 to be good, to be well.
 to be attentive, to pay attention: to be
 assured in one's mind, be at ease (माङ्गन
 = सुमन).
 to sit with head bent forward, to be silent
 and ashamed; *also*, to be busy, to be
 busily engaged.
 to mount on the head, to be insolent, to be
 disobedient.
 to occur through me, to be done by me, (*so*
also मोर बूती खीन, &c.)
 to work, labour.
 vegetables.
 children.
 mixed up, confused; odds and ends.
 to apply the mind to, to be devoted to, to
 love (see जीव डारन), *lit.* to go to be dead.
 to apply the mind to, to be devoted to, to
 love (see मरे जान); *lit.* to give up life, to
 give up as it were one's life.
 sleeping continually, *lit.* sleep is the busi-
 ness (see खवाई बूता).
 eating continually, *lit.* eating is the busi-

	ness (see सुतार-बूता). (So also with any other verb).	
दू वान (or दू मोठ) नरि-यान,	to scream out two words, to be in a rage and shout out contradictory statements.	
बेठार बैठन,	to sit still for a long time (so also other verbs, intensively, e. g., सुतार सुतन , to sleep soundly).	5
सुन भुलान,	to forget a thing and go to sleep, to go to sleep and carelessly leave a thing undone.	
जीव अस-कडान,	not to be satisfied, to feel the time heavy.	10
धरन सैतन,	to put by carefully, especially to put by dishes &c. after eating; also to pack up goods &c., when starting for a new place.	
मन पतियान or मन माडन or मन भरन,	to decide in one's mind, to be assured in one's mind.	15
जीव पतियान, or जीव माडन or जीव भरन,	<i>the same as मन पतियान.</i>	
सक चलन,	the power (of any one) to go as far as; to be able (with genitive of subject), <i>as in नीर सक नौ चले</i> , I am not able.	20
जियान (or जिचान) परन,	labour to be the lot of a person (dative of person), e. g., labour will fall to you, will be your lot.	
हाती फटन (or फाटन),	to be moved with indignation, <i>lit.</i> , to have the bosom burst.	25
देख न सकन,	to be unable to see, to be moved with indignation or jealousy.	
जर बुतान, जर बुतान, जर-के कीय-ला हीन,	to be burnt up, to be greatly burnt, to be moved with great indignation.	
जर-के राख हीन,		30
सँक समन,	to learn the truth about a thing after it has occurred and after it has been felt, (<i>lit.</i> to receive heat or warmth, as if from fire).	
चाँची देखे-के सुख हीन,	to feel joy in anyone's company (<i>especially</i> , when we have heard or seen good news of him or them).	35
चाँची फार-के देखन,	to look with open eyes, to understand thoroughly.	
सुझाया हीन,	to act promptly or quickly; सुझाया परन , to act hurriedly.	40

- भनवा उचामन, to inspect thoroughly, to make signs with eyes (frowning &c.) vigorously.
- सजी गरन (or मरन), सजी- to become a *Sati*, to be very intent on doing a thing to the neglect of manners.
- के गरियल लेन,
- 5 थोर-के-नां नहरान, to give oneself airs on small excuse.
- मरे मुँह न देखन, even when one is dead not to visit him.
- नहान नहान, to bathe on the third or tenth day after a relation has died ; as तीन नहान नहान, दस नहान नहान.

10

Section II. Short Sentences.

- मैं जात-हों I am going, I go.
- तैं जात-हस or हवस Thou art going, thou goest.
- हो जात-हे He is eating, he eats.
- हम रेंगत-हन or -हवन We are walking, we walk.
- 15 तुम घुघत-हो You are moving, you move.
- उन रोवत-हैं They are weeping, they weep.
- मैं गयेँ I went.
- तैं पाये Thou didst obtain.
- तुम आयेँ You came.
- 20 उन आम-रे-होही They will have arrived.
- हम गुठियात-होही We will be talking.
- घोर-वा चरत-हवै A horse is grazing or grazes.
- बरसा आवत-है A bullock is coming or comes.
- कुकुर भूंकत-रहिस A dog was barking.
- 25 बिलार-हर खादस The cat ate.
- तुम बासी खाये-हो You have eaten yesterday's rice (*i. e.*, rice cooked the night before and kept in water).
- पकना गिरिस-है Hail (or a stone) has fallen.
- 30 लरका-मन पढ़त-हैं The children are reading or read.
- उन दसावत-रहिन They were spreading.
- दाई छतत-है The mother is sleeping or sleeps.
- हदा मरस-है The father has gone.
- नोनी-सा लान Bring (it) for the girl or bring the girl.

35

तैं खनस ।	Thou didst dig.	
बोकरा-का मार ।	Kill the he-goat.	
सम्झा भइस ।	Evening came (<i>lit.</i> became).	
उन खात-रहिम ।	They were eating.	
बाड-मां गये-रहे ।	(Thou) hadst gone to market.	5
घाम करत-हे ।	It is hot (<i>il fait chaud</i>).	
तुम्हार नोनी बने हे ।	Your girl is good.	
उन-कर चरिहा-हे ।	It is their basket.	
खो-कर नांव पूछ ।	Ask his (<i>or</i> her) name.	
बेरिया चरिस-हवै ।	The she-goat has grazed.	10
मन-खे रँजत-हैं ।	The men are walking <i>or</i> walk.	
गन्धी-मां गहा ।	Bathe in the river.	
करा गिरत-हैं ।	Hail is falling.	
बादर आइस-हे ।	A cloud has come.	
बरेठ काँचिस-हे ।	The washerman has washed.	15
घर-मां कोनो नई रे ।	No one is in the house.	
हदा-मँर गये-रहिम ।	He (<i>or</i> she) had gone near his (<i>or</i> her) father.	
तुम तो मानिहो ।	You at least will obey.	
उन कहत-रहिम ।	They were saying.	20
का-करो सङ्ग भिन वता ।	Do not talk with any one.	
खो-कर मन-मां का हवै	What is in his (<i>or</i> her) mind ?	
तुम्हार दीदी कब आही	When will your elder sister come ?	
बाबू-खा ऊत-करा देवे	Call the son.	
दिन निक-रिस-हवै	Day has broken.	25
रांध खा-के जाने	Thou wilt go after cooking and eating your meal.	
तुम्हार-मँर कतोक बैसा हे	How many bullocks have you ?	
रक नांगर के खेती हवै	It is the cultivation of one plough.	
मोर-बर का लाने-हस <i>or</i> हवस	What hast thou brought for me ?	30
छेकी-मन रोवत-हैं	The women are crying <i>or</i> cry.	
डूरा-का भिन मार-वे	Do not beat the (<i>orphan</i>) boy.	
घम दार भात खात-हैं	We are eating pulse and boiled rice.	
चाडँर हरे-बर जाने	Thou wilt go to husk the rice.	

Section III. Longer Idiomatic Sentences.

- मैं बूट-री-मां काहीं-कुह खेये-वर नये- I had gone into a market to fetch
रखेव । something.
- 5 तोर ममा अल-वा-अल-वा बिसावन-रहिस । Thy mother's brother was buying
odds and ends.
- लिम-री खाये-मां उल-ढी मान घडत-हे । A man's honour diminishes, when
he calumniates any one.
- पर-बोसो कहां अउ सवारी मोठ कहां । How widely different are true
words and false ones.
- 10 बीस चाटे-ले पियास नहीं बुभावे । Thirst is not quenched by licking
dew.
- तोर दारं कचत-रहिस मैं नी जांव । Thy mother was saying that she
would not go.
- ये दे मंदरसा-मां कतेक सरका पढत-हे । How many boys study in this
school ?
- 15 बी-कर पती रांधत-चात-रहिस । His son's wife was cooking and
eating.
- बर गोंसदया काली मंभनिया जवेया हे । The master of the house will
depart to-morrow at midday.
- 20 तो-सा सेक लमिस-हे तवे तो आवत-हस । When you have felt, you come.
- बी कचत-रचत-हे कि मो-सा अस-कड He was saying 'I am attacked
लामत-हे, मन नहीं माडिस-हे, आउर with lassitude. My mind is not
राती-का नीन्दो नहीं आवे । at ease, and even at night sleep
does not come.'
- 25 तैं तो नीचड सुतारं छतत-हस । Thou art sleeping very soundly.
- लरका-मम तो मज-वे करत हे, अउ Children attempt impossibilities
मूडी-मां चघत-हे । and are disobedient.
- पढ़े-मां बने हे, अउ किंजरे-मां का धरे हे । In study there is benefit, and in
wandering, what is there kept ?
- 30 तोर ददा तो मजब नरियावत-होही, Thy grandfather will be scream-
देखे जाही । ing out very (loudly). It will
be seen.
- तुम तो बडियन हो, बी विचारा तुम्हार You are a good man (*ironically*),
ऊपर जीव डारत-हे । and that poor man gives his life
for you.
- 35

- रेसम खराप डीका हवै, कि कहे मानवे नौ करे। He is such a bad husband that he will not listen to what is said (to him).
- बो-कर भाई-खा बिमर-हा लागत-हे, खउर बोसदा पानी बलाय होत-रहत-हे। His brother is sick and medicine is also being (used for him). 5
- हंसव बोखव तो हवै, मरे-मां कुछू जान-हे का। There is laughing and talking (with one's friends), but when one dies does anything go (with you) ?
- तोर दाई तो सती-चठ परत-रहत हे। Thy mother is very intent on doing (it) to the neglect of man ners (*lit.* is become *Sati*). 10
- मोर भेर बिठिकुन तो आ खउ मुठिया से। Come for a while at least near me and converse.
- बदा दे सनी भन तो आवत-हे, खउर बाजा बलाय बाजत-हे। See, all are coming, and music is also being played. 15
- बो तो बड़-का चटर-हा हवै, खउ मजब मुठियावत-हे। He is a great prater, and talks a lot.
- मयैरहा-मन खेत-से आवे-रहिन, खउर बाय-पीय-के चले मरन। The villagers came (*lit.* had come) from the field, and went away, having eaten and drunk. 20
- काली रतिहा बड़-का-जानिक सांप निक-रे-रहिस। Last night a very large snake issued (*lit.* had issued) (from its hole.)
- जउम जैसन कर-ही, नउम तैसन पाही, हम-ला का ?। As a man will do, so will he receive. What is it to us ? 25
- गुन-रे-च-वर तो हम-मन मये-रहेव। It was only for you that we had gone.
- बाह-बा बाह-बा, कुछू कहे नहीँ आय। Wonderful! Nothing can be said. 30
- डोका हवस, तोरे मूत-मां तो दिया जरत-रहिस। Is it true? Did a lamp-wick burn in your urine? (a proverb, on a very great man).
- मोर-भेर लुबारी भिन गुठिया, तोर मन-मां आवे जैस कर। Do not speak lies before me. Act as seems good to you, (*lit.* as it comes into your mind). 35

- दाई-बबा-ले आन कोनो समझ-वैया नई Not one understands better than
रे। (our) father and mother.
- मंझनिया मंझनिया करत तो सँझो भय- He kept saying 'midday, mid-
नरस, अउ रातो चीत-जात-है। day,' but now it is evening, and
5 night is coming on.
- कुकाये-मां नही बने, सिर-वेँ सिर-वेँ Nothing comes from concealing.
मुठियावे। Tell the whole truth.
- घर-हुषार बँक डारै, मोर कग-रा कुडू I sold my house and home. There
नहीं हवै। is nothing in my possession (*lit.*
10 near me).
- उम-मन-ले हम-सा का करे-बर है, आज From them what is there for us
आबी, तब देखे-जाही। to do. We will come to-day, and
then it will be manifest.
- सुब-रा मन-से-के कोनो नहीं पतियावे। No one believes a liar.
- 15 मया करे-ले मोह बाढ़त-है, अउर साखस From affection illusion increases
करे-मां कगरो-के जात-है। and from covetousness even
what is in (a man's) possession,
goes away.
- मोर-मैर खका-आगर डू बपिया रहिस, I had two and a quarter (*lit.* a
20 पर सबो मँवा गरस। quarter more than two) rupees,
but all are lost.
- उखेनी लगाये-मां कुडू नहीं मिले। No profit comes from calumniat-
ing.
- फुर-बोलिक मन-से-सा सबो पतियावत-हवै। All people believe a truthful
25 man.
- दाया माया राखे-रही, काल बेरा-सघत Preserve kindness and affection.
मैँ जवैया होँ। I will have to depart to-morrow
when the day (sun) rises.

CHAPTER XXVII.

30 THE TENTH VILLAGE DIALECT.

- This lively conversation deserves the special attention of the reader. It is an excellent example of the style of talk which goes on every day in every village between natives of the lower orders. Note the frequent occurrence of expletives, and the way in which
35 proverbs are interwoven with the inner life of the people. The language used is full of idiom, often untranslatable, except by a periphrasis.—G. A. G.

A Conversation between four Villagers.

Dramatis Personæ.

A (क) and B (ख),
C (ग) and D (घ),

Two male villagers.

Two female villagers.

क—कस गा, ख, ते तो कले-चुप बैठे-रस।
गाँव चले-वर तो कहत-रहे। मो-हूँ
चले-वर कहत-रहै। वहा दे, ग घलाय
जवैया रहिस। पुन कोन जानी जान-
रे कि नहीँ।

A.—What? B. You are sit-
ting silent. You said you
would go to the village.
I also mean to go. See,
C was also about to go. 5
But who knows if she is
going or not?

ख—होगा, क, चले-वर तो कहत-रहै। काली
बिह्नियाँ-चंग चल-बो। चल-चली
ग-के घर जाई। बो हूँ-ला घलाय पूह
लेबो। ले चल भाई। विलम भिन्न।
मो-का खजर बूना हवै।

B.—Yes, A, I do mean to go.
I'll certainly start to-
morrow morning. Come 10
let us call at C's house.
We will ask her also.
Come along, brother;
don't delay. I have other
business. 15

क—ले चल ना। मै तो जैसे ते कहिने विसने-
चंग करिहै। कस बो, ग, काली गाँव
जावे। वहा दे, घ घलाय आवत-रहै।
आव आव, घ, आव।

A.—Come along. I'll do just
as you say. What, C,
will you go to the village
to-morrow? See, D is
also coming. Come, D, 20
come.

ख—कस बो, ग, गाँव चले-वर कहत-रहे।
काली चल-वे ना। मोर दारं बेराम
हवै। काहीं-कुहूँ खोसहा पानी मो-ला
मो विसाचे-वर हवै।

B.—Hulloa, C, you were say-
ing you would go to the
village? Won't you go
to-morrow? My mother 25
is sick. I'll have to buy
some medicine also.

ग—हहो गा, क, चलिहै। ख, तो-ला तो
मै कह दिह-रहै। खचित मै जाहैँ,
कोनो जाय, चाहे न जाय। कस बो,
घ, ते तो बड़ा भिजासिन-अस लागत-
हस। तो-ला के-घाव बलायेंव, खभी
आये-हस। हाय दारं। ठोका हस।

C.—Yes, A, I'll go. I told
you, B, (that I would).
I'll certainly go, whether 30
any one (else) goes or
not. Hulloa, D, you seem
to be very high and
mighty. How often have
I called you! and you 35
are only just come. Mercy
on us, mother! Are you
all right?

- घ—कस बी, म, का मिजासिन ही बी।
 हम-ला नी रे मिजाज, दारै।
 तोर भाषा-घट रंस-ने हवै। कस
 मा, क, घर-मां सवी भन नइद
 5 नइद तो हवै ना। कस मा, अ,
 तो-हं मो-ला बढियन-प्रकन
 लागत-हस। का-वर घर-मां लारै
 भग-रा करत-हस मा। मोट-री
 का-चे-के बांधे-हस।
- 10 क—हरो, बने बने हवै। अ-के मोट-री-
 मां कुहू अल-वा-जला-वा हीही,
 तो-ला का परे-हवै। ओ-कर सइ
 बहंते पिच-काठ भिन मइ। नहीँ
 15 तो ओ-कर दारै गरी देही बाप-
 की। मै लबारी नहीँ करैँ।
- घ—वाहा दे, बाप-किन का-वर पारत-
 हस। मै का पिच-काठ करत-हैँ,
 20 मा। मै जैसे न जानैँ, मोट-री
 मां लारै-चना हवै। अउ का
 हवै।
- 25 ख—देखे, गा, सइ। लारै-चना कहत-
 है। मोर मोट-री-मां मिठई हवै।
 अभी तो हू आना-के विसाय-हैँ।
 ए-दे बोड़ी एक-के सुरी लिह-हैँ
 30 बाव-वर। अउ मिठई-ला काली
 उदार-वर करिहैँ। ओ गवई-मां
 मो-ला अस-कठ लागत-है। पर
 का करैँ, जा-हं, कुहू-काहीँ
 आने-वर हवै।
- 35
- म—हाय हाय, निकारै तोर मिठई-के।
- 40
- D.—What, C. How am I high and mighty? There is no pride in me, my lady. That is the way you talk. Well, A, are your people at home all right? Well, B, you too seem to be quite well. Why do you keep quarrelling at home? What have you tied up in your bundle?
- A.—Good. If there are a few odds and ends in B's bundle, what is it to you? Don't chaff with him too much, or his mother will abuse you. (I'll take my oath) by my father (to it). I wouldn't tell a lie.
- D.—Wah! Why are you swearing by your father? What chaff am I giving? For all that, I know (*lit.* as if I do not know that) his bundle holds parched grain and gram. What else (should it be)?
- B.—Look, my fellow, she's talking of parched grain and gram. It's sweetmeats that are in my bundle. I have just bought two *ánás* worth. I have just bought twenty cowries worth of *muri* for *Bábú*, and I'll have the sweetmeats for the way to-morrow. I always feel unwell in that village. But what can I do? I have to go. There are some things to bring.
- C.—O dear. The devil take your sweetmeats.* Well, A, so

* *Lit.* May your sweetmeats do you good,—*sarcastically*, much good may they do you.

कस मा, क, नीर नोनी-के विहाव तो भय-गइस-है। हम-ला बलाये भी नहीं। बड़का नोनी-ला एवीं लाने-हस कि नहीं। हम देख-लेते न भला। अरे, बाँखी देखे-के सुख, कौन मर-ची कौन जीची।

your girl has been married, and you never asked me (to the wedding). Have you sent for your eldest daughter this year? Wouldn't it be well if I too had seen her. As they say, "There's something pleasant in seeing with your eyes, who's dead, and who's alive."

क-देखे रे, भाई ख। बड़े नोनी कब-से आये-है। ये-हर तो इहाँ-चे गूढि-घावत-है। कत-को बेर बला पठोयेन, पर नई आइस, नई आइस। ए-दे बप-री घ दू-घाव आये-रहिस।

A.—Look here, gossip B, since when has my eldest girl come (*i. e.*, she has been here for long)? This woman (C) is only talking here. How often have I sent for her (C)! but she hasn't come, not a bit of her. Poor D, here, came for her twice.

ग-का करौं, रे भाई। बूता-के मारे तो आये-बर नी मिले। काखी सन्ना आहै। अब बेरा भइस-हवै। ए-दे कगरे-च-मां तरिया हवै, नहा खेन, खउर सबी-भन बासी खा खेव।

C.—What could I do, gossip, I was too busy to come. I'll come to-morrow evening. It's now time (to eat). There is a pond close by here, let us all bathe and eat our snacks.

ख-हयो, मो-झ-ला भूख लग-है, नहा तो आयव। लान ना बासी। चिटिक नून दे। बो, बने-नई लागे जुष्वा बासी। क, तौ-झ से से-ना थोरिक नून।

B.—Yes, I too am hungry, but I bathed (before starting). Fetch the cold food. Give a pinch of salt, for plain cold food isn't nice. Have a little salt, A.

क-हयो, मो-झ-ला दे। आज तो बादर बादर करत-हवै, जाड़ जाड़ लागत-है। ए-दे ख-जपर तो मोर मन माँड़-गइस-है। ए-ची के खइका-बर अपन नोनी देखै।

A.—Yes, give me a little. There are clouds about to-day, and one feels quite cold. I am very fond of B, and will give my daughter to his son.

अउर वने विहाव करिहीं । रहीं
नी करीं । मोर अउर खाना भय-
गइस-है । ठाकुरो-के रुपिया देये-
बर है । का करीं । कुहू कहे नी
जाय ।

5

ग—डोका रमा । खल्ल-बर वेस नहीँ,
घुड़-सार-बर दीया । ऐसे भिन
करने ना । रहीं नी होही तो
कुहू समी भिन करने । पोर
देख जाही खाना-खा तो बूढ-ले ।

10

घ—हाय हाय, ग । तो-खा तो खाना
पार-बर गज-ने खावत-है । अउर
कुहू तो समझस नहीँ । खाना
लिये फिरत-है । खी-कर मोनी
वलाय बाढ़ गइस-हवे । तउन
नहीँ । अउर पोर तो विहाव
नहीँ है । खाहीं नहीँ होही, तो
र बात गइस परिहार-बर ।

15

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25

ग—अभाग भय-गइस । कस गोई । कैसे
कर-ही धन* । तो खी-ही कौसा
होही । कैसे कहत-है । नाँव
मोती-चन्द, भलक विमोखा-के
नहीँ । ऐसे-ने-चठ होही । अभी
महीना दिन नई भये कि खी-
कर एक गाय अउर मैँची
जनमे-रदिन । तो सवेा भन
जात-रदिन । र-ही पाप खावत-
है ।

30

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40

घ—करम हाँड़ि देइस, दाई । र गाँव-
साँ तो डोन-ही-भन गजब करत-

I'll have a fine wedding. I
won't do it this year, for I am
in debt. I have to pay my
landlord his money, and what
I'm to do for it, I can't say.

C.—That's it. As they say, "not
enough oil for an itchy spot,
and he keeps a light in the
stable." Don't you do like
that. If it won't be this year,
don't trouble yourself. Next
year we'll see about it ; when
you will be out of debt.

D.—Dear me, C, you are a great
hand at speaking proverbs, but
you understand nothing else,
and are making a difficulty
about debts. His daughter is
also getting very old. Is it
not so (i. e., will you not see
to this). And besides marri-
ages can't be next year. If
it won't be this year, then it's
postponed to the year after
next.

C.—It's unlucky, isn't it, dear ?
But what can one do ? It
will be the (old) story. (Let
me see.) How does it run ?
"His name is Mótí Chand
(The Magnificent), and he
hasn't as much lustre as is
in a seed of cotton." That's
what it will be. Less than
a month ago, a cow and a
buffalo of his had each a calf,
and they're all dead already.
He's reaping the fruits of his
sins (committed in a former
life).

D.—Good luck has left us, my love.
There are some terrible wit-

* धन = Hindí धी

हैं। डोग-ही रांडी-मन-के मारे, तो
रुसे भरस। नही तो का-बर होतिस।
भारो बाब तो दू चार दिन-ले गड़-
बड़ाइस हवै, सो-करे सन्धो तो मो-
सा खात-है।

न—नौधी के घोर दो-गानी-के दाना। ठीका
हवै, वो-ऊ-सा तो गडि याये-बर
खावत-है। नौनी बाड़े। के कुडू होवे,
कहाँ-ले खान-ही बप-रा। खाना-के तो
ठिकाना नही। जेकरे, सीही जानत-
हवै।

क—सो-दे, बुड़-तो बचत होये चाहत-
है। कस मा सङ्गी, ख, चस चली,
देखे जाही। पंचादत-मां तो बेरा
बड़त-है। पाहू सीही। चस चली।
नही तो ददा नरियाही। गाय बांधे-
बर हवै।

न—हाय हाय, पंचादत-मां जीते-हस।
नांव जबर-सिद्ध उठे भूँ टेक। वो-

ches in this village. This
has happened through
some old hag of a witch.
How else could it have
been? My son also has
been out of sorts for the
last two or three days,
and trouble about him is
eating me up.

C.—(As they say) “A horse
worth only fifty cowries
and (you give him) two
hundred cowries’ worth of
grain.” That’s true, and
it (the proverb) comes to
speak to you. Let the
girl grow up. Whatever
happens, where is the
poor fellow to get the
money from? There’s no
calculating (the amount
of) one’s debts. The
man who has debts, knows
that.

A.—There, it’s just going to
be sunset. Well, come
along, friend B, we’ll see
about it. The day is sink-
ing while we are discuss-
ing. We’ll continue it
afterwards. Come along,
else my father will be
angry. It’s time to tie
up the cows.

C.—Hoighty, toighty—Yes,
indeed, (I suppose you
think) that you have won
in the discussion. As
the proverb goes “His
name is Jabar Singh (The
Mighty), and he has to
lean on the ground when

“*Arcades omnes, blackguards all.*”

The cow-herd, the shepherd, and the toddy-seller, are rascals all. (6).

कत-को अहीरा पिगंछा पड़े, तो बारा भूत-के चाखा चले ॥ ७ ॥

Expellas naturam furca.

No matter how well-read (even) in prosody cow-herds may be, 5 they will still worship their twelve ghosts.

(*Ahirs* are greatly addicted to demon worship). (7).

नांव मोती-चन्द, मालक बिनोरा-के नहीं ॥ ८ ॥

Great cry, little wool.

Named (His Majesty) Moti-Chand (Pearl-Moon), and not the 10 lustre of a cotton seed. (8).

नांव जबर-सिद्ध, उठे भूँ टेक ॥ ९ ॥

παρὰ προσδοκίαν

Named Jabar Singh (Samson), and he leans on the ground when 15 he gets up. (9).

पाठ पूजा जैसे तैसे, बिन चोंगी-के बन्द-ना कैसे ॥ १० ॥

“Baccy is the staff of life.”

Let him be ever so clever at preaching and praying, but how 20 can a Bráhman exist without his tobacco pipe? (10).

बाप अन्यायी, पूत कुन्यायी, र-ना-के कसर जो-ना आई ॥ ११ ॥ 20

Hereditary vice.

The father unjust, the son unjust; the fault of the one appears 25 in the other. (11).

मरिचैँ खाँड़ा झूड़ हीट जाय, खाँड़ा कर्हाँ है, ददा-के सधुरार-ना ॥ १२ ॥

Empty threats.

“I’ll strike you with a sword, and your head will tumble off.” 25 “Where is your sword?” “In the house of the father-in-law of my grandfather.” (12).

धूर-नाँ खूते, सरग-के सप-ना ॥ १३ ॥

Cinderella dreams.

He sleeps in the dust, and dreams of Heaven. (13). 30

पाँच कौड़ी-के तित-री, घर धरैँ के भित-री ॥ १४ ॥

De minimis curat.

An earring worth five cowries, (and he is asking) where he is 35 to put it (for safety). Shall I hide it in my house or indoors (*tauto-logy*)? (14).

मोर बाप धीव खाइस, मोर हाथ-का खँध देखो ॥ १५ ॥

Family pride.

My father has eaten clarified butter, smell my hands (to see if it isn't true). (15).

असम भर-के कमाई, चकर-भटा-माँ गँवाई ॥ १६ ॥

5

Ruined.

The earnings of my whole life are lost in a swindle. (16).

गौथी-के चोर, दोगानी-के दाना ॥ १७ ॥

Not worth it!

A horse worth ten mites, eats grain worth forty mites. (A *níndhí* is ten times five cowries. A *dogání* is worth forty times five cowries). (17).

सँध-रौ बधिया, पैरा-के मोड़ायत ॥ १८ ॥

Labour wasted.

The buffalo-calf is blind, and you hobble its feet. (18).

15

बप-डे बग-के पध-रा, फीरे बर-के सीख ॥ १९ ॥

Undiscriminating rage.

He slips on a rock in the forest, and (in revenge) splits the grindstone at home. (19).

होनी-के धोनी, जानी-के छिंभोटी ॥ २० ॥

20

He adapts himself to circumstances.

When he has (wealth, he wears) a waist-cloth; when it goes, he wears a rag. (20).

बर न बिहाव, बढी-बर धान कुँडे ॥ २१ ॥

Counting chickens before they are hatched.

25

Neither bridegroom nor wedding, and he's pounding rice for the *chhaṭhí*. (The *chhaṭhí* is the ceremony performed six days after a child's birth). (21).

वेख न तिछाई, बरा बरा नरिषाई ॥ २२ ॥

Unreasonableness.

30

Not a drop of oil, not a frying-pan and he is shouting for fritters (22).

नाँच न जाने, सँझ-वा टेङ्क-वा ॥ २३ ॥

A bad workman complains of his tools.

He doesn't know how to dance, and says it's the pavilion which isn't level. (23).

35

गाथ-भैँसी नर मरन, बेरी-के मर-माँ चङ्क-परी ॥ २४ ॥

A fool.

His cows and buffaloes are dead ; so he ties the neck-log to the goat's neck. (A *khar'pari* is the necklog tied to a cow or buffalo to prevent it attacking people). (24).

ढेठ-का-के पहिचान बारी-ले ॥ २५ ॥

5

A test of strength.

We know (the strength of) the *Teṭ'ká*-worm, from (the distance of) the garden-wall (it can run up to). (25).

धन-के भय जाती, तो उप-जिन कन-वा माती ॥ २६ ॥

A poor man feels the burden of useless children.

10

When a man loses wealth, (he finds out that) one-eyed grandchildren have been born to him. (26).

मही मांगे जाय, पद्म-त-मां ठेक-वा लुकाव ॥ २७ ॥

Foolish pride.

He goes to beg for buttermilk yet hides behind him the earthen pot. (27) 15

कमर-मां नहीं लता, पान खाँय खल-बता ॥ २८ ॥

A poor devil!

He hasn't a rag on his loins, and of course (sarcastically) he eats betel. (28). 20

बड़े बड़े बचे जाँय, गढ़-री कहे मो-का पार लगाव ॥ २९ ॥

Just like his impudence!

Great people are being washed away by the flood, the shepherd is saying "ferry me across." (29).

साब जाने, बान जाने, लाव परोसौ घीव ॥ ३० ॥

25

A carpet-knight!!

He knows warlike gestures, he knows how to flourish arrows. "My dear Sir, please fetch some clarified butter." (Heroes eat much clarified butter. The sentence is ironical). (30).

एक घरी-मां रवत खेवत, दूसर घरी-मां हँसिष्या टेवत, बेरा तो खलस मये, 30

कुठिया बाँधे मसक-के ॥ ३१ ॥

Procrastination.

He took an hour to search for and examine the scythe, and another hour in sharpening it ; it is already late (*lit.*, the time is descending), and now he wants to tie the bundles tighter. (31). 35

जे-कर जैसे घर दुधार, ते-कर तेसे फरका

जे-कर जैसे दार ददा, ते-कर तेसे छरका ॥ ३२ ॥

Like from like.

As his house and doorways, so are his *ṭappí* doors; and as the mother and father, so is the child. (32).

सडर पडर-के बानी, बाधा देख बाधा पानी ॥ ३२ ॥

5

A tree is known by its fruits.

An oil-press full of rubbish gives half oil half water. (33).

बाबन जोड़-माँ फूडे बेवारी, जो-से बीसी रहे सुकारी ॥ ३३ ॥

Something like absent-mindedness !

In Bāwan's legs a blister has burst, and in it nine hundred scorpions have taken up their dwelling, (yet he does not notice it). (See the story of Chandá). (34).

(पहेली)

2. *Riddles.*

पेड़ है चापक-चउष्वा, पान है बंगला ।

15

जात जात मुड़-सुचारी जाने, जाने मीठ गो-पाना । केला ॥ १ ॥

The stem is sturdy, its leaves (*pán*) are like Bangálí betel (*pán*). When one eats it, it is sweet as treacle, and one thinks it a sweet *Kṛishṇa*. (*Gópál bhóg* is also a kind of plantain). *Ans.* A plantain. (1),

20

पेड़ खसा-खस, पान बहेरा, फुलै रतन, फरै केरा । खेसर ॥ २ ॥

The stem is delicate, the leaf myrobalan, the flowers jewels, and the fruit plantains. *Ans.* The silk-cotton tree. (2).

घन कोरई बिकठ बंधना, न जाने ते चाबै नचना । ककरई ॥ ३ ॥

25

A dense set of *Korat*-trees with tight tying. He who does not know this, will have to prick the cart-ropes. *Ans.* A comb. (3).

खन-जन रुख विरझन चिरई, हाले रुख तो बोले चिरई । पैरी ॥ ४ ॥

An unknown tree, with a bird of brass. When the tree shakes, the bird sings. *Ans.* Anklets. (4).

रेठे हैं मीठे है, पहार ऊपर बैठे है ; फूल पान खसे है, देवता मो है ।

30

पगड़ी ॥ ५ ॥

It is twisted and twirled, and sits on a mountain; flowers and betel are laid on it, and yet it is not a god. *Ans.* A turban. (5).

एक भाई पहार ऊपर, एक भाई बन-खण्डी ।

एक भाई मरार-बारी, मीनों भाई सड़ी । कुन्ड-डे-की बड़ी ॥ ६ ॥

One brother (a pumpkin) lives on the hills; another (the green *urid*) brother lives in the jungle; another (ginger) in the spice-garden; and the three are all together. *Ans.* A pumpkin pie. (6).

सेत-राय सुयेत-राय, देस-नां नहीँ ।

5

स फल खाय, मुँह फोक-रा नहीँ । करा ॥ ७ ॥

King of white, king of whiteness, in the land not born. It eats up a hundred fruits, and with no hollow for its mouth. *Ans.* Hail. (7).

तनक-से फुद-की फुद-कत जाय, नौ-सै खंडवा पारत जाय । सुरे ॥ ८ ॥

10

A little sparrow (*Certhia tula*) hops along, and makes nine hundred holes as he goes. *Ans.* A needle. (8).

खाये-नां सुखाय, दिन खाये मोठाय । चूँदी ॥ ९ ॥

When it gets its dinner (is oiled), it gets lean, and without its dinner it gets fat. *Ans.* A pig-tail (of hair). (9).

15

सब जरे तो जरे, बाबा-के लिँगोटी भन जरे । सड़क ॥ १० ॥

Everything may burn, but the smallest garment of the old man may not. *Ans.* A road. (10).

काचा-नां गुद्-गुद्, पाका-नां डाँठ । कची मठ-की ॥ ११ ॥

Soft when it is unripe, hard when it is ripe. *Ans.* An earthen vessel. (11).

गर-नां होरी, कारे बेरी, चख डरी, चाटे बेरी । तख-री ॥ १२ ॥

A black she-goat, with a string round its neck. Come along my little girl. It is time for market. *Ans.* A pair of scales. (12).

फूले फूल गुलाब-के, रचे नगर-नां जाय,

25

न माखी-के बाम-नाँ, न राजा घर जाय । सूर्य ॥ १३ ॥

A rose-flower blooms, and its shadow pervades the city. It is not in the *máli's* garden, nor does it go to the king's palace. *Ans.* The sun. (13).

चार-खूँठ चौ-गिरदा नगारा, लखलख बर-दी, दुर दङ्क-वारा ।

30

सूर्य, चन्द्र, तारा-गण और गर्जना ॥ १४ ॥

Four posts (points of the compass), drums all round (thundering), tens of thousands of bullocks, two drivers. *Ans.* The sun, moon, stars and thunder. (14).

ठङ्ग-मा बैसा-के ठङ्ग-मा सौम, ठङ्ग-मा नाचै डोंग डोंग । देकी ॥ १५ ॥

35

An upright horn of an old bullock. It dances up and down, straight and high. *Ans.* A pestle. (15).

नाम-कुन बढकी-नाँ रस कस धरे, राजा राम-के आम-नाँ परे । जिम्बू-के रस ॥ १६

How is the juice filled in a small vessel fallen in front of Rájá 5 Rám. *Ans.* Lemon-juice. (16).

षाट पहर चौंसठ घड़ी, नर-पर नारी चढ़ी । तुलसी दृष्य ॥ १७ ॥

During the eight watches and the sixty-four *gharís* (*i. e.*, all day and night), a woman is mounted on a man. *Ans.* The Tul'sí tree. (Tul'sí is feminine, and *vríksh*, tree, or दृन्दावन, the mud plat- 10 form on which it is planted, is masculine). (17)

जन्मत बच्चा साठ गज, जवानी-नाँ गज एक ।

बुढ़ापा-नाँ तीस गज, पण्डित करी विवेक । साया ॥ १८ ॥

Sixty yards when a new-born boy, one yard when full-grown. Thirty yards in old age; O Paṇḍit, distinguish it. *Ans.* A shadow. 15 (18).

हकड़ कान, दुर पुहन्ड़े, गोड़ा दस मुख चार ।

एक मुख-नाँ जिम्भा नहीँ, पण्डित करी विचार ॥

गाय दुहती बेर, एक मनुष्य, एक गाय, एक बहवा, एक दोहननी ॥ १९ ॥

Six ears, two tails, ten legs, four mouths. In one mouth, no 20 tongue, O Paṇḍit consider. *Ans.* At milking time, the milkman, the cow, the calf, and the milking-pail. (19).

उड़े तो खन-खन करे, बैठे पङ्क विहाय ।

साख जियना नार-के, बाप कुहू नहिँ साय ॥ केवट-का जाल ॥ २० ॥

It whizzes when it flies, and spreads its wings when it sits. It 25 kills ten thousand lives, and itself eats none. *Ans.* A fisherman's casting net. (20).

बाप पूत-के एके नाँव, नानी-के कुहू खौर ।

ए कदानी जान-के, पुन उचाही कौर ॥ मझ्या ॥ २१ ॥

The father (the tree) and the son (the flower) have the same 30 name. The daughter's (branches') daughter (nut) is something else. If you understand this tale, lift up your mouthfuls (and eat them). *Ans.* The *mahuá* (tree or flower), whose nut is called *kóin*. (21).

तीर कोन-नाँ तरई गाय । तरई हागे तीर बापे साय ॥ चक्री ॥ २२ ॥

In the corner of your (house) is a flat cow. When it dungs, 35 may your father eat its droppings. *Ans.* A millstone. (22).

सवार घोर-बा-के रकै रङ्ग । खी-नाँ जीन, खी-नाँ तङ्ग ॥ रौतारन कौड़ा ॥ २३ ॥

The rider and the horse are of the same colour. On one is the saddle, on the other the girths. *Ans.* An insect called *rautáin*. In Bihár it is called *goárin*. It is something like a centipede. They frequently go in couples, one on the top of the other. (23).

बन रहे बड़ी बड़ा, कारी दीपी, साली भडा ॥ गुञ्जा ॥ २४ ॥

5

It lives in the forest crooked and in disarray. Its cap is black, and its coat red. *Ans.* The jeweller's weighing-seed, *Abrus precatorius*. It is red with a black spot. (24).

बन-मां काटेई, बन-मां जोळीं, बन बचेरा चाय ।

सावन भादेई वील दिहैव, मन गुञ्जा फांपा चाय ॥ जोगा ॥ २५ ॥

10

I cut it down in the forest, and carved it in the forest, and brought it out of the forest. In August I let it loose, and it whirled about (in the water) like a *phámpá*-worm. *Ans.* A boat. (25).

एक पेड़ मस-पत्ती-के, ते-कर बारा घाय ।

तीस-तीस-के भोया, भिन्ने भिन्ने नाव ॥ वर्षे, मास, दिन ॥ २६ ॥

15

A tree of dense leaves (many days) with twelve branches (months). Each with a bunch of thirty (fruit), and each with a different name. *Ans.* Years, months, and days. (26).

बसुम डार-मां फरै लकरिया, ते-कां चाटे तीर जोकरिया ॥ सुन-मा ॥ २७ ॥

A bit of wood becomes fruit on a branch apart, and your old woman relishes it. *Ans.* *Mun'gá*. The hard wooden like fruit of the horse-radish tree (*Hyperanthera moringa*), used as a condiment. (27).

नोर नमा-के नौ सौ गाय । रात चरे दिन बेढे जाय ॥ तारा-गण ॥ २८ ॥

My uncle has nine hundred cows, which graze by night, and are folded by day. *Ans.* The stars. (28).

पेट खलाखल, पूंजी माभिन, ॥ चौंटा ॥ २९ ॥

An empty stomach, and a tail in the family way. *Ans.* An ant. (29).

तोर घर जाँव, तो खेर के वैठेई ॥ पन-ही ॥ ३० ॥

30

When I go to your house, I open them (take them off) and sit down. *Ans.* Shoes. (30).

तरी तिलाई, उपर तिलाई, ते-मां चुरै बड़ मिठाई ॥ पेटस ॥ ३१ ॥

An oil vessel (to cook in) below, an oil vessel (to cover it) above, and in it is melted great sweetness. *Ans.* Beesting's milk. (31).

मांठी-के बोक-रा चोक-रा चाय, । थोरे मारे अधिक मरिषाय ॥ मांहर-बाजा ॥ ३२ ॥

An earthen goat which eats bran. Beat it a little, and it cries

a lot. *Ans.* A kind of earthen drum called *mándar*, which is smeared with bran and water. (32).

खान डाढ़ी सुँह चाकरा, कर्षा चाये मोर डाकुरा । बकरा ॥ २२ ॥

Where has my lord come with long beard and a broad face ?

5 *Ans.* A goat. (33).

बिन हाथ-के बिन जोड़-के, कर्षे पाये जाय ।

ओकर सुँह-माँ चत्या खारै, डाढ़ मन-के खाय ॥ बन्दूक ॥ २४ ॥

Without arms, without legs, carried at the shoulder. Murder is in its mouth, and it eats men as they stand. *Ans.* A gun. (34).

10 सर्प-कस सेड़-री, दूध-कस फेन । जान मोर खाना, चल मोर रैच ॥ खूना ॥ २५ ॥

A halo like a snake, white as milk-foam, Know my riddle, or else come to my country (and see what I mean). *Ans.* A neck-ring. (35).

ओख-री रुख-माँ खँव गरी ॥ चौक ॥ २६ ॥

15 No shade in a bare tree. *Ans.* A *chauk*, or square mud-platform on which trees &c. are painted. (36).

खरसा डव-री-माँ बकुला फट-फटाय ॥ सुरी ॥ २७ ॥

In a dry marsh the paddy-birds are bursting. *Ans.* Pop-corn. (37).

20 सान मगरिया नामर जीवे, पाती के बड़ दूख ।

डाढ़े जीगी तप करत-रै, बिन बोक-सा-के रुख ॥ मन्दिर ॥ २८ ॥

Seven ploughmen plough ploughs, great trouble for want of water; a *jógi* stands doing austerities, a tree without bark. *Ans.* A temple. Seven means here several. The ploughmen are the worshippers. No water is ever allowed inside. It is also compared to a *jógi* and to a barkless tree. (38).

25

छोट-कुल दूरा, बीड़ा-भर दवून करे ॥ चूल्हा ॥ २९ ॥

A small boy who uses a load of wood for a toothpick. *Ans.* A fire-place. (39).

30

माँडी-के बरसा, माँडी-के पखान । ओ-माँ चवे माँडी-के दिवान ॥ चखी ॥ ३० ॥

An earthen bullock (the ground), an earthen saddle (the fire-place). On it rides an earthen master. *Ans.* An earthen cooking pot. (40).

ऊपर-से गिरे कारे, वे-का चाढे तोर दार ॥ करा ॥ ३१ ॥

35

A scum falls from above, and your mother eats it. *Ans.* Hail. (41).

सरस चाँडी सरस चाँडी, ऊपर बाँझे चाँडी ।

इन्द्र राजा पेठ फीरे, मोसँइया खेरे चाँडी ॥ कपास ॥ ४२ ॥

(High up) close to heaven, close to heaven, above rings a bell (the pods rattle). Indra Rájá (the rain) bursts its belly, and its owner pulls out its intestines. *Ans.* The cotton-plant. (42). 5

फरे न फूले, बँवे न डार । जब-खे जीवे तब-खे खाय ॥ नोन ॥ ४३ ॥

It fruits not and flowers not, nor do its branches bend down : and as long as one lives, one eats it. *Ans.* Salt. (43).

बइसा बढे-खे, माच भागत-खे ॥ कौचरा ॥ ४४ ॥

The bullock grows up, and the cow runs away. *Ans.* A pumpkin. As soon as a fruit is formed, the tendril grows forward leaving it behind. (44). 10

खसो रतन-सिङ्ग, खसो रतन-सिङ्ग, फिर फिर बाँधे झूरा ।

रकतन-के पनवार बचे, हाड़न-के दो झुड़ा ॥ कुसियार ॥ ४५ ॥

O Ratan Singh, O Ratan Singh, continually they tie up your hair (tie up the leaves in the field). (Inside you) flow pipes of blood, and your bones are heaped in two heaps (one to be chewed, the other already chewed). *Ans.* Sugarcane. (45). 15

परी-भर राई गने न सिराई ॥ तारा-गण ॥ ४६ ॥

A spoonful of mustard seeds, which cannot be counted. *Ans.* The stars. (46). 20

करिया माच-के करिया बहुरा । रह गये माच, बिचक गये बहुरा ॥ बन्दूक ॥ ४७ ॥

A black calf of a black cow. The cow remained behind, and the calf ran away. *Ans.* A gun. (47).

खितकी कुरिया-माँ बाध गुरीय ॥ जाता ॥ ४८ ॥

A tiger roars in a broken hut. *Ans.* The Brr Brr of a hand-mill, (48). 25

CHAPTER XXIX.

POETRY.

30

1. *Dóhás.*

Although called *dóhás*, few of the following verses will scan. They are commonly sung by cowherds in the month of *Káták* (October-November), about the time of the Diwálí festival. As the people sing, they dance to the music. Few of the verses have any 35

connexion with each other; and still fewer have any poetical merit. Many are the merest doggerel, with hardly even sense.

मन्दी-तीर-माँ चन्दन बसवा, जे-तर माँड़े दरहान ।

बारा बारा-माँ पँटुआ बहरा, पाख्खा बगर गये माय ॥ १ ॥

- 5 On the bank of the river is a sandal tree, at the foot of which there is a cattle-yard. At every branch is a white calf, and the cows have wandered beyond the grazing limit. (1).

भाँटा देखेव दुम-दुनिया, उल्हरे देखेव माय ।

बोड़े देखेव काली कमरिया, सो ही नमद-के भाय ॥ २ ॥

- 10 I saw a lop-sided *brinjal*, and I saw a fat cow. I saw one wearing a black blanket, and he is my wife's sister's brother. (2).

लौख धोये न लुटिहै, लोख न कचन होय ।

कत-को कपूर चराइये कागा न चम्पा होय ॥ ३ ॥

Can the leopard change his spots ?

- 15 You may wash indigo, but the colour is fast, nor does iron become gold; no matter how much camphor you give a crow to eat, he will never become a swan. (3).

लौख-कच कौरा भखै, मुखे बिराजे राम ।

करनी-सौं कैसे रचे, दरसन-सौं है काम ॥ ४ ॥

20

God's morals are not ours.

The blue-jay eats the worm, while Rám is ever shining in its mouth (its cry is "Rám, Rám). No matter what its actions are, my business is to adore it. (It is a sacred bird, has the *entrées* to heaven, and is worshipped). (4).

25

बामू चेतवा नद चेतै, तीर-तर जाने बेल ।

बब-के चेतै का होहै, काँटा लिचिन है घेर ॥ ५ ॥

Too late.

- 30 At first you did not consider, when the *bel* tree grew at your feet. Now what is the good of considering, for the tree is surrounded by thorns. (5).

पातर पातर छावी भइया, पातर अन्न सरीर ।

पातर है हमार ठाकुर, ते-कर हम अहीर ॥ ६ ॥

बाम ठाकुर का-सा कहैँ, दिख सकड़ी-के बीड़ा ।

ठाकुर कहैँ अमरेज-का, दिखै सोन-के बीड़ा ॥ ७ ॥

ठाकुर ठाकुर कह चायेव, ठाकुर कोन बयेस ।
 खात पान सुँह भुरसुर आवे, आवे सिद्धिम-के रेख ॥ ८ ॥
 कारे घेसना-के वीव सेरेव. कपूर लमाये जाती ।
 जउन दिन ठाकुर जलम छिदिन, सोन बरस गये राती ॥ ९ ॥

The Englishman is the best master.

5

Slender slender is a stick, my brother, and slender are my limbs. Slender is my master, and his cowherd am I. (6).

Whom do I call other masters? They are like a heap of wood. I call the Englishman my master, who is like a pile of gold. (7).

I came crying "master, master." What age is my master? (8).
 From chewing betel his lips are red, and lines show in his moustache.

I took tyre from a black vessel,* and made a lamp of camphor (to worship the gods). On the night of my master's birthday it rained gold. (9).

15

खान गाय का-ला कछैँ, खँदे खन के खाय ।
 गाय कछैँ मैँ होरा का, भीक अगाड़ी जाय ॥ १० ॥
 गाय कछैँ अजोडा-के, पैँमि पैँमि धार ।
 साँकर सुँह के दोहनौ, मढ़वैया मरे कुम्हार ॥ ११ ॥
 गाँजर पूँहे अचवेला-का, कैसन चये पहार ।
 अकरिया दावे पँडुरा बहरा, सौँमन करै मार ॥ १२ ॥
 नाँचन-के चरवाची-साँ, काया बज्जत भोगाय ।
 बीनी अँगुरी सुँदरी, पऊँचा लमठी जाय ॥ १३ ॥
 खामू कछैँ मार मार, पाहू धनुष चघाय ।
 गाय कछैँ सुपेता-का, बाघ मार अर खाय ॥ १४ ॥

20

25

Cowherds' lore.

What do I call other cows which eat pawing the ground and digging with their feet?

That cow I call dun-coloured, which advances rubbing itself against us. (10).

30

I call that cow an Audh one, which gives a fine thick stream (of milk).

Hence may the potter die who made my milk-pail narrow-mouthed. (11).

Gánjar asks her lover, how does he climb the hill.

* The earthen pots used for holding milk are smoked, to prevent the milk going bad.

Under his arm he carries a white calf, which butts with its horns. (12).

When a man tends cattle in low ground,* his body becomes much troubled.

5 The ring on his thinnest finger, slips up to his wrist. (13).

In front I call out 'beat, beat,' behind I raise my bow,

But the cow which I call white, kills the tiger and eats its grass. (14).

चन्दन पेड़ पधार-नाँ, दूरच बोलै बमूर ।

10 पेड़-पान चीन्हे नहीँ, काठ छारे जर मूर ॥ १५ ॥

A prophet in his own country.

The sandal tree is on the hill, but fools call it *bamúr*. They do not recognize the leaves of the tree, and cut it down by the roots. (15).

15 मार मार मैदा करै, पूजा करै शरीर ।

आसा तिसना न मरे, कह गये दास-कबीर ॥ १६ ॥

Practise virtue ; perform not austerities.

You may worship, and you may pound your body to flour (with austerities), but, saith Kabír Dás, the thirst of desire never dies. (16).

पाँच भाई पंडुवा, का-कर नाँव जाहदीस ।

नहरौ मारे कड़ाव-नाँ, छिसे धुरपदा जीत ॥ १७ ॥

20 There were five Pánḍavas. Whose name was Jahadís? He who hit the mark of the fish in the pan, and won Draupadí.† (17).

रावन अउर महि-रावन, कुम्भ-करन-अस भाय ।

मेघ-नाद-अस बेंडवा, होल मङ्गारन आस ॥ १८ ॥

30 Three brothers, strong as Rávana, Mahirávana, and Kumbhakaran, and a son as strong as Meghanáda, peeled, and set up a pillar. (18).

आवन दिवारी खुधि-खुधिया, आवन दिवारी बड़ दूर ।

जा जा दिवारी आपन घर, फामुन उड़ावे धूर ॥ १९ ॥

Christmas comes but once a year.

The *Diwáli* comes quickly ; and once it goes, it is a long way off

* *Náchan* is low ground near a village, where rain collects and is impounded in the rainy season.

† But this was Arjuna.

(till it comes again). Go, go, *Diwālī* to your home, and let the spring blow up its dust.* (19).

खेलत रहवँ चकरी चकरी, कतरवँ बंगला-पान ।

देह दगली तोर ओ-ही बने. खुरत पलट मये खान ॥ १० ॥

Cowboys at play.

5

I was playing at (crushing pulse in) millstones, and was trimming Bangālī betel leaves. Your body and coat are the same, but your appearance is all changed. (20).

बाले बाल-का सोना खा-गये, गरई मये भहराय ।

पीव दूध नाचन-के, सुरली नेहा चघाय ॥ ११ ॥

10

The parrot has eaten up all the ears of corn. The straw is tottering. Drink the milk of low-ground (pasture), after first arranging (*lit.*, twisting and lifting) your moustache. (21).

हाथी चघे महमन्ता, आँसु मये लिखार ।

सीध मार-के ब्यारी करे, बड़े पुदस-के मार ॥ १२ ॥

15

Mount on the elephant Mah'mantá, and on its forehead grasp the goad. (Your cow) the wife of a great man, will kill the lion and eat her lunch. (22).

लिखनी डोले कागद डोले, पतिया भेज न जाय ।

दुध आवे बतिया फाटे, अङ्ग अङ्ग भहराय ॥ १३ ॥

20

The pen shakes, the paper shakes, and the letter is not sent: when I remember (my love), my bosom bursts and my limbs totter. (23).

जेना चापे पुटपुरिया, से तोर घुँघराली केस ।

तौ तो गोरिया अपने सुन्दर, तोर धनी कोन बनेस ॥ १४ ॥

25

You make very delicate cakes of cowdung-fuel and your locks are curly. O fair one, you are yourself beautiful. How old is your husband? (24).

मये बसुरैया भीम बिन, मये अरजुन बिन बान ।

पीवी खेराये सहदेव बिन, राजा करन बिन दान ॥ १५ ॥

30

धिरई-माँ सुन्दर पतःरँगवा, साँप सुन्दर मनि-हार ।

रानी-माँ सुन्दर कमिका, मोहत से सन्धार ॥ १६ ॥

राम-दुलबधा लहमन से, पाँडव-दुलबधा भीम ।

बाव्हा-दुलबधा ऊदस से, दू दल मारे अधीन ॥ १७ ॥

* The *Diwālī* is an Autumn festival. *Phágun* is a Spring month.

Laudator temporis acti.

Rájá Bali went away (leaving us) without his might (*lit.* might disappeared without Bhíma) and Arjuna without his arrow. Books disappeared with Sahadéva, and generosity when Karṇa went. (25).

- 5 Amongst birds the fly-catcher is the most beautiful, and amongst snakes the *maṇiyárá*, amongst queens Kaniká is the fairest and enchants the world. (26).

- Ráma's darling was Lakshmaṇa; the darling of the Páṇḍavas was Bhíma, Alhá's darling was Údal. Each of these could conquer
10 both armies (in a battle). (27).

केरा-पान-साँ छेरा जमादन, महानन्द असमान ।

सेवरी नरायन-साँ दरसन कर से, वृत्त बने भनवान ॥ २८ ॥

- They (pilgrims) camp amongst the plantain leaves, and bathe
n the Mahánadí. They worship at the temple of the Śavari and
15 of Náráyaṇa, where there is a fair image of the God. (28).

बोरिन बोरिन बहिरा बोले, धरे लुहडी साय ।

का-कर दो बरस-के भेड़ा, चले हमारे साय ॥ २९ ॥

In every lane the cowherds carry staves and cry "Whose is
the two year old ram that is going along with us?" (29).

- 20 कउन कुसल कहेँ नाथ-के, सुनो भरथ बलबीर ।

सुन्दर बदन हरन भये, लहमन सिन्धु-के तीर ॥ ३० ॥

(Hanumān says) "What news can I tell of our Lord (Ráma)?
Hear, O heroic Bharata. The fair-faced one (Sítá) has been
ravished, and Lakshmaṇa (lies wounded) on the sea-shore." (30).

- 25 तेस चिकनियाँ फूल बंधना, गली चलावेँ तीर ।

रुन-के भरोसा कोउ न करिसे, र ही मंगैया बीर ॥ ३१ ॥

Oily and sleek-haired, adorned with flowers, he marches shoot-
ing arrow-glances in the lanes. On such a man let no one trust.
He is a beggar gallant. (31).

- 30 नदिया तीर-के कनवा कोकड़ा, कड़ेँ कड़ेँ नरिषाय ।

शव का करि से कनवा कोकड़ा, खाँसी चौपर बोहाय ॥ ३२ ॥

On the bank of the river is a one-eyed crab, which screams out
Karōñ Karōñ. Now, one-eyed crab, what will you do? Rheum is
flowing from your eye. (32).

- 35 कोरिया बीने पडोरिया, कोहा बीने रङ्ग-बीर ।

गढ़े सोनरवा बजनी पैरी, आये गवन-के रीत ॥ ३३ ॥

आमू आमू कोहनिया चले, पाहू रौतनिया जाय ।

मॉन्न मंभरिया चले तेंखिनियाँ, चिखला-में खपसे पाय ॥ ३४ ॥

Wedding preparations.

A man of the *Korí* caste is weaving silken cloth, a man of the *Kostá* is weaving coloured cloth. The goldsmith is casting tinkling anklets, the ceremonies of taking the bride home are commencing. (33).

The *Kostá* woman goes in front, followed by a woman of the cowherd caste. In the middle walks the oil man's wife, her feet slipping when (any gallant) looks at her. (34). 5

जर मये ठाकुर-के ठकुरी, मर मये पैगा-के घोर ।

बोलिया जरि मये ठकुराइन-के, मौ परजन-के मोल ॥ २५ ॥

A house-burning.

Burnt is the honour of my master, and his stable-pony is dead. The bodice of my master's wife is burnt;—it cost the price of nine parishes. (35). 10

माचुर दिहै तमाचुर दिहै, बचन दिहै कठोर ।

कास परौं ससुरे जावे, का गुन सँवरौं तोर ॥ २६ ॥

Amantium iræ.

"You gave me tobacco, you gave me baccy, and you also gave me hard words. To-morrow or the day after you will go to your husband's house, and then how will I remember your virtues?" (36). 20

सोरा सिङ्गिनि बतिस चुरिला, नव अठारा कान ।

दिन आये बसन्त-के, सखी पिचरी बान ॥ २७ ॥

Sixteen horns, thirty-two hoofs, and (twice) nine, *i. e.*, eighteen* ears. The days of spring are come and every thing is red and yellow, (*i. e.*, the *holí* festival is near). (37). 25

काठी बन-के कररौआ, बन धवई-के बहान ।

सखे बन-के सुखना, भजी राम-के नाम ॥ २८ ॥

दीन-दयाल बिरिह-के बारी, मात-पिता परान अधार ।

अन्न गोर सखा गोर देवर, सँवर कन्त हमार ॥ २९ ॥

राजा जनक-के बोकरी, भर सखत है गौर ।

ईंड़ी साँजत, सुख धोवन, निरखे बदन सरीर ॥ ४० ॥

Sítá in the forest.

"O *Kararauá* bird of the black forest, O *Ohhachhán* bird of the *Dhavaí* forest,—O parrot of the *Sál* forest, worship ye the name of *Ráma*. (38). 35

* Eight cows and a cowherd have $8 \times 2 = 16$ horns, $8 \times 4 = 32$ hoofs, and $9 \times 2 = 18$ ears between them.

“The all-merciful (Ráma) is a garden of trees, the darling of his parents. Fair of limb is my dearest brother-in-law (Lakshmana), and dark hued is my beloved (Ráma). (39).”

- (So saying) the daughter of Rájá Janaka fills her water-pot.
5 She wipes her heel dry, washes her face, and gazes at (Ráma's) face and form. (40).

2. *Dadariyás.*

- These also are sung by cowherds, but to a different tune. They are specially sung to each other by young lovers when courting and
10 when they are at a distance from each other, as, for instance, on opposite sides of a tank.

पौधे-ले मॉजा, लमै-रै निसा । देख डारैव बहिया, तोर चारी दिसा ॥ १ ॥

From smoking Indian hemp I got intoxicated. I saw you, my coaxer, in every direction. (1).

- 15 माय रै मोरझी, भैस विजरा । मो-सा चाँदे, बलबेला निजरा ॥ २ ॥

The cow is giving milk, and the buffalo is off milking. You, O gallant smiler, coughed at (seeing) me. (2).

डाढ़े सिपहिया, डरत नई रै । मोर चाँडी-के तिसना, मरत नई रै ॥ ३ ॥

- 20 The soldier stands and does not move away. The thirst of my eyes is not extinguished. (3).

बौने-ले लुमरा, दिये चाँडी । ती-सा कौनो नद पूछे, कूमै मॉडी ॥ ४ ॥

Fine feathers make not fine birds.

You weave a bordered cloth, but no one makes advances to you. The flies are swarming about (your dirty body). (4).

- 25 चावे सिपहिया, उलट बोली । कैसे मारे दरोगा, हाती-मॉ गोली ५ ॥

The soldier comes, but if he talks nonsense, his captain (my lover) will shoot him in the heart. (5).

मॉमरी महरि-सा, घीव-मॉ तरी । तोर एक एक बोली, करेजा-मॉ गरी ॥ ६ ॥

- 30 I cook *mongari* fish in clarified butter. O friend, every word you say pierces my liver. (6).

नवा तरैया, भरन-साहा । भगतिन होय बैडे, जपे माहा ॥ ७ ॥

By the new tank there is a rest-house. There sits a devout woman counting her beads. (7).

चागी-सा वारे, निकर बगले । कहां चाये बहिया, जलम जुम-ले ॥ ८ ॥

- 35 I was cooking, and came suddenly (out of the house). (Then finding her lover there, she says), Where have you been these ages, my coaxer ? (8).

मकुना हाथी, मऊबा-के भूस । का-कर मर-मॉ डारै, मोमरा फूस ॥ ९ ॥

The short-toothed elephant has a red saddle-cloth (but no rider). On whose neck shall I throw the (wreath of) Tuscan Jasmine? (9).

पीपर-पान, बोलत नद रे । बौनी भये बैठे, बोलत नद रे ॥ १० ॥

The fig leaves speak not. You sit dumb (like them) and do not speak. (10). 5

सूये-ले धान, पराये बहली । का-कर-वर रंघौं, तरौं मसली ॥ ११ ॥

My honest (husband) has run off to cut paddy (and is not at home). For whom shall I cook my vegetables and fish? (11).

सूटा-भर चना, चबाये रसतौं । गोड़-मिंजना बहिया, दबाये रसतौं ॥ १२ ॥ 10

To her husband.

I would keep you at home (content with) eating a handful of grain (rather than going abroad to seek your fortune elsewhere); I would keep you here, under my influence, my shampooer, my coaxer. (12). 15

पाय-माँ पनचौ, ऊपर तोड़ा । तो-सा खुल-के बिराजे, बदाजी घोड़ा ॥ १३ ॥

On your feet are shoes, and over them ankle-chains; your bay horse well becomes you. (13).

नोर गर कण्ठी, मोर गर माला । तैहवस बहिया, कवन पाला ॥ १४ ॥

On your neck is a necklace, on mine a garland. In whose power (*lit.* love) have you fallen, my coaxer? (14). 20

हैव हैव गसती, नैभोत बखी । आगौ लग गये, कमरदा जरै बखी ॥ १५ ॥

All round the borders are the *Agasti* (*Eschynomena grandiflora*) trees. In the midst the village site. Fire has broken out, and the village of Kamar'dá (name of a place) burns. (15). 25

आगौ बरै, चिरचिरा जरै । तोर कनवा चाँखी-नाँ, कौरा परै ॥ १६ ॥

The fire is alight and the *chir'chirá* (*Achyranthus aspera*) wood burns may a maggot fall in your one-eyed eye. (16).

बदरी घोरिया, लगाम नद आय । धौर धौर-के राजा, कमरदा नद जाय ॥ १७ ॥

She describes how even his mare laments her lover's absence. 30

The mare is greedy, but she won't eat (*i. e.*, suffer) her bit. O Rájá, (*i. e.*, beloved one), she does not gallop to Kamar'dá. (17).

चाये-नाँ छोटा, गरे-नाँ कण्ठी । कमरैया-ले बोली, सुघर पण्ठी ॥ १८ ॥

With a water-vessel in his hand, and a necklace on his neck, the beautiful bird (her lover) speaks from the mango orchard. 35 (18).

नवा तरैया, मजब कापू । मघरी नद ऊचै, उपक चाँदू ॥ १९ ॥

In the new pond is much mud. My water-jar (has sunk and) does not rise. My tears are falling. (19).

झोटी केरी, बड़ केरा । राम राम से बची, चले के बेरा ॥ १० ॥

A small plantain is *kerí* and a big plantain is *kerá*. At the time of starting take the name of Rám (*i. e.*, say good-bye) my beloved. (20).

आवे फिरझी, परे डेरा । का-कर-बर लानों, निमाऊ केरा ॥ ११ ॥

The Englishman is coming, his tents are being set up. For whom shall I bring limes and plantains? (21).

10 मकुना हाथी-ला, कस के रंगाव । तोर बिरके बल, मो-ला हंस-के मनाव ॥ १२ ॥

Saddle the short-tusked elephant and make it go fast. Smilingly invite me, the lover, whom you have entangled. (22).

काटा छूँटी, दुकल आहो । लोटिया-माँ पानी भर-के, निकर आहो ॥ १३ ॥

To her lover.

15 Leap over the thorns and spikes, and come. Fill your water-vessel with water and come in. (23).

चना भाजी, चरौटा डोर । मो-ला गजब चमोरें, नदिया-के तीर ॥ १४ ॥

With gram-pottage, by the branch of the *charaunṭá* tree, long watched I for you by the bank of the river. (24).

20 कुंवा-के पानी, भिक्केव लेंज-माँ । नही नही कहत-हैं देला, गिरत-ही देह-माँ ॥ १५ ॥

I drew well-water in the bucket. Though I cry "nay, nay, coxcomb," you fall upon my body. (25).

पनही-ला पहिरे, असल गोखी । गिँजरत आवे बहिया, जेना-के खोखी ॥ १६ ॥

25 Wearing shoes of real cowhide, my coaxer comes circuitously under pretence of (asking for) cowdung-fuel. (26).

करिया बैला-के, माथ ठिकुला । कैसे आहें बहिया, माड़ी-ले चिखला ॥ १७ ॥

There is a spangle on the head of the black bullock. How shall I come, my coaxer, for the mud (on the way is up) to (my) thighs? (27).

30 नीधी-के दूध, बनायेंव चौंटा । चले आवे राजा, मैं डार-हैं पौटा ॥ १८ ॥

I boiled forty cowries worth of milk. The Rájá is coming, I have spread a couch for him. (28).

उगती दुआरी के, बुड़ती पारा । चले आवे बहिया, मँझोत पारा ॥ १९ ॥

35 The door way rises, and the village quarter sinks. My coaxer comes in the midst of the village quarter. (29).

काटे-ला घास, नंधे टाठी । का जाने राम कहां, डारै माठी ॥ २० ॥

He is cutting grass for making a screen. Who knows where Ráma will cast this earth (*i. e.*, where I am destined to die). (30).

मयैव बजार, विसायैव नरियर । तरौ चुरे करेजा, ऊपर हरियर ॥ २१ ॥

I went to the market and bought a cocoonut. Inside its heart is ripening (*is soft*). Outside it is green (*and hard*). (31). 5

नया तरैया, मऊन चौखा । देखी मर उचै, कमर डीखा ॥ २२ ॥

In the new tank is much mud. My water (*has sunk and*) does not rise; and my loins are weak (*from grief*). (32).

चर भऊनियां, निकर पनिया । उँगनी बिध डोचै, तोर कन्हिया ॥ २३ ॥

A compliment from a village swain.

10

At exactly midday, you went out for water. Your waist sways like a slim bamboo. (33).

चायै-के अमरी, फरै चपडी । तोर-भुख-पर हया, भीतर कपडो ॥ २४ ॥

This year the tamarinds ripen flat (*fair but sour within*). On your mouth is mercy, but within deceit. (34). 15

नया तरैया, मऊ भाखा । मो-खा झुलनी झुला दे, मँजर-बाखा ॥ २५ ॥

There is a see-saw post by the new tank. Give me a swing on it, you who are watching me. (35).

हरदी-के बग-बग, लडुन-के बघार । किञ्जर किञ्जर मँगव, सनीचर-के बजार ॥ २६ ॥

Turmeric for yellow, garlic for seasoning, these things will I ask for, as I go round the Saturday bazar. (36). 20

बाँसे डोङ्गी भरैव दाह । चाँमि लग-गये, कँवरदा जरै राउर ॥ २७ ॥

I filled the spirits up to the top knot of the bamboo vessel. It has taken fire, and your Kamar'dá is burning. (37).

काँचा जोधा, बगायैव मुरदा । हग्या उड़ि मये परेवना रहि मये मुरदा ॥ २८ ॥ 25

I made a wheel-ring* of soft iron. The swan (*the lover*) flew away, and left the bird (*the beloved*) a corpse. (38).

चाँमा मिरावे, चाँसँ कर-के । तैँ किये दगा-माँ जरै, चाँसँ कर-के ॥ २९ ॥

Saying "I will eat them," I knocked down mangoes. Why have you deceived me saying, "I will come?" (39). 30

सोनचा मुँदरी, निकर गये नाम । बखत-माँ राजा, तैँ मर आयै काम ॥ ३० ॥

My name became known as a golden ring. But, O Rájá, at the time (*of need*) you were of no use to me. (40).

* *Gur'dá* is a ring fixed inside the nave of a cart wheel, to receive the axle-tree.

CHAPTER XXX.

Folk-tales.

श्री रामचन्द्र की कथा ।

अजोडा-के राजा दस-रथ-के तीन रानी, कौंसिद्धा, कैकई अउ सुमित-रा रहिन ।
 अउ चार सहरका सुन्दर सुन्दर रहिन, राम-चन्द, लक्ष्मण, भरथ, अउ सत-वचन ।
 इन-माँ राम तो गज-वे-चठ सुन्दर रहिन । ए सहरका रहिन, तवे-चठ अपन गुरू
 5 विद्यामिन्तर-के सङ्ग-माँ बन-का गरन, अउर बड़े बड़े राक्षस-मन-का मारिन । होठे
 भाई लक्ष्मणो राम-के सङ्ग-माँ रहिन, अउर राक्षस-मन-का मारिन । ऐसे का-बर नहीं
 होही, काहे-से के राम-चन्द तो भद्रवान-के चौतार रहिन, अउ लक्ष्मण सेस-के
 चौतार रहिन । तहाँ-से दुर्गे भाई अपन गुरू-के सङ्ग-माँ जनक-पुर-माँ आदन । इहाँ
 10 जनक-पुर-माँ राजा जनक-के राज रहिस । इन-करो एक केना रहिन । इन-कर नाँव
 सीता रहिस, ए तो गज-वे-चठ सुन्दर रहिन । सीता-के सुन्दरई तो कुछू कहे नहीं
 जात-रहिस । इहाँ राजा जनक-के परन रहिस, कि जउन-कोनो मौर इहाँ-के
 15 महादेव-के धनुषा-ला तोर-ही, ते-ही-ला अपन सीता-ला विधाव-माँ देखै । ए-ही-
 मारे इहाँ शूवी-प्रकन राजा-मन देस देस-से आये-रहिन । तहाँ ए-ङ्ग दुर्गे भाई रहिन ।
 तो राम-चन्द महादेव-के धनुषा-ला वेरिन, अउर धनुषा तोरे-ला अउर कोनो राजा-
 के सक नहीं चलिंस । पुन अजोडा-से दस-रथो घलाय आदन, अउ राम अउ सीता-के
 20 सुन्दर विधाव भरस । पाहू-से तीनों भाई-के भी विधाव दूसर दूसर केना सङ्ग भरस ।
 तहाँ-से राजा दस-रथ अपन चारै सहरका अउ चारै पतो-मन-का से-के अपन राज
 अजोडा-माँ आदन । पाहू बङ्गल दिन-के राम-चन्द-ला गादी-माँ बैठारै-के मोठ
 चलादन । अत-के-माँ भरथ-के दाई कैकई रिसादस, कि कौंसिद्धा-के बेट-वा राम-
 25 चन्द-ला राज-माँ बैठार-ही, अउ मौर बेट-व भरथ-ला जुद्धा राख-हीं । तब तो
 कैकई रानी रिस-घर-माँ गइस । तहाँ राजा दस-रथ सो-ला मनये-वर गइन । तहाँ
 कैकई दू वर-दान माँगिस । ए वर-दान पहिले-से थाती रहिस-चवै । एक वर
 30 ए माँगिस कि मौर भरथ-का राज देव, अउर दूसर ए माँगिस कि चउदा बप्हर-से
 राम बन-माँ रहै । सुनते-चठ राजा दस-रथ मूझी गड़िया-के बैठ गइन । राम-
 चन्द-जी ए सबो मोठ-ला सुनिन, तो सीता-ला अउ लक्ष्मण-जी-ला सङ्ग माँ खेरन
 अउर सबो माता, राजा, अउर दूसर-दूसर-से विदा हो, बन-के उहर खेरन ।

CHAPTER XXX.

Folk-tales.

1. THE STORY OF RÁMA.

Das'rath, the Rájá of Ajöddhá had three queens, Kauñsillá, Kaiñkéí and Sumit'rá, and also four lovely lovely sons, Rám-Chand, Luchh'man, Bharath, and Sat'rughan. Amongst these Ráma was by far the most beautiful. While he was yet a lad, he went to the forest with his *gurú* (preceptor) Viswamintar, and slew several mighty mighty demons. His younger brother, Lachh'man also was with Rám, and also slew demons. How should this not be? 5
 for Rám-Chand was an incarnation of the Supreme God and Lachh'man was an incarnation of the God Señs. Thence the two brothers, with their *gurú* came to Janak-pur. In this Janak-pur was the realm of king Janak. He had a daughter whose name was Chhítá, and she was wondrous fair. Yea, the beauty of Chhítá was 10
 untellable. Now king Janak had made a vow, saying, 'whoever will break the bow of Mahádév which is in my possession, to him will I give my Chhítá in marriage.' On this account great numbers of kings came from all countries, and amongst them, also these very two brothers, and Rám-Chand broke the bow of Mahádév 15
 and no other king had strength sufficient to break it. Then Das'rath also came from Ajöddhá, and a beautiful wedding of Rám and Chhítá took place; and after that Rám's three brothers were also married to other damsels. Thus Rájá Das'rath taking with him his four sons and his four daughters-in-law, returned to his 20
 own kingdom to Ajöddhá. Many days after this he put forward a proposal to seat Rám-Chand upon his throne, but in the meantime Kaiñkéí, Bharath's mother, became angry that he should set Rám-Chand, who was Kauñsillá's son, over the kingdom, and leave her son Bharath with nothing. So Queen Kaiñkéí went into her anger-chamber, whither Rájá Das'rath followed to remonstrate with her. 25
 There that Kaiñkéí demanded the fulfilment of two boons, which she had kept by her from before in reserve. One boon for which she asked was, that he should give the kingdom to her son Bharath, and the other that Rám should dwell for fourteen years 30
 in the forest. On hearing this Rájá Das'rath sat with head bent (in sorrow); but when Rám-Chand-jí heard all this talk, he took Chhítá and Lachh'man-jí with him, and bade farewell to his mother, to the king, and to other people, and took the road to the forest.

पुन वन वन-मां किंजरत किंजरत, अउ मुनी-मन सङ्ग भेंटकरत करत, मज-वे-चउ दुचि
 वा वन-मां गिहर मरुन । तर्हा रावना-के बहिनी अरस । सो-कर माक कान-खा लख-
 मनजी काठ खेरुन । रावना-के तौन भारे वड़े वड़े फउज खे-कर खरे-वर आरुन, राम-
 चन्द-जी सवो-खा मारिन । रावना दुमिस तो अपन गुरु मारीच-खा समङ्ग-खेकीं-
 5 आरस । मारीच-हर कपठ मिर-जा बगिस, तो राम सो-कर पाखू वान खे-के धउरिन ।
 लख-मनो मई रहिन, तर्हा-खे रावना-हर जोमी-के भेष धरिस, अउ बीता-खा हर-के
 अपन लङ्कन-मां खे मरस । पुन राम-चन्द-जी अउ लख-मन-जी बीता-खा जोक
 खोजत फिरत रहिन । तर्हा वन-मां सुपौव अउर हनुमान सङ्ग नितारै भरस, । तो
 10 राम अउ लख-मन दूनों भारे बेंद-रा अउ भलुषा-मन-के फउज खे-के रावना सङ्ग जुद्ध
 करे-वर अखिन । समुन्दर-मां पुल-वांधिन्, अउ तर्हा-खे उतर-के लङ्का-मां मरुन ।
 उर्हा तो मज-वे-चउ जुद्ध भरस । तो रावना, सो-कर भारे, वड़े वड़े बेट-वा, अउ सवो
 15 राक्ष-मन-के फउज-के-फउज मारै-मरुन । बिसीखन-खर राज भिसिस, अउर राम-
 चन्द-जी, बीता अउ लख-मन-खा खे, अउ बेंद-रा भलुषा-मन-खा खे, अउदा बन्हर
 पुरे-खे अपन अजोबा-मां आरुन, अउ राज करे खगिन ।

२. ढोला की कहानी ।

20 मङ्ग-नरोख-देस-मां मल्ल राजा राज करत-रहिस । तर्हा राजा-के कुँवर डोला, अउर
 पतो मारु, दूनों रहत-रहिन । डोला कुँवर अउ मारु कैमा मजन सुन्दर रहिन, ऐसन
 कि कुङ्कू कर्से नहीं जाय । बिहाव-के पहिले-खे दूनों भन मचादेव अउर पार-वती-के
 25 तपस्या बारा बन्हर-खे करे-रहिन, अउर वर पाये-रहिन, कि तुम्हार दूनों-के नङ्गद
 बिहाव होषी, अउ दुखे दुख-मां अपन अपन दिन काटिहै । राजा मल्ल अपन
 बेट-वा डोला कुँवर-खा राज दे-के, कस दिसे-रहिस कि, सवो देस-मां जावे अउर
 चारों खंड-मां जावे, पर मङ्ग-पिङ्गला देस-मां, जर्हा रेवा-माखिन, जे-खा चरेवा घलाव
 30 कहत-है, अपन बहिनी परेवा-के सङ्ग-मां रहत-है, भिन जावे । तर्हा-खे का भरस
 कि ढोला-कुँवर चारों देस-मां अउर चारों खंड-मां मरस, पुन किंजरत किंजरत मङ्ग-
 पिङ्गला कोत जाये-के सुमिता बांधिस । ढोला-कुँवर चलत चलत डहर-मां सात बहिनी
 35 धान-कुडोतिन-खा भेंटिस, अउर ऐसे पूहिस—

धान-कुडोतिन कुंड-मचे, मूसर बांधे फूल ।

मैं पक्षीं धान-कुडोतिन, कहि-दे माखिन-के खोर ।

अबो अलबेला, मैं ढोला राज-कुँवर ॥

Thus wandering in the forest, and meeting holy men, they arrived at a very distant forest. Thither came Rawaná's sister and Lachh'man-jí cut off her nose and ears. Then Rawaná's three brothers came with very great armies to fight, but Rám-Chand-jí killed all of them. There Rawaná heard of this, and came with his *gurú* Márích, who took the form of an imitation deer after which Rám ran with his arrows. Thereupon, while Lachh'man also was absent, Rawaná (came there) disguised as an ascetic, and carried off Chhítá to his own home at Lanká. Then Rám-Chand-jí and Lachh'man-jí wandered about searching for Chhítá, and there, in the forest, made friends with Sugríñw and Hanumán. Then Rám and Lachh'man, the two brothers, took an army of monkeys and bears to fight Rawaná, built a bridge across the sea, and, having crossed by it, descended upon Lanká. Then there was a terrible fight, and Rawaná and his brother, and his huge sons, and all his armies of demons were killed. His kingdom was given to Bibhíkhan, and Rám-Chand-jí taking with him Chhítá and Lachh'man-jí and his monkeys and bears, on the completion of the fourteen years, returned to his Ajóddhá, and began to reign.

2. THE STORY OF DĤOLÁ.

This and the following story are very popular in Ohhattisgarh and are sung in greatly extended versions. As told here they are much condensed.

In the land of the Fort of Naraul ruled Rájá Nal. His son's name was DĤolá and his daughter-in-law's Márú. Prince DĤolá and Princess Márú were very beautiful, more than can be told. Before their marriage the two performed austerities in honour of Mahadev and Pár'batí for twelve years, and obtained the boon that their wedding should be fortunate, and that they should pass their days in happiness. Rájá Nal gave his kingdom to his son Prince DĤolá and said, "Go into all lands, and visit all the four quarters of the earth, but go not to the land of Fort Pingalá, where Rewá Málin, whom they also call Harewá, dwells with her sister Parewá." Now what should happen, but Prince DĤolá went into all lands, and all the four quarters of the earth, and as he wandered, made up his mind to go towards Fort Pingalá. So Prince DĤolá went and went, and on the road met seven sisters husking rice and asked them thus—

"O damsels husking paddy, with pestles hung with flowers.

I ask ye, damsels husking rice, to tell where is the Málin's house.

Ah, I am the fair Prince DĤolá."

हे भान-कुडोतिन-मन ! तुम्हार दूसर-मां फल बांधे-हैं । मैं अलवेला डोला कुँवर
 हवीं । मो-ला रेवा मालिनी-के बखारी बता दे कि कौन भैर है । तब तो श्री साती
 बहिनी श्री-ला देव-के अउर श्री-कर सुन्दरई-मां मोहाय-के, बैठे-वर मधिया देरन,
 अउर योगी माखर पीये-वर दे-के, ऐसे बोलिन कि, हमरें साती बहिनी-मां, ए-दे
 5 बहिनी रेवा मालिन हवै । ऐसे श्री-मन अपन-मां एक भन-ला बता देरन । तब
 तो डोला कुँवर श्री-मन-के मोठ-का नहीँ पतियारस, अउर ऐसे कहत चल-तें
 चलिस—

अलिन नाहकौं, मलिन नाहकौं, नाहकौं बड़ी बजार ।
 नाहकौं हवेली कोसठन-के, देखौं भरोबा लाग ॥
 10 अही, मैं अलवेला, राज में डोला-कुँवर ॥

पुन डहर-मां चलत चलत देखिस कि गँई-के सरका-मन खेल खेलत-हैं, तो
 श्री-मन-ला पहिस—

15 खोली-मां खेली खोली सरकावा, सुनो सरका मोर वात ।
 तुम-का मैं देखैँ गुर चिँउरा, कहि दे मालिन-के खोर ॥
 अही, मैं अलवेला राज डोला-कुँवर ॥

अरे खोली-मां खेलावैया सरका-मन ! तुम-मन-का मैं गुर चिँउरा देखैँ । मो-ला
 रेवा-मालिन-के बखारी बता दे कि कउन-कोती हवै । तब तो सरका-मन गुर
 20 चिँउरा-के लालुच-मां आय-के गढ़-पिङ्गला-के डहर-ला बता देरन । तहाँ-ले डोला-
 कुँवर श्री-मन-ला गुर चिँउरा दे-के अपन डहर लेरस, अउर रँगत रँगत उहाँ-मन-रिस,
 जहाँ गढ़ पिङ्गला देस-मां सात खण्ड-के महाल के फुला-वारी-मां रेवा अउ परेवा दूनों
 बहिनी रहत-रहिन । ए-मां रेवा-के सुन्दरई ऐसन रहिस कि गज-वे-च करत-रहिस,
 25 डोला-कुँवर बखारी-के दुखारी-मां आय-के ठाढ़ भइस, अउ ऐसे बोलिस।—

एक कपाठ हेरीं, दूसर हेरीं, तीसर हेरीं,
 चौथे हेरीं, पाँच-हे हेरीं, षठे हेरीं, सात हेरीं ॥
 हो मैं अलवेला डोला राज-कुँवर ॥

30 ऐसन कहत कहत डोला-कुँवर अपन हाथ-ले कपाठ-मन-का हेरिस अउर
 भितरी बँगना-मां तुला-सी-के अउरा ऊपर बैठ-गरस, । तहाँ-ले सुन्दर सुन्दर दूनों
 बहिनी रेवा परेवा निकरिन । तो डोला-हर ऐसे कहिस—

रेवा परेवा दूनों बहिनी, दूनों तालम-तोल ।
 35 आये-हैँ मैं बारे डोला, बखारी-मां लिहव तौल ॥
 अही, मैं अलवेला राज डोला-कुँवर ॥

अही ! रेवा अउ परेवा दूनों बहिनी तालम-तोल है, मैं डोला-कुँवर आयेँ, अउ

That is to say, "O damsels husking rice, on your pestles flowers are tied. I am the fair Prince Dholá, show me in what direction is Rewá Málin's house." Then the seven sisters, as they saw him, became entranced with his beauty, gave him a stool to sit himself upon, and giving him a vessel of tobacco for smoking, said, "This sister of us seven is Rewá Málin," and thereat they pointed out one of themselves. But Prince Dholá did not believe their words, and went away saying as follows—

"I pass through the lanes, I pass through the byeways, I pass through the great market places.

I pass through the houses of the Koshtás (weaver caste), and I look in at the windows.

Ah, I am the fair Prince Dholá."

Again he went along the road and met some village lads playing together. Then he asked them,—

"Lads of the house, play in the house, but hear, lads, my words.

I will give ye treacle and parched rice, tell me the Málin's house.

Ah, I am the fair Prince Dholá."

That is to say ;—"Lads playing in the house, I will give you treacle and parched rice, show me in what direction is Rewá Málin's house." Then the lads tempted by the treacle and parched rice showed him the way to Fort Pingalá. So Prince Dholá gave them the dainties and started on his way, and as he went arrived at where in the land of Fort Pingalá the two sisters Rewá and Parewá dwelt in the garden of a seven-storied palace. Now the beauty of Rewá was extreme, and Prince Dholá stood in the doorway of her house, and said as follows :—

"I open one door, I open a second, I open a third, I open a fourth, I open a fifth, I open a sixth, I open a seventh.

Ah, I am the fair Prince Dholá."

With these words Dholá opened the doors with his own hand, and in the inner court sat himself down on a Tul'sí platform. Then the two lovely sisters Rewá and Parewá issued forth, and Dholá addressed them as follows :—

"Rewá and Parewa, the two sisters, are a match.

I, the youthful Dholá, am come, and in the house did I weigh them.

Ah ! I am the fair Prince Dholá.

That is to say ; "Ah ! Rewá and Parewá, both ye sisters are

सुन का बचारी-माँ आम छिड़ें। तब तो रेवा माखिनी सुन्दर कुँवर-सा देख-के
कहिस;—

कहाँ चलोआ चले जाये राजा, कउन परे बड़ काम ।

5

हर-वर बोली नीर वारें डोला, जल-दी देख बसाय ॥

बची बसवेला राज डोला-कुँवर,—

10

बची! बसवेला राज-कुँवर, कहाँ जात-रै? कहाँ-ले जाये-रै? कउन बड़े काम
परें-रै? सी, बची वारें डोला, बस-का बतावौ। तब तो डोला-कुँवर कहिस कि यही
सुन्दर बचारी-माँ सुन्दर-च-मैरें तो जाये-रै। अतःका सुनत-ले, तो रेवा अउ
परवा दूनीं भन डोला-कुँवर-सा बने बैठाइन, अउर पीके-बर माचुर, जाये-बर पान
देहन। जब कुँवर-हर माचुर पीअत-रहिस अउर पान जात-रहिस, तो दूनीं बचिनी

15

बो-कर ऊपर पिंवरा अउर झीं-के डोला कर देहन कि डोला कुँवर दिन रात
हमरे-च-मैरें बने रचे, अउ हमार बचारी-ले कइँ भिन जावे। काहे-ले दूनीं बचिनी
बो-कर सुन्दरारं देख-के मोहा मदन, अउर बो-कर ऊपर मोहननी कर-देहन,। तहाँ-ले

20

पुन दूनीं बचिनी डोला-कुँवर सइ मज्द गोठिया-के अउ बने पूह-पाह-के, बो-ला
बोया अन्दन लगा-के, नदवाहन, खोराहन, अउर बने जाये पीके-बर देहन। डोला-
कुँवर बसाय रेवा माखिनी-सा देख-के मोहा-मदन अउर उहाँ रहन-लगिस। पुन
रात-के बने पल्लइ इस-माँ-माँ दूनीं भन बो-ला राखिन। रहत रहत डोला-कुँवर
अउर रेवा माखिनी दूनीं-के पीरीत अउर भितारं बाढ़त-मदन, अउर डोला-कुँवर-के
सारी परेवा-हर दूनीं-के भेंड देख-के बने सुख-माँ रहन लगिस। तहाँ-ले ऐसे करत
करत डोला-कुँवर-सा मड़ पिइला देस-माँ रेवा-के बचारी-माँ वारा बच्छर नीत-
मदन। तब तो एक दिन डोला-कुँवर-हर अपन घर-के सुरता कर-के रेवे बोखिस;—

30

वारा बच्छर मैँ घर-सा हाँड़ें, मन नहिँ माड़े नीर ।

कलप कलप मैँ डोला-कुँवर, घर-वर सुर लमै-रै नीर ॥

35

बोली भंगाये मड़ नरीख-ले, रेसम बांधें डोर ।

बोली कड़क मये रेवा परेवा-के, मन नहिँ माड़े नीर ॥

बची! रेवा माखिनी मैँ अपन देस मड़ नरीख-ले रेसम बांधें डोर-के बोली
सुन दूनीं बचिनी-वर जानै-रहें, अउर बोली बसाय चिरावत जावत-रै।

an equal pair. I, Prince Dholá, came and recognised you in your own house." Then Rewá Málin, seeing the beautiful Prince, said as follows;—

“Where art thou going and art come, O Rájá. What great work hath fallen (to thy lot)?
Tell me at once. My youthful Dholá, quickly explain.
Ah! the fair Prince Dholá.”

That is to say,—“Ah, fair Prince Dholá, whither art thou going? whence art thou come? what great work hath fallen to thy lot? Tell me that, O youthful Dholá.” Then Prince Dholá replied, “I am come here into this your house, to you alone.” When they heard so much, then Rewá and Parewá both seated the Prince down in comfort, and gave him tobacco to drink (smoke), and betel to eat. While he was drinking the tobacco and eating the betel, the two sisters scattered over him yellow rice and cast this spell over him, “Let Prince Dholá live happily with us alone, night and day, and let him never go anywhere from our house.” This was because the sisters were entranced, when they saw his beauty, and hence they threw their enchantments over him. Then they held a sweet converse with him, and charmingly did they question and answer, and then they applied ointment and sandal to him, bathed and washed him, and gave him fine food to eat and drink. Prince Dholá also became entranced, when he saw Rewá Málin, and began to stay on there. So when night fell the two sisters laid him in a fine bed with coverings. As he lived on there, the mutual love and affection of Prince Dholá and Rewá Málin increased every day, and Dholá’s younger sister-in-law, Parewá, as she saw how they came together, lived there in happiness. In this way twelve years passed over Dholá’s (head) in the land of Fort Pingalá, in Rewá’s house, and then one day Prince Dholá remembered his own home and said as follows,—

Twelve years ago I left my house, and no longer is my heart happy. I Prince Dholá am grieved, am grieved; for now memory of my home (*lit.* house and doorway) cometh to me.
I brought ye a bodice from Fort Naraul, a bodice laced with silk; Now the bodice of Rewá and Parewá is worn out, and (no longer) is my heart happy.”

That is to say:—“Ah, Rewá Málin, from my own country of Fort Naraul I brought you each a silk-laced bodice, and it also is worn out.

मी-सा रूपाँ रचत वारा बन्दर भरस, अब मी-सा अपन घर-के सुख आवत-वे, मर मन्व
अब रूपाँ नहीं जानत-वे। र सुन-के देवा अउ परेवा कहिन ;—

अन मन बिना करी, अन मन खानो चार ।

5

रम देवा परेवा मन दिखेन, रचन गुनारो पास ॥

डीसा-कुँवर, अपन मन-नाँ बिना अन करी, अउर चार अन खानो । रम दूनी
बहिनी गुन-का देख-के रचत-रचन । डीसा कहिस कि मी-सा अपन बिदाता डैकी-के
10 सुरता आवत-वे अउर वारा बन्दर भरस में कुदू दवाक नहीं जानीं । मैं नी रहीं,
अउ अपन देख-का जाहीं ।

र-कीत डीसा-के तो रेसे पंचादत चलत-रहिस, अउर श्री-कीत मारू कैना कुँवर-के
सुरता करत करत मल-फत-रहिस, तो एक दिन श्री-हर अपन चेरिया-का बोहिस,
15 कि वारा बन्दर बीत गरस, दिन जनत जनत खंगरी बिया-गरन, अउ चाँची
आँभर भय गरन, पर मोर धनी नहीं दिखे । तो चेरिया-हर कहिस कि मैं घर-के
बाहिर कछुँ निकरूँ नहीं रहीं अउर रूपाँ-से मड़ पिगला चार बीस बीस हवै, तो
डीसा-कुँवर-सा कैसे कर-के खानिहीं । पुन मारू-हर रेसने अपन सबी चेरी-मन-सा
20 कहिस कि मोर खबर लेव, अउर मोर धनी-सा खान-के भँड करा देव, पर सबी
अन नहीं कर देहन । तब तो मारू-हर अपन सुचा-सा कहिस, तो सुचा बोहिस कि
मैं वन-के चिरई हवै, मैं का कर सकत-रहीं ? पर, हे दीदी, सुन ले ;—

25

अन मन-नाँ बिना करो, अन मन-नाँ खानो चार ।

मैं तो सुचा खानिहीं, डीसा-कुँवर के सीर ॥

चाँचर चीर-के कामद बना, नयन-कोर मसियार ।

रेसन लिखार लिखो कि, दसहरा-वर डीसा आब हमार ॥

30 मारू दीदी मन-नाँ बिना अन कर, मैं डीसा-कुँवर-के सीर खाना-के खील-
खानिहीं । दसहरा-के थोर-के दिन बाचे-रहीं । पुन रेसन कर कि अपन चाँचरा-सा
चीर-के कामद बना अउ चाँची-के काजर-के मस बना अउ श्री-नाँ रेसन लिख
दे कि दसहरा-के हमार धनी घर-नाँ आवै । तहाँ-से मारू-कैना-हर रेसने-
35 चठ करिस, अउ मारू-के कचे-से श्री-कर चेरिया-हर सुचा-के बेड़ी-सा काठ-के
श्री-सा पिंजरा-के बाहिर निकार देइस अउर वीव सङ्गर आये-वर देइस । तब
तो सुचा-हर तुरतें एक जोजन ऊपर उड़ा गरस, अतेक-नाँ मारू-के बहिनी
सबथा ले श्री-श्री-मैंर बैठे-रहिस, कहिस कि सुचा-के ठिकामा नहीं, कत-की
पोसो पासो, बैमान चिरई सीत-वे । श्री तो उड़ा-गरस, अब कैसेन कर-यो ।

Twelve years have I dwelt here, and now the memory of my home cometh to me. Here no longer is my heart happy." When they heard these (words), Rewá and Parewá said as follows:—

"Grieve thou not, and be not mournful in thy heart.

We Rewá and Parewá have given thee our hearts, and our hope is in thy remaining." 5

That is to say;—"O Dholá, grieve not in thy heart, be not disheartened. We two sisters only exist in seeing thee." But he replied, "the memory of my wedded wife cometh to me. Twelve years have passed and I know nought (of her). I will not remain. I will go to mine own land." 10

While here this consultation of Dholá was going on, there the damsel Márú was distressed as she called the prince to mind. So one day she said to her maid, "twelve years have passed, and counting the days my fingers are worn away and my eyes have become hollow, but still my Lord doth not appear." And the maid said, "I have never gone outside the house, and from here the fort of Pingalá is eighty kos distant, so how shall I bring thee Prince Dholá?" Again Márú spoke thus to all her maids, and asked them saying "Take care of me, and cause me to meet my Lord," but all of them said "no." Then Márú spoke to her parrot and the parrot replied "I am the bird of the forest. What can I do? But, O Lady (*lit.* elder sister), Hear me;— 15 20

Grieve thou not, and be not mournful in thy heart, 25

I am but a parrot, and I will bring the news of Prince Dholá.

Tear the border of thy garment for paper, and use the collyrium of thine eyes for ink.

Write on it, 'Dholá come to me for (the feast of) the Dasahra.'" 25

That is to say,— "Lady Márú, grieve not in thy heart. I will find a clue to Prince Dholá and will bring him. It is a few days to the feast of the Dasahrá. But do thou this; tear the border of thy garment for paper, and use the collyrium of thine eyes for ink, and write in it, 'Let my Lord return by the Dasahrá.'" Then Princess Márú did even so, and at her command the maid cut the parrot's chain, took it out of the cage, and gave it *ghí* and sugar to eat. Then the parrot at once flew up a league into the air, and Márú's sister Saruá (or Sárú) who was sitting near her said, "A parrot hath no certainty. No matter how much thou cherish it, it is a faithless bird. It hath flown away. Now what shall we do?" 30 35

तो पुन सुष्वा-हर उत्तर-के खाले चारस, तो दूनी-ला भरोसी चारस, कि ठणका
हमार काम सीही, काहे-ले कि सुष्वा कह दिसे-रहिस कि मैं ए पाके उड़ाये रह्ये
कि देखीं कत-का दुरिहा मैं उड़ सकत-हैं पुन श्री कागद सुष्वा-के गर-मां बांधे मइस,
अउ सुष्वा रेसे बोलिस;—

5

परथम से से दीदी राम-रसुष्वा, भोकिं सीढा चार ।

मैं तो जात-हैं डोला-कुँवर-के सोर-वर, करिहैं कौनो उपाय ॥

मारू कैना कहिस कि मैं तो सुष्वा बड़ चतुरा हँस, तोर-ले अगम कोन जान-ही ।
10 जा हमार काम कर-के था । तब तो सुष्वा राम-राम कहत उड़िस अउ दिन-रात
उड़ावत उड़ावत बन-मां मइस । तहाँ एक रूख-मां जा-के सभ्भ भये-ले बैठिस । उहाँ
रूख-मां बारा हजार बनेला सुष्वा बैठे-रहिन; घरैला सुष्वा सबो-ला राम राम करिस,
15 तब तो बनेला सुष्वा-मन घरैला सुष्वा-के सबो हवाल पूछिन, अउ ए-हर सबो-गोठ
जैसे-के-तैसे सब-के-सब बता-देइस । तब तो बारा हजार बनेला सुष्वा-मन घरैला
सुष्वा-ला अपन मुरू बनाये-वर अउ ए-कर-मैर कान फुँकाये-वर कहिन । तो घरैला
सुष्वा कहिस कि ए बूता मैं अभी नहीं करै । ए-मां पाँच रुपिया लाग-ही अउ बेर
20 लाग-ही । मो-ला जाये-वर लउणा परे हवै । लउटत बेर रेसके-चठ करिहैं । रेसे
राम-भर गोठिया-के बिहाने उहाँ-ले उड़ाइस, तो गढ़ पिङ्गला-मां पछँचिस अउ रेवा
परेवा-के फल-बारी-के फल-फूल खात बिगारत, महल-के कंभरा-मां बैठ-के तीन बेर रेसे
बोलिस;—

25

तो-ला हाने डोला कड़क बिजली, कि तो-ला हाने तुसार ।

तो-ला डाँटे रेवा परेवा कि बिहार-के सुरता गये भुलाय ॥

डोला-कुँवर-हर रेवा परेवा-के पास बैठे-रहिस, सुष्वा-के गोठ ए-कर कान-मां परिस,
30 तो कोला-कोत जाये-के मिस-कर-के उचिस अउर बाहिर सुष्वा-मैर चारस । डोला-ला
देख-के सुष्वा कहे लागिस, अहो कुँवर । तुम्ह-ला का भरस, बिहार-के डैकी-ला निचठ
भुलाय गये-हौ । कैसे सुखाय गये-हौ । रेवा-हर तो मारू कैना-के मालिन हवै । श्री-ला
35 देख-के तुम मोहाय गये-है । राम राम, कैसे तुम्हार माया दाया झूठ-मइस । तब तो
डोला कहिस;—

सुष्वा न मो-ला हाने कड़क बिजली, न मो-ला हाने तुसार ।

न मो-ला डाँटे रेवा परेवा, न मैं गयेँ सुखाय ॥

But the parrot descended, and hope came to both the sisters, that of a truth our business will be done ; for the parrot said unto them. " I only flew up for this reason, to see how far I could fly." Then the paper was tied round the parrot's neck, and the parrot said as follows—

" First O, Lady, accept my cry of ' Rám, Rám,' while I make 5
four salutations (to thee).

For I am going to trace out Prince Dholá, and some device will
I make therefor."

Princess Márú said, " Thou, O Parrot art very intelligent.
Who else knoweth the future but thou? Go, and return after 10
doing my business." Then the parrot crying " Rám, Rám " flew
up, and flying night and day came to the forest, and there on even-
ing falling, sat upon a tree. In that tree were sitting twelve
thousand wild parrots, and to them the tame parrot said " Rám,
Rám." Then the wild parrots asked the tame parrot his history, 15
and he unfolded it all exactly as it was. Then the twelve
thousand wild parrots asked the tame one to become their Gurú,
and to whisper unto their ears the initiatory formula. But the
tame parrot said " I may not do this business now. It will cost
five rupees, and will take time. I must go quickly (*lit.*, there 20
has fallen quickness for me to go). At the time of my return, will
I do all this." Thus after talking all night, in the morning he flew
away from them, and arrived at Fort Pingalá, and began to eat and
spoil the flowers and fruits of Rewá and Parewá's garden and seat-
ing himself on a turret of the palace said this three times ; 25

" Hath a flash of lightning destroyed thee, O Dholá, or the frost,
Or do Rewá and Parewá compel thee, that thou hast forgotten
thy wedded wife."

Prince Dholá was seated by Rewá and Parewá, when the word of
the parrot fell upon his ear. So under the excuse of going to the 30
necessary place, he rose and went out to the parrot. When the parrot
saw him, he began to say, ' Alas, Prince what hath come to thee?
Thou hast altogether forgotten thy wedded wife. How hast thou
wasted away? This Rewá is but the flower-girl of Princess Márú,
and yet when thou didst see her, thou becamest entranced. Ah Rám, 35
How has thy love and affection disappeared." Then Dholá said as
follows ;—

" Parrot, a flash of lightning hath not destroyed me, nor the
frost,

Nor do Rewá and Parewá compel me, nor have I wasted away.

सुखा, मो-सा कुङ्कर नहीं भरस-वे । मैं तो अपने विचार डेकी-के दिन-मां तीन घवा
 सुरता करत-हैं । कैसे करीं । रेवा परेवा तो मो-सा एक घड़ी नहीं बाड़ें । कैसे चलीं
 पुन सुखा-हर अपने गर-के कामद देइस । डोला खो-सा बाँचिस । खी-मां पहिले-से सब
 5 हवाल लिखे-रहिस । सुखा-हर बीच बीच-मां मजब मोठ राम-राम कहि-के करत
 जात-रहिस । डोला-कुँवर-हर थोरिक रिसाय गरस, अतक-मां परेवा र सब देख पाइस
 तो रेवा-में बता देइस । तब तो रेवा अउ परेवा दूनों अन डोला-सा धर-के भित-री
 10 खे-गइन । भित-री-से डोला-कुँवर सुखा-सा बलावन लागिस, पहिले तो सुखा नहीं
 आवत-रहिस, पर पाइ-से बाय-के डोला-के आँच-मां बैठ-गइस । सबी हवाल जाने-से
 दूनों बचिनी-मन डोला-से मजब भमरा करिन, अउर कहिन कि इहाँ-से नौ जान
 देवी । पुन राँधिन अउर डोला-सा अवा-इन पियारन । डोला-हर सुखा-सा अकेला
 15 हाँड़-के बचिरी गरस । तो रेवा बलाय खो-कर सङ्ग-मां गरस । इहाँ रेवा-हर तो सिखा-
 दिष्टे-रहिस, तो परेवा-हर का करिस, कि सुखा-सा ले-के चप्ला-मां जरावन लागिस ।
 तो सुखा-के पाँच थोरिक थोरिक जरन-लागिन, तो सुखा-हर परेवा-के अँगरी-सा
 चाबिस, तो परेवा-हर र-सा हाँड़ देइस, तो र भप-के उड़ाय-के महाल-के कँगरा-मां
 20 बैठ-गइस । डोला-कुँवर बलाय र बाल-का जागिस, पर का करे बपरा । सुखा-सा बने
 सम-आ देइस, अउर कामद-मां ऐसे लिखिस ;—

अन मन-मां चिन्ना करो, अन मन-मां लागो चार ।

25 दिन दसहरा-का अइहैं मैं डोला-कुँवर, गढ़ नरील-मां घर हमार ॥

अउर सुखा-के गर-मां कामद-सा बाँध-के कह देइस कि सुखा मैं जा, मो-ङ
 दसहरा-वर पाइ-से आइहैं, ऐसन कह देवे । सुखा-हर कामद-सा ले-के अउर राम
 राम कहि-के उहाँ-से उड़िस । तो बन-मां खीही-में पऊँचिस जहाँ बारा हजार सुखा
 30 पहिली भेंडे-रहिस । उहाँ सबी बनेसा सुखा-मन-के काम फूँक-के अउर उन-कर गुक
 बन-के दूसर दिन विधाने उड़िस । तो उड़त उड़त गढ़ नरील-मां, मारु कैना-के
 बखरी-मां आइस । मारु-हर देखिस तो सबी हवाल पूछे लागिस । सुखा-हर पहिली-
 35 से उहर-के मोठ डोला-कुँवर अउर रेवा-परेवा-के सब बात बताइस । अउर कामद-सा
 दे-के कहिस कि राम-राम, मारु दीदी, अब चिन्ना अन करी । दसहरा-वर डोला-
 कुँवर घर-मां आचीं । मारु कैना सबी बात-सा सुन-के बड़ा खुस भरस, अउर
 सुखा-सा बने बीच सङ्गर अवाय-के सोन-के पिँजरा-मां राखिस, अउ डोला-कुँवर-के
 उहर देखे लगिस ।

Parrot, nothing has happened to me. I call to mind my wedded wife three times a day. What can I do? Rewá and Parewá never leave me for a moment. How can I go?" Then the parrot gave him the paper from its neck, and Dholá read it. In it was written the whole affair from the first. In the meantime the parrot kept prattling much, and saying "Rám Rám." Prince Dholá was a little angered, and meanwhile Parewá saw all this and told it to Rewá. Then Rewá and Parewá brought Dholá into the house. From inside Dholá began to call the parrot, which at first did not come, but afterwards it came and sat upon his thigh. When the two sisters learned all this, they began to quarrel exceedingly with Dholá, and to say, "We will not let you go from here." Then they cooked and gave him to eat and drink, and Dholá leaving the parrot alone went outside, but Rewá also went with him, but, on the other hand, she had taught Parewá, and what did Parewá do, but she took the parrot, and began to burn him in the fire-place. When its feathers began to burn a little the parrot pecked Parewá's finger so that she let him go, and straightway he flew away and seated himself on a turret of the palace. Prince Dholá also observed all this, but what could the poor fellow do? He carefully warned the parrot, and wrote this upon paper;—

"Grieve thou not, and be not mournful in thy heart,
I Prince Dholá will come on the day of the feast of the
Dasahrá to my home in Fort Naraul."

This paper he tied on the neck of the parrot, and said "Parrot, go thou and say that I will also come after by the Dasahrá." The parrot took the paper, and saying Rám Rám flew away, and came to that place in the forest where the twelve thousand parrots and he had first met. There he whispered into their ears the initiatory formula, and became their spiritual preceptor, and early next day flew and flew to Fort Naraul, and came to Princess Márú's house. When Márú saw him she began to ask him all the news, and the parrot told her all from the beginning, his adventures on the road, and all about Dholá and Rewá and Parewá. He then gave her the paper and said "Rám, Rám, Lady Márú, now grieve thou not. Prince Dholá will come home by the Dasahrá." When Princess Márú heard all this she became very joyful, and gave the parrot excellent *ghí* and sugar to eat, and placed him in a golden cage. Then she began to watch the way for Prince Dholá.

- 5 रक्षा का भद्रस कि डोला-कुँवर-हर खूबा-के गये-ले चिन्ता करन लगिस कि रक्षा-ले कैसे कर-के निक-रीं। तब तो श्री-कर प्रक मुँदवा-हर जे उहाँ रहिस, डोला-खा प्रक सुमता बताइस। तो मुँदवा-के सुमता-ले डोला-हर का करिस, कि रेवा-के सङ्ग-माँ पासा खेले-वर बैठिस अउ खेसत खेसत मतोना-माँ बीड़ी-पान
- 10 रेवा-खा अवा देइस। रेवा-हर मात-गइस, तो श्री-खा कुबू घुर-ता नई रहिस। परेवा-हर फुल-वारी-माँ रहे, तब तो डोला-कुँवर-हर भ्रप-के प्रक उँट-वा-खा नंगाइस, अउर श्री-कर ऊपर अघ-के उहाँ-ले परावत पराइस, अउर भ्रप भ्रप उँट-वा-खा भँउरावन लगिस। अतक-माँ परेवा-हर देखिस अउर रेवा-खा बताइस।
- 15 रेवा-हर सुध-माँ आ-गये-रहिस। तब तो रेवा अउ परेवा दूनीं बचिनी उँट-वा-के पाहू भँउरे लगिन, पर पादन नहीं। चलत चलत-माँ प्रक नँदिया मिलिस। डोला-कुँवर-हर अपन उँट-वा-खा गन्दी-माँ रंगाइस। रेवा परेवा घलाय जाय-के ऊँट-के पूँजी-खा धर-लेइस। अतक-माँ डोला-हर भ्रप-के पूँजी-खा काठ देइस अउर उहाँ-ले भ्रप-के
- 20 ऊँट-वा-खा रंगा देइस। पूँजी काटे-ले रेवा परेवा झूठिन, तो गन्दी-माँ बोहावन लगिन, पर बोहात बोहात तीर-माँ लगिन, अउर हार जाय-के अपन बख-री-माँ आइस। अउर सन्धो-माँ पर-के रहे लगिन। र कोत डोला-कुँवर जो चलिंस, तो अपन देस मड़ मरील-माँ पडँचिस, अउर अपन बख-री-माँ मारू-कैमा-के भँउ करिस।
- 25 तब तो दूनीं भन अपन अपन हवाल कइमि बोहिन, अउर बने बने गोट कर-के खावन पीवन लगिन, अउर सुध-माँ अपन दिन काटे लगिन ॥

चँदैनी की कहानी ।

- 30 बावन-बीर नाँव-के प्रक मगखे बड़-का बीर, अतुरा अउर अघात डाँठ (डाठ) जीव-के रहिस। इय मचीना-ले तपस्या करत सुतत-रहिस। रेसे सुताईं हुवे कि कत-को मारी पीढी कभू उच-ते-चठ नी रहिस। र-कर नाँव-के तो हाना घलाय कहत-हैं कि “बावन गीड़-माँ फूटे बँवाई मो-सै बीड़ी रहें सुकाई”। काहँ-ले कि
- 35 र-हर रेसेमे मगखे रहिस। र-कर डैकी चन्दा नाँव-के मजब सुन्दर रहिस, अउर बने सुन्दर पह-रा चौकी-के ऊँच महल-माँ रहत-रहिस। एक बेर का भद्रस, कि बावन-बीर तो अपन तपस्या-माँ सुने-रहिस अउर चन्दा-हर श्रीही नाँव-के प्रक बरेठ-खा जे-कर नाँव लोरी रहिस, देख-के मोहाय गइस। पुन पाहू-ले कुठ-ना-कुठ-नी-मन-के लगाये-ले दूनीं-माँ मिलापि घलाय भय-गइस, पर अत-का रहिस कि कोनो का-कर घर-माँ नहीं गये-रहिस। बाहिरें बाहिर जहाँ तहाँ कर-के कभू कभू मिला जात-रहिन, अउर अपन गोट बात कुठ-ना-कुठ-नी-मन-ले लगाये-रहिन।

But here (at Pingalá) what happened? As soon as the parrot was gone, Dholá began to consider how he could escape therefrom. Now a friend of his, who was there, gave him good advice, and on his advice what did Dholá do, but he sat down to play at dice with Rewá, and as he played he gave Rewá a roll of drugged betel to eat. 5 She became intoxicated, so that her memory left her. Parewá was then in the garden and Prince Dholá suddenly called for a camel, and mounting on it fled from that place, and urged the camel into a gallop. In the meantime Parewá saw this, and showed it to Rewá, who had come to her senses again, and the two sisters began to run 10 after the camel but could not reach it. As they went, they came to a river, and Dholá forced his camel into it, and Rewá and Parewá also followed and seized the camel by the tail. Then Dholá quickly cut off its tail, and urged his camel on. When the tail was cut off, Rewá and Parewá's (hold on the camel) was loosened, and they began 15 to float away in the river, and floating floating they came to the bank, and returned disheartened to their own house. There lived they plunged in sorrow. On the other hand Prince Dholá went on and arrived at Fort Naraul in his land, and, in his own house, met Princess Márú. Then each told the other his story, and after an 20 excellent talk began to eat and drink, and to pass their time in happiness.

THE STORY OF CHANDÁ.*

There was a man named Báwan-Bír, a great hero, wise, and of a very stout heart. For six months he lay asleep devoid of sense and 25 feeling, performing austerities, and so sound was his trance that no matter how much you beat him or struck him, he never even rose. His name people even mention as a saying;—"Báwan had a blister on his leg, and (he did not notice that) nine hundred scorpions hid in it";—for such a man indeed he was. His wife named Chandá 30 was very beautiful and used to live in a high palace well watched and guarded. Once on a time what should happen but Báwan Bír was lying in his trance, and Chandá saw a washerman of the village named Lorí, and fell in love with him. Subsequently, bringing into use panders and bawds, they also had meetings, but it so hap- 35 pened that this never took place in any one's house. Only out in the open, here and there did they sometimes meet and communicate with each other by the aid of panders and bawds.

* This is an episode in the Gayá epic cycle of Lorik, which will be found described in *Rep. Arch. Surv. Ind.*, VIII, pp. 79 and ff. In the original version Chand or Chañdainf's husband is named Siodhar, not Báwan Bír, and the hero Lorik, not Lorí, was a cowherd, not a washerman by caste. The epic is sung by men of the godlá caste. G. A. G.

- एक दिन चन्दा-हर खोरी-ला कहना पठोरस कि मोर मन्थल-मां आवै। अउर
 श्री-कर मन्थल मजब कंच, बीज, लाम लाम रहिस, अउर खाले-मां एक एक कर-के
 पहिरा चौकी लामे-रहिस। तो प्रकरो उपाय घलाय बता दिहै-रहिस। तब तो
 5 खोरी-हर चन्दा-के मन्थल-मां जाये के सुमता बांध-के रँगिस, अउर मन्थल-कगःरा
 पहिली चौकी-मां मनखे-मन-ला भेंडिस। तो श्री-मन-ला बपिया दे देरस। पुन
 दूसर-ले गाय-गदवा भेंडिस, तो श्री-मन-ला खूबी प्रकन खदर दे देरस। पुन
 तीसर-ले बेंदरा-मन-का देखिस, तो लाड़ चना ददेरस। पुन सांप-मन मिलिन, तो
 10 दूध दे देरस। र-मन सबी खार्ये पिये-मां भुलाय मरन। खोरी-हर मन्थलके भीती-
 कगःरा ठाड़ ठाड़ अम-रिस, कपर पटुंहा-ले चन्दा-हर फासा छारिस कि खोरी
 कपर चष-के खले-आही। पर जब खोरी फासा-ला धरें-बर करत-रहिस, तो चन्दा-हर
 15 खोरी-ला तीर लेत-रहिस। र तो हाँसी मढ़ाये-रहिस पर खोरी बपःरा बड़ सन्धो-मां
 परिस कि अतेंक पिच-काठ-मां तो इहाँ खार्ये, अउर कपर-तो घलाय जाव नहँ
 होवे। कैसे करीं। जो लउठ जायें तो मोर-मोर अब बपिया, चना, लाड़, खदर, दूध
 कुहू नई रे। कैसे जायें। तप तो चन्दा जानिस कि खोरी-हर मजब खिसिया
 20 मरस-चे, तो खोरी-ला मशीं तीरिस। खोरी-हर श्री-ला धर-के पटुंहा-मां चष खाइस।
 तहाँ चन्दा-हर दूसर खोली-मां लुका गये रहिस। खोरी-हर र उहार श्री उहार
 देख-के, अउर खिसिया खिसिया-के, चन्दा-ला पाइस। पुन दूनीं भन तहाँ रात-के बने
 मोठ बात करत पलङ्ग दसना-मां सुते-रहिन। रात होये-ले विशान होये-के बेरा-मां
 25 खोरी-हर उधिस अउर बपिया खदर चना लाड़ दूध ले-के चले लगिस, तो हर-बर
 हर-बर-मां अपन पागा-ला उहाँ हाँड़-देरस, अउर चन्दा-के लहर-पटोर-का मूँड़ी-मां
 बान-के बेसन फासा लमा-के उतरिस, अउर पहरा-वाला-मन-का बैसे देवत भुलावत
 अपन घर-मां चले खाइस।
 30 पाहू-ले कोनो खान बरेठिन जउन चन्दा-के खोड़ना कांचत-रहिस, खोरी-के घर-मां
 मरस अउर लहर पटोर-का देख-के जान मरस। बरेठ-निन-हर खोरी-ला टोक्सि
 घलाय, पहिली तो खोरी-हर मोठ-का लुकाइस, पर पाहू-ले सब जस-के-तस बता देइस।
 पुन श्री-ला श्री बरेठिन चन्दा-मोर अमःरा देइस अउर श्री-ला घलाय बउत गोठिया-क
 35 तब-ले र-ही बरेठ-निन-हर दूनीं-के पागा-ला लगिस, अउर श्री-कर घर-मां अमरा
 देइस। अउर लजाय-के खोरी-के कुठ-नौ होय-के रहिस।
 ऐसे करत करत मजब दिन बीत मरस, अउर बावन-बीर-हर तो अपन तपस्या-मां
 अब-ल सुते-च-रहे। पुन एक दिन चन्दा अउर खोरी दूनीं मन्धूवा करिन कि र
 40 देस-ले निकर जावो अउ कइँ अने जा-के रहःबो। हीत होत इहाँ-ले का भरस कि
 चन्दा-हर खोरी-के हात धोय-के पाहू परिस कि कइँ चें निकर चलो। खोरी-के मन

One day Chandá sent word to Lorí to come to her palace. Her palace was very high, straight and long, and below were set here and there watchmen and guards. So for them also she showed him a device. Then Lorí having determined to go to the palace (went there), and near it met the first guard composed of men. To them he gave money. Then he met next a guard of cows and cattle, and to them he gave very much fodder. Then at the third guard he saw monkeys, and to them he gave sweetmeats and grain. Then he came to (a guard of) snakes and to them he gave milk. So these amused themselves with eating and drinking. Then Lorí arrived below the wall of the palace and stood, and from above, from the upper verandah, Chandá let down a noose, by which Lorí might ascend to her; but whenever he attempted to catch hold of it, Chandá drew it up again (out of his reach). She thus laughed and sported, but Lorí, poor fellow, fell into a great quandary saying "I have come here through such great dangers, and I cannot even get up above, what am I to do? If I return, I have not any more money, or grain or sweetmeats, or fodder or milk with me. How am I to go?" Then Chandá saw that Lorí was much vexed, and no longer drew the rope, and Lorí caught hold of it, and climbed up to the upper verandah. There Chandá hid herself in another room, and Lorí looked on this side and on that, and at length when he was well vexed, he found Chandá. Then the two spent the night in sweet converse, and slept on a bed together. When the night was passed and morning came, Lorí arose, and taking money, fodder, grain, sweetmeats and milk started, but in his haste he left his turban behind, and fastened Chandá's silk veil on his head instead. Then, as before, he used the noose, descended and, in the same way after giving presents and charming the guards returned to his own house.

Afterwards, another person, a washerwoman who washed Chandá's clothes, went into Lorí's house, and seeing the silken veil, recognised it. She also asked Lorí about it, and at first he concealed the matter, but finally told her all exactly about it. She then brought it to Chandá, and also having spoken much to her and made her ashamed, took away Lorí's turban, and brought it to his house. From that time forth that washerwoman became the go-between of these two (lovers).

Thus things went on for many a day, and Báwan-Bír remained still in his trance, and one day both Chandá and Lorí talked about leaving the country, and going to some other land to live there. As they went on talking, Chandá urgently persuaded Lorí to leave the place and go to any where else. Lorí's idea

5 वरुन कर-के निकर-के नी रहिस, पर
 वपुरा का करे बी पिच-काठ-नां पर
 मये रहिस। कभू कभू तो लोरी-हर
 5 खिसिया-के बावन-बीर-नेर जाये करे,
 अउर बी-खा खान मार-के झड़ी-के
 बार तीर-के अउर लौठी-से मार-के
 उचाये-वर करे, पर बावन-बीर बी-नेर
 10 का-वर उचत-रै। बी तो अपन तपस्या-
 नां माने-रहे। जब लोरी-हर चन्दा-के
 कहे-कहे-से निचड अच-कटा गरुस,
 तब तो दूनीं अन निकर-के सुनिता
 करिन।

15 तब तो एक दिन लोरी अउर चन्दा
 दूनीं आधा रात-के निकर ठाढ़ भइल,
 अउर उहाँ-से चल देलन; मीव-से
 बहीरी एक दरवान रहिस, उहाँ
 20 चन्दा-के ममा रहत-रहिस। र-कर-में
 गाय भैंसी अघात रहिन, अउर अपन
 घर-के बने रहिस। जब दूनीं अन उहाँ
 आरन त ममा-हर इन्ह-खा बने तीन
 25 दिन-से राखिस अउर चन्दा-खा अबी
 सम-आइस कि तैं रेसे मोठ अन कर,
 अपन घर-का लउठ जा, वे-खा मैं
 गया भैंसी दे देत-रै। चन्दा तो रानी
 30 रहिस अपन महाल अउर धनी खा
 हाड़ देइस। भैंसी-के का कर-तिस।
 नहीं मानिस। पुन उहाँ-से दूनीं-के
 दूनीं लोरी अउ चन्दा चल देलन
 35 अउर चलत चलत एक बड़े बन-नां
 पड़चिन। तहाँ इन-कर भाग-से एक
 महाल रहिस। उहाँ जाये, पीये,
 नौकर-चाकर, सबे बात-के सुख रहे।
 40 दूनीं-के दूनीं महाल-के भीत-री गरुन
 अउर भीतरी-से सबे दुआरी-के तारा
 लूची दे-के अपन सुख-नां रहन खानिन।

was strongly against going,
 but what could the poor fellow
 do, as he was fallen into diffi-
 culties? Sometimes being vex-
 ed, he would go up to Báwan-
 Bír, and kick him and pull him
 by the hair of his head, and
 strike him with a stick and
 thus try to rouse him. But
 how could Báwan-Bír then get
 10 up, for he was deeply engaged
 in his trance? At last when
 Lorí was rendered entirely
 helpless by Chandá's words,
 the two determined to run
 15 away.

So one day Lorí and Chandá
 both got up at midnight, and
 departed. Outside the village
 was a cattle-yard, where dwelt
 20 Chandá's uncle. He owned
 many cows and buffaloes, and
 lived comfortably in his house.
 When they came there, the
 uncle kept them comfortably
 25 for three days, and strongly
 advised Chandá not to do this,
 but to go back to her own house,
 and offered to give her cows
 and buffaloes. But Chandá was
 30 a queen, and had abandoned
 her own house and husband,
 what did she care for buffaloes?
 She did not heed. Hence the
 two departed, and going going,
 35 came to a great forest, wherein
 to their good fortune was a pa-
 lace full of food and servants
 and every delight. They went
 inside and from within locked
 40 all the doors with the keys and
 began to live happily.

र कोत का भरस कि बाबन-बीर-
 खा सुते सुते हय महीना बीत गरस ।
 र अपन नौद-ले जागिस अउर चन्दा-
 खा महार-नां नहीं देखिस । तो
 5 कल-वला गरस । पाहू-ले लोरी-के सवो
 बात सुनिस तो निचठ कउवा गरस ।
 पुन दूनी-के उहाँ-ले लोर-नां निकारिस
 तो ओ-ही दर-दान-नां अपन सारा-
 10 में पढा बात-नी पाइस । तब तो,
 चलिंस तो ओ-ही मन-नां आइस अ-
 उर र कोत-ओ कोत-ले महार-के
 पता पाइस, अउर उन दूनी-के उहाँ
 15 रचन-का जान डारिस । पुन गजब
 खिडिया-के महार-के सवो दुआरी-का
 हेरे-बर करिस, पर सवो कीत तो तारा
 दिखे-रहिस । ए-कर कुहू उपाव नहीं
 20 चलिंस । तब तो हाय हाय-के सउठ
 आइस अउर अपन घर-नां प्रकटा
 रचन खानिस ।

On the other hand what hap-
 pened? Six months passed
 over Bāwan-Bir in his trance,
 and he awoke and saw not
 Chandá in his palace; He be- 5
 came agitated, and afterwards
 hearing all about Lorí became
 exceedingly confused.* So he
 started forth to trace them and
 came to the cattle-yard, and 10
 got full information from his
 wife's brother. Then he went
 forward and came to the forest,
 and from this side and that
 heard news of the palace, and 15
 learned that the lovers were
 there. Then in a great rage he
 tried to open all the doors, but
 they were locked all round.
 Lo, as every device of his failed, 20
 he lamented and returned home
 and began to live alone in his
 own house.

* The verb कउवाज is said to be derived from कउवा, a crow, and means to be agitated or confused like that bird.

[Mr. Grierson hopes that it will be understood that he is responsible for any mistakes in the above translations. Before, however, they were printed off, proofs of the selections were sent to the author for revision, and he made several very useful corrections. Ed.]

On the Copper Coins of the Súrí Dynasty.—By DR. A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE.
(With three Plates.)

Early in 1889 a large hoard of 8,950 copper coins was discovered in a field, about 30 or 40 yards to the east of the old and ruined fort (*kof*) of Muḥammad Amín, which lies within the boundaries of the city of Jalandhar in the Panjáb.*

Out of this hoard 1004 specimens were forwarded to me by the Deputy Commissioner of Jalandhar, for the usual examination and report to Government on such treasure troves.

A careful examination proved that most of the coins were of Sher Sháh and Islám Sháh; only a comparatively very small portion belonged to Muḥammad 'Adil Sháh. The numbers are: of Sher Sháh 738, of Islám Sháh 234, and of Muḥammad 'Adil Sháh 32. This, however, does not show the exact proportions. At first 504 coins were sent to me; among these there were about 240 coins of Sher Sháh and the rest of Islám and Muḥammad. The next batch of 500 coins were all of Sher Sháh, especially selected for me. The real proportion of the coins of the three kings in the hoard, therefore, is respectively about 48, 46 and 6 per cent.

Among Sher Sháh's and Islám Sháh's coins I found a very large variety; especially among the coins of the former king; and as hitherto but very little has been made known of the Súrí copper coinage, I have, in this paper, endeavoured to put together the results of my examination in some detail. The most representative of the different varieties are figured in the accompanying plates.

About the silver coinage of the Súrí dynasty a good deal of information has been published; especially by Mr. C. J. Rodgers in his papers in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII (for 1888), and in this Journal, vol. XLIX, LII, and LV; by Mr. Thomas in his *Chronicles of the Pathán Kings of Delhi*, by Marsden in his *Numismata Orientalia* and by Mr. Gibbs in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. V, (3rd Series), p. 225. But the only notices of Súrí copper coins, that I am aware of, occur in Thomas' *Chronicles*, pp. 402 and 403, where he describes two types of Sher Sháh's dáms, of which one is figured. Of this figured type, Mr. Rodgers has published two other mints in this Journal, vol. XLIX, p. 210. On p. 413 of the *Chronicles* are mentioned a dám and two smaller denominations of Islám's copper coins, but none is figured. On pp. 416, 417, *ibidem*, are noted a dám of Muḥammad 'Adil, and a smaller denomination of Ibráhím and Sikandar, without any figures; but Mr. Rodgers has

* See letter of the Deputy Commissioner of Jalandhar, No. 681, dated 21st May 1889.

published in this Journal, vol. LV, p. 184 (Pl. VIII, fig. 4, 5), figures of a *dám* of Ibráhím as well as of a *dám* of Sikandar.

All the coins of the hoard, which I am now going to describe, are *dáms*. There is not a single one of a lower denomination among them.

The copper coinage of the Súri Dynasty is distinguished by a strange circumstance, which, if it has been noticed, has never been explained. Nor am I able myself to offer any satisfactory explanation. The manual and artistic execution in the majority of specimens, especially of Sher Sháh, is remarkably good, so as to give the impression that the dye-sinker must have been quite familiar with the Arabic or Persian characters which he engraved. Yet the legends are disfigured by the grossest blunders, indicating great ignorance of the language in which they are composed. Thus on the obverse the legend which ought to run *فريد الدين و الدنيا و الدين* commonly exhibits the following form *فريد الدين الدنان*. The *ن* (*nún*) of *ud-dinán* is generally placed across the top of the *ا* (*alif*) of *نا* (*ná*). It may be seen in the obv. margin of fig. 2, and on the face of figs. 13, 29, 38. In fig. 17, *ن* is placed by the side of *نا* in the usual fashion. Occasionally the correct phrase is met with, or at least what closely approaches to it; as in figs. 14, 15 where we have *الدنيا و الدين*. On Islám Sháh's coins occasionally another blunder is met with, *viz.*, the form *الدين الدين* as seen clearly on fig. 28. A clue to the origin of the blunder seems to be afforded by the obv. of fig. 15. Here we have the phrase given correctly, except that a dot is placed over *dunyá*, thus *الدنا و الدن*. It is easy to see how *نا* with a dot over it, might come to be mistaken for *ن* (*i. e.*, *ين*), and that thus the phrase (*الدين الدين*), as seen on Islám's coins, would arise. The first word *الدنيا* having been changed to *الدين*, the second word *الدين* was, by some not quite intelligible process of reasoning, or rather un-reasoning, changed to *الدنان* and the intermediate *و* was omitted. The phrases *الدين الدين* or *الدن الدنان* are absolutely unmeaning. The word *الدنان* might be read *ad-dinán*, as a sort of hybrid plural form of *din* 'a day'; but even granting such a form, the phrase would make no sense.

Another curious blunder is very common in the legend of the obverse area of some coins. The legend ought to run *في عهد الامير الكامي*. Instead of this form, we very often find the following *في عهد الميرة* *في عهد الميرة الحامائي*, or *في عهد الميرة الحامائي*, or sometimes even *في عهد الميرة الحاملي مي*. These forms give absolutely no sense; *almírah* is nonsense;

and *al-hámilî*, as the other word has sometimes been read,* is equally unintelligible. The error may possibly have arisen in this way (see fig. 8) : the draftsman of the inscription had written the *alif* and *lám* of *al-hámî* with elongated up-strokes, reaching up to *fî 'ahad* ; by the side of them he had written *mîr* (مير) and after it *al-a* (الا) ; thus

فم عهد
 ميرالا
 الحامي

But the ignorant dye-sinker copied it in the senseless fashion as seen on the coins. The correct form الحامي, however, is not uncommon, see figs. 2, 4, 5, 6 and 7.

There are occasionally other blunders of a less striking description, which the reader will easily observe for himself. Some apparent blunders of this kind may be due to the fact, that sometimes the size of the coin was too small to take in the whole legend cut on the dye.

DÁMS OF SHER SHÁH.

Sher Sháh, Farídu-d-dín, reigned from A. H. 947-952, or A. D. 1540-1545.

Ist Type ; square areas with inscribed sectional margins, on both obverse and reverse.

1, *Variety* : area inscriptions, as on Nos. 356 and 357 of Thomas' *Chronicles*.

a, Subvariety : date on obverse area,† as in No. 356. The legends are as given in Chron., p. 402, except that the reverse margin reads in full ابوالمظفر حلد الله ملكه وسلطانه. The last two words ملكه وسلطانه are lost in Mr. Thomas' specimen. The dates and mints vary greatly. The following mints occur in the hoard : Gwáliyar, 94 specimens ; Agra 51, Alwar 44, Shírgarh 60, Sambhal 19. A coin of Agra is figured in Thomas' *Chron.*, pl. V, fig. 185 ; Mr. Rodgers has figured Alwar and Sambhal in this Journal, vol. XLIX, pl. XVIIIa, figs. 3, 4. I now give a figure of Gwáliyar, mainly to show the last word سلطانة of the marginal inscription ; see Plate III, fig. 1.

b, Subvariety : date on obverse margin, as on No. 357 of Thomas' *Chronicles*. Dates and mints again vary. The mints represented in the hoard are : Nárnol with 128 specimens, Hisár with 75, Kalpí with 20, Malot with 16, and Shírgarh with 3. No specimen of this subvariety has ever been figured. I give one of Kalpí, both sides, as it shows the

* So by Mr. Rodgers in a MS. list of coins, given to the Indian Museum by the Archæological Survey. I do not know what the word *al-hámilî* could mean ; and even if it were admissible, it would not remove the difficulty of *almírah*.

† I call that the obverse which contain the legend *fî 'ahad*, etc.

marginal legends comparatively well (Plate III, fig. 2). The obverse has on the top العادل, to right فريد ٩٥٠, bottom الدين, to left الدنان. The reverse reads: on top ابوالمظفر, to right خلد الله, bottom ملكه, left سلطانه. The several portions are not always arranged exactly in the same way in the different species of coins; but the whole legend is, I believe, always the same, and reads as given above. Further, the marginal legends are the same on all coins of both subvarieties; the only difference being, that in subvariety *a*, where the date is not in the margin but in the area, the space thus left vacant, is filled up with السلطان. Accordingly, the marginal legends of this class of Sher Sháh's coins (*viz.*, type I, variety 1), when fully preserved, run as follows, (and not as given in the *Chronicles*):

Obv. [السلطان] العادل فريد الدنيا و الدين
as-Sultán al-'Adil Farídu-d-dunyá wa ud-dín.

Rev. ابوالمظفر خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه
Abul Muzaffar Khallad Alláhu mulkahu wa saltánahu.

In subvariety *b*, the place of السلطان is occupied by the date.

Of *Malot*, being a new mint, I give a reverse, Plate III, fig. 3.

Of *Hisár*, there are two variations. In one, the date is placed to the right, in the other to left of في عهد. I give a figure of each; Plate III, fig. 4 has the date to the right; fig. 5 to the left; the date 951 A. H. in either case.

Of *Shírgarh* there are both subvarieties; some specimens have the date on the obverse area, others on the obverse margin; the latter are the much rarer kind. I give figures of both; Plate I, fig. 6 has the date on the *obv.* area, fig. 7 on the obverse margin to the right of *fí-'ahad*. Unfortunately the latter is a bad specimen, but the date (951) can just be recognized to the right of في عهد.

Variety 2. New. Legend on *obv.* area the same as in variety 1, but on *rev.* there is خلد الله instead of the mint name. The date is on the *obv.* margin. No mint is mentioned. Plate III, fig. 8 shows both sides:

<i>Obv., Area :</i>	فيعهد	<i>Margin :</i>	above	العدل
	الميرة		right	سنه ٩٥٠
	الحمامي		below	الدين
			left	[الدنان]
<i>Rev., Area :</i>	س ن	<i>Margin :</i>	above	[ابوالمظفر]
	شاه لطا		right	[ملكه]
	شير		below	خلد الله
	خلد الله		left	[و سلطانه]

Variety 3. New. Legend on obverse area nearly the same as on variety 1, except that it has امير for الامير; but in rev. area there is ابوالمظفر instead of the mint name. The date is on the obverse area. No mint is mentioned. See Plate III, fig. 9. Of this variety there are three specimens, of which one shows the obv. legend in a slightly different form; as shown in Plate III, fig. 10.

<i>Areas :</i>	<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
في عهد امير الحا ٩٥١ مي	or in No. 10	في العهد امير الحا ٩٥١ مي سلطان شاه ش-ير ابوالمظفر

Variety 4. New. The area legends differ considerably. There is no mint or date on the areas. See Plate III, fig. 11.

<i>Areas : Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
<u>الامير الغازي</u> <u>في عهد</u>	ن سلطان عادل شيرشا

There are 3 specimens of this variety, one of which exhibits a rather different style, see Plate III, fig. 12. The rev. margin of this reads as follows :

above خلد الله
left ملكه و سلطانه
below ابوالمظفر (?)
right : apparently traces of date (?)

Obv. margin is illegible.

Note : There is one specimen of type I, of excessively rude execution, the scrawls on which have a faint resemblance to the usual area legends of Sher Sháh's coins. It is either a crude imitation or a forgery; and not worth publishing.

Type II. Lettered surfaces on obverse and reverse.

Variety 1, legends exactly as on No. 355 in Thomas' *Chronicles*, that is to say, with *Sultán* only (not *as-Sultán*) on the reverse. There are four subvarieties, differing only in the arrangement of the words of the obverse legend. All have the date on the obverse.

Subvariety a, with 68 specimens, some of which show on the rev. an asterisk or quatre-foil (as a mint mark), but most are plain. See Plate III, fig. 13.

<i>Obv.</i>		<i>Rev.</i>	
في عهد الامير الحامه الدين الدينان سنة ٩٥١	ابوالمظفر * شاه ن شير سلطا خلد ملكه	or	المظفر شاه * ن شير سلطا خلد ملكه

The date is 951.

Subvariety b, with 40 specimens, of which some are again plain, while others show an asterisk or quatre-foil on the reverse. See Plate III, fig. 14.

<i>Obv.</i>		<i>Rev.</i>	
في عهد الامير الحامه الدنيا و الدين سنة ٩٥١	or في عهد الامير الحامه نيا ٩٤٩ بين الد والد	or	ابوالمظفر شير شاه سلطان ملكه الله خلد
			ابوالمظفر شير * شاه سلطان ملكه الله خلد

The obv. legend, in this subvariety at least and in the next, has clearly *ad-dunyá wa ad-dín* (not *al-dín al-dindn*).

Subvariety c, with 10 specimens; the legends which give the full name of Sher Sháh, are arranged as follows; see Plate III, fig. 15.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
في عهد الامير الحامه الدنيا الدين فريد و ٩٥١	ابوالمظفر شاه سلطان شـير الله * خلد ملكه

This coin is dated 951; and has the obv. legend in proper order *ad-dunyá wa ad-dín*.

Subvariety d; with 6 specimens; the legends are the same as on subvariety *b*, but are arranged as follows; see Plate III, fig. 16.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
As on subvariety <i>b</i> .	لمظفر ابو ن سلطا شا شير بن الله ملكه خلد

Variety 2, in every respect like variety 1, except that the reverse

legend has *as-Sultán*, for *Sultán*. There are four subvarieties, differing only in the arrangement of the words of the reverse legend. All have the date on the obverse.

Subvariety a, with 39 specimens, some of which show on the reverse an asterisk. The legends are arranged as follows, see Plate IV, fig. 17.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
فِي عَهْدِ اَلْاِمْبِرَالْحَاكِمِ اَلدِّينِ اَلدِّنَانِ ٩٤٨	اَبُوالمظفَرِ شَاهُ * ن شَيْرِ السُّلْطَا خَلْدِ اَللَّهِ مَلِكِهِ

In some specimens *الله* is omitted from the rev. legend; Plate IV, fig. 18.

Rev. اَبُوالمظفَرِ
 شَاهُ ن
 شَيْرِ السُّلْطَا
 خَلْدِ مَلِكِهِ

Subvariety b, only one specimen; the legends are arranged as follows; see Plate III, fig. 19.

Obv.
 As on subvariety *a*.

اَبُوالمظفَرِ
 شَاهُ السُّلْطَانِ
 شَيْرِ مَلِكِهِ
 خَلْدِ اَللَّهِ

Subvariety c, with 2 specimens; the legends are arranged as follows, see Plate IV, fig. 20. The obverse shows the mint mark of a *svastika*. The date is 950 A. H.

Obv.
 As on var. 1, subvar. *b*.

Rev.
 اَبُوالمظفَرِ
 شَاهُ
 شَيْرِ
 السُّلْطَانِ خَلْدِ
 اَللَّهِ مَلِكِهِ

This is a rather artistically made coin.

Subvariety d, with 3 specimens; the legends are arranged as in subvariety *c*, but the obverse gives the full name of Sher Sháh Farídu-dín. See Plate IV, fig. 21. The date is 951 A. H.*

* Mr. Rodgers, in a MS. list of coins, sent to the Indian Museum, apparently describes a specimen of this kind (No. 212 of the list of 1886-87). He reads the obverse: "š'ahād al-Amīr al-Hāmi Farīdu-d-dīn wa dīnān, 950, mint Hīšār." None of my specimens give a mint; and all read *ad-dunyā*, not *dīnān*.

Obv.
As on var. 1, subvar. c.

Rev.
ابوالمظفر
شاه
شاه
السلطان خلد
الله ملكه

The *as* of *as-Sultán* is not visible on the figured specimen, but is perfectly distinct on the two others, in other respects less good, specimens.

Variety 3. This is a quite new variety, which has never been published. Both obverse and reverse legends are enclosed within a double marginal circle, the inner lined, the outer dotted. On the reverse both mint and date are given. There are three subvarieties.

Subvariety a; with 7 specimens; the legends are arranged thus; see Plate III, fig. 22.

Obv.
فرنيا و الدين
يد الد ابو
لمظفر
السلطان العال
ن د

Rev.
خلد الله
سلطان ملكه
شاه
شاه
ضرب بيا ٩٥٠
نا سنه

The mint is *Biáná* on all specimens; the date is either 950 or 951 A. H. The exact arrangement of the obverse legend is difficult to reproduce in print. The letters ابو are some what blundered.

Subvariety b, with 10 specimens; the legends, so far as reproducible in type, are arranged as follows; see Plate IV, fig. 23. The mint is *Biáná*, the date 951 on all specimens.

Obv.
في عهد العادل
المظفر امير
ابو الدنيا (الد)
فريد وين

Rev.
خلد الله
سلطان ملكه
شاه
شاه
ضرب بيا ٩٥١
نا سنه

Subvariety c, 2 specimens; the legends are arranged as follows; see Plate IV, fig. 24. The mint is *Biáná*, and the date 951, on both specimens.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
لَعَالِه	خَلْدُ اللّٰه
عَهْدِ اللّٰه	مُسْلِمَانِ مَلِكِه
المظفر	شَاهَا
ابو الدنيا و الدين	شِير
فريد	ضرب بيا ٩٥١
	فَا سَنَه

Variety 4. This is also a quite new variety, which has never been published.* There are 6 specimens, none of which is quite perfect; the best is shown in Plate IV, fig. 25. They bear no date; the mint is *Qil'ah-Shírgarh*. The legends run as follows:

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
السُلْطَانِ الْعَادِلِ	قَلْعَه
شَاهَا	الضَرْبِ
شِير	كَدَه
خَلْدُ اللّٰه سُلْطَانِه	دَا شِيرِر

The obv. reads: *as-Sultán al-'Adíl Sher Sháh khallad Alláhu salá-mahu*; the rev. *Dáru-z-zarb Qil'ah Shírgarh*.

Variety 5. This, too, is a new variety, hitherto unpublished. There are only two specimens, neither of whom is quite perfect. The mint is *Kálpí*, the dates 950 and 94*. The legends run as follows. See Plate IV, fig. 26.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
السُلْطَانِ	اللّٰه
شِير شَاهَا	فِي ٩٥٠
ابوالمظفر	خَلْدُ مَلِكِه
الْعَادِلِ	ضَرْبِ كَالْبِي
.....	سَنَه

The obv. reads: *As-Sultán Abul Muẓaffar Sher Sháh al-'Adíl*; the last line is illegible.

DÁMS OF ISLÁM SHÁH.

Islám Sháh reigned from A. H. 952—960=A. D. 1545—1552; his other name was *Jalálu-d-dín*. With the exception of type IV, none of

* I think I have seen in some MS. list of Mr. Rodgers a coin of this kind mentioned. But I am not sure.

his coins, in the present collection, gives any mint name; nor have I ever seen any other coin of his that gives a mint.*

Type I, square areas with inscribed sectional margins, on both the obverse and reverse. This is a quite new type, which I do not remember having ever seen noticed. It has certainly not been published. There are 6 specimens, none of which unfortunately is very perfect. On five of them the legends are arranged as follows, see Plate IV, fig. 27.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
Area : في عهد الامير الحامه الدين الدين	Area : اسلامشاه شاهان شير سلطا خدا الله

Sections : illegible. *Sections* : illegible.
One specimen is arranged thus, see Plate IV, fig. 28.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
Area : في عهد الامير الحامه الدين الدين	Area : اشاه صا سلام طان شير شاه خدا الله

Sections : 953 below, *Sections* : ابوالمظفر below;
others illegible. *Sections* : خدا الله to left;
others illegible.

It would seem, that this type of coin had the date on the obverse margin, but gave no mint. The obverse area-legend reads: *fi 'ahad al-Amir al-Hamir-d-dinu-d-din*, which is a curious blunder; but the double *din* is quite distinct.

The reverse area reads: *Islám Sháh (bin) Sher Sháh Sultán khallad Alláhu*.

The obverse sections gave the date, and, if they followed Sher Sháh's fashion, probably read *as-Sultán al-'Adil Jalálu-d-dunyá wa ud-dín*.

The reverse sections would appear to have read, as on Sher Sháh's similar coins, *Abul Muzaffar khallad Alláhu mulkahu wa sultánahu*.

Type II. Lettered surfaces on obverse and reverse. The legends are exactly as on No. 363 in Thomas' *Chronicles*; but the words are

* It would seem, however, that a mint does occasionally occur. Mr. Rodgers, in a MS. list of coins given to the Indian Museum by the Archæological Survey, notices one coin (No. 220 of 1886-1887), apparently a variety of type II, as giving the mint *Malot*.

differently arranged on different specimens. Accordingly there are several varieties, of all of which I shall show representative specimens, as none of them, I believe, have ever been figured. The date is always on the obverse; and no mint name is given.

Variety 1, with 108 specimens; the legends are arranged thus; see Plate IV, fig. 29.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
في عهد الإمير الحامس الدين الدنان سنة ٩٥٣	ابو المظفر اسلام شاه بن شير شاه سلطان خلد الله ملكه

Most of the specimens show mint-marks of one kind or another. The specimen here figured bears a twig. On some specimens the word *bin* is placed at the right-hand side, over *Islam*.

Variety 2, with 72 specimens. The legends are arranged thus: see Plate IV, fig. 30.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
As above.	ابوالمظفر اسلام شاه سلطان بن شير شاه خلد الله ملكه

Many of them have asterisks, quatrefoils, etc. as mint marks on the reverse. In some specimens the date is placed thus

ين ٩٥٢ نان
الد

Variety 3, with 15 specimens; the legends are arranged thus; see Plate IV, fig. 31.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
As above.	ابوالمظفر اسلام شاه بن سلطان شاه شير ملكه خلد الله

Some specimens have mint-marks on the reverse. One specimen has the blundered legend سلطان for اسلام.

Variety 4, with 27 specimens; the legends are arranged thus; see Plate IV, fig. 32.

Obv.
As above.

Rev.
ابوالمظفر
شاه
اسلام
سلطان
شیر شا
بن خلد الله
و سلطانه ملكه

Variety 5, with 5 specimens; the legends run as follows; see Plate V, fig. 33.

Obv.
As before.

Rev.
ابوالمظفر
اسلام سلطان
شیر شاه ملكه
خلد الله
و سلطانه

Of the last word *sultānahu* only a faint trace is visible. The words *Sháh* and *bin* which should follow *Islám*, are entirely absent on all specimens, though it is possible that they may have fallen just outside the face of the coin.

Variety 6, with 4 specimens; the legends run as follows; see Plate V, fig. 34.

Obv.
As before.

Rev.
[ابوالمظفر]
اسلام شاه
شاه ن
بن شیر سلطا
[خلد الله] ملكه
[و سلطانه]

Variety 7, with 1 specimen only; the legends are arranged as follows see Plate V, fig. 35.

Obv.
As before;
date 953 (?)

Rev.
ابوالمظفر
ابن اسلام شاه
شیر شاه
سلطان ملكه
[خلد الله]

Variety 8, with 2 specimens; the obv. face is crossed by two parallel lines, which take the place of the etter ← of the usual obv., and which are intersected with a trefoil mark. The rev. legend appears to be intended for the usual one, but it is much blundered and hardly intelli-

gible. The date is 956. This is a quite new variety, I believe. See Plate V, fig. 36.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
فِي عَهْدِ <u>الامير الحام</u> ٩٥٦ ن الدين الدنيا	As usual, but illegible.

Variety 9, with 3 specimens; they are of a miscellaneous kind, each differing from the other, and none agreeing with any of the preceding varieties. They are, however, in a too imperfect state to be described or figured. As far as one can see, the legends of *obv.* and *rev.* are the usual ones, as appearing on varieties 1—7.

Type III. New. Also lettered surfaces, but the legends differ from those on type II. There is only one specimen, and that unfortunately not quite perfect. The legends, as nearly as can be represented in type, run as follows. See Plate V, fig. 37.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
العادل السلطان فِي عَهْدِ <u>الامير الحام</u> الدنيا...	ابو شاه المظفر اسلام شير شاه خلد [الله ملكه]
.....	

The date on the *obv.* is cut away; and the end of the legend is blundered; the word still visible might be read الدنيا but for the dot which seems to turn it into الدين.

Type IV. New. Also lettered surfaces, but the legends differ from those on types II and III. In point of execution, moreover, the coins of this type form an exception, their style being extremely crude, and their legends difficult to read. I give them, as they have been read by Mr. Rodgers, to whom I showed them and who informs me, that he “read them first about six years ago.” But, I believe, they have never been published.* They are now shown in Plate V, figs. 38 and 39. There are five specimens. The legends run as follows:

* In a MS. list of coins, given by the Archaeological Survey to the Indian Museum, Mr. Rodgers notices two specimens of this type, Nos. 362 and 364 of 1886—1887.

Obv.
 دارالضرب
 عهد المالك
 في *
 العادل السلام
 بو هانديه

Rev.
 المتوكل على
 الرحمن ابو
 ش
 المظفر اسلام سلطا
 خلد الله و ن
 ملكه سلطانه

Instead of العادل perhaps الغازي should be read, as on some specimens there is a distinct dot over the غ.

The mint, as read by Mr. Rodgers, is *Bühândiyah*. I am not satisfied as to its correctness; nor can I identify the place. Mr. Rodgers suggests that it may be intended for Ludhiáná.

On the reverse, Mr. Rodgers reads بن (*bin*) what I read *Sháh*; viz., the cross bar. There is a distinct *h* at the end of the bar, on the left side; and I am satisfied that my reading is correct.

DÁMS OF MUḤAMMAD SHÁH.

Muḥammad Sháh reigned from A. H. 960—964=A. D. 1552—1556. He bears also the name of 'Adil Sháh, which is found, however, only on his silver coins. (See, however, below.)

Type I, lettered surface on obv. and rev.; the legends exactly as on No. 366 in Thomas' *Chronicles*, except that on all my specimens *Abul Mujáhid* is given as the 'kunya' of the king, instead of *Abul Muzaḥfar*, as Thomas has it. Both kunyats are occasionally used by the same king. I have brought forward several other instances in this Journal, vol. LII, pp. 212—216. Mr. Rodgers, in a MS. list of coins, now in the Indian Museum in Calcutta, also mentions a coin of this type of Muḥammad Sháh with the kunyat *Abul Muzaḥfar*. All the specimens in the present collection, however, show the kunyat *Abul Mujáhid*. As, I believe, no coin of this type has ever been figured, I give an illustration of it in Plate V, fig. 40. It is dated 961. Its legends run as follows:

Obv.
 في عهد
 الامير الحامد
 الد ٩٦١ الدنان
 بن سنه

Rev.
 ابو المجاهد
 سلطان
 محمد شاه
 خلد الله ملكه

For the sake of greater completeness I may here add two types of Muhammad Sháh's dáms, of which there are no specimens in the present collection, but of which Mr. Rodgers notes one specimen each in his MS. list of coins, given to the Indian Museum in Calcutta by the Archæological Survey (1886—1887).

Type II, square areas with inscribed sectional margins, both on the obv. and rev. Mr. Rodgers reads the area legends (No. 229) as follows :

Obv. في عهد الامير الحامي
Rev. سلطان محمد شاه ضرب گواليبر

The mint Gwáliyar is given on the rev. area ; the date was probably given on the obv. margin, as on the corresponding coins of Sher Sháh. But the marginal legends are not given by Mr. Rodgers. Thomas, in his *Chronicles*, No. 367, also mentions Gwálior-struck coins, but as he says that they are similar to coins of type I, it is not clear whether his coins and that of Mr. Rodgers were of the same kind.

Type III, to judge from Mr. Rodgers' description of this coin (No. 227), it has on the obv. a square area with inscribed sectional margins, and on the rev. a lettered surface. The legends, as he gives them, run as follows :

Obv. area : في عهد الامير الحامي
Margins, not read.
Rev. ابوالمجاهد السلطان محمد شاه عادل خلد الله ملكه

This is the only instance, known to me, of the use of the title 'Adil on copper coins of Muhammad Sháh.

Note on certain Indo-Sassanian Coins found in Márwárá.—By DR. A. F. RUUDOLF HOERNLE.

(With a Plate.)

As the Plate V, prepared for the preceding paper on the Súrî copper coinage, affords sufficient space, I take this opportunity of publishing, in its lower half, representative specimens of the Indo-Sassanian coins on which I published a full report in the Proceedings for November 1889, and which I suspect to have formed an issue of the Hunnic leader Toramána, on his conquest of a portion of the Sassanide kingdom of Persia. For further information I must refer to that report. Fig. 41 and 42 are specimens of Class I, variety 1, subvarieties *a* and *b*, showing an imitation of Fírúz's head in fair execution. In fig. 43 I have added,

for the purpose of comparison, a genuine coin of Fírúz (from my own cabinet). Figs. 44 and 45 are specimens of Class I, variety 2, sub-varieties *a* and *b*. These show the imitation of Fírúz's head in crude execution; in fact, but for the existence of the specimens of the first variety, it would be impossible to recognize any likeness to Fírúz. The two subvarieties only differ in the relative position of the star and crescent on the reverse; in subvariety *a* the star is on the left, and in subvariety *b* it is on the right side. Fig. 46 shows a specimen of Class I, variety 3, being an obverse with the moustached face. Fig. 47 is a specimen of Class II, which bears a barbarian head in the place of the imitation of Fírúz's head.

P. S. Since writing the above, I have come across, among a lot of half-forgotton coins of the Society, five specimens of this Indo-Sassanian type. They were marked: "Received January 1871; five undefined silver; donor Dr. Newman." With the exception of one which belongs to class I, variety 1, they are in a very indifferent condition.

The Márwár coins have, as usual, been distributed under the provisions of the Treasure Trove Act; selected specimens having gone, among others, to the British Museum and the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

On some new or rare Hindú and Muhammadan Coins. No. II. By DR. A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE. (With two Plates.)

The first paper under this heading was published by me in volume LVIII of this Journal for 1889. I published in it two gold coins, of Paramarddi Deva and Vira (or Bála) Varmma respectively, which were found among a lot of 506 coins, collected by Bábú P. C. Mukherjí, on special duty with the Archæological Survey, and which are now deposited in the Indian Museum in Calcutta. A short classified list of the Bábú's collection was published in the Presidential Address, in the Proceedings for February 1889, on page 65. I now proceed to publish the more detailed account which was promised in that address.

The collection contained (besides a very large number, more than a third, of illegible and useless specimens) coins of the following classes: 2 Roman, 2 silver Venetian, 8 copper Bactrian, 22 earlier and later copper Indo-Scythian, 5 silver and 6 copper Guptas, 3 silver Saurashtrian, 2 copper Valabhís, 3 silver punched, 75 old Buddhist and 107 old Hindú copper (including 42 of the Mitra, 16 of the Datta and 25 of the so-called Satrap series), 1 copper Yaudheya, 17 silver or copper

Indo-Sassanian, 1 silver Arsaside, 1 silver Sassanian, 7 gold and 1 copper Raṭhor and Chandel, 2 copper Káshmir, 5 copper early Rájpút (Bull and Horseman type), 6 copper early Paṭhán, 1 copper Kángará, 1 copper Málvá, and 4 modern coins.*

I shall only notice those which are either new, or for other reasons noteworthy.

Among the ROMAN coins is one of Gallienus (A. D. 253—268), of impure silver, and probably a forgery, as it has a blundered legend on the obv., IIVID CD for IMP. CP. The reverse has VIRTVS AUGG, and shows Gallienus and his son Saloninus standing face to face, holding conjointly a small globe on which is a small figure of victory. Compare the medallion described in Num. Chron., (New Series), Vol. VII, p. 6, pl. I, fig. 3. This coin was obtained at Bombay.

Among the BACTRIANS, there is a copper coin of Soter Megas, like that in Br. Mus. Cat., pl. XXIV, fig. 5, and perhaps in rather better condition. It shows on the obv. the head of the king, filletted, to right, apparently without any legend. The rev. shows a draped figure to front, apparently standing and holding a spear in each hand; or it may be the enthroned Zeus as on the coins of Hermaeus and others, the 'spear' being the side-posts of the throne. Of the rev. legend there only remains ΔΕΥ ΒΑΣΙΑ There is probably a second specimen of this same coin, but there is nothing distinguishable on it, except... ΩΤΗΡ ... on the reverse. I believe this is a rare coin; and I am not sure that its attribution to Soter Megas is correct.

There are, further, among the Bactrians two silver coins (duplicates), the attribution of which I do not know. I believe this coin is not new, but I do not remember having seen it published. Accordingly I have shown it in Plate VI, fig. 1. Obv., helmeted head, LAECA; rev., quadriga and MPO. Both specimens are from Bombay.

Both VENETIANS are of silver, on the whole of the same type. But one is of mere silver-foil and excessively crude execution, with no apparent legends, and is probably a forgery. The other, a silver ducate, is an exact counterpart of one published in the Num. Chron., Vol. VI, (third Series), pl. V, fig. 98; with the exception, however, that the name of the doge, along the left hand margin, is not Dandolo, but some other not quite legible name. Silver ducates of this type began to be struck from the time of Enrico Dandolo (A. D. 1192—1205).

Among the INDO-SCYTHIANS, there are two copper coins, a NANA PAO of Kanerki and a 'king's bust' (as in Brit. Mus. Cat., pl. XXVIII,

* The numbers and classification differ slightly from those given in the Address, on account of some useless specimens having since been excluded, and some others re-classified.

fig. 9) of Hverki, of types only existing in gold. It would seem, therefore, that these two coppers are ancient forgeries, the gilt of which has worn off.

There are also a small copper Hverki, of the 'elephant-rider' type, and three small copper Bazdeo, of the 'Siva and Bull' type. These are well-known types, but neither of them, I believe, have ever been published. They are shown in Plate VII, figs. 1 and 2. They are miniatures of the corresponding coins of the ordinary size, as in Brit. Mus. Cat., pl. XXIX, fig. 2 and fig. 14, or *Ariana Antiqua*, pl. XI, figs. 4, 7. The Bazdeo weighs 51,61 grains.

There were no gold coins among the Indo-Scythians; and those extant were all obtained at Mathurá.

Among the LATER INDO-SCYTHIANS, there are two which on the whole show the type of the coin figured in *Ind. Ant.*, vol. I, pl. XXXIV, fig. 13; but in the present case, the medial cross-like symbol, on the obverse, is flanked not (as there) by two curves, but by two tridents. The reverse has the usual 'Siva and Bull.' Weight 67.67 grs. See Plate VII, fig. 3. They are from Mathurá.

Among the GUPTA coins, which are all of the Suráshtrian type, are two copper forgeries, portions of which are still well covered with silver. See Mr. Smith's remarks in his *Coinage of the Imperial Guptas*, in the *Journal R. A. S.* for 1889, p. 144. These forgeries are said to have been obtained at Kanauj.

To the Gupta class I am also disposed to refer the coin of which I publish three figures in Plate VI, fig. 9, 10, 11, and which, I believe, is a quite new type. There are three specimens, all of copper, and all in rather poor condition. One side is utterly unrecognizable in all three; on the other side (the obverse?) they all show three figures standing, a king with two attendants, dressed in tunics or armour. The king, in the middle, facing front, holds up something in his right hand. The attendant to his proper left, holds the royal umbrella over him; the attendant on his proper right holds a spear or standard in his right hand. In fig. 11 the king and the attendant to his left can be seen, while in fig. 10 the king and the attendant to his right are seen, also the umbrella over the king. Fig. 9 shows all three figures together, but they are difficult to distinguish. I would attribute these coins to Chandra Gupta II, of whom coins of the 'umbrella' type, both in gold and in copper, are known to exist. See Mr. Smith's *Coinage*, pp. 12, 13, 91, 138. In the latter coins the king has only one attendant on his proper left, holding the umbrella over him.

The two Valabhi coins I am disposed to refer to this class, because they closely resemble certain silver coins of the 'trident' type, which

are usually attributed to the Valabhís (see E. Thomas' paper in J. R. A. S., vol. XII (Old Series) and Smith's *Coinage*, p. 137). These general characteristics are those of the Suráshtrian group of coins. I believe, copper specimens have never been published. Obv., head to right, covering the whole surface of coin; rev., trident surrounded by an imperfect marginal inscription. Weight, 29.30 and 23.97 grs. From Bhavanagar. See Plate VII, fig. 4 a and b.

Among the RATHOR and CHANDEL coins were those two of Paramarddi and Vira Varma which I have already mentioned. In this class—to judge from its general appearance—I would also place the copper coin which I have figured in Plate VI, fig. 7, though I am unable to read it satisfactorily. Curiously enough the legends on the two sides seem to be identical, and to run as follows:—

३ वि ह च	g[o]vi[m]da cha
३ च प्र ण	ra na pra na
• ३	* de

There was one coin in Bábú P. C. Mukherji's collection, of which I can make nothing. It is shown in Plate VI, fig. 8. The obverse shows two busts side by side, one rather smaller than the other. The reverse has what looks like I and B with a kind of cross between them, occupying about three-fifth of the surface of the coin; below them and separated by a line are four much effaced letters, of which only the third is somewhat distinct and looks like the old Nágari अ ja, but may be a capital E. The coin was obtained at Mathurá.

I now proceed to describe the other coins figured in Plate VI. Figures 2—5 all are Gupta gold coins, received from Mr. Rivett-Carnac for publication. Fig. 2 is a so-called Ghatotkacha of the usual type, and it is only shown in the plate, because it is a rather well preserved specimen. Its weight is 115, 6 grains. On what is probably the true attribution of these coins, see Mr. Smith's *Coinage*, pp. 74—76. Fig. 3 is a Samudra Gupta of the 'battle-axe' type, published for a similar reason. Its weight is 113, 7 grains. Fig. 4 is the Chandra Gupta II, of the Class II A 'archer' type, referred to by Mr. Smith in the Addenda to his *Coinage*, p. 158. On the reverse the goddess is shown with her right leg flat, while the left is raised and supports her left elbow. Usually she is represented with both legs crossed flat. The weight of this coin is 123 grains. Fig. 5 is the Chandra Gupta II, of the 'combatant lion' type, also referred to by Mr. Smith, *ibid.*, p. 158. The legend on the obverse runs along the margin from the right to the left, but only its concluding portion, on the left, is legible. It is विह्वलाभिः 'clever in killing lions.' Of the preceding letter only a portion is preserved, and it looks like a subjoined त ta or य ya; it might be भट्ट bhatta 'valiant,'

or वांछ *vámchhya* 'desired,' or some such word. The reverse legend is the usual विष्णुविजय 'with the power of a lion.'*

Plate VI, fig. 6 is the unique gold coin of the Bengal Sultán Jalálu-d-dín Fath Sháh, mentioned in the Presidential Address, p. 66 of the Proceedings for February 1889. It was obtained from Maldah, where it was found by a common man, washed out of the ground by the rains. It reads as follows :

Obverse : السلطان المنور بنور المصطفى الاله المحاطب بسلطان
الزاعدين في اليقظة المشاهدة *

Reverse : الشيخ المجاور لقدم الرسول جلال الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر
فتحشاه السلطان ابن محمود شاه السلطان خزانه ٨٩٠*

The legends may be translated thus :

Obverse : The Sultán, who is enlightened by the light of the Chosen (and) the Divine, who is entitled 'Sultán of those who are devoted to vigils and contemplation' ;

Reverse : The Shaikh, who waits on the Qadam Rasúl, Jalálu-d-dunyá wau-d-dín Abul Muẓaffar Fath Sháh, the son of the Sultán Maḥmúd Sháh. (Coined from) the Revenue of 890.

Jalálu-d-dín is said to have reigned from 886—893 ; see this Journal, vol. XLII, p. 281. The coin is dated 890.

Qadam Rasúl is the name of a famous place of pilgrimage near Dacca (see *ibidem*, p. 284). Another is said to be near Cuttack. The inscriptions of Bááb Šálih (*ibid.*, p. 283) always speak of two such places. It is probably the shrine near Dacca that is intended on the coin.

On the silver coinage of the Súrí a good deal of information has been already published, especially by Mr. Ch. J. Rodgers ; see *ante*, p. 154. Still a collection of coins, received in September 1889 from the Government of the N.-W. Provinces, enables me to add a few novelties.

Sher Sháh is profuse in the variety of design of his rupees, and it may be well as a matter of convenience, for the purpose of reference, to bring them into some definite classification. I would suggest the following : †

TYPE I, two square areas with marginal sections.

VARIETY 1, areas single-lined, date and Nágari name on obv. area ; as-Sultán al-'Adil on rev. area. Common.

* Mr. Smith in *Coinage*, p. 88, has the remark : " A. C. has two coins of Chandra Gupta " killing lion," under the ' lion-trampler ' type." But they would seem to be the same as that now published.

† The references in brackets are to published specimens. I regret that the Brit. Mus. Catalogue is not available to me.

Subvariety a, without *salṭanat*, and without mint. (Chron., No. 351; Ind. Ant., vol. XVII, pl. I, fig. 2, 14; Marsden, No. DCCXXX.)

Subvariety b, with *salṭanat*, and with mint on obv. margin. (Ind. Ant., *ib.*, pl. I, fig. 3, 5).

VARIETY 2, areas single-lined, date and Nágari name on obv. area, mint on obv. margin; but *as-Sulṭán al-'Adil* on rev. margin. Common.

Subvariety a, date on top. (Chron., Nos. 344, 352; Ind. Ant., *ib.*, pl. I, fig. 4, 6.)

Subvariety b, the same, but thin and broad. (Chron., No. 353.)

Subvariety c, date on left side. (Ind. Ant., *ib.*, pl. I, fig. 13, pl. II, fig. 17).

Subvariety d, date at bottom. (Ind. Ant., *ib.*, pl. I, fig. 1.)

VARIETY 3, areas single-lined, date on obv. area, mint on rev. area, Nágari name on obv. margin. (Chron., No. 354). Very rare.

VARIETY 4, areas double-lined, date, mint and Nágari name on obv. margin. (Ind. Ant., *ib.*, pl. I, fig. 7; probably Chron., Nos. 345, 346, 347). Rare.

TYPE II. Two circular areas, with circular margins.

VARIETY 1, areas single-lined, date and Nágari name on obv. margin.

Subvariety a, no mint. (Chron., No. 348, pl. V, fig. 179; Ind. Ant., *ib.*, pl. I, fig. 8, 9; Marsden DCCXXXIII). Common.

Subvariety b, the same, but thin and broad. (Ind. Ant., *ib.*, pl. I, fig. 12, 15). Rare.

Subvariety c, with mint on obv. margin. (Chron., No. 350; Ind. Ant., *ib.*, pl. I, fig. 11). Not uncommon.

VARIETY 2, areas single-lined, Nágari name and mint on obv. margin, but date on obv. area. (Ind. Ant., *ib.*, pl. I, fig. 10). Rare.

VARIETY 3, areas double-lined, date and Nágari name on obv. margin, but mint on obv. area. (Ind. Ant., *ib.*, pl. II, fig. 16; probably Chron., No. 349). Very rare.

TYPE III, Lettered surfaces, no margin. (Chron., No. 343). Unique.

TYPE IV, square coin, lettered surfaces, no margins or sections. (Ind. Ant., *ib.*, pl. II, fig. 18). Very rare; perhaps forgeries.

The main distinction between the two first varieties of type I is,

that in variety 1 the title *as-Sultán al-'Adil* is placed on the area, but in variety 2 it is placed on the margin. Neither Mr. Thomas nor Mr. Rodgers seem to have recognised this fact, as in all the specimens of variety 2 which they have published, they omit to read *as-Sultán al-'Adil* on the rev. margin; see Chron., pp. 396, 401, Ind. Ant., vol. XVII, pp. 65—67. The fact is, that in the majority of coins of this variety, by some unlucky change, that section which contained the phrase is entirely or almost entirely lost. But in order to place this point beyond dispute, I now publish a specimen, in which the section referred to is intact. It belongs to subvariety c, with the date on the left side of the area. Weight, 172.37 grs. See Plate VII, fig. 5. I have only seen two specimens which had this particular section intact, though a large number have passed through my hands.

I may here note, that the Nágari names on the Súrî coins, published in the Indian Antiquary, vol. XVII, pp. 65—67, are mostly mis-read. For example, on No. 1 (p. 65) the name reads श्री वीर साह, not श्री वीर ग्राह; on No. 3 श्री वीर साह, not श्री वीर ग्राह; so also on No. 5. On Nos. 8, 10, 16 it is साही, not ग्राह. On No. 7, the Nágari name is not on the reverse (as given on p. 66), but on the obverse margin. On No. 6 it is entirely omitted (on p. 66), though it stands on the obverse area (pl. I, fig. 6) and reads श्री वीरी साह. The top-curves of the *i*-vowel are here omitted, so that they all look like *a*-vowels; or rather, I should say, the top-curves are run into the cross-bar above the Nágari; this is also the case in No. 1 (pl. I, fig. 1).

There is a great variety observable in the spelling of the Nágari name. As a rule the dental *s* (स) is used, though occasionally the palatal *ś* (श) occurs, especially in the word *Srî* (श्री). *Sher* is spelled commonly *ser* (वेर), often *sir* (वीर), rarely *sirî* (वीरी). *Sháh* is usually spelled *sáh* (साह) or *sáhi* (साही); sometimes *sáhi* (साहि), rarely *sah* (सह). I have only met with one instance, in which *S'ri* is repeated. It is shown in Plate VII, fig. 6. This is a specimen of type I, variety 1, subvariety a. Weight, 172.93 grs. The Nágari portion runs thus: श्री श्री वेर साही (or perhaps वेर ग्राही) *Sí Sí Ser Sáhi*. Another point worth noticing in this particular coin is the extreme crudeness of execution in the bottom section of the obverse marginal inscription. The right hand section still shows clearly enough *و الدین*; accordingly I suppose that the rude scrawls in the bottom section are intended for *ابوالمظفر*; though perhaps they may be meant for *فرید الدنیا*, for the parts of the legends in the several sections do not always follow one another in proper order (see *e. g.*, Ind. Ant., vol. XVII, pl. I, fig. 14). But the curiosity is that, with the exception of the bottom section, the rest of the legends in the areas and sections should be so fairly well executed.

In Plate VII, fig. 7, I give a rupee of Islám Sháh with a curiously blundered Nágari name. It seems to read **श्री सख्त सख्त** or **श्री सख्त सख्त**, probably the latter; but the **ख** (or **ख**) of **सख्त** and **सख्त** differ slightly from the **ख** of **श्री** by an additional stroke, which would seem to take the place of, or indicate the omitted vowel **इ** of **सख्तान** and the omitted vowel **आ** of **सख्त**. But it is hopeless to account for the ignorant vagaries of the dye-sinkers of those times! Its weight is 171.71 grs.

In Plate VII, fig. 8, I publish a new type of rupee of Muḥammad Sháh 'Adil. It has square areas with marginal sections, and a Nágari name, like his ordinary rupee; but it gives the mint name Jhúsi on the obverse, and the date on the reverse area. Jhúsi is now a small place close to Allahabad. Weight, 170.71 grs.

<i>Areas :</i>	<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
	ن عدل	لا اله الا الله
	سلطان محمد	رسول الله
	خالد الله ملكه	محمد ١١٢٠ [٩]
	ضرب جهوسي	

श्री सख्त सख्त

<i>Margins :</i>	illegible.	top :	ابا بكر الصديق
		left :	عمر الفارق
		bottom :	} illegible.
		right :	

Since writing my paper on the copper coins of the Súrî dynasty (*ante*, p. 154), I have accidentally come across a lot of half-forgotten Súrî coins of the Society. I am able, from it, to add another variety and subvariety to my former list of dâms.

Plate VII, fig. 9 gives a subvariety *e*, to type II, variety 2 (*ante*, pp. 160, 161). The date is 948. Weight 317.15 grs. The legends are arranged as follows :

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
في عهد	ابو المظفر
لاميرالجامع	ن السلطان
الدين الدنان	شهير
٩٤٨	لله
	خالد ملكه

Plate VII, fig. 10 gives a new variety of type II. It is, therefore, variety 6 (*ante*, p. 162). The mint is Kálpî, the date 94*. Weight 307.00 grs.

Obv.	Rev.
ن ا	الله
السلطان لعدل	خلد ملكه
ابو ششير	ضرب * كالبه
لمظفر شاه	٩٤ *
ملكه سلطانه	

I may also take this opportunity to give figures of two half-dáms of Sher Sháh and one of Islám Sháh from the Society's collection, as a matter of convenience; for, I believe, figures of them have never been published. They are simply miniatures of the corresponding dáms.

Plate VII, fig. 11 gives a specimen of Sher Sháh's half-dám of type I, variety 1, subvariety *b*. See *ante*, p. 156, and plate III, fig. 2. The mint is Kálpí; and the date, on the obv. margin, barely visible, is 95*. On the obv. margin الدين الدنان, with the final ن placed across the *alif* of د, is clear. Weight 152.86 grs.

Plate VII, fig. 12 gives a specimen of the same king's half-dám of type II, variety 1, subvariety *a*. See *ante*, pp. 158, 159, and plate III, fig. 13. The date is 951. The obverse reads clearly الدين الدنان, with the ن placed as above. Weight 156.01 grs.

Plate VII, fig. 13 gives a specimen of Islám Sháh's half-dám, of type II, variety 2 or 3. On the reverse ابوالمظفر falls outside the face of the coin; so also the date on the obverse. The die, used for these half-dáms, was evidently the same as that for the dáms. Weight 153.09 grs.

I may add, that I found among this lot of the Society's coins, two curious forgeries; *viz.*, imitations in copper of silver rupees of Sher Sháh and Islám Sháh, which they resemble in size, thickness and design. One is an exact counterpart of Sher Sháh's rupee, as shown in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVII, plate I, fig. 14, the other of Islám Sháh's rupee, as shown *ibidem*, plate II, fig. 29. Their execution is not very good, but quite as good, as the silver originals. They look like old forgeries, intended to be silvered and passed as rupees. There is now no more any trace of silver to be seen on them. Their weight is a little short of that of a rupee, which would allow for the silver coating.

Among a lot of rupees, lately received from Gurdáspur, in the Panjáb, I found two of considerable interest. One is a rupee of Nádír Sháh, struck in Peshawar in the year 1160 A. H. See Plate VII, fig. 14. It is similar to those published by Mr. Rodgers in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. II (third Series), pl. XV, fig. 2, 3; but its date is his-

torically noticeable, showing that Nádír retained his hold on Peshawer, at least, till the year before his death. Weight 173.86 grs.

The other is a rupee of somewhat doubtful attribution. It shows the title of 'Sháh Jahán the Second' (*Sháhjahán sání*); and for this reason, I was disposed to ascribe it to Raff'u-d-daulah, who is commonly known as Sháhjahán the Second. But being doubtful, I referred the coin to Mr. Rodgers. He informs me, that he also possesses a specimen of this coin, which he also had hitherto attributed to Raff'u-d-daulah. But he now prefers to attribute these coins to Sháh 'Álam I, who, he says, in the beginning of his reign, called himself Mu'azim Sháh,—a name that occurs on the coin. The coin is dated on the reverse in *san aḥad jalús*, 'the first regnal year'; on the obverse it has *** 9 A. H., which would agree with 1119, the first year of Sháh 'Álam's reign. The mint is *Tattah*. I believe, my coin and that of Mr. Rodgers are the only two specimens at present known to exist. Neither is in perfect preservation, and I give them both in Plate VII, fig. 15 *a* and *b*. Weights 175.76 and 176.47 grs. respectively. Mr. Rodgers reads the verse on the obverse as follows:

Obverse : سكه ميارى بر هفت كشور زد بر مهر و ماله
شاه جهان نای سلطان معظم باد شاه

With regard to one of the coins (No. 3), described in my first paper (see *ante*, p. 32), I have to make a correction.* At that time, I believed it was unique or at least unpublished. In fact, however, it had been twice published before; once by Mr. Delmerick in this *Journal*, Vol. XLIV (for 1875), p. 126 (pl. IX, fig. 4), and afterwards by Mr. Rodgers, in the *Proceedings*, A. S. B., 1879, p. 179 (pl. IV, fig. 11). Mr. Rodgers was kind enough to point this out to me; and I much regret the oversight. With the evidence of these two coins before me, I agree with Mr. Rodgers, that that particular coin should be attributed to Tughlaq I. I was misled by the title *al-Mutawakkil 'Alí Alláh*, which, I supposed, might have been assumed by Tughlaq, in allusion to the contemporary Khalíf. Now it was the Khalíf Abi 'Abdulláh who bore that title, and who reigned, with an interruption of several years, from 763 till 808 A. H.; see *Chronicles*, p. 258. And his date only agrees with Tughlaq II. However, the date on Mr. Delmerick's coin decides the question. It shows clearly the number عشرين twenty, and though the unit and hundred figures are indistinct, it certainly places the coin somewhere between 720 and 729. This only agrees with Tughlaq I, who reigned from 720—725, but not with Tughlaq II,

* This coin, as well as the others from the Hoshangábád find, noted as unique, are now placed in the British Museum, London.

who reigned 790—791 A. H. Tughlaq I's title *al-Mutawakkil 'Alí Alláh* may be compared with the title *al-Mutawakkil 'Alí ar-Rahman*, which was assumed just a century later, by Mubarak Sháh (824—837 A. H.) and afterwards by the Lodi kings (Bahlol, Sikandar and Ibrahim); see *Chronicles*, pp. 333, 358, 366, 376; and also by Islám Sháh, see *ante*, p. 167.

With regard to the Kumára Gupta gold coins of the 'peacock' type (Mr. Smith's *Coinage*, p. 105) it may be worth noting, that on the specimens of the variety *a* there are two peacocks on the obverse, whom the king is feeding; and not only *one*, as all the descriptions which I have hitherto seen would seem to imply. On a specimen in my own collection the fore-part of the bodies of both birds is quite distinct, and even in the autotype figure, published by Mr. Smith (pl. III, fig. 1), the head of the second bird is quite distinct, behind the front-one. In the specimens of variety *β*, however, there appears to be only one bird.

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Part I.—HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

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Notes on some of the symbols found on the punch-marked coins of Hindustan, and on their relationship to the archaic symbolism of other races and distant lands.—By W. THEOBALD, M. R. A. S.

The coins to which these notes refer, though presenting neither king's names, dates or inscription of any sort, are nevertheless very interesting not only from their being the earliest money coined in India, and of a purely indigenous character, but from their being stamped with a number of symbols, some of which we can, with the utmost confidence, declare to have originated in distant lands and in the remotest antiquity.

In these symbols we may detect the forms which early men in the infancy of our race, adopted to give expression in a visible shape to their conceptions of the unseen, and to embody the crude but very widely spread beliefs which their speculations on such problems enabled them to evolve.

The coins to which I shall confine my remarks are those to which the term "punch-marked" properly applies. The 'punch' used to produce these coins differed from the ordinary dies which subsequently came into use, in that they covered only a portion of the surface of the coin or 'blank,' and impressed only one, of the many symbols usually seen on their pieces. They differed moreover in the appearance produced, since as the punch was smaller than the coin, each device appeared to stand on the coin in a depressed area of its own, round, square, triangular, polygonal, or whatever was the shape of the punch

employed. It likewise followed that one symbol thus comes to overlap and obliterate an earlier one and hence the difficulty of always determining what symbols really occur on a coin, which has undergone many applications of the "punch." These coins may therefore be considered as forming a class by themselves of indigenous origin, though subdivided into an earlier issue of round or oval pieces, and a later one of a rectangular form, to which the name of 'domino coins' from their shape has been applied. From the greater wear and corresponding loss of weight which the round coins have experienced, General Sir Alexander Cunningham (whose opinion on such a question may be regarded as final) considers that the round coins were as I have stated, issued and in current use, before the introduction of the rectangular pieces; and also that about one-fourth of the existing punch-marked coins are round, and three-fourths of the rectangular pattern. Small gold coins of this class are known, and there was also a copper currency as well, but the great bulk of these coins which has come down to us is silver. Some coins are formed of a copper blank thickly covered with silver, before receiving the impression of the punches, and this cotemporary (if not time-honoured) sophistication of the currency is found to occur subsequently in various Indian coinages, in the Græco-Bactrian of the Panjáb, the Hindu kings of Kabul, and later still in various Muhammadan dynasties of the peninsula. The plating is extremely well executed and of the most durable character covering the edge of the coin as well as its surface. I was for some time at a loss to know by what means this was effected, so long ago as 500 B. C. perhaps, but I am told that a bright copper 'blank' dipped into melted silver would become coated with that metal, and this I have little doubt was the plan followed. By this means a number of copper 'blanks' thrown into a ladle of melted silver and well stirred about, would all come out ready for the impression of the die or punch, and it is possible that 'blanks' thus surreptitiously prepared may have been introduced into the royal mint, and there struck with genuine dies, and the coins thus prepared substituted for an equal number of genuine pieces.* For most

* As these plated coins are clearly of cotemporary date with the rest and fashioned from dies of precisely the same character as those employed on genuine coins, it seems by no means an undue or far-fetched assumption if we regard these pieces as a portion of those very coins (or identical in all respects) which the Bráhmañ Chánakya, the adviser of Chandra Gupta "with the view of raising resources, converted, by re-coining each *Kahapana* into eight, and amassed eighty *Kofis* of *Kahapanas*", Mahawanse, quoted by Thomas, *l. c.*, *Num. Orient.* p. 41. These same *kahapanas* or *kárahápanas*, were of course the coins now under consideration, and it seems a very just estimate to take eight plated copper ones as the number

of the information embodied in this paper as regards the history, weight and value of these coins, I am indebted to the writings thereon of Major General Sir Alexander Cunningham whose investigations may be said to have exhausted the subject, and for other information and a knowledge of several symbols not contained in my own collection I am under obligation to Mr. E. Thomas, whose article on Ancient Indian Weights, in *Numismata Orientalia* I have freely consulted. One thing which is specially striking about most of the symbols representing animals is, the fidelity and spirit with which certain portions of it may be of an animal, or certain attitudes are represented. The sketch may be rude and imperfect, indeed it must be so from the limitations under which it was executed, but in most cases there is not much doubt as to the animal intended. Man, Woman, the Elephant, Bull, Dog, Rhinoceros, Goat, Hare, Peacock, Turtle, Snake, Fish, Frog, are all recognisable at a glance. Something of the same sort may be recognised in the stiff and angular hieroglyphics of Egyptian sarcophagi, and Assyrian frescos and carvings, and to go still further back into the dim past, we find the salient features of the Mammoth, Reindeer and Horse, rudely engraven on the implements in use with primeval man.

In a work entitled "Antique Gems and Rings" published no longer ago than 1872 we find the author the Rev. C. W. King, M. A. giving expression to the following opinion concerning the ancient coinage of India (Vol. I, page 86). "It is universally acknowledged that the inhabitants of the Indian Peninsula derived the use of coined money from the Greek subjugators of Bactria, and that the earliest Hindu pieces exhibit evident traces of being imitations, their rudeness increasing as their date descends, of the Græco-Bactrian currency."

Undoubtedly this opinion was in the main held by Wilson and Prinsep before the materials for forming a correct judgment were gathered together, but this statement of Mr. King's affirms what is directly opposed to the truth, since the square coins in both silver and copper struck by the Greeks for their Indian possessions, belong to no Greek national type whatever, but are obviously a novelty adopted in imitation of an indigenous currency already firmly established in the country.

which might be produced by 'conversion,' from a genuine silver one. There is much too that may be urged in support of the plan adopted by the Bráhmaṇ, as these coins till thoroughly worn were in look and finish equal to those composed of silver throughout, and far more honest and pleasing to look at than the petty German currencies of debased silver, which were so common during the first half of the present century till the Fatherland assumed her just place in the comity of nations and these wretched little principalities and duchies with their horrible currencies were swept away.

Major General Sir Alexander Cunningham who has irrefragably established this conclusion in his essay on the coins of Alexander's successors, adduces several arguments which may here be briefly recapitulated.

First, there is the historical record of Quintus Curtius, who describes the Rája of Taxila (the modern Shahdheri, 20 miles north-west from Rawal Pindi) as offering Alexander 80 talents of coined silver (" *signati argenti*)." Now what other, except these punch-marked coins could these pieces of coined silver have been? Again, the name by which these coins are spoken of in the Buddhist *sutras*, about 200 B. C. was ' *purana* ', which simply signifies 'old', whence the General argues that the word 'old' as applied to the indigenous ' *karsha* ', was used to distinguish it from the new and more recent issues of the Greeks.

Then again a mere comparison of the two classes of coins almost of itself suffices to refute the idea of the Indian coins being derived from the Greek. The Greek coins present us with a portrait of the king, with his name and titles in two languages together with a great number and variety of monograms indicating, in many instances where they have been deciphered by the ingenuity and perseverance of General Cunningham and others, the names of the mint cities where the coins were struck, and it is our ignorance of the geographical names of the period that probably has prevented the whole of them receiving their proper attribution; but with the indigenous coins it is far otherwise, as they display neither king's head, name, titles or monograms of any description. In place of these last we find a great variety of symbols some distinctly Sivite, others Buddhist, others planetary, others relating to Aryan mythology and all, or the majority at least devoted to some esoteric allusion. It is true that General Cunningham considers that many of these symbols, though not monograms in a strict sense, are nevertheless marks which indicate the mints where the coins were struck or the tribes among whom they were current, and this contention in no wise invalidates the supposition contended for by me either that the majority of them possess an esoteric meaning or have originated in other lands at a period anterior to their adoption for the purpose they fulfil on the coins in Hindustán.

On but one rare type of copper coin of Agathokles (*Num. Chron.* N. S. Vol. VIII, Pl. X, f. 6), do we find symbols (a tree and ' *stupa* ') identical with those seen on the punch-marked or indigenous coins and in this case, from its rarity and the absence thereon of a Greek inscription, we are fairly justified in regarding it as an experimental issue in imitation of the local type of coins, which was soon abandoned and never repeated. The only point of similarity, a rectangular shape, is wholly unknown to Greek coins proper, and occurs on the Græco-Bactrian

copper issues, and a few small silver pieces in a region where an indigenous coinage of that shape was already established, Taxila for example, whose indigenous copper coinage, was of an archaic square type, having a blank reverse and a number of Buddhist emblems and occasionally a word, stamped in the ordinary manner on the obverse.

Another proof of the greater antiquity of the punch-marked coins was afforded in 1853 by the discovery of a number of these pieces together with coins of five Greek kings, in a pot at Kangra. The Greek pieces in this 'find' were comparatively fresh, and the weight of this argument is materially increased by the greater capacity for withstanding wear which these punch-marked coins with their design sunk below the surface possess, over coins struck in the ordinary fashion.

As regards the weight of these coins and similar matters, I cannot do better than quote the words of Major General Sir A. Cunningham thereon. "The Indian monetary system was essentially original, as it differed from the Greek and from all other systems, in its unit of weight, as well as in its scale of multiples. The 'Yava' or 'barley-corn' is not known to Hindu metrology, but the unit of the system is the 'rati' the bright red and black seed of the *Abrus precatorius*, the whole of the Indian money, whether of gold, silver or copper being certain multiples of this well-known unit. The Assyrian, Lydian, Babylonian and Persian systems were raised chiefly by sixes, while the Indian system was raised by fours with a sparing use of fives in the higher multiples. Its nomenclature also is quite different and the common form of the money is not round, but square. Altogether the differences are so marked that I have no hesitation in stating my conviction that the Indian monetary system is the original invention of the Hindu mind."

The weight of the 'rati,' the General decided from 1000 average specimens to be 1.823 of a grain, or for purposes of ordinary calculation assumed it as 1.75 grains.

The most common of these coins is the 'kársha' or 'kárshapana' of Manu, (whence our term *Cash* for money) the proper weight of which should be 56 grains, though this full weight is seldom reached. The weight of 20 of the heaviest coins in the possession of the General was as high as 55 grains each, whilst the average weight of good specimens is no more than 50 to 52 grains or taking an average of 700 specimens, the average is but 48 grains.

The value of this coin is then discussed by the General with the following result. "The amount of pure silver in a full weight coin of 56 grains would therefore be only four-fifths of 56, or 44.8 grains, which is exactly equal to four Attic oboli, or two-thirds of a drachma.

Here then we see how well the 'kársha' would have fitted in with the Attic monetary system adopted by the Greek kings of Kabul. It is true that it was different in shape, and of rude appearance, but these distinctive features were in its favour, as it could not be mistaken for anything else. It was a 4 obol piece even in the dark."

Besides the 'kársha,' half 'kárshas' also occur sparingly, made usually by cutting the larger coin in two and 3-'kársha' pieces also occur, one of which in my possession weighs 175 grains, but Sir Alexander Cunningham informs me these larger pieces are of less pure silver than the others, which may account for its greater weight, as if of the same fineness the full weight of a 3 'kársha' piece would be only 168 grains.

The coins which have contributed the materials for the present paper are a small collection of my own, supplemented by an examination of the coins in the British Museum, for casts of some of which I have to thank Mr. Poole who kindly undertook to get them made for me. Dr. O. Codrington also allowed me to examine a small collection of his, and General Sir Alexander Cunningham placed the whole of his fine collection at my disposal for which my best thanks are here gratefully recorded, as it will be seen how many symbols have been added from this last source. It is moreover in this last collection only, that any record has been preserved of the find spots of any of these coins, through even in this case, in too few instances to be of general avail. In future, however, let us hope, that when a 'find' takes place of these 'punch-marked' coins, a record of the symbols on them will be kept, before the collection is dispersed or melted down. Not less interesting than the explanation of the symbols themselves on these coins is the question of their origin, and the area on the earth over which they have spread. One thing is certain, *viz.*, that the same identical symbols occurs in such diverse lands as Assyria, Egypt, India and Scotland.

To meet this stubborn fact, one class of thinkers seem to rely on the possibility of the same symbols being independently developed by very different races, at corresponding stages of their growth and civilization. Among these Mr. Thomas must be classed, as while admitting the foreign element of the Dionysiac panther and vine,* yet thus expresses himself of the issue of these pieces as a whole.

"In brief, these primitive punch-dies appear to have been the produce of purely home fancies and local thought, until we reach incomprehensible devices composed of lines, angles and circles which clearly depart, from Nature's forms." *Num. Orient. Ancient Indian Weight*, p.

* This 'panther and vine,' is in my opinion no panther but a goat with good horns, fig. 221. The 'panther' on the coins of Agathokles is another matter which has no bearing here.

59, and in the previous page Mr. Thomas observes—"The devices, in the open sense, are all domestic or emblematic within the mundane range of simple people," which I understand to amount to a complete repudiation on Mr. Thomas' part of all connection between these Indian symbols, and the symbolism which originated in the religious systems of Assyria and Egypt. The idea that these marks are '*mint marks*' or marks of attestation, impressed by local moneyers or money-changers, which both Mr. Thomas and Sir A. Cunningham are agreed in supporting, is wholly distinct from the esoteric sense involved in the marks themselves and is one which I have no wish to challenge, whilst wholly dissenting from Mr. Thomas in regarding them as of spontaneous development, *de novo* as I may say on Indian soil.

Take again the case of Scotland. In that noble work '*The Sculptured Stones of Scotland*' issued for the Spalding Club, by its Secretary, John Stuart, in Edinburgh, 1856 and completed by a second volume issued in 1866, there are figured from Scottish stones, at least fourteen symbols identical with those found on Indian punch-marked coins (figs. 260 to 269 and 271 to 274). No doubt this fact was unknown to Mr. Stuart, but he evidently took the same view of the local origin of these marks in Scotland as the "*purely home fancies*" (to borrow the words of Thomas) of the Pictish race, as had been taken in India of them by the author above mentioned. In his preface to the second volume of *Sculptured Stones of Scotland* (p. 32), Mr. Stuart remarks—"Whatever inference we may draw from the similarity of monuments in different countries, it must, to have any value, be founded on a wide and discriminating observation of numerous examples and not on mere partial resemblances. In the same way the casual occurrence of isolated figures "*resembling*" some of the Scotch symbols on monuments in other parts of the world, affords no real aid in arriving at a conclusion." One might be tempted to ask what Mr. Stuart wishes to be understood by "*casual*" or "*isolated*," but it is unnecessary to cavil at this word, or that, or to quarrel over the phrase of symbols "*resembling*" one another, when a clear case is established of fourteen identical symbols common to the sculptured stones of Scotland (the undoubted product of a Celtic race,) and the most ancient punch-marked coins of India.

In his first volume, however, Mr. Stuart quotes a letter from Mr. Chalmers which goes to the root of the matter. In a letter dated November 1851, Mr. Chalmers writes, "You say you do not see any means of connecting Gnosticism with our Celtic population, at the time when these stones were probably erected. When was that? and by which of the Celtic races? But what was Gnosticism, at least as connected with Christianity? Was it anything more, speaking generally

and not of the particular school whence it took its name, than a mixture of Paganism (and especially of its emblems) with Christianity—and a very natural mixture—that might, and probably did, at some time or other, prevail more or less wherever Christianity was found?” (Preface l. c. p. xiv). Doubtless there are thousands of educated people to-day as unconscious as Mr. Stuart, of the extent to which Christianity as regards its symbolism, has been riddled with the *mycelium* (to use a botanical simile) of the impure cult of Baal and Ashtoreth, and of which the pomp and symbolism of Romish worship or its puny shadow in Anglican circles is the direct descendant and morphological outcome. I would here quote the word of G. F. Browne in his paper on Sculptured Stones in Scotland.

“The resemblances in ornamentation oblige the observer to wonder whether races develop like ornaments, at like stages of existence, though separated by half a world, and by ages of years. The geographical distribution is one among many points of interest. No Scottish stone north of the Tay and Clyde can long be mistaken for a Northumbrian. A cultivated sense will tell whether an English stone belongs to Mercia, that is, the Midlands, or not, and will generally be able to distinguish a Yorkshire stone from a Bernician. No stone of any of these families can be mistaken for an Irish or Welsh, or Manx stone. *But*, and the fact is most startling, it would not be easy to tell, of whole groups of decoration, whether they belong to the Pictish monuments, or to the golden plates discovered by Schlieman at Mycenæ.” (*Magazine of Art*, Vol. VI, p. 15.)

The above writer might have added to the above sentence the punch-marked coins of India as I have abundantly been able to show in the present paper.

In the remarks which follow, S. S. S. stand for the ‘Sculptured Stones’ of Scotland above mentioned, and following a coin, the letters O. C. indicate that it is in the collection of Dr. O. Codrington; B. M. that of the British Museum; and A. C. that of General Sir Alexander Cunningham. The first symbol I shall quote as identical both on the coins and on sculptured stones in Scotland is the ‘*Swastica*.’ No. 232, of this paper (fig. 134). In fig. 260 I give a symbol from a stone at Balquhiddar, Perthshire (S. S. S. Vol. II, P. LXVII, fig. 3,) which is simply identical with the Indian.

In fig. 261, I give the form of a ‘*Triskelis*’ from the maiden stone, chapel of Garioch (S. S. S. Vol. I, Pl. 2, fig. 2,) and the symbol occurs frequently elsewhere and is identical in design with the archaic form of the ‘*Triskelis*’ No. 5, of this paper (fig. 130.) On the maiden stone, the most conspicuous ornament on one side is a ‘*Triskelis*’ inside a circle,

with three similar symbols round it, and the symbol is evidently one familiar to the men who fashioned these stones and crosses, and were fond of both the 'swastika' and 'triskelis' as ornaments on their work.

The solar wheel is the commonest symbol on the coins, and fig. 262 is a solar wheel of identical character from a rude stone at Knockando, Morayshire (S. S. S. Vol. II, Pl. CV, fig. 1.) On one of the three stones figured, which seem to belong to the same period is a Runic inscription of the rudest class, dating perhaps from the ninth century. On many sculptured stones, the sun is also clearly indicated as a rayed globe. (S. S. S. Vol. I, Pl. LVII, LVIII, and Vol. II, Pl. XLVIII.) The 'lingum' or emblem of Mahadev No. 13, of this paper (fig. 186,) is too well-known to need description, but this symbol is not only far from rare in Scotland, but gives rise (as I hope to show) to the most characteristic ornament, on these stones, designated commonly by the feeble and unmeaning term of the 'spectacle' ornament. Fig. 263 is from a stone at Kintradwell, Southerlandshire, (S. S. S. Vol. II, Pl. CIV,) and no doubt can exist that it represents a 'lingum.' On other stones, more ornate but equally obvious examples occur. (S. S. S. Vol. I, Pl. IX and LV and a simpler form at Pl. CXIII.)

Symbol No. 3 (fig. 129) I have termed 'Twin spheres,' believing them to represent the sun and moon, but there is little doubt that fig. 264, the well-known 'spectacle' mark is intimately related to it, and in the case of the Scottish symbol there is no doubt it is compounded of two 'lingums' combined or joined together by their 'spouts.' There is a great diversity of ornamentation and detail as regards this symbol, the simplest form and that which nearest approaches the Indian symbol is fig. 264, being from the Wemyss Caves (S. S. S. Vol. I, Pl. XIV, of the illustrations, fig. 2.) Another simple form, showing the central line down the 'lip' is seen on a stone at Logie, in the Garioch (S. S. S. Vol. I, Pl. III, fig. 1.) A very ornate form occurs on a stone at Rosemarkie Ross-shire (S. S. S. Pl. CVI.) Each half of the symbol contains nine spheres (the central one being common to both sides) an allusion perhaps to the nine months of prenatal life enjoyed by man. But the example which most incontestibly proves the identity of the 'lingum' and 'Spectacle mark' occur, on a stone at Dyce, Aberdeenshire (S. S. S. Vol. I Pl. IX, fig. 1.) On this stone occurs the single 'lingum' with the 'lip' enlarged into an oblong projection filled with an ornamental pattern. The 'lingum' stands in a circle, and alongside of it, is the same symbol, twinned or duplicated by the addition of another similar circle which converts it into the ordinary 'spectacle' ornament. In each case the central 'lingum' is beyond question, and surrounding it, and between it

and the surrounding circle, is a fillet, (with a median line) forming a sort of collar round the '*lingum*.' This line is enlarged towards its ends where they approach the 'lip,' and this in my opinion is an indication of a hooded snake or 'cobra' being intended to be understood as encircling each '*lingum*,' or rather two snakes joined, as there are two 'hoods' (as I take them to be) one on each side, and in front of the '*lingum*,' fig. 270. There is another very curious variant of the twinned '*lingum*' only in this case instead of their being one 'lip' in common, there is one central circle (or pillar) in common (fig. 259,) and two 'lips.' These lips, however, do not project in the ordinary manner, but are each twisted round to the right, at an angle of 45 so that the median line of each 'lip' does not coincide with the one opposed to it, but is parallel to it a very curious modification, and one that taken in conjunction with the great variety of treatment of this symbol (the '*lingum*') on stones in Scotland, leads to the belief that the artificers who wrought these works were familiar with the symbol and probably with the esoteric meaning it conveyed. (S. S. S. Vol. I, Pl. CXVIII, fig. 2.)

The next symbol I may mention as absolutely identical on Indian coins and Scottish sculptures is No. 8, (fig. 149.) This symbol forms the central ornament of the Cross at Meigle (S. S. S. Vol. I, Pl. LXXV) known as Guanora's Cross, the ornament of which essentially consists of symbol No. 8, in the centre surrounded by four symbols essentially the same as No. 16, (fig. 163,) which are connected by intermediary dots, forming an enclosing circle for the whole. This symbol copied from Guanora's Cross is given in fig. 265. Another symbol common to India and Scotland is No. 148 (fig. 194.) The 'Wizard's foot,' (fig. 266) occurs on a stone at St. Andrews, Fifeshire (S. S. S. Vol. II, Pl. IX, fig. 5) accompanied by the common symbols on these stones, a pair of shears and a comb. It is a rare symbol both on the coins and sculptures.

Another wholly identical symbol is No. 15, (fig. 153.)

A form of this (fig. 267,) is seen forming the central ornament on a cross at St. Keil's, Argyleshire (S. S. S. Vol. II, Pl. XXXII,) and on an elaborately carved stone at Iona (S. S. S. Vol. II, Pl. XLV.) In each case the symbol forms the centre of a larger disk, which may stand for the sun, whilst the symbol itself may be regarded as the type of deity, at the centre or throne of the universe.

Fig. 268 is a variant of the same and identical with No. 101, (fig. 154,) of this paper. It occurs four times on the superb cross at Kildalton in Islay, (S. S. S. Vol. II, Pl. XXXVII,) and also, rudely carved on a stone, which formed one of a 'stone circle' at Balneilan, Banffshire, of great antiquity (S. S. S. Vol. II, Pl. CIV).

Fig. 269, is from the end of a stone at St. Andrews (S. S. S. Vol. I, Pl. LXV.) It is essentially the same as No. 248, (fig. 225,) only without the central object, and to the present day this figure is seen on brass images relating to, or used in the worship of 'Mahadev,' and associated with his emblems.

The symbol 271 is from a rude figure at Stonehaven, Kincardineshire, (S. S. S. Vol. I, Pl. XLI.) It is essentially similar to No. 14, (fig. 187).

Fig. 272 is a remarkable symbol, of the type so common on the coins, of a tree, with what seems to be a box at its base, but which in reality is intended to represent a railing, or rude embankment of stones to guard it from injury. It occurs on a large stone at Easic in Strathmore, (S. S. S. Vol. I, Pl. XC,) associated with the 'spectacle' ornament, and is undoubtedly of the same class of sacred or symbolical trees, as occur on the coins, as No. 170, (fig. 84,) though in this specimen the base is not preserved, but the character of what remains is similar and the peculiar square base is seen in Nos. 78, (fig. 73,) 70, (fig. 74,) 182, (fig. 75).

Symbol 273 is from a stones at Invergowrie (S. S. S. Vol. I, Pl. I,XXXIX). The centre of the stone is occupied by a cross and this symbol is in the lower right-hand corner. It seems analogous in import with No. 82, (fig 211,) though the figure on the coin is not perfect enough for a full comparison. In the opposite corner of the stone is the head of an ass, facing the emblem. Is it possible that in this juxtaposition of symbols there is an allusion to the fact that the Ass was sacrificed to *Priapus*,* who may be considered as represented by the symbol of 'Mahadev'? Symbol 274 occurs on a stone at Abernethy, Perthshire, (S. S. S. Vol. I, Pl. XLIX.) It certainly seems related closely to No. 17, (fig. 136,) but at the same time is a well defined variant thereof. It is rare on Scottish stones, though No. 17 is common on the coins.

No less remarkable than the '*lingum*' on sculptured stones in Scotland, and its variant the twinned symbol known as the 'spectacle mark' is another object usually found associated with the last. It is termed a 'sceptre' and consists of a rod angularly bent like a Z with ornamental ends, which slightly differ from each other. One such end is seen in fig. 275 and the briefest inspection is sufficient to show its identity with the '*trisul*' of *Mahadev*, and in every instance despite variation of detail, every 'sceptre' is found to consist of a rod, one end of which represents the '*trisul*' or masculine emblem, whilst the opposite end, slightly modified always in design, represents the

* Ovid's Fasti; Lit. I, line 391.

female principle. One very remarkable variant, fig. 276, occurs on a stone at Elgin (S. S. S. Vol. I, Pl. XVI, fig. 2.) In this the 'trisol' is replaced by a 'crescent' (an emblem it may be remarked worn by 'Mahadev') above an owl-head symbol, but the remarkable thing about it is, that it is almost identical with an object borne in the hands of two of the principal figures, (seemingly a King and Queen) on some Hittite sculptures at Boghaz-keni in Cappadocia, described in *Nature* (March, 1888, p. 513) only on the Hittite emblem the owl-head is above and the crescent or V shaped substitute, below. Fig. 258.

Symbol 277 is from a stone at Dunfallady, Perthshire, (S. S. S. Vol. I, Pl. XLVII.) There is at first sight a temptation to identify it with No. 57, (fig. 119,) but this I am disinclined to do, as I think it is not unlikely that it represents rather an 'anvil' of iron, such as in India, goldsmiths use, fixed in a block of wood. This is rendered the more probable as on the left of it is a hammer, and on the other side a pair of tongs such as a smith would use, and I merely quote it to show that mere similarity is not sufficient (other considerations apart) to establish identity in every instance. Each case must be weighed and decided on its own merits—and in this case we have a clear instance of the special tools of a man's trade being introduced in a group, and an instance also of a striking similarity of some tools then used in Scotland, to those still in use in the far East.

I will now proceed to enumerate the various symbols which have occurred to me on the punch-marked coins that have come under my observation, but the coins are so very numerous throughout India, (albeit neglected by most collectors) that I have little doubt that many more symbols will eventually be recorded. The present list therefore I only regard as the nucleus for a more exhaustive record so these coins and their various symbols, which may exist in collections not accessible to me, or may yet be discovered from time to time in India. For purposes of classification the symbols may be conveniently divided into six classes as below.

Class I.

The human figure.

This class of symbols, is small and inconspicuous on the coins, and I include therein such mythical forms as fig. 8 which is probably intended for *Agni* and fig. 3 which appears to have five heads.

Class II.

Implements, arms and works of man.

Under this head falls the 'stupa,' with its numerous variants, the bow and arrow, the 'steelyard' and the differ-

rent varieties of the design, which I have identified as a food 'altar' or 'receptacle' for birds.

Class III.

Animals.

Among those which are more or less certainly to be recognised are, the elephant, rhinoceros, horse, bull, nyghai, goat, hare, dog, jackal, civet-cat, peacock, river-turtle, Gangetic crocodile, frog, python, cobra and cat-fish or skate. Conspicuous by their absence may be mentioned the 'stag' that is, any form of 'cervine' ruminant. The antelope, the sheep, the monkey, the lion, tiger or leopard; the leopard indeed is mentioned by Thomas, but it is not clear to me that this animal anywhere occurs, and the lion* and tiger would certainly not be hard to recognise if present. Neither is any mythological animal as 'Garuda' or the 'Naga' race seen on the coins.

Class IV.

Trees, branches or fruit.

When trees are represented they are enclosed below with railings, sometimes supporting the 'chakra' or umbrella and sometimes one or more 'Taurines.' They are very conventional in design, so that the species intended cannot be made out save in one or two instances.

Class V.

Symbols connected with solar, planetary or Sivite worship.

This is a very numerous class comprehending the 'lingum,' the 'triskelis,' the 'Caduceus' and a vast number of symbols replete with esoteric allusions to the old planetary and solar conceptions of the remotest antiquity, comprehensively alluded to by Thomas as "magic formulæ."

* For comparison I may add a list of the animals seen on the sculptured stones of Scotland in association with some of the symbols seen on these coins. There occur horseman and lion, hog; bull; bear; ram; wolf; stag, hind and fawn; roebuck; hare; ass; Bactrian camel; cat, several domestic dogs, otter; seal; hawk; osprey; salmon; and among mythological creatures the mermaid and sea-horse. The 'elephant' (so called) I consider as a mythological or traditional animal, as it is invariably represented with a slender recurved horn, and no doubt embodies a traditional idea of an animal which was only known by name or description to the artists who made such frequent use of it, on these stones.

Class VI.

Miscellaneous and unknown symbols.

These coins possess an Obverse and Reverse face as is proved, by one face being more generally used than the other to receive the impression of the punches, and by the fact that the reverse punches are generally smaller than those used on the obverse. In many coins this is very clearly seen and as a rule (though not without exceptions) the small punches or devices are used almost always on the Reverse side as I term it.

For the purpose of coming to some general idea of the comparative frequency of the different symbols and if any rule can be detected regarding their restriction to the obverse or reverse only of these coins, I have tabulated the symbols observed on one hundred and fifty coins with the following result.

On these 150 coins, ninety-six symbols are confined to the obverse area, twenty-eight to the reverse, while fifteen symbols only occur on both sides. Future observations will no doubt add to the number of symbols common to both obverse and reverse, but without probably interfering with the relative proportions above indicated.*

The next thing that the examination of these 150 coins proves is that the most frequent symbol is that of the 'solar wheel' No. 10, fig. 139, which occurs no less than one hundred and twenty times on the obverse and seven times on the reverse. This disparity goes far to prove that the obverse was regarded as the proper side whereon this symbol should appear. The next in frequency is the elephant No. 35, fig. 10 occurring thirty times on the obverse and once on the reverse, and this may therefore be regarded as essentially an obverse symbol. Next comes a symbol which seems really common to both sides; No. 17, fig. 136, which I regard as a variant of the '*Caduceus*.' This symbol occurs twenty-two times on the obverse and fourteen times on the reverse. After this comes No. 25, fig. 51, a '*stupa*' with crescent above, which is found nineteen times on the obverse and seven times on the reverse. The only other symbols which reach two figures are No. 21, fig. 47, a '*stupa*,' which occurs fifteen times on the obverse and once on

* The Obverse symbols are Nos. 4-9, 11, 14, 18, 19, 22, 24, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 36, 37, 38, 39, 42, 43, 44, 47, 48, 49, 50, 52, 55, 56, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 73, 74, 77, 78, 81, 82, 84, 86, 89, 90, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 106, 107, 110, 113, 114, 115, 116, 120, 121, 122, 125, 126, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 139, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 160, 161, 162. Total 96. Reverse symbols 5, 6, 7, 8, 13, 15, 16, 64, 75, 76, 79, 80, 83, 85, 95, 108, 109, 117, 118, 119, 123, 124, 127, 128, 136, 137, 140, 141. Total 28. Symbols common to both sides 1, 3, 10, 17, 19, 23, 25, 26, 35, 41, 51, 63, 88, 112, 138, Total 15.

the reverse, and No. 23, fig. 50, a 'stupa' and peacock which occurs six times on the obverse and ten times on the reverse.

Of the most remarkable symbols confined to the obverse may be mentioned No. 4, fig. 129, twin circles. No. 22, fig. 49, a 'stupa' and dog. No. 24, fig. 48 a 'stupa' with reliquaries or lamps. No. 27, fig. 91 and all its numerous variants Nos. 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 66, 77, 100 and 114.

Of the most remarkable reverse symbols may be mentioned Nos. 5, 6 and 7, figs. 130, 131, 132, varieties of the 'triskelis.' No. 13, fig. 186, the 'lingum.' No. 15, fig. 153, three spheres. No. 64, fig. 160, a thunderbolt. No. 76, fig. 198, the emblem of Ishtar. No. 108, fig. 158, spheres and triangle.

The next lesson to learn from these 150 coins is the proportion of symbols on the obverse and reverse sides respectively. First it is necessary to eliminate those specimens which are too worn to give correct information, that is, all specimens showing no more than two recognisable symbols on the obverse. Having made this correction there remain 128 coins giving 519 obverse symbols or as nearly as possible four symbols, or allowing for symbols not sufficiently clear, or only partly seen, five symbols may be assumed as a fair average for the obverse of these coins.

To arrive at a similar average for the reverse is less easy, as some few coins have the reverses blank and devoid of any symbol, whilst the symbols are less well preserved as a rule on the reverse; eliminating therefore all coins which have no symbols visible on the reverse, we find that 74 coins present 110 reverse symbols, or not more than one and a half symbol to each reverse, and this is not far through perhaps a little under the general average.

From these remarks the following general deductions may be made which I merely adduce, that they may be sustained or modified by a larger review of these coins, than is here attempted.

1. That these coins possess an *Obverse* and *Reverse* as in later issues.
2. That five symbols is about the average number on the obverse, and not more than two on the reverse.
3. That the impressions are less distinct on the reverse, and the reverse 'punches' or symbols frequently smaller.
4. That occasionally the reverse is left blank especially in some copper coins, which approximate in character to some Buddhist copper coins, struck with ordinary dies.
5. That some symbols seem to be confined and others to predominate on the *obverse* and *reverse* respectively.

6. That not two coins are precisely alike, two coins only having come under notice with the same symbols on both sides, but the symbols were differently arranged with relation to each other.

So much by way of preliminary remark.

DESCRIPTIVE LIST OF SYMBOLS.

1. A DOT, SPHERE OR CIRCLE. Fig. 126.

The simplest form used to represent the sun, or any planetary body is a dot, sphere or circle, such as occurs in fig. 126, or in composition in figs. 128 and 131. It was also esoterically used no doubt to represent the persons of the Godhead in the old religions of Assyria and India, as in figs. 153 and 163.

One of the earliest systems of religion, elaborated by the reflective faculties of civilized man, was the worship of the reproductive forces of Nature, which, under the form of Sivite worship exists in India in full force at the present day. Scarcely distinguishable from this cult and coeval with it is the worship of the sun, and planets, as the sun was regarded not only as the most striking and appropriate symbol of Deity, but as directly and physically the source and sustainer of life. The ancients were as quick as ourselves in perceiving that without heat and moisture life was impossible, and hence originated the philosophic idea of attributing masculine and feminine attributes or functions to heat and humidity respectively. No less obvious also was the analogy between the headship or fatherhood of the human family, and the heavenly Fatherhood of the great Author of all, and the resulting idea of unity underlying all religious symbolism, whether represented by a pillar, such as Solomon erected in front of the Temple; a round stone, such as represents *Mahadev* ('the great god') in every Hindu village, or the more complex symbol of the *crux-ansata*, borne in the hands of Egypt's deities, or disguised by being turned topsy-turvy and dubbed a "*ball and cross*," when pressed into the religious ceremonial of our own land at the coronation of our Kings and Queens! Similarly the central unit of the celestial system was represented by a ball, or wheel, or some rayed device which alike represented the idea of unity and of the progressive motion of the solar orb through the heavens; and as in Pharaoh's dreams the event signified was one, though the symbols were diverse, so in ancient religious symbolism, however varied the form, the idea concealed beneath was ONE, the Unity of the Deity, which then as now among so many of ourselves, was not incompatible, with a fourfold or threefold conception of Divine persons in the Godhead!

We moderns are too fond of expressing our pity for such misguided idolaters as the *Chaldeans* of old or the *Parsees* of to-day, but

could the accused be heard before an unprejudiced tribunal, they would probably astonish their accusers by claiming to worship the same God as themselves; the same God as the Psalmist of old, who declared.

"The spacious firmament on high,
And all the blue ethereal sky,
The spangled heavens, a shining frame,
Their great original proclaim."

It is true, we no longer pay respect to the symbols of the sun, from our reverence for that Being of whom the great luminary is a type, but we nevertheless use freely in Ecclesiastical adornment and ritualistic worship, symbols which are viewed reverentially, as of Christian import, but which in reality are pagan in their origin, and esoterically connected with Nature worship, and the only distinction between the old worshippers and ourselves, consists in the somewhat humiliating one, that the former had a precise conception of what they really revered, which modern ritualists and hierophants certainly have not.

Representations of the sun are not common on the sculptured stones of Scotland, but do occasionally occur. One of the most curious is on the Logie stone, in the Garioch. (S. S. S. Vol. I, Pl. III, fig. 2.) The sun is here represented as a circle with four opposing groups of alternately three and five rays, obliquely set (as in a '*triskelis*') and with some four rays on the inner side of the circumference, just as the 'Oghan' characters would read if inscribed along a circular line. This is hardly accidental, but I cannot pretend to explain the relationship of these straight Oghan strokes to the symbol, though their connection seems beyond question. Another sample of Oghan writing on these stones also occur at Newton in the Garioch (S. S. S. Vol. I, Pl. I.)

The sun, as a round boss surrounded by rays forms a prominent ornament on the stone cross of Dupplin Castle, Perthshire (S. S. S. Vol. I, Pl. LVII,) another remarkable symbol probably solar in its import is seen on a stone from Bressay, Shetland, (S. S. S. Vol. I, Pl. XCIV.) This symbol occupies the most conspicuous position at the top of the stone and recalls to mind the solid wheel of a cart in Burmah (made of three pieces of 'iron-wood' or some other hard woodcut out of the solid), only this wheel (if so regarded) is formed of four interlocking pieces instead of three. There can be little doubt it represents an ancient wheel, and is here used as a symbol of the sun. The whole design is very archaic, and there is a long *Oghan* or *Runic* inscription down the sides.

2. THE CRESCENT MOON. Fig. 127.

Another simple planetary symbol is the crescent moon, that '*siderum regina bicornis*' whose image forms so glorious an ornament in the

▲ ▲

The symbol probably represents the sun, and the moon at full, and this seems borne out by my specimen, as one of the circles has faint traces of rays surrounding it, as though to distinguish it from the other, representing the moon.

The identity as I consider it, between this symbol and the 'spectacle' ornament, of Scottish antiquaries will appear less strange when it is seen how in Scotland the so-called 'spectacle' ornament (claimed as essentially the product of Celtic art and thought,) is in reality mixed up with and in fact compounded of Eastern and purely nature-worship or solar symbols. One of the simplest forms of the twin spheres (which phrase I prefer to 'spectacle') occurs on a stone at Logie, in the Garioch, (S. S. S. Vol. I, Pl. III, fig. 1.) It is formed of two circles which I shall show are probably solar emblems, joined by two crescents, representing the lunar or feminine element. These symbols are also united by the 'sceptre' (so called) one end of which is without doubt a simple 'trisol' or emblem of *Mahadev*. On fig. 1 on the same plate, a still simpler example occurs alone without the sceptre, and on this it is seen at a glance that this mysterious 'spectacle' ornament is simply two '*lingums*' placed lip to lip, so that the projecting 'spouts' or 'lips' overlap, or in other words, the two '*lingums*' have a common '*lip*' between them. The two outermost lines, represent the base of the emblem seen from above, when the two symbols are thus fused into one. The median 'fissure' usually present in the projection or 'lip' of the '*lingum*' is here seen, but the 'sceptre' ornament is omitted.

On the stone at Insch, Aberdeenshire, known as the 'Picardy Stone' (S. S. S. Vol. I, Pl. VI, fig. 2) another example occurs, accompanied by a symbol which I take to be a variant of the same. Instead of the 'twin spheres' crossed by the 'sceptre' or 'trisol' of *Mahadev*, there is a serpent crossed by this latter symbol, and those who know, how in India the serpent is identified with the '*lingum*,' and associated with the cult of *Mahadev*, will see the facility with which the 'serpent' may stand in place of the '*lingum*,' and how when sharply flexed, the folds of the body of the snake represent the two orbs of the ordinary '*spectacle*' symbol. The idea, however, now propounded that the spectacle mark is made up of two '*lingums*,' is proved absolutely by a stone at Dyce Aberdeen, (S. S. S. Vol. I, Pl. IX, fig. 1,) on which are two figures; one a '*half-spectacle*' symbol (as I may call it) composed of a circle, with a rectangular area in front equivalent to the '*lip*' of the '*lingum*'; and an ordinary '*spectacle*' mark, in each end of which, (as well as on the above '*half-spectacle*') a complete '*lingum*' (symbol No. 4) is carved with the lips of each facing one another. The rectangular area in each symbol is ornamented with a pattern which may represent, six snakes,

but this is not material. The last symbol is crossed by the ordinary 'sceptre,' which in this case ends in a 'trisul' at one end identical with the 'trisuls' which by thousands ornament the temples of 'Mahadev' in India to-day. See fig. 275. Another variant of this 'twin sphere' symbol is seen on a stone at Glenfurness, Nairn, (S. S. S. Vol. I, Pl. XXIV, fig. 1.) In this, the 'spectacle' mark is composed of two circles, enclosing seven spheres differing only from symbol fig. 149 of this paper, in the spheres being within a circle is one case, and within an hexagonal area in the other, the essential element, the mystical seven spheres of Chaldean astronomy being the same in both. The 'sceptre' in the symbol is of the ordinary character, a bent 'trisul' of 'Mahadev,' one end representing the male and the other end the female principle in nature. The slight difference in the ornamentation of the two ends of the 'sceptre' is specially well seen in Plate No. XXV, (S. S. S. Vol. I,) where the two distinct ideas of the male and female principle are clearly conveyed by one end terminating in the 'trisul' of Mahadev (*passim*) and the other is a 'crescent moon,' the emblem of the female energy in nature, and this slight difference is universally observable, under various guises, in all these so-called 'sceptres,' but which are in reality 'trisuls' of 'Mahadev' and the emblem of his 'sakti' combined. See figs. 275, 276,) in this stone, the 'sceptre' is united to the 'crescent' symbol instead of the 'spectacle mark' and in the basal angle of the 'sceptre,' a pretty little 'triskelis' is introduced, seemingly formed of three snakes with heads turned outwards.

5—6. THE TRISKELIS, REVOLVING FROM LEFT TO RIGHT. Fig. 130.

This symbol, though not mentioned by Thomas in connection with these coins, occurs on the reverse of a coin in my possession in its simplest and most archaic form, of three equal and quasi-semicircular limbs, united at a single point and revolving from left to right (fig. 130). On another coin (fig. 131), the solar significance of this symbol is emphasized, and a step made in the direction of later developments, by the three limbs being made to emerge from a central and well defined disc. This symbol revolves from right to left. This is something of the same type as that figured on a coin of Lycia about B. C. 450. (*Numismatic Chronicle*, 1886, Pl. I, fig. 7), which is merely one of the many proofs of the vast antiquity and wide geographical range of this well known solar emblem.

This simple form of the 'triskelis' occurs not unfrequently on sculptured stones in Scotland, both alone, and in combination with other designs. It occurs (S. S. S. Vol. I, Pl. II, fig. 2,) toward the base of the Maiden stone, Aberdeen, where it forms the central ornament, a

single '*triskelis*' surrounded by three similar and equidistant symbols, except that the central '*triskelis*' revolves to the right, while those surrounding it, revolve in an opposite direction. These symbols are surrounded by an ornamental border of the usual Celtic pattern, and the upper portion of the stone is occupied by a cross and a human figure. As a symbol of trinity in unity the symbols are appropriate, whether the design was borrowed from paganism unwittingly or not, but of the extreme antiquity of the design of the '*triskelis*' it is needless here to insist.

The '*triskelis*' also appears several times in company with the '*swastika*' on the celebrated Nigg Stone, Ross-shire (S. S. S. Vol. I, Pl. XXVIII) of which the upper part exhibits an altar with two figures in an attitude of adoration, and a dove descending with the holy wafer in its bill. Below this on either side is a compartment, that on the right containing two large spheres ornamented with the usual Celtic interlaced pattern, round a central '*triskelis*'; and between the large spheres, a smaller one ornamented with the '*swastika*' whilst in the compartment on the left, the large spheres are filled with seven small spheres, each marked with the '*swastika*' (or '*triskelis*' in one or two), and the corresponding small sphere instead of the '*swastika*' (as on the right hand) bears a '*triskelis*.' Yet in face of this it has been stated that "none of the symbols occur on this stone" (S. S. S. p. 11.) From this I infer that the existence of the '*triskelis*' and '*swastika*' was overlooked, and the symbols alluded to as not present, were those of purely Scottish extraction like 'comb' and 'sceptre.'

A very remarkable and pregnant instance of the '*triskelis*' occurs again on the Ulbster stone, Caithness, (S. S. S. Vol. I, Pl. XL, fig. 2,) where this eminently solar symbol constitutes the centre of each 'spectacle,' in the so-called 'spectacle' mark.

A remarkable form of the '*triskelis*' appears on a stone at St. Andrews, Fifeshire (S. S. S. Vol. II, Pl. X, fig. 6,) the arms of the '*triskelis*' forming more than a complete circle, and thereby giving an extremely oblique and peculiar form to the figure, the revolution being to the left.

The '*triskelis*' occurs also prominently on the Kildalton, cross, Argyleshire, (S. S. S. Vol. II, Pl. XXXVI,) in company with much solar and symbolical ornamentation.

7. TRISKELIS, BEVOLVING FROM LEFT TO RIGHT. Fig. 132.

In this symbol the limbs are shortened till they resemble the cogs in the driving wheel of a tilt-hammer.

The '*triskelis*' so far as I am aware does not occur on any of the

objects found by Schliemann at Hissarlik, though the '*swastika*' is common enough there on pottery. At Mycenæ however the '*triskelis*' occurs (as I take it) in an ornate and peculiar form, on the gold buttons found in the fourth twist, and also on the gold knob of a sword handle. (Schliemann's Mycenæ, p. 264, figs. 409, 413 and p. 269, fig. 428). Fig. 409 suggests that the elements of the simple, yet elegant design comprise three '*lingum-yonis*' circularly arranged, with the left '*labium*' of each prolonged into a curved arm and the same is seen in fig. 413. The same peculiarity in the elements which make up the pattern is also seen in a '*swastika*' fig. 422, l. c. and in figs. 421 and 422a the pattern consists of three '*lingums*' in the centre surrounded by six others, each being separated from its neighbour by a band without end, formed by the united '*labia*' of all the '*lingums*.' A most ingenious and pleasing device.

8. CLUSTER OF NINE SPHERES. Fig. 149.

Another planetary symbol as I regard it, consists of a circle of eight spheres, ranged round a central one. In Mr. C. W. King's work on antique gems, Plate II, fig. 4, a very similar device is figured on an Assyrian seal, only in this case there are but seven spheres round the central one, which presumably stands for the earth. If therefore the present symbol is planetary in its meaning, it must represent the earth and the seven planets of the Chaldean astrologers, ranged round some central object, whose meaning we have yet to discover. Now the celebrated temple or mound of the seven planets at Birs Nimroud is described by Sir Henry Rawlinson as consisting of seven stages each dedicated to a separate planet. "The first or lowest stage was about two hundred and seventy-two feet square and twenty-six feet high, and was covered with bitumen to represent the sable hue of Saturn. The second stage was two hundred and thirty feet square and about twenty-six feet high, and the surface was covered with some tint resembling orange, to represent Jupiter. The third stage was one hundred and eighty feet square, and twenty-six feet high, the surface colour being red to represent Mars. The fourth stage was about one hundred and forty-six feet square and twenty-six feet high and there is reason to believe that it was coated with gold to represent the sun. The fifth stage was about one hundred and four feet square, about fifteen feet high and coloured light yellow to represent Venus. The sixth stage was about sixty-two feet square, fifteen feet high and coloured dark blue so as to represent Mercury. The seventh stage was about twenty feet square, "about fifteen feet high and covered with silver" representing of course the moon. Above the whole structure was a shrine or

temple, said to have been restored by Nabu-kudur-uzur (Nebuchadnezzar). The central sphere therefore in the present symbol if, it is of planetary significance, may represent a central Holy of Holies, analogous to the shrine crowning the temple at Birs Nimroud, round which the seven planets and the earth are grouped.

On another Assyrian gem (cylinder) figured by Mr. King (l. c. Pl. I, fig. 1,) occur two symbols evidently embodying the same idea, *viz.*, seven bulls over the ball's neck, representing the seven planets then worshipped, whilst the second symbol consists of a star with six rays, with a crescent above, wherein we see a symbol common to both planetary and Nature worship. As a planetary symbol it represents of course the seven planets, all told, whilst regarded as an emblem of Nature worship it represents the two Assyrian triads, and the Celestial Mother or feminine principle in nature, represented by the crescent moon, symbol of Ashtaroth, Ishtar, or Beltis, as it was separately personified in the religion of Assyria.

This symbol of eight spheres round a central one is rare in Scotland, but occurs prominently in two instances. This symbol constitutes the central ornament of the cross at Meikle, Perthshire, which tradition ascribes to the burial-place of Arthur's Queen 'Guanora,' (S. S. S. Vol. I, Pl. LXXV).

The same symbol also occurs on a cross at Keils, Argyleshire, (S. S. S. Vol. II, Pl. XXXII,) with a trifling addition which goes far to support my explanation of the central sphere in this symbol. In this cross the most conspicuous ornament is a circle embracing eight spheres ranged equidistantly from each other, whilst in the centre is another sphere, within which three balls are seen, an obvious mode, it seems to me of conveying the idea of central Deity. The surrounding eight spheres, appear to be each ornamented with the '*triskelis*,' conveying the idea of the heavenly orbs revolving round the throne of their maker.

If only the first example had been known, those who are disinclined to admit a derivative element from paganism into the esoteric symbolism of these crosses, might object that the occurrence of the symbol was simply the result of chance, but this idea of chance is almost negatived when a second instance occurs with a variation introduced tending to develop and render clearer the esoteric paganism lurking beneath.

There is yet another design which I claim, as an extreme variant of the same symbol, on a stone from Brassay in Shetland (S. S. S. Vol. I, Pl. XCV.) In the centre is a sphere ornamented with an interlaced chain pattern. Round this sphere are four almond-shaped lozenges, and four somewhat irregular ovals alternating with each other and all seemingly linked together by a chain. The '*almonds*' are seen blocked by

knots, either loops of the main chain, or independently introduced, and in these loops I think the same esoteric meaning may be conveyed as attaches to the bars crossing the cistrum of Isis.

The same variant also occurs on the Cross at Kildalton, Argyleshire, (S. S. S. Vol. II, Pl. XXXVI).

9. A RELIQUARY SURROUNDED BY SIX 'TAURINES.' Fig. 185.

It is not very certain what the central object of this symbol is intended for. It is probably the object of uncertain import of fig. 63, which may be either a 'reliquary', a 'lamp' or an 'altar.' The 'Taurines' are simply used most likely as auspicious signs, as the 'Swastika' might be, or the sign of 'Ganesh' by a Hindu merchant. The symbol occurs on a coin in my possession.

10. SOLAR WHEEL WITH STRAIGHT RAYS. Fig. 139.

This though a planetary emblem has perhaps an equal claim to be considered a Buddhist one also by adoption. In the solar wheel the centre consists of a raised or solid boss or nave, whereby it may be distinguished from the wheel used by man for industrial purposes, which has a hollow axis, the difference being clearly seen in fig. 143. The normal number of spokes appears to be sixteen but the number varies from twelve to twenty-four, both being multiples of four the favourite unit for calculation in India. It is the most prevalent symbol on these coins, and one which emphatically disproves the conclusion of Thomas that these symbols are the "produce of purely home fancies and local thought," as this solar wheel is an extremely common symbol on terracotta whorls, dug up by Schliemann at Troy, (Schliemann, Troy Pl. XXII, fig. 329.

The rayed sun is also met with on sculptured stones in Scotland, as for example on a cross near Dupplin figured in the *Magazine of Art*, Vol. VI, page 20, fig. 22.

11. SMALL EIGHT-SPOKED WHEEL. Fig. 140.

This symbol is probably solar also, as the axis is solid, and we cannot therefore regard it as a wheel used for industrial purposes as the wheel fig. 143.

12. FOUR-SPOKED WHEEL. Fig. 141.

Rare on the coins and a variant of the last.

13. SYMBOL OF MAHADEV AND HIS 'sakti' (*Durga*). Fig. 186.

This emblem of *Siva* and *Durga*, so universally worshipped throughout Hindustan is rare on these coins but occurs on the reverse of one

in my possession. It is identical in esoteric meaning with the emblem of *Baal-Peor* worshipped in Canaan by Jews and Gentiles alike and is among many proofs how very ancient and widely spread were the ideas represented by many of the symbols found on these coins, and how erroneous were the view of Thomas that they are all the product of "home fancies."

On the antiquity of phallic symbolism, Inman's work. 'Ancient Faiths embodied in Ancient Names' may be consulted with advantage (*sub voce* *Baal-Peor*). This symbol is also found in places and associated with objects where the uninitiated would hardly expect it. In the *Magazine of Art*, Vol. VI, page 20, fig. 21, the Cross of the Niduari Picts is figured. The head of the cross is formed of a circle, with a ball in the centre, from which four of the emblems of *Baal-peor* radiate, the 'lip' of the symbols being directed outwards to form the arms!

The '*lingum*' or symbol of *Baal-peor* occurs, however, too commonly on sculptured stones in Scotland and more than general allusion. It occurs singly, or more commonly 'twined,' forming then the 'spectacle mark' which seems so to have puzzled antiquaries.

A simple '*lingum*' is seen on a stone from Kintradwell, Sutherlandshire, which differs in no material respect from the same symbol universally worshipped to-day in India! and in this case it may be emphatically asked, is the fortuitous and independent development of such a symbol in its hyperborean home, possible or reasonable. Gubernatis arrives at a not very dissimilar conclusion from quite another point of view. 'The result of my enquiries will, perhaps, go far to prove that notwithstanding the splendour of our Christian art, and the fame of our civilization, the basis of Italian belief has till now remained pagan; so that those of our housewives who are most assiduous in their attendance at the great spectacles of the Church, and their observance of its ritual, are at bottom, the jealous custodiers and guardians of devilish superstitions and pagan fables.' (*Zoological Mythology*, Preface, p. xxi.)

14. SPHERE WITHIN A TRIANGLE. Fig. 187.

In esoteric significance this is of precisely the same import as the last. The sphere represents the solar or male energy of Nature, whilst the triangle or 'delta' is an equally well understood female symbol.

The symbol is from a coin in my possession.

A variant of this symbol occurs on a stone at Stonehaven (S. S. S. Vol. I, Pl. XLI,) but is rudely engraved and I hesitate to draw any conclusion therefrom. It is accompanied by the rude figure of a fish, and might possibly be intended for a scraping-tool, and used as a sign of his trade by some fisherman.

15. THREE BALLS OR SPHERES. Fig. 153.

This is another symbol of Nature worship and stands for the male triad of the Indian religion. It also originates in the remotest antiquity as it is the precise homologue of the next symbol which exemplifies the Assyrian form of the same idea. It occurs on *terra-cotta* whorls from Troy (Troy, Plate XXII, fig. 319) though on the whorl the dots are farther apart, being ranged round the central perforation. In modern times this religious symbol has degenerated into the sign of a pawn-broker's den. This symbol occurs as the central ornament on the Cross at Keils, (S. S. S. Vol. II, Pl. XXXII,) and also on the cross at Kildalton, (S. S. S. Vol. II, Pl. XXXVI,) and the slight variant of it No. 154, (fig. 154,) no less than six times on the reverse of the same stone (Pl. XXXVII, l. c.). This variant also occurs singly on an archaic stone at Balneilan, Banffshire, (S. S. S. Vol. II, Pl. CIV,) where we can only suppose it is introduced as a symbol, for its esoteric meaning, as it stands alone and does not owe its existence to any necessity of ornamentation or elaboration of design.

16. FOUR SPHERES IN A SQUARE. Fig. 163.

This is an extremely ancient symbol and occurs like the last, on *terra-cotta* whorls at Troy (Schliemann XXII, figs. 317, 318 and 322, l. c.) The four dots are differently arranged in each instance, in figs. 317 and 318 they occupy the four arms of a cruciform figure; in fig. 322, they intervene between four curved arms radiating from the centre. In an extremely ancient* cornelian bead from the Panjab in my possession, pierced like a bead (that is through its greatest diameter) and not like a whorl in a direction vertical thereto, there occurs in the centre a

* Some of these beads are figured in a short paper by myself in the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for October 1869. There is no good series of these most curious beads in the British Museum, where considerable scepticism and lack of information still exists thereon, and the assertion of mine that the pattern is engraved in the stone previous to the application of the pigment is regarded by Mr. Frauks as 'nonsense.' Unfortunately for this *ex-cathedra* verdict founded on negative ground, I have specimens showing undoubtedly that such was the course pursued, though not perhaps universally, and I take the present opportunity of reiterating the assertions made by myself twenty years ago, though they do not seem to have penetrated sufficiently deep for acceptance in quarters where such knowledge might have been looked for. I specially commend the note, appended to my paper on these heads to Mr. Frank's notice, before he commits himself to the idea of their being not older than the 15th century. I am aware that agates can be variously stained by chemical solutions and otherwise, and the art may have been known to some extent by the makers of these beads, but nothing can invalidate the fact, that on some beads, the pattern has been also first cut into stone.

modification of the same design, a cross with short arms, and a dot or ball in each angle, the radical idea in each case being the same, four balls variously arranged, standing for the mystical 'Tetragrammaton.' the ineffable name among the Jews of Deity. In Hebrew the letters would be I. A. H. O. 'I am that I am,' but the idea is older than Judaism, and must be first sought for in the Assyrian conception of a male triad and a celestial mother, the four together being the precise homologue of the triads or trinities of other religions, (see The Great Dionysiak Myth by R. Brown, Vol. I, page 58.)

In this symbol and the last we have two simple and very archaic examples of the two parallel lines which Nature worship has followed, viz., the Assyrian fourfold conception of Deity, and the Hindu threefold conception of the same power, both of which seem reflected in the doctrines respectively taught in the Romish and Reformed churches of the present day.

17. STAFF WITH LATERAL SEMICIRCLES. Fig. 136.

This symbol I regard as a modified form of the *caduceus*. It is very common on the coins and is in reality the form the Caduceus usually assumes on them, the whole bearing a rude resemblance to a bale of cotton, but beneath which it is not hard to discern the elements of the *caduceus* rearranged.

It is curious that this emblem when once established should have fallen into desuetude in India as it is essentially related to the lord of life Mahadev, whose worship is still so popular there. It may be that the emblem had become identified with the powers of healing, which to the vulgar may not have appeared as connected with the deity in question, yet even so, it might have been expected that the serpents on the rod would have been sufficient to perpetuate the retention of the emblem in a land where the snake is deeply interwoven with the local religion and in particular with the cult of Mahadev.

In Egypt the snake entwined round the rod of Thoth was doubtless the African cobra, which is identical so far as symbolism is concerned with its Asiatic representative (*Naja tripudians*). Now among Hindus the utmost respect is paid to this reptile, from mythological association, and should the continued sojourn of a cobra in a house or village be regarded as undesirable, or seem likely in this *Kali Yug* of ours to lead to the death of the reptile from some profane hand, it is inveigled or ceremoniously coerced into entering an earthen pot, which is then transported for some distance into the jungle where the animal is liberated.

18. CRESCENT ON A PILLER, WITH A 'TAURINE' ON EACH SIDE. Fig. 179.

This is a very interesting symbol, as exhibiting the relationship or transition between Planet worship and Nature worship or *Sivaism*. The crescent may either represent the moon, viewed simply as a planetary object of worship, or as a symbol of the moist or female principle in nature, and as such carried on the forehead of *Siva* (as on the gold coins of *Vasu Deva*) in right of his consort or *sakti*. The pillar is of course an emblem of *Mahadev*, *Siva* or *Okro* and as such may be also regarded as equally a solar emblem, the sun, the great vivifying power in nature being the prototype of that deity, while the 'Taurine' is simply a different expression of the same idea. Among other facts well-known but little dwelt on by modern Hierophants is that Solomon erected in front of the temple, dedicated to the national God of the Jews, two pillars, which have been the source of much perplexity, not to say sorrow in the breasts of the orthodox, and it seems to me by no means improbable that Symbol 18 essentially represents one of these pillars. Whether the two were precisely alike, we do not know, but from their possessing different names, it is probable there were corresponding though perhaps slight differences between them. On the left stood 'Boaz' a word indicating 'strength,' and there can be no possible hesitation in identifying a pillar thus named with the emblem of *Baal* or *Mahadev*. The pillar on the right was 'Jachin' one of whose meanings (to choose the least offensive one) is 'stability' which is a feminine attribute, attaching, equally with fertility, to mother earth the great proto-parent of all. The present symbol exactly represents the idea sought to be perpetuated by Solomon's "Boaz and Jachin," and those celebrated pillars may therefore have been similar and paired, to represent the equality of the male and female principles in Nature, or may have slightly differed from each other as their different, and very symbolical names suggest their having done.

The two 'Taurines' in the present symbol are mere repetitions of the idea embodied in the central pillar.

19. FOUR 'TAURINES' UNITED TOGETHER IN CRUCIFORM FASHION. Fig. 161.

This symbol is a mere variant of No. 64, (fig. 160) only in this case four 'Taurines' are united in place of two. It is a common nature-worship symbol on these coins.

In the catalogue of Greek and Scythic coins in the British Museum, Pl. XXVIII, fig. 16, on a coin of *Hooverkes*, *Okro*, (that is, *Mahadev* or *Siva*) is represented carrying a wheel, which is an unusual symbol on these coins, but clearly points to the solar attributes of the god. Another peculiarity of *Okro* on these coins is, that where he is repre-

sented with a goat in attendance, the god carries in one hand a drum, but where the goat is not present, the drum is replaced by the usual forked thunderbolt, Pl. XXVIII, figs. 14 and 15. The wording of the Catalogue is here not quite uniform, as the drum of fig. 14 is in the text described as a 'thunderbolt,' though the same object on Pl. XXVI, fig. 13 is described as a 'drum.' Now this drum and goat may possibly refer to the wanderings of *Siva*, in guise of a mendicant Brahman, when in feigned disparagement of himself he tried the faith of the maiden who had given her heart to the god, who stood unrecognised before her, as so well told in the hymn of Sir W. Jones to *Siva*. Or the 'drum' so called may be regarded in the light of a mace, the homologue of the Grecian thunderbolt, but the main point I think to establish is that the so-called drum is introduced only when the goat is brought in as well. Fig. 63 probably represents the same article, whether 'drum,' 'reliquary' or 'lamp,' and it not improbably represents the first, on Indo-Scythic coins, whilst on the older punch-marked coins it stands for the latter articles.

20. A SPHERE SURROUNDED BY SEVEN OWL-HEADS. Fig. 96.

This symbol is not mentioned by Thomas, but occurs in duplicate, unaccompanied by any other on a rectangular three karsha-piece in my possession, weighing 175 grains from Rawal Pindi. It consists of a central boss, supporting seven equidistant and similar spokes or rays, shaped like the Greek letter 'phi' with the projecting top stroke cut off. This shortened 'phi' as I have termed it, is essentially identical with the symbol found on pottery and *terra-cotta* whorls at Troy, which Schliemann call 'owl's head' and identifies (with sufficient probability in my opinion) with the cult of Athene, (Schliemann, Troy, p. 312, fig. 227). This symbol No. 20 may, however, be taken to represent the earth, surrounded by the seven planets, whose action on mundane affairs may be implied by the stroke connecting each with the centre. We may further consider the symbol as an esoteric allusion to the mystical property and attributes of the number seven, doubtless all originally based on the number of the planets recognised by Chaldean astrologers.

Seven was the Sabbatical number of the Jews, whose obligation to Assyria and Egypt, for much of their religious knowledge it is futile to question. When Noah constructed his ark seven clean beasts were selected to enter therein, and seven days' space allowed to get them into their places, and after seven months the whole happy family once more settled on *terra firma*. Seven were the years of plenty and of subsequent famine foretold by the seven head of kine and seven ears of corn. Seven were the branches of the temple candlestick, and seven the victims of

each kind offered at the dedication of the ark. Seven were the planets worshipped in Chaldæa and seven the days of the week. Seven was the number of the Pleiades, seven the Champions of Christendom, the sages of Greece, the sleepers of Ephesus, and the Rishis of Hindustan. Holy was the seventh day in Hesiod's Calender (among others) for thereon *Leto* gave birth to *Apollo*. Seven times did the tuneful swans (as Callimachus tells us in his Hymn to *Delos*) circle round the head of the goddess in her travail, and seven strings, in commemoration thereof did her son attach to his lyre. Seven was the number of the gates of Thebes and the warriors who attempted to sack that city. Seven were the female captives, second in beauty to Argive Helen alone, whom Agamemnon proffered to Achilles to win his forgiveness, and seven the folds of tough bulls' hides which fenced the heart of Telamonian Ajax. Seven were the horses of Surya and the Princesses in the Indian tale of 'Punckhin,' but the examples might be multiplied indefinitely were it necessary, and we may even trace the idea in such larger totals as the appointed span of man's days, and the seven hundred wives of Solomon.

Without therefore seeking for more positive indications whether this symbol bears a planetary reference or some other religious or esoteric allusion, we may feel certain it is not fortuitously septiform in design, but intentionally framed, with reference in some way or other to that mystical number which seems to dog the student through the mazes of history, mythology and folk-lore alike.

21. A 'STUPA' COMPOSED OF TWO OR THREE HEMISPHERICAL CELLS. Fig. 47.

The simple stupa is of rare occurrence on these coins, but the variants thereof to be enumerated below are among the commonest symbols after perhaps the 'solar wheel.'

Regarding the attribution of certain of these symbols to Buddhist ideas Mr. Thomas remarks in his essay on "Ancient Weights," *Numismata Orientalia* Part I, p. 58. "So also amongst the numerous symbols or esoteric monograms that have been claimed as specially Buddhist, there is not one that is absolutely and conclusively an origination of or emanation from that creed." Now this assertion is altogether too hypercritical to merit complete acceptance, though it may be partially true. The Cross is an emblem by common consent of Christians, allowed to be symbolical of their faith, yet if we accept the above conclusion of Mr. Thomas, it would cease to have any claim to be so regarded, because, long anterior to Christianity it was an esoteric emblem of a different character, or if we put aside this argument, still the instrument used by the Romans anteriorly to the birth of Christ for the punishment

of malefactors, cannot in any sense be regarded as originating in his teaching, the definition whereby Mr. Thomas would seem to exclude the claim of many Buddhist emblems, to that name. To assert, however, that now-a-days the Cross has no title to be regarded as a Christian emblem is such obvious pedantry, that a similar contention against the acceptance of Buddhist symbols may be equally rejected on similar grounds. Again Mr. Thomas adds "The Boddhi tree was no more essentially Buddhist than the Assyrian sacred tree or the Hebrew grove, or the popularly venerated trees of India at large." Now this again is confounding two wholly different matters, since the Assyrian tree and the Hebrew 'grove' have no vegetable individuality save in the name preposterously bestowed on them by euphemistic pedants, but are symbols of Nature worship homologous with the '*Sistrun*' of *Isis* or the '*lingum*' of *Mahadev*, while the trees revered by Buddhists in India, Ceylon, or Burma, owe their sole claim to respect to their historic (as believed) association with events in the life of Buddha. Despite therefore the expressed opinion of so great an authority as Mr. Thomas, there are, I think good and sufficient grounds for still regarding some of these symbols as Buddhist in conception and significance.

The stupa is represented either by three semicircles, one of which rests on the other two or with an additional row below, making six semicircles in all. That these are regarded as so many crypts or relic chambers *in posse*, is proved by those examples in which each division or chamber is seen occupied by a reliquary, shaped like a dice box, or the small Indian drum, called '*dag-dagi*' used by itinerant leaders of bears and monkeys. Besides the simple stupa, this symbol has many variants.

22. 'STUPA' WITH DOG ON THE SUMMIT. Fig. 49.

In this symbol a dog is seen standing on the *stupa* in an energetic attitude as though barking. What the precise meaning of the dog is in this situation, it is not easy to say. Mr. Thomas gives several figures of a dog, but strange to say, does not show one in connection with the *stupa*, which is so generally the case, as to seem the rule though it often happens that but a trace of the *stupa* is preserved, and I have certainly never seen a case where the dog was so figured as to render it certain that he was not represented as standing on a *stupa*. Mr. Thomas speaks of the animal as the "objectionable dog" and elsewhere as a "playful puppy," but it may be questioned if the dog was regarded as objectionable by those who placed its image on the *stupa*, or if it was merely introduced as a playful puppy without any ulterior significance.

The figure of a dog in connection with a Buddhist *stupa* recalls to mind the use to which the animal was put in the bleak highlands of Asia,

as the preferential form of sepulture, over exposure to birds and wild beasts, in the case of deceased monks or persons of position in Thibet. Strange and horrible* as it may seem to us to be devoured by domestic dogs, trained and bred for the purpose, it was the most honourable form of burial among Thibetan Buddhists.

One of the most beautiful legends that the folk lore of any land can produce, is that in which the noble *Yudhisthir* takes high ground on behalf of this animal, and actually refuses to enter the heaven of *Indra* unless permitted to take the dog with him, which had attached itself to the hero and his party during their last sorrowful march together through the forest. The hero would not abandon to death and starvation on the mountain side his four-footed companion even to enter heaven, and his courageous behaviour on behalf of his humble attendant was rewarded by the discovery that it was no mortal dog, but the great 'Yama' himself in guise of that animal, who thereupon, as a reward for his constancy permitted *Yudhisthir* alone to enter *Indra's* heaven without undergoing the common doom of death.

We may compare the mediæval legend of the knight who passed triumphantly through a similar ordeal, and refused to enter heaven, while the soul of the frail woman with whom he had sinned was committed to penal fires, and his self-abnegation was rewarded by the pardon of the partner of his sin, but beautiful as this old legend is, it does not approach in pathos and high sentiment the Hindu legend of *Yudhisthir* and his dog. As a symbol of 'Yama' therefore, the dog may figure above the *stupa*; or the dog may represent the Vedic bitch *Saramá*, the messenger of *Indra*; and as the dog is standing on the *stupa* in a position often occupied by the crescent moon, we have a strong confirmation of a surmise on other grounds, by Gubernatis that *Saramá* is merely "another impersonation of the moon" (Zoological Mythology by Angelo de Gubernatis, Vol. II, page 21).

23. 'STUPA' WITH PEACOCK ON THE TOP. Fig. 50.

In this case too we have an animal connected with *Indra* watching

* The direst extremity which the wretched Priam conjured up in imagination as following Troy's darkest hour, was to be eaten by his own dogs on his own threshold.

"On me at last the ravening dogs shall feed,
When by some foeman's hand, by sword or lance,
My soul shall from my body be divorced;
Those very dogs which I myself have bred,
Fed at my table, guardians of my gate,
Shall lap my blood and over-gorged shall lie
E'en on my threshold." Iliad XXII, 66. Lord Derby's translation.

over the 'stupa.' As the peacock yearly sheds and renews his glorious plumes there may possibly lie hidden an esoteric allusion to a life beyond the grave, but it is more probable that it is used simply as an emblematic animal, being covered with spots, in which one brand of the Aryan family saw the eyes of the unfortunate Argus, while in India the same spots would represent the 'stigmata' with which Indra was covered when the saint's curse fell on him. The peacock is, however, appropriately sacred to *Indra*, from the loud cries with which it greets and seems to call for the rain.

24. 'STUPA' WITH A RELIQUARY (OR LAMP) IN EACH CHAMBER. Fig. 48.

In each chamber of this *stupa*, is seen, what I apprehend may be intended for a reliquary, shaped like the small Indian drum, called 'dag-dagi' and used by itinerant leaders of bears and monkeys. In the *stupas* of Afghanistan described in *Ariana Antiqua* and other works no less than in those in India opened by Sir A. Cunningham there generally exists a relic chamber in the centre, containing a box of stone (steatite) or metal, in which a relic of some sort is deposited together with a few gems and coins both gold and copper, and sometimes an inscribed slip of gold.

These objects may, however, represent lamps as General Sir A. Cunningham informs me that the *stupa* of Barhut was "honeycombed with small niches all round evidently for lamps." This latter supposition is supported by the fact that each compartment of the *stupa* is provided with one of these objects and not merely the central one. The shape of the enclosed vessel certainly however supports the former supposition, as Indian lamps are all shallow.

25. 'STUPA' WITH CRESCENT ON THE TOP. Fig. 51. + 127.

This* is the most general mode of representing this structure and the symbol is ostensibly a planetary one. The crescent may, however, refer to *Mahadev*, Lord of life and death, who is represented with the crescent moon on his forehead in right we may presume of his consort or 'Sakti'. *Parvati*, also of course represents *Ishtar* of the Assyrian religion, the moon deity of the Hindu being the male *Soma* or deus Luna with the crescent moon represented behind his shoulders. *Ishtar* it must be remembered is astronomically connected in the old Assyrian worship with the planet Venus, and it is in later times only that the attributes of *Ishtar* or the celestial mother, or virgin became associated with *Artemis* and the moon.

* The omission of the crescent over fig. 51 is an accidental error which the reader is requested to correct.

Considering how commonly the crescent moon is associated with the 'stupa' on these coins, it does seem most strange that in his article in the *Num. Orient.* Mr. Thomas should thus express himself. "Under Class A (heavenly bodies) in the engraving seem most the single representation of the Sun; no other planet or denizen of an Eastern sky is reflected in early Indian mint-symbolization." Neither is the difficulty rendered less remarkable by any alternative explanation of the crescent being given by Thomas, either when met with above the 'stupa' or in combination with the sun in symbol No. 3. (See fig. 128).

26. 'STUPA' WITH A TREE GROWING OUT OF THE TOP. Fig. 52.

In this symbol a tree is represented as growing out from the centre of a *stupa* and replacing its terminal chamber. Whether any particular tree is intended is not easy to say, but the symbol represents what must in India have often been noticed with regard to these structures, *viz.*, the growth from out of them of a large tree, often to their considerable injury, and this idea is perhaps intended to be conveyed by the topmost chamber being missing. The tree, however, seems to resemble more nearly the troublesome but vivacious 'cactus,' rather than any specimen of the more lordly 'ficus.'

27. CENTRAL SPHERE SUPPORTING THREE 'Chatras' 'UMBRELLAS' OR BROAD-ARROWS.' Fig. 91.

This symbol would appear to be Buddhist, but tinged with solar or Nature-worship symbolism. It consists of three 'chatras' or umbrellas radiating from a central boss or sphere. Thomas calls these symbols collectively "mystic circles" which does not explain much. The 'chatra' is of course a royal emblem, and is at the present day seen over every Pagoda in Burma. In some coins of a later date than the present it is also represented on the top of the *stupa*, as in those of the *Kumandas*. It is hardly distinguishable from the 'broad-arrow' (so called) which is in use in England to mark articles the property of Government, and which must rather be considered as related to the 'chatra' or royal Buddhist emblem, than to the classic weapon of Robin Hood.

This symbol has many variants, the simplest or initial form being the present No. 27 which is rather rare. The same type of symbol also occurs in the lowest stratum at Troy 23 feet below the surface on *terra-cotta* whorls mixed with stone implements. In this archaic form of the symbol the apex of the 'chatra' is directed inwards instead of outwards, and the solar nature of the inner disk on which the 'chatras' rest (as it were topsy-turvy) is placed beyond doubt by the numerous radiating lines surrounding it. (Schlieman's Troy, page 80.)

28. SYMBOL 27 WITH THREE INTERVENING BALLS. Fig. 92.

In this variant the 'chatras' are separated by three intervening balls, and the antiquity of this form of the symbol is proved by this identical pattern being found in Troy, only the balls and "arrows" (as Schlieman calls them) are ranged on the *terra-cotta* whorls in fours instead of threes (Schlieman's Troy, Plate XLIII, fig. 458). This identity of symbols used in Troy with those impressed on the punch-marked coins of India completely upsets the speculations of Thomas on their local origin. "In brief these primitive punch-dies appear to have been the product of pure home fancies and local thought, until we reach incomprehensible devices composed of lines, angles and circles, which clearly depart from Nature's forms." (Num. Orient. Ancient Indian Weights. page 59). Thomas then goes on at some length to except the design of the "panther of Bacchus with his vine" as of clearly foreign design and not the result of local thought. I am, however, unable to recognise any 'panther' in the objects figured as such by Thomas, or on any coins which have come under my notice, so till more decisive specimens are known, the occurrence of the '*Dionysiac* panther' must remain an open question.

29. SYMBOL 27 WITH THREE INTERVENING '*Taurines*.' Fig. 94.

An essentially planetary or Nature-worship symbol. It occurs on copper coins found by Sir A. Cunningham at Eran.

30. SYMBOL 27 WITH THREE '*Taurines*' IN SHIELDS OR OVALE. Fig. 98.

31. SYMBOL 27 WITH THREE INTERVENING SEMI-CIRCLES. Fig. 93.

In this form of the symbol, the balls are replaced by semi-circles which may represent 'chambers' of a '*stupa*,' as so commonly thus represented on these coins.

32. SYMBOL 27 WITH THREE INTERVENING '*RELIQUARIES*,' OR '*LAMPS*.' Fig. 102.

These objects are the same as symbol 191, which in sometimes seen within the chambers of the '*stupa*.' It may possibly be intended for a '*lamp*.'

33. SYMBOL 27 WITH THREE OWL-HEADS. Fig. 95.

In this form, the 'balls' are replaced by a symbol which may be described as the Greek letter 'phi' with the upper projecting limb cut off. It is essentially the same as occurs on symbol 20 and is also found on Trojan pottery, and has been designated "owl's head." (Schlie-

man's Troy, p. 313, fig. 227). A variant of the same design is seen carried in the hands of the principal figures in the bas-relief at Bogharken, representing scenes in Hittite history. Fig. 258. (See *Nature* for March 1888, p. 513), and another variant is found on a Sculptured Stone in Scotland at Elgin. Fig. 276.

34. HUMAN FIGURES. Fig. 1.

The human figure is perhaps most usually represented by a group consisting of a man on the right and two women on the left. The male figure has two fillets projecting behind his head, which probably indicate royal rank. The women sometimes clasp each other's hands, or else stand a little apart, and their hair is represented as fastened up behind the head into a projecting knot or 'bun,' the same mode of wearing the hair being also seen on the *Kunanda* coins.

35. AN ELEPHANT TO THE RIGHT. Fig. 10.

The elephant is an extremely common object on these coins and is usually turned to the right. There is very little variation in the treatment of the device, though Thomas figures an example with a number of 'Taurines' round it by way of border.

36. A HAND IN A SQUARE, DISPLAYING FOUR FINGERS. Fig. 7.

This is not a very uncommon symbol, but what it refers to is not very evident. Every one familiar with India must remember the two little foot marks, carved in stone or marked with red paint, on the spot where some devoted wife bade earth adieu as she ascended the pyre, which was soon to consume her husband's body and her own. Can it be, that this is the hand of a 'sati' in the act of distributing the last gifts to her relatives ere she mounted the fatal pyre? In some cases all the five fingers are displayed (as in Thomas' plate J. A. S. B., 1865, Pl. XI), but the surrounding square is there wanting.

37. A RHINOCEROS. Fig. 13.

The rhinoceros is rare on these coins, and in both the figures given by Thomas (J. A. S. B., 1865, Pl. XI), the horn, though undoubtedly belonging to this animal, yet makes an unnatural curve forwards. The species intended is probably *R. Sondaicus*, the lesser one-horned rhinoceros, which at the date of these coins was probably found over the entire peninsula, and so late as Baber's time was hunted and killed by arrows and spears, in the Punjab, where it has long since been exterminated. On one copper coin in my own possession, the forepart of an animal is represented, which undoubtedly is intended for a rhinoceros,

with a long recurved horn. Fig. 14. The coin is round and very thick, and of a later type than the bulk of these coins, and is probably from Ujain, as it is impressed with symbol 202 which seems to belong to that mint in the opinion of Sir A. Cunningham.

38. HUMPED BULL, COUCHANT BEFORE THE SYMBOL OF *Mahadev*. Fig. 15.

The Indian bull (or cow) is a common symbol on these coins and where the animal is associated with the '*lingum*,' there can be no doubt that the Bull Nandi, the '*vahan*' of *Siva* is intended, as the attitude of the animal on the coins is that in which '*Nandi*' is represented in almost every temple of *Mahadev*. I am not aware if the allied animal the yak, which figures on the coins of '*Kunanda*' is also met with on the earlier issues, but I think it possible that some of the standing figures of a bovine type may refer to that animal. See 'Note on some symbols on the coins of *Kunanda*' J. A. S. B., 1886, Part I, p. 161).* And here I would draw attention to an unaccountable statement of Mr. Rhys Davids in his essay on the ancient coins and measures of Ceylon, in *Numismata Orientalia*, p. 30. Speaking of a temple at Pulastipura Mr. Rhys Davids remarks,—“That the temple is sacred to Vishnu is certain, from the four stone bulls on its summit, which are couchant like the bull on the coin.” The context goes to show that this is no accidental mistake of the printer, and yet nothing can be more certain than that in Hindustan the couchant bull is the emblem of *Siva*, his appropriate '*vahan*,' as '*Garuda*' is of *Vishnu*. Therefore so far from proving that the temple belongs to *Vishnu*, the four couchant bulls would seem indisputably to prove its dedication to *Siva*!

Mr. Rivett-Carnac in his paper on the snake symbol in India, throws out the ingenious query, if the prominent hump on the back of the Indian bull may not have led to the selection of that animal as the '*vahan*' of *Siva* from the resemblance of the hump to one of the ordinary symbols of the god a dark round stone, and I think there is much truth in the idea. The material knowledge of the present day and the unsympathetic spirit of Western culture blinds us and deprives us of the capacity for viewing trivial objects in the light in which they presented themselves to untutored men in the childhood of the earth. As Gubernatis remarks in reference to the genesis of myth from ordinary solar and atmospheric phenomena: “When faith was pure, when science did not exist, such illusions must have been continually awaken-

* For considerations of strict accuracy, I regret having used (in common with other writers) the Tribal name for these coins, in place of the King's name who issued them, but having used the term *Kunanda's*, I prefer (with this explanation) still retaining it.

ing enthusiasm or fear in the breasts of our ingenuous forefathers, who lived in the open air with their herds of cattle, and stood with earth and sky in constant relation, and in continual communion. We busy dwellers in great cities, held back by a thousand social ties, oppressed by a thousand public or private cares, never happen to raise our eyes towards the sky, except it be to consult it on the probability of fine or wet weather; but evidently this is not sufficient to enable us to comprehend the vast and complicated epic poem transacted in the heavens." (*Zoological Mythology*, Preface p. xxiv). To give an actual instance of this child-like simplicity in men far removed from the primitive times pictured by Gubernatis, we have only to turn to the memoirs of Benvenuto Cellini and peruse his account of a Salamander he saw when quite a boy. A father of the present day who fancied he saw a Salamander, basking in the fire under the kettle, would probably seize a pair of tongs with the view of securing such a curiosity for the local Museum, but this is what Cellini's father did in similar circumstances: "When I was about five years of age, my father happened to be in a little room in which they had been washing and where there was a good oak fire burning: with a fiddle in his hand he sang and played near the fire, the weather being exceedingly cold. Looking into the fire, he saw a little animal resembling a lizard, which lived and enjoyed itself in the hottest flames. Instantly perceiving what it was, he called for my sister and after he had shown us the creature he gave me a box on the ear: I fell a-crying, while he, soothing me with his caresses said, "My dear child, I do not give you that blow for any fault you have committed, but that you may remember that the little lizard which you see in the fire is a Salamander: a creature which no one that I have heard of ever beheld before." So saying, he embraced me, and gave me some money." But as it takes a strenuous effort for the unaccustomed swimmer to dive to any depth, so it costs us a severe, and generally fruitless effort, to penetrate mentally the oceanic depths of mediæval credulity, when sacred books and sacred myths were composed by earnest men, of the type of Cellini's father who would have probably gone to the stake rather than admit that there was no real Salamander seen by him whatever but only the creation of his own fancy!

39. HUMPED BULL COUCHANT BEFORE A 'Taurine.' Fig. 16.

This is an interesting example of the interchangeable character of the symbols of Mithraism and Nature worship or Sivaism. In India the humped bull is the '*vahan*' of *Siva* alone, but in the Mithraic religion of Persia, the bull represents the sun, so that the present symbol is capable of appealing either to the worshipper of *Mithra* or *Mahadev*

This dualism was doubtless not unintentional and found imitators in the West, in the case of those astute and religious men the Popes of Rome, when they converted the statues of Olympian* deities into objects of Christian worship.

“Till Peter’s keys some christened Jove adorn,
And Pan to Moses lends his pagan horn;
See graceless Venus to a Virgin turned
Or Phidias broken, and Apelles burned.” Dunciad, Book III.

40. A NYLGHAO (*Portax pictus*). Fig. 25.

This is an animal which has short straight horns, and is not humped like the Indian Bull. It is probably intended for the nylghao, an animal considered by the Hindus as allied to the bull and equally sacred. It is not a common symbol on the coins and is unnoticed by Thomas.

41. HARE IN THE MOON. Fig. 21.

This pretty conceit, though by no means rare, is not mentioned by Thomas. It refers of course to the relation in Hindu mythology between the Moon and Hare, the mythical hare being undoubtedly the moon. Gubernatis quotes one Buddhist legend in which the hare is described as having been translated to the moon, as a reward for its having hospitably bestowed on *Indra*, in guise of a pilgrim, its own flesh to eat, no other food being available. (*Zoological Mythology*, Vol. II, page 79).

42. GOAT BROWSING ON A VINE. Fig. 20.

This animal is not named by Thomas, but figured by him next to the rhinoceros, and also as a leopard, in the last figure of line 6, but on a coin in my possession the animal is provided with two straight horns and two very conventional or round ears, and below it, is figured a kid with the same conventional round ears, but no horns. The upright staff in front of it, with berries down each side (fig. 76)† may represent a vine, conventionally, in which case the goat is probably represented in the act of browsing on the vine as goats are fond of doing. The symbol in fact illustrates those lines in Ovid’s *Fasti* :

* The tomb of Sannazarius, the poet, who died in 1530 was ornamented with statues of Apollo and Pallas with the Gorgon’s head: these figures were subsequently altered in the prevailing fashion of the period, into figures of David and Judith; the lyre of the former becoming a harp, whilst the head of Medusa was converted into that of Holofernes!

† This branch or staff should have been represented in front of fig. 20, as it invariably accompanies the goat.

"Bode, caper, vitem! tamen hinc, cum stabis ad aram
In tua quod spargi cornua possit erit."

Indian goats display two types of horn, a straight horn of the 'markhor' type (*Capra Falconeri*), and a curved horn like that of the Nilghiri 'wild sheep' of sportsmen. (*Hemitragus hylocrinus*). The peculiar round ears, may be intended to represent an artificial shape, imparted to them as a mark of ownership, as to this day goats' ears are sometimes cut for that purpose. Specimens exist in the British Museum and in my own collection.

43. A KID. Fig. 22.

There seems no reasonable doubt that this animal is intended for the young of the goat placed above it on the coin, the youthful look of the kid being well conveyed, and its ears being of the same conventional shape as those already described of fig. 20. It is probable therefore that two distinct 'punches' were employed, the 'kid' being struck wherever room was available for it. The coin is in my possession and I have noticed only I think another example in the British Museum.

44. THE CIVET-CAT, (*Viverra zibetha*. The 'Katas' of India). Fig. 27.

This is probably one of the animals which Thomas calls a "leopard," which animal I have failed to recognise on the coins, at least with any certainty. The animal occurs several times and in all the better preserved samples, it is represented with a lengthened snout quite unlike the rounded face of any feline animal. The ears too are rounded, patulous and connivent quite unlike those of the dog, but on the whole, imparting to the elongated head the appearance of the civet-cat. On some coins a small animal with long ears, is introduced just in front of the nose of the civet-cat, whose action seems to be arrested, and to represent that animal as seizing the hare, or as pausing in the act of scenting it. If we suppose the hare to be a foolish young leveret, there is not too much disparity of size between it, and the large civet-cat of India which in my opinion the larger animal is intended to represent.

45. A PANTHER (?) Fig. 19.

This animal has not been noticed by me on any of these coins. One of the animals so called by Thomas (fig. 20) is undoubtedly a goat and possesses horns! The other (fig. 19) so regarded by Thomas is probably a 'katas'.

46. A 'gharial' SEIZING A 'hilsa.' Fig. 30.

The first and second objects figured by Thomas Num. orient. l. c.,

line 7, refer evidently to one and the same subject, which though not explained by the author is sufficiently clear to any one familiar with the Ganges, to leave no doubt of the incident it is intended to convey. The rainy season in Bengal we may suppose to be at its height, the midday sun pouring down its intense rays, ('raining fire' as the natives say) tempered only by frequent clouds drifting overhead before the set of the Monsoon current. Nature is in her lustiest mood. The social Bayas (*Ploceus*) weaving their pensile nests from some '*kujur*' palm on the edge of the cultivated land afford an illustration of what is everywhere going on in every grove, brake, or swamp, where the feathered tribes are busy in attending to the wants of their young, or in preparations for their anticipated arrival. Standing on the banks of the sacred Ganges now in full flood, the traveller can but dimly discern the opposite shore across a broad expanse of turbid and seething waters, swirling onwards to the sea. Against this powerful stream, that prince of Indian fish, the '*hilsa*' (*Clupea ilisha*, B. H.) is now striving to win its way from the sea to the spawning ground in the upper reaches of the river and one of the perils that beset its path, is the incident depicted on the coin. Suddenly, at our feet almost, as we gaze down on the river from some lofty bank, against which the main stream of the river is setting, a long snout, at once seen to be that of a '*Gharial*' or the fish-eating long-nosed Crocodile of the Ganges is protruded above the waves, and in the grip of its jaws a fine '*hilsa*' is seen held well clear of the water. The '*hilsa*' is seized and held much as a pike is said to seize its prey, that is transversely and after a bite or two is swallowed and the snout of the monster disappears as noiselessly as it rose. A living tomb has closed on its victim and another scene in the kaleidoscopic tragedy of nature has been enacted before our eyes. The salutary thought "*omnes eodem cogimur*" was probably not lost on the earlier settlers in the Ganges valley and may have led to so pregnant an example of the uncertainty of life, a doctrine equally cherished by Christian and Buddhist alike, being perpetuated for its moral on these early coins.

47. A PYTHON OR ROCK-SNAKE INCUBATING HER EGGS. Fig. 29.

If I am correct in my interpretation of this symbol, it proves that long before our era the observant Hindu or Buddhist, had noticed the remarkable peculiarity of the Python incubating her eggs, which till recent years naturalists were wont to regard with incredulity, till the fact was established beyond cavil by the animal in the Zoological Gardens in London. The design on the coin has every appearance of being intended for a snake, folded round on itself, and the peculiar shape of the head suggests the python being the snake intended. Within

the folds of the body are two oval objects which can hardly be meant to represent anything but eggs, and if this interpretation is not accepted, I am quite at a loss to suggest any other, but I feel convinced the above is the correct one.

48. A COBRA. (*Naja tripudians*). Figs. 31, 32.

Neither this symbol or the last is mentioned by Thomas, nor does it appear to be common on the coins, but on two specimens in my possession, what appears to be a hooded snake is seen, though not very well preserved. Considering the part the Cobra plays in Hindu mythology, it is rather curious it is not of more frequent occurrence, being sacred to, and symbolical of *Vishnu* and *Siva* alike. The Cobra is perhaps introduced as a fortunate and auspicious symbol, just as a snake in brass is used as a canopy for idol shrines or altars at the present day, and which snake is furnished with one or a plurality of heads. Dr. Rajendralala Mitra, C. I. E., once informed me that a respectable Hindu family of good position in Bengal referred a certain reverse of fortune which overtook it, to the fact that in repairing the old family mansion, a number of Cobras which from time immemorial had occupied quarters below the basement of the building, had been dislodged, and either dispersed or destroyed. It may seem strange that a Hindu should not only tolerate but derive satisfaction from the presence of so dangerous a guest in his abode, but I believe the zenial tie thus established between the reptile and man is rarely dissolved through any misconduct on the part of the former. I can quite believe, that as bees are said to recognise persons they are in the habit of seeing about their hives, so the Cobras in a house, may learn to recognise their protectors, and moreover the occupants of the premises knowing what sort of animals were about the place at night, would act with all necessary care in consequence.

The peaceful and unvindictive and unaggressive disposition of the Cobra appears to be recognised not only in Bengal, but among the Karens in Burma who have, of course, a legend to account for it. Once on a time the Great Father summoned the reptile tribes before him to interrogate them as to how they would behave towards man, for in those days all snakes were poisonous. The Python replied haughtily that he should act as he pleased, for which arrogance he was driven into the water, which quickly washed away his poison and all his descendants have been harmless ever since. The Cobra, however, replied that he would not bite man, without provocation sufficient to bring tears into his eyes, and he therefore was allowed to retain his full venomous power. (Rev. F. Mason). Fig. 31 is copied from Prinsep's Plate, of

224 W. Theobald—Notes on some of the symbols found on the [No. 3, Ancient Hindu Coins. (Edited by Thomas) Pl. XX, fig. 25, a copper coin. Fig. 32 is from a coin in my own possession, of silver.

49. A TRIONYX, OR RIVER TURTLE. Fig. 35.

On one coin in my possession a turtle with its neck protruded beyond its shell is seen in the act of swimming, apparently, and Thomas has the figure of one with a fish on either side, as though to point out it is a water turtle and not a land tortoise which is represented. The animal may perhaps represent the mythical turtle which in Hindu cosmogony supports the universe, but it is more probably intended for an ordinary 'trionyx' which in the Indian rivers is so prominent an object, and would be one of the most remarkable animals in the eyes of a people who had immigrated to the fertile plains of India, from the cold highlands of Asia, where such reptiles are unknown, or represented by species of insignificant size compared with such powerful creatures as the 'Trionyx' of the Ganges. The turtle is also regarded by some as a phallic emblem, and as the worship of Mahadev is clearly referred to on these coins, the turtle may be introduced as an emblem of his cult.

The turtle is too infrequent on these coins, as compared with the very common elephant, to render it likely that by the turtle is intended the mythical opponent of the elephant, when both fell victims to the superior might of 'Garuda,' and were carried off in his talons to be devoured by him. (See *Zoological Mythology*, Vol. II, page 363).

50. A FROG BETWEEN TWO 'Taurines,' Fig. 28.

This symbol is not common, neither is it mentioned by Thomas. It is, however, very clearly represented on one coin in my possession, and has symbol No. 3 placed between the frog's front and hind legs.

In Vedic mythology the frog represented the clouds, and the animal may well have served as the symbol of the rainy season, when the frogs are all life and activity. Even if no esoteric meaning attaches to the animal, it is not surprising that it should find a place among the animals represented on the coins, in a land where it makes known its presence in a highly vocal and jocund manner, at a season when nature is reviving from the enforced rest of the hot season and where the hopes and labours of the husbandman depend on the same conditions which elicit a gratulatory chorus from the frogs.

51. TWO FISHES IN A TANK. Fig. 41.

Fish are frequently represented on these coins and generally in pairs either side by side, or one behind the other. As they are fre-

quently represented in a tank apparently, some domesticated species of the carp family may be intended, many of which are of large size, and when living in the vicinity of some temple are regarded as sacred, and remain unmolested. The doctrine of metamorphosis often too renders fish sacred, as in Kashmir where not long ago all fishing in the Jhilum within the city was prohibited as it was believed that the soul of Ghulab Singh, was contained in a large fish, which usually resided somewhere in the river near the palace in Srinugger.

52. FOUR FISH ROUND A SQUARE. Fig. 42.

Thomas figures this symbol, which appears to be intended for fish in a tank or piece of water, with a small island in the centre with a pillar erected thereon (Num. orient. penultimate figure of line 7).

53. A SILUROID FISH ; 'CAT-FISH.' Fig. 36.

This is one of two figures given by Thomas seemingly intended to represent the same sort of fish. The peculiar shape of the head may be regarded as indicating the expanded gill covers which are very capacious in these fishes (*Siluroids*), whilst on one of the figures given by Thomas the tentacular filaments about the mouth are well displayed, which are so conspicuous in the cat-fishes, which are indeed so called, from their 'whiskers.' My friend Dr. O. Codrington has suggested that a species of 'Trigon' or 'ray' is intended, and I myself once thought so, but I incline rather to a 'Siluroid' as being one inhabiting inland streams with which the mass of people would more likely be familiar, and the shape of the fish points rather to an exaggerated outline of the distended gill covers, than to the body of a 'Ray.' The evident presence of tentacles or barbules, however, on one specimen is the strongest reason for regarding it as a 'cat-fish.'

54. AN ESTUARINE SNAKE ? (*Cerberus rhynchops*). Fig. 34.

The triangular head of this snake is suggestive of a viperine tree snake, but the above estuarine snake, which has a peculiarly repulsive head is probably intended, and it is one too with which fishermen are familiar, and all dwellers on the banks of tidal streams in India.

55. A RAISED GRAIN-STORE WITH 'Thyrso' IN FRONT. Fig. 55.

This symbol may be intended for a house, but I think it is rather intended as a grain store, constructed of mats coated with clay, and raised on posts out of the reach of vermin. It may be presumed that had a house been intended, a door and some means of access would have been indicated. On the right of the store is a 'Taurine' whilst on the

left stands a pole or 'thyrsos' whose counterpart may be seen in every cantonment bazar or lines of a native regiment, in the form of a tall bamboo, the fillets on the Greek 'thyrsos' being replaced by a long streamer of cloth by way of ensign.

56. FOOD RECEPTACLE FOR BIRDS. Fig. 118.

57. A LATER EXAMPLE OF THE SAME (ON THE COINS OF *Kunanda*). Fig. 119.

Of these symbols Mr. Thomas writes: "I am unable to conjecture the intent or import of the singular emblem which appears below the 'Swastika.' An earlier form of the device occurs on the introductory weight currency, but this outline suggests no more intelligible solution of its real import than the more advanced linear configuration" (See Note on some of the symbols on the coins of *Kunanda*, J. A. S. B., 1886, Part I, No. 3, page 167).

These devices do not seem to me hard to interpret. The first or more archaic symbol of the punch-marked coins is probably intended for a 'begging bowl' of a Buddhist monk, the two ears on one side, representing the ends of the band, by which the bowl is partly supported round the neck of the mendicant friar, as he wanders round to collect the offerings of the pious. Symbols No. 3 are mere accessories introduced here as in many other cases simply as such. The upright pole whereon the bowl or receptacle rests, is for the purpose of enabling birds to have access to the food without their lives being placed in jeopardy from cats or dogs, which would be the case were the food thrown down on the ground. Feeding animals of all sorts is a meritorious act in a Buddhist, but some criminality would attach to one, who through inattention, was the cause of an animal losing its life, as for example, tempting a bird by the offer of food within reach of a cat or dog, and hence probably the invention of the device represented by these symbols.

58. A BOW AND ARROW. Fig. 56.

The bow was the national weapon of the Aryan colonist of India long before the British yeoman made his favourite arm feared and victorious on many a well-contested field in France or in Flodden's fatal plain. In the *Ramayana* all the troubles which befell King *Dasaratha* and ended in the banishment of *Rama* were due to the unhappy accident of the king killing with his arrow the young ascetic in mistake in the forest for a wild animal, from which we learn that proficiency with the bow was a regal accomplishment in those days. Of the five

Pandu brothers, *Arjun* was a noted archer, and his unlucky escapade in bringing down a miraculous fruit, the property of a 'Muni' or Hindu saint, is the subject of a pretty poem by Sir W. Jones, familiar probably to most readers of this Journal, and another example may be quoted in the favourite hero of the Panjab, *Rasalu*, "*Sahl Byné's* redoubted son" whose bow of might brought down the *Rakus Pagrbutt*; no wonder therefore that the bow should appear on the coins whether any esoteric meaning attached to the symbol or not.*

59. A STEEL-YARD OR HAND SCALES. Fig. 9.

This is not very common, but seems without doubt intended for a 'steel-yard,' in this instance probably made of 'bamboo.'

60. A FISH. (So designated by Thomas). Fig. 45.

This creature may with equal probability be regarded as a centipede (*Scolopendra*). The figure is copied from 'Thomas'.

61. THREE HUTS, THE CENTRAL BEING THE LARGEST. Fig. 59.

As on these coins a man is usually represented with two wives, it seems probable that the taller or central hut is intended to represent the man's, or perhaps the joint dwelling of the family, whilst each of the smaller huts alongside of the central one, represents the separate dwelling of each wife.

62. A CROSS WITH ITS ARMS TERMINATING IN TREFOILS. Fig. 196.

This is an emblem which may be seen at the present day in Christian churches, on the altar for example of East Budleigh Church. The four arms of course indicate the three male and one female person of the Assyrian godhead, four persons and one god; whilst the trefoil ends stand for symbols of the masculine triad an idea which has survived to, and flourishes in our day, and was the religious germ-cell of all faiths which divide the godhead into persons or indulge in similar monkish subtleties.

63. SPHERE SURROUNDED BY FOUR 'Taurines.' Fig. 99.

From a coin in my own possession. It is not common.

64. A THUNDERBOLT. Fig. 160.

For want of a better name I have termed this common symbol a 'thunderbolt' though in reality it is probably intended for a composite

* See Raficimento of the Legend of Bassaloo, J. A. S. B., 1854, p. 123. By Major J. Abbott.

symbol uniting two 'Taurines' with a double *cruz ansata*. Regarding the centre of the emblem as a circle, with which the circle of the above four symbols is supposed to correspond, we have an intelligible explanation of the elements entering into the formation of this otherwise obscure symbol.

65. HUMPED BULL OR COW STANDING. Fig. 18.

This animal is sometimes depicted as standing, and is usually turned to the right. Thomas, however, figures one turned to the left.

66. SYMBOL 27 WITH THREE INTERVENING SHIELDS WITH CENTRAL DOTS.

Fig. 97.

This symbol is figured by Thomas, and is not common.

67. A CROCODILE (?) Fig. 33.

A very indistinct symbol on one coin, perhaps intended for the above animal.

68. WELLS IN A GARDEN. Fig. 89.

This symbol probably represents a garden. In the centre, is a 'Thyrsos,' or its Asiatic homotype. The low circular objects at each end probably represent the low wall by a well which terminates the water conduit in one direction, and the upright poles with cross levers, are the 'Shadoof,' the common means of raising water for irrigation throughout the East. It is a common symbol.

69. A 'Thyrsos' between two fish. Fig. 39.

70. A TREE GROWING SYMMETRICAL FROM A SQUARE ENCLOSURE. Fig. 74.

This box-like base, probably represents the brick enclosure, with which sacred trees are often fenced in, for protection and support.

71. A TREE, OR A BRANCH OF WILD DATE PALM (*Phœnix*). Fig. 68.

72. A TREE, PERHAPS A CYPRESS OR *Conifer*. Fig. 70.

73. A DOMESTIC IMPLEMENT FOR CLEANING COTTON. Fig. 228.

If this is not intended for a cotton gin, I fail to comprehend it. The symbol is a rare one.

74. AN INSECT? Fig. 54.

This symbol occurs on a coin in my own possession, and though very clearly defined cannot be very confidently explained. It certainly resembles an insect but may be perhaps intended for some fruit.

75. A RUDE CELTIC CROSS (?) Fig. 206.

I have seen no specimen which clearly shows what this is intended for, but it recalls in general appearance a rude stone cross of Celtic design, and with the proofs before us of the occurrence of ornamentation on Celtic crosses identical with symbols found on these coins, the idea of the prototype of a Celtic cross being also found on them is not so extravagant as it might at first sight seem to be.

76. AN ALMOND-SHAPED LOZENGE, WITHIN A SIMILAR AREA. Fig. 198.

This 'almond' on Assyrian gems is understood to stand as the emblem of *Ishtar*. In more modern times it came to be called '*vesica-piscis*,' and is the well-known shape used for medals of the Virgin Mary. (See Inman, *Ancient Faith embodied in ancient names sub voce*, '*Chasuble*').

77. No. 27 WITH OVALS BETWEEN THE '*Chatras*.'

This is a mere variant of fig. 92.

78. A TREE, SEEMINGLY ENCLOSED BELOW. Fig. 73.

This very peculiar symbol is not very rare, though it is far from clear what is intended by it. The basal portion looks like a box or enclosure, from each side of which a tree seems to shoot up, the right hand branch being taller than that on the left, and both ending in stiff cross twigs or shoots.

79. A TREE, OF A PECULIAR BOTTLE SHAPE. Fig. 80.

80. A BRANCH IN AN ALMOND-SHAPED LOZENGE. Fig. 82.

81. A BRANCH IN A CIRCULAR AREA. Fig. 85.

82. A PILLAR ON AN EMINENCE. A "*Gilgal*." Fig. 211.

It is curious to find on these coins an emblem so widely spread as the '*Gilgal*,' (The sun's heap of stones'). The pillar* is of course a solar emblem, or one dedicated to '*Sivaism*,' and the heap of stones is accumulated round it by every passing traveller doing reverence by contributing a stone to the existing collection.

* For full particulars regarding '*Gilgals*' whether in India Canaan, or Europe, reference may be made *sub voce* to Inman's '*Ancient Faiths embodied in ancient names*' or Colonel Forbes Leslie's '*Early Races of Scotland*.'

83. A SQUARE WITHIN A CIRCULAR AREA. Fig. 110.

An extremely simple symbol of infrequent occurrence.

84. A COW NILGHAIE.

On some coins an animal is seen without horns and with a somewhat finer head than an ordinary bovine, and it seems not improbable that the cow of the 'blue bull' (*Portax*) may be intended.

85. A TRAPEZOIDAL FIGURE WITH SQUARE MARKS INSIDE. Fig. 125.

I am quite unable to suggest an explanation of this curious symbol. The 'blocks' inside fill up the space more closely than is seen in the figure.

86. THREE 'Thyrsi' (?) ON AN OVAL BODY SUPPORTED ON TWO LEGS.
Fig. 201.

This also is a very obscure symbol which I am unable to offer any explanation of. I have noted several examples, none very clear.

87. A SQUARE TO THE LEFT OF A TRIFID BRANCH IN A RECTANGULAR AREA.
Fig. 205.

A similar type of symbol to fig. 203. It occurs on the reverse of a coin in my possession.

88. A STAR OF EIGHT POINTS. Fig. 144.

89. A BRANCH WITH A CIRCLE.

Figs. 85, 86 and 87 seem all variants of this design.

90. A SMALL TREE. Fig. 79.

This is not a rare symbol, but is always a small device, and not very conspicuous.

91. A RUDE FIGURE PROBABLY REPRESENTING A MAN WITH A WATER POT.
Fig. 5.

92. A SYMBOL OF UNKNOWN IMPORT. Fig. 210:

Occurs on a coin in the collection of Dr. O. Codrington.

93. A CROSS ABOVE A 'Taurine.' Fig. 108.

Copied from Thomas' Plate (*Num. Orient.*).

94. A GROUP OF 'fungi' (??) Fig. 83.

This is not a very rare symbol, but a very obscure one. It seems hardly probable that 'fungi' are intended but no alternative supposition presents itself.

95. A PARALLELOGRAM DIVIDED INTO TRIANGULAR SEGMENTS. Fig. 123.

A somewhat uncommon symbol on a coin in my possession.

96. A 'Thyrsos' WITH A CANOPY ABOVE. Fig. 38.

The central object is a pole with an oval head, not rare on these coins, and which I am inclined to identify with the 'Thyrsos' of Greek mythology. On either side are two objects which may be intended for fish, and above is a semi-circular canopy.

97. TWO FISH (?) WITH A POLE BETWEEN AND A SEMI-CIRCLE BELOW.

Fig. 37.

It is very doubtful if these objects are fish or the precise meaning of the semi-circle. It is essentially identical with No. 96, and the same explanation will apply to both.

98. A 'Thyrsos' BETWEEN TWO 'Taurines' IN A TRIANGULAR AREA.

Fig. 181.

99. A 'FAN' PALM, OR TAL TREE. (*Borassus*). Fig. 64.

100. A HUMAN FIGURE WITH THREE DOTS ABOVE IT. Fig. 2.

Perhaps intended for *Siva*.

101. THREE DOTS IN A CIRCLE. Fig. 154.

This symbol is identical in import with No. 15.

102. FOUR 'Taurines' IN A SQUARE. Fig. 164.

103. A CIRCLE SUPPORTING TWO 'Chatras' and two 'Taurines'.

Fig. 103.

This symbol appears to be furnished with a handle. If this is really intended, it would seem to be connected with the 'sistrum' of *Isis*, and to represent a variant of that Nature-worship emblem.

104. A VINE. Fig. 76.

This is part of a composite symbol, not very rare on the coins, and which Thomas calls a leopard and vine. In the best examples, however,

232 W. Theobald—Notes on some of the symbols found on the [No. 3,
the animal is clearly a goat (see fig. 20), and the plant a conventional
representation of a vine (?)]

105. A BOW AND ARROW. Fig. 58.

On this symbol there is a sort of loop attached to the string, the precise meaning of which I do not recognise.

106. FOUR SQUARES WITHIN A SQUARE. Fig. 111.

107. A DOG.

Thomas represents the dog independently, giving no less than eight figures of the animal or allied species. Of these the fourth figure is probably a goat and the fifth a 'jackal;' but, so far as I can judge, the dog is always represented standing on the top of a 'stupa,' and in no other position. Occasionally toward the edge of a coin, a dog is seen by itself, but rarely, if ever, so placed as to preclude the supposition that the 'stupa' was there, but that its impression had fallen outside the area of the coin, the upper part only of the device, namely, the dog, being impressed. I do not wish, however, to go the length of affirming the dog never appears independently, but such is rarely the case, and I regard it as a culpable license of the artist not representing the dog, in the attitude he almost invariably is seen in, that is, on a *stupa*, because it was necessary to Mr. Thomas' theory that he should not by rights be there. Strangely too, not only is the dog omitted but the peacock likewise, which is always seen in no other position than on the top of a 'stupa.' Thomas wholly ignores the peacock!

108. SIX BALLS OR DOTS ARRANGED IN AN EQUILATERAL TRIANGLE.
Fig. 158.

This symbol is a triangle each side of which consists of three dots. Whichever way this symbol is viewed, it presents three triangles standing each on its own base, or three pyramids as they may be termed, the pyramid being a male emblem and in the centre is a fourth triangle with its apex below, or the inverted pyramid or 'delta' which esoterically represents the female principle in nature. This will appear at once, if the 'balls' are connected with dotted lines.

109. A RECTANGULAR SYMBOL IN A SQUARE AREA. Fig. 116.

110. ELEPHANT TO RIGHT.

The elephant on the copper coins of Eran is more freely treated than the somewhat cramped and conventional animal so common on the

silver coins of this series, due probably to the later date of the larger Eran coins.

111. AN UNKNOWN OBJECT. Fig. 88.

112. A SOLAR WHEEL. Fig. 138.

This is clearly a solar wheel, with sixteen curved rays or in other words, a wheel compounded of four 'swastikas.'

113. BOW AND ARROW IN A SQUARE. Fig. 57.

114. SYMBOL 27 ONLY WITH SIX 'chatras.' Fig. 229.

115. A 'Thyrsoe' AND APPENDAGES WITHIN AN OVAL AREA. Fig. 178.

This symbol occurs on a coin in the collection of Sir A. Cunningham and is the only example that I have seen.

Rare, however, as this peculiar symbol is, two variants of it appear to me recognisable on inscribed stones in Scotland. S. S. S. Vol. II, p. cxxvii) also figured in the Magazine of Art. Vol. VI, page 17. One variant is on a stone from St. Vigean's and consists of a scroll springing from a trefoil centre, and crossed by two spear-heads, which if produced would meet in the trefoil. (Fig. 12 l. c.). In this variant the 'Thyrsoe' is replaced by the trefoil, with which it is esoterically related as a Dionysiac or solar symbol. The second variant occurs on a stone from near Meigle, Rossie Priory, (Figs. 4 and 16 l. c.) and on one from St. Madoc's (Fig. 20). In this variant two 'Thyrsoe' (as I should term them) joined below, transfix an inverted crescent, either plain, or ornamented with scroll-work.

Another variant, or at all events a symbol esoterically related to the present one is perhaps seen in Fig. 220 to be described presently.

116.

Fig. 115.

Whatever this symbol is intended to represent, it certainly occurs on sculptural stone in Scotland. A very clear example of it occurs at Inveravon, Banffshire, (S. S. S. Vol. I, p. xv), accompanied by some other symbols, but without anything to throw light on the object intended, and the only suggestion I can offer is that it may be a rudely executed variant of a 'lingam', which idea is corroborated by a variant of it at Tillytarmont, Aberdeenshire (S. S. S. Vol. II, Pl. CIX) on which an inner circle is inscribed, approximating it therefore to the usual form of that symbol.

117. A DOT WITHIN A CROSS. Fig. 227.

This may easily be regarded as a Rosicrucian symbol. The Rosicrucians (who were allied in ideas with the Templars) adopted as their badge a symbol of which the present is scarcely a variant. It consisted of a cross engraved on one side of a transparent red stone, and on the reverse side over the junction of the limbs of the cross was engraved a rose; or as viewed through the stone, a *red rose*, crucified on or attached to a cross, whence the name of Rosicrucian, or Red Cross Knight. Here we encounter a galaxy of pagan ideas. The Cross, prior to its appropriation by Christians, was an old nature-worship symbol, one of whose names was "Thor's hammer," and was connected by its parallelism of ideas with the Sun. Now Adonis was the Sun in his lusty prime, and when the sun was slain by the boar of winter, he was changed, as the beautiful old fable relates, into a red rose.

Woe! Woe! for love's own Queen, since stretched in death
 Adonis lies, the beautiful, whose blood,
 Poured forth like water on the thirsty earth,
 Is matched by tears from Aphrodite's eyes.
 Where fell those tears anemonies upspring,
 And where each ruddy drop, Lo! blooms a rose.

Bion Idyl I. 62.*

The Rosicrucians in their day aimed, however, (despite the absurd stories current about them) at little more probably than what Romanists and Ritualists are endeavouring in modern times to effect, *viz.*, to adorn the faith they love with the symbols and gew-gaws of paganism, the meaning of which they try to conceal under high-sounding names of their own, or of which perhaps the bulk of these 'paur bodies' may be honestly ignorant.

This symbol occurs on a coin in the collection of Sir A. Cunningham.

118. A RUDE HUMAN FIGURE HOLDING A CLUB IN THE LEFT HAND. Fig. 3.

Above it are five dots, and these are probably intended to represent five heads. As the '*Lingam*' has sometimes five 'heads,' this figure is probably intended for *Siva*.

119. AN UNKNOWN OBJECT, OR ORNAMENT. Fig. 212.

* "Αι, αἱ, τὰν Κυθέρειαν, ἀπώλετο καλὸς Ἄδωνις
 Δάκρυον ἅ Παφία τόσσον χέει, ὅσσον Ἄδωνις
 Ἄιμα χέει τὰ δὲ πάντα ποτὶ χθόνα γίγνεται ἀνθη.
 Ἄιμα ῥόδον τίκει, τὰ δὲ δάκρυα τὰν ἀνεμώναν."

120. A SQUARE DIVIDED INTO NINE SEGMENTS WITH A DOT IN THE CENTRE.
Fig. 112.

121. A SNAKE (?) WITHIN A RECTANGULAR AREA. Fig. 207.

It is not very obvious what this object is, as it is too blunt for any ordinary snake, but perhaps the so-called 'two-headed snake' may be meant (*Eryx Johnii*).

122. TWO HUMAN FIGURES.

This is a rare symbol and occurs on a coin belonging to Sir A. Cunningham.

123. FOUR DOTS IN A SQUARE, WITH A MARK ABOVE. Fig. 113.

A curious but somewhat obscure symbol.

124. A RUDE HUMAN FIGURE. Fig. 4.

A club which seems to rest on the ground, and some indistinct object, perhaps a water-pot in the other.

125. A CROSS FORMED BY TWO 'Chatras' AND TWO 'Taurines.' Fig. 105.

126. AN EIGHT-POINTED STAR WITHIN A CIRCULAR AREA, GIRT BY SIX
'Taurines.' Fig. 151.

127. WHEEL AND BELLS. Fig. 142.

This symbol occurs on a coin in the collection of Sir A. Cunningham, and if my interpretation of it is correct, is one of the most interesting in its relation to the religious usages of mediæval Europe. The wheel has eight spokes and outside the periphery eight bells. The use of bells in Buddhist worship is well known, but I was surprised to find in the work of Wilhelm Lübke on "Ecclesiastical Art in Germany during the middle ages" a precisely similar instrument figured under the title of 'Mass-bells,' only in the larger illustration a rope was added to pull the wheel, which is not seen on the coins. Judging by modern analogy, however, the motive power in India may have been water, and the essential part only of the arrangement, a *wheel carrying bells*, introduced on the coin! Lübke writes: "Here we may mention also the *Mass-bells* with which were given the signs of the principal movements in the sacred service. Some were arranged in an artistic manner, so that a number of bells were united on a small wheel, which turns on an axis and is moved by a chord." Page 154, fig. 120 (l. c.).

The specimen figured by Lübke was from Gerona, in Spain.

128. TWO SEMICIRCULAR OBJECTS IN A RECTANGULAR AREA. Fig. 202.

These objects recall the caps of the Dioscuri, in Bactrian coins of a later period, but it may be doubted if these are the objects intended. It is not quite clear, from the condition of the coin, if there may not be a third similar object, now effaced.

129. A CROSS ENCLOSING FOUR '*Taurines*' WITH FOUR CROSSES OUTSIDE. Fig. 177.

This symbol partakes of a Rosicrucian character. In the centre of this cross is a dot, or it may be a 'rose'. Round this central dot, four '*Taurines*' arranged with the points directed outwards, whilst in the outside angles formed by the arms of the cross, are inserted four circles each containing a cross.

130. A BOAT (?). Fig. 60.

This is a very obscure symbol. If the symbol represents a boat, the central object must represent a standard with a crescent at the top, and a mast on either side of it, with sloped yards: or these 'masts' may be the poles used for raising water from wells by means of a long lever, whilst the central object may represent a '*thyrsos*' or staff in the midst of the garden; the vessel wherein they stand, however, is not so easy to explain, if not a boat.

131. FIVE DOTS RANGED ROUND AN OVAL. Fig. 200.

This a curiously obscure symbol. I have sometimes been inclined to consider it intended for the foot-print of some animal, as a bear; but the idea is not probable.

132. TWO '*chatras*' AND TWO SHIELDS, ON A SPHERE, WITH A '*Taurine*' ABOVE AND A HANDLE APPARENTLY BELOW. Fig. 106.

This symbol resembles No. 103, in seeming to be provided with a handle. At the top is a '*Taurine*' and on the sides are two '*chatras*' separated by two triangular shields with their apices inwards.

133. WHEEL OF FOUR SPOKES WITH FOUR '*Taurines*'. Fig. 150.

This wheel is of course a solar emblem.

134. SPHERE OR WHEEL WITH EIGHT SHORT RAYS. Fig. 145.

It may possibly be a variant of fig. 142.

135. UNKNOWN DESIGN, IN A TRIPARTITE AREA. Fig. 208.

This is a most ambiguous symbol, till a better preserved specimen is obtained.

136. WHEEL OR SPHERE WITH SIX RAYS. Fig. 146.

137. A BRANCH AND ANOTHER OBJECT IN A RECTANGULAR AREA.
Fig. 203.

The object on the left hand bears some resemblance to a Greek K.

138. A SHORT-TAILED CAT, (SUCH AS THE BURMESE RACE) ON THE TOP OF
A POLE. Fig. 24.

This is a curious design, and may be intended to represent a cat which had climbed to the top of an elevated food-receptacle, in pursuit of prey. The square box is probably intended to represent a railing or some sort of enclosure round the object. The Burmese race of domestic cats has a short tail, intermediate between the Manx cat, and the common race, and it is possible the artist had some such animal in view.

139. A HARE WITH A 'Taurine' BENEATH. Fig. 23.

140. A BRANCH. Fig. 69.

141. A LOTUS OR OTHER WATER PLANT. Fig. 81.

A fish sheltering under the leaves seems to indicate that a 'lotus' is the plant intended.

142. A TREE, PERHAPS A *Cactus* OR *Euphorbia* SO COMMON IN THE WARM
VALLIES OF THE WESTERN HIMALAYAS. Fig. 71.143. A HIGHLY CONVENTIONAL FIGURE POSSIBLY INTENDED FOR *Agni*; OR
THE UPPER LINE INSTEAD OF FLAMES, MAY BE INTENDED TO REPRESENT
EIGHT HEADS. Fig. 8.

144. CENTRAL BALL WITH THREE SYMBOLS RADIATING FROM IT. Fig. 159.

This is a remarkable symbol. At first sight the three objects surrounding the central ball might be regarded as 'fish,' but there is little doubt they are intended for the object regarded by Dr. Codrington as a variant of the ordinary 'Taurine' fig. 219. The symbol is enclosed within a well defined area of corresponding shape.

145. A FISH, WITHIN AN OVAL AREA. Fig. 44.

I am not quite free from doubt if I am correct in designating the

objects on these three coins, (as well as on many others) as 'fish,' as they bear considerable resemblance to that modification of the 'Taurine' symbol, effected by adding lateral appendages, resembling fins.

This symbol is figured by Sir Walter Elliot in his article on the coins of Southern India, in *Numismata Orientalia*, Plate II, fig. 64 where the coin is erroneously recorded as of gold. The coin has subsequently been figured and described by Dr. Codrington in the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society. It is essentially the symbol of Taurus, (symbol 3 of this paper) with the addition on each side of two quasi-legs, or fins. Dr. Codrington ingeniously, and in my opinion correctly, identifies it with one of the masks used in a Buddhist Mystic Play figured in *J. A. S. Ben.* Vol. XXIV, fig. 8, by Capt. H. H. Godwin-Austen. The figures are photographs by Capt. Melville, and the mask in question represents a Bull's or Yak's head, with two short ears at the base of the horns. In the small symbols on the coins, these ears seem to be reproduced by two short strokes, having the appearance of short legs, or fins, but by means of the link afforded by Dr. Codrington's coin from Wai, some of these 'fish' symbols may be with equal probability assumed to be mere variants of the simpler and more frequently used 'Taurine' No. 3.

146. A SPHERE BETWEEN TWO 'Taurines' IN A RECTANGULAR AREA.

Fig. 169.

147. A PALM TREE, PERHAPS. Fig. 65.

148. THE 'Pentagram' OR WIZARD'S FOOT. Fig. 194.

This is the symbol which Mephistophiles, (in Goethe's matchless drama) declares his inability to pass over. As a mystic symbol of the Trinity it was held to be all powerful in coercing demons in mediæval times. It is a five-pointed star composed of three equal and similar triangles which intersect each other.

149. SEVEN DOTS OR SPHERES WITHIN A HEXAGON. Fig. 155.

A planetary symbol no doubt.

150. A CIRCLE SURROUNDED BY NINE SPHERES WITH A CENTRAL ONE.

Fig. 156.

151. RHOMBOIDAL SYMBOL IN AN OVAL AREA. Fig. 190.

152. PERHAPS A RUDELY DESIGNED SQUATTING FIGURE. Fig. 213.

153. AN ALMOND-SHAPED SYMBOL SURROUNDED BY FOURTEEN DOTS.

Fig. 199.

This is merely a highly ornamented variant of No. 76, and essentially the '*vesica-piscis*' of mediæval and Romish decoration. Romish medalets for the use of nuns and young persons assume this form even now.

154. A SYMBOL OF UNKNOWN IMPORT. Fig. 209.

This looks like a child's wooden horse, but its real meaning from this single specimen can hardly be guessed at.

155. FOUR '*Taurines*' ROUND A CROSS, IN A SQUARE AREA. Fig. 184.

The Cross here is the old T with a crescent above, and it is either mounted on a pedestal, or surrounded by a railing.

156. A '*Triskelis*' WITH A '*Taurine*' RESTING ON A CROSS. Fig. 167.

This is a remarkable symbol. It consists of a '*Triskelis*' (as in fig. 131) within a triangular area, and on the left of it a cross supporting a '*Taurine*' turned over to the right, forming a *crux ansata* with ears, as it were.

157. A WHEEL OF FOUR SPOKES, SURROUNDED BY SIX 'OWL HEADS. Fig. 104.

This of course is a solar symbol.

158. A CIRCLE AND CROSS-LINES. Fig. 117.

The design is rather obscure.

159. A '*Triskelis*' AND '*caduceus*' UNITED. Fig. 133.

This very remarkable symbol is I believe a compound one, and not formed fortuitously by the union of two. It consists of a '*Triskelis*' revolving to the right within a circular area, and joined above to a symbol No. 17, which I regard as a mere variant of the '*Caduceus*' or staff of *Hermes* or *Æsculapius*.

160. SYMBOL NO. 34 ONLY THE MAN HOLDS A CLUB.

161. A Dog.

On one coin in the possession of Gen. Sir A. Cunningham appears the figure of a dog with no apparent connection with a *stupa*, and it may therefore be occasionally so represented, but its usual position is that of fig. 49.

162. A LEAF OF A 'Cactus' TREE, (*Opuntia*). Fig. 72.

The 'Cactus' (so called) or *Opuntia* is a common tree in India and in places thrives so vigorously as to become troublesome. There is little doubt that the object here given is intended to represent a branch of this plant, the identity of which is cleverly touched off by the groups of spines along its edge.

163. A TRIANGLE IN A TRIANGULAR AREA. Fig. 193.

164. A SQUARE IN A SQUARE AREA. Fig. 109.

165. A 'TRISUL' ON A STAND. Fig. 191.

This symbol is almost identical with one found on Gupta coins at a later period. (See V. A. Smith's Catalogue of Gupta coins, J. A. S. B. Vol. liii, Part I, Pl. V, fig. 8*d*).

It is not a little remarkable that the 'trisol' or trident in any form, though so common on coins of a later period, is nowhere represented on these early punch-marked coins. The present symbol is, however, very suggestive of a transition from the '*scarabeus*' of Egyptian hieroglyphics to the trident of Greek and Indian art. Mr. R. Sewell has, I think, conclusively shown the intimate connection between the '*Scarabeus*' and the 'trisol', 'caduceus', and 'tri-ratna' of Greece and India, and the present symbol is not improbably a very angular and conventional rendering of a '*scarabeus*', wherein the *genesis* of the trisol is sufficiently indicated. The central prong represents the rostrum or head of the beetle, the outer prongs, its forelegs, the pentagon below, its body, and the two supports, the hind legs—(See Mr. Sewell's *Early Buddhist Symbolism*, Journ. Royal Asiatic Soc. 1886, p. 398.)

167. A HORSE, TO THE RIGHT.

The horse does not occur on the silver coins, to my knowledge, but is found on large square copper coins, of a later or transition period, as exemplified by coins in the British Museum and others procured at Eran by Gen. Sir A. Cunningham.

168. AN UNKNOWN OBJECT. Fig. 204.

169. A POPPY HEAD, OR SOME FRUIT. Fig. 90.

I am acquainted with no fruit which resembles this symbol more than a poppy head, and the identification is not improbable as the poppy was probably cultivated at the period these coins were struck.

170. A TREE OR BRANCH WITH FRUIT. Fig. 84.

A somewhat similar mode of representing fruit is seen on some sculptured stones in Scotland.

171. SIX DOTS IN A PARALLELOGRAM. Fig. 124.

172. MYSTIC SYMBOL OF DELPHI. Fig. 195.

This symbol was inscribed over the entrance to the shrine at Delphi and its significance is unknown. There was an upright stroke in front of it, and some have thought it a symbol of the male triad and female unit, but this is far from certain. Its occurrence, however, on an Indian coin is a curious circumstance that can hardly be considered accidental. It may be objected that it is nothing more than the Greek E; but why should this letter appear on a coin probably anterior to the Greek invasion? Moreover, although Greek letters are common on Greek coins, the present symbol is the only one on these coins that can be construed as a Greek letter, and I prefer therefore to regard it, not as a letter, but a copy of the Delphic symbol, whatever that may stand for.

173. A HORSE.

This is on a large square copper coin, probably from Eran, and as previously stated, of a later period than the bulk of these coins. The horse is in a spirited attitude with one of the fore-feet uplifted, as if stamping or pawing.

174. GOAT AND VINE.

There are two or three coins with the symbol figured by Thomas on them, but these specimens prove the animal is a goat possessed of horns and not a 'panther' as Thomas avers. In the best specimens, symbol No. 329 is seen over the goat's back.

175. A 'Taurine' AND A SQUARE WITHIN A RECTANGULAR AREA. Fig. 168.

176. A 'Stupa,' BENEATH A MOUND. Fig. 46.

This symbol seems to represent the primitive ideal of a 'Stupa' composed of three chambers or cinerary receptacles, beneath a hemispherical mound or 'tumulus,' and there seems no alternative supposition for the semicircular line enclosing it above, other than that it represents the earth heaped above over the dead, such as the Greek army erected over the ashes of *Thetis'* son—

ἀκτῆ ἐπι προῦχούσῃ, ἐπὶ πλατεί 'Ελλησπόντῳ,
ὡς κεν τηλεφανῆς ἐκ ποιντόφιν ἀνδράσιν εἶη
τοῖς, οἳ νῦν γεγάασι καὶ οἳ μετόπισθεν ἔσσονται

“ These with a glorious tomb we mounded o’er,
 We, the divine host of Achaian men,
 Towards Hellespontus, on a beard of shore,
 Sign for all mariners afar to ken ”
 Now and hereafter ”.
 Odyssey. Book XXIV, Worsley’s translation.

177. A CURVED MARK WITHIN A SQUARE IN A SQUARE AREA. Fig. 114.

A symbol of obscure import.

178. A CROSS WITH THREE ‘*Taurines*’ AND A LOZENGE. Fig. 180.

Above these symbols is a semicircle, which may be intended for a ‘*tumulus*,’ or the canopy of heaven perhaps. It is essentially identical with No. 180, fig. 182 and No. 193, fig. 183, but has the lozenge symbol in addition. The lozenge is of course the emblem of *Ishtar* or the ‘*vesica-piscis*’ of modern Ritualistic language, and in the cross we probably have a variant of the ‘*Thyrso*,’ in combination with a ‘*Taurine*’ above and one on either side, a combination again seen on the next symbol.

179. A ‘*Taurine*’ AND ‘*Thyrso*’ IN A CIRCULAR AREA. Fig. 170.

180. A CROSS BETWEEN TWO ‘*Taurines*.’ Fig. 182.

This ‘cross’ has an upper cross-bar, which seems to support some object, not clearly seen, but probably a ‘*Taurine*.’

181. TWO ‘*Taurines*’ AND TWO RELIQUARIES IN A SQUARE. Fig. 166.

182. A TREE, RISING FROM A SQUARE BASE. Fig. 75.

This square base probably represents either a railing or a protecting wall of stones built round the tree, as is still the practice in India, affording at once protection to the tree and a seat beneath its shade during the heat of the day.

183. A BRANCH WITHIN A NEAT TRIANGULAR AREA. Fig. 67.

184. HUMPED BULL COUCHANT BETWEEN TWO FISH? Fig. 17.

In this instance the Bull is couchant before an object which may be intended for a fish, whilst a similar symbol is seen over the bull’s rump. I am by no means satisfied, however, that the object really is intended for a fish, and think it not improbable that symbol No. 236 is intended, which is a variant of the ordinary ‘*Taurine*’ symbol (see fig. A of Dr. Codrington’s paper ‘on some old silver coins found near Wai’; Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society’s Journal). The small size of

the symbol renders it difficult to determine what is really meant, but if Dr. Codrington's suggestion of its relationship to a bull's head mark used in Ladak Mystic plays be correct, these additional side strokes, resembling fins, in reality represent the ears of the Bull, though the die-engraver himself may not have correctly understood the true meaning of the symbol, and failed accordingly to give it an intelligible character. It is not a very rare symbol though usually indistinct.

185. FOUR FISH (P) WITHIN A CIRCULAR AREA. Fig. 43.

186. AN OVAL FILLET IN A SQUARE. Fig. 152.

187. A BRANCHED OBJECT IN A CIRCULAR AREA. Fig. 87.

188. TWO TALL OBJECTS WITH A LOWER ONE AT THE SIDE.

I am unable to guess at what these objects are intended to represent. They bear a sort of resemblance to those decorative designs on Christian ornamentation termed, 'nails of the cross,' but they are not ranged in trefoil patterns as the 'nails' are.

189. SEVEN SPHERES WITHIN A CIRCLE. Fig. 157.

This is a variant of No. 149, (fig. 155) and is in doubt a symbol of planetary import.

190. A SQUARE, WITH AN INSCRIBED STROKE. Fig. 189.

191. A RELIQUARY OR LAMP WITHIN A SQUARE AREA. Fig. 63.

This symbol occurs on one coin in the British Museum. It may be regarded as a reliquary, or else as a drum, it being of the precise form of the small Indian drum, or 'dag-dagi' carried in the hand by jugglers and wandering performers with bears and monkeys, with a knotted string attached to the middle which acts as a striker when shaken backwards and forwards. It may also be a lamp.

192. A 'Stupa' OF THREE CHAMBERS WITH TWO FISH (P) BENEATH.
Fig. 53.

This symbol occurs on a coin in the British Museum, and is identical with fig. 46, only it has two objects beneath within an enclosed area which may signify fish in a tank, and be intended for miniature specimens of symbol No. 236.

193. A FISH (P) ON A CROSS WITH A 'Taurine' ON EITHER SIDE. Fig. 183.

It is probable that in many cases where the object resembles a fish

244 W. Theobald—Notes on some of the symbols found on the [No. 3,
like the above, it is really a variant only of a 'Taurine' turned on its
side.

194. A HARE WITH A LEVERET.

From a coin in the British Museum. This symbol is not well preserved, and it is possible it may be intended as a variant of No. 44, but the position of the animals differs.

195. FOOD RECEPTACLE WITH RAILING AND 'Taurine.' Fig. 122.

This is a variant of No. 226, both being on a large square copper coin of later type procured by Genl. Sir A. Cunningham at Eran.

196. A RAKE FOR GRAIN, OR HARROW (?) Fig. 197.

197. FOUR 'Taurines' IN A SQUARE, SEPARATED BY A LINE. Fig. 165.

198. A WHEEL WITH THREE SPOKES. Fig. 137.

This is clearly an archaic form of the 'Triskelis.'

199. A JACKAL WITHIN A RECTANGULAR AREA. Fig. 26.

The tail is rather short for a jackal, and still more so for a fox, to which the figure also bears some resemblance.

200. A TREE. Fig. 66.

201. THREE 'Taurines' AND A CROSS. Fig. 230.

This symbol is figured by Thomas from a coin probably in the British Museum. It consists essentially of a *crux ansata* resting on a square base, with a 'Taurine' turned on its side above, and a 'Taurine' on either side. It is a variant of No. 193 (fig. 183) with the square railing below added. The figure is very faulty.

202. CROSS AND BALLS. Fig. 172.

203. A HORSE TO THE RIGHT.

204. A LOTUS FLOWER.

205. AN EIGHT-SPOKED WHEEL WITH HOLLOW NAVE. Fig. 143.

Besides the solar wheel another sort of wheel is also met with, which is not mentioned by Thomas. It has eight spokes, is larger than the solar wheel and differs essentially therefrom in having a hollow axis, from which I infer it is intended to represent a mechanical wheel of human construction. It is not easy to say why a cart-wheel should

be placed on these coins, but it may not improbably represent a sacred wheel, such as in Thibet is used to rotate prayers on, and is driven by water power for that purpose. It may seem very absurd to us, but not more so perhaps than the custom in Catholic Europe to pay for 'masses' for the soul of some deceased sinner.

This symbol is from a coin in my own possession.

206. '*Thyrsos*' BETWEEN TWO CIRCLES ENCLOSING FOUR BALLS. Fig. 176.

Figs. 171 to 176 would all seem to be variants of one symbol which in the opinion of Sir A. Cunningham is the mint mark of Eran. Except fig. 171, which occurs on a silver coin in the British Museum, these symbols all occur on large copper coins procured by Sir A. Cunningham at Eran, so that in this instance the territorial assignment of the symbol is fairly made out. The gradation between the different variants is well observed. The simplest form is fig. 171, four balls or circles arranged in a lozenge. Fig. 172 shows four balls each with a central dot connected by the arms of a cross. Fig. 173 shows four circles each containing four balls, and fig. 175 is similar, but has a cross, each arm terminating in a ball, interposed between the circles, without their being attached thereto. Fig. 174 is of a more ornate character, consisting of four circles connected by a cross, each medium circle containing a '*Taurine*' and each lateral circle a '*swastika*.'

Fig. 176 is a variant, which seems to indicate an approach to symbol 115 (fig. 178), being essentially similar in the elements composing it.

207. A TREE SURROUNDED BY A RAILING. Fig. 77.

This fine symbol clearly shows a sacred tree surrounded by a railing. Each branch is trifold, but it is not possible to hazard a guess at what tree is intended.

208. A BULL TO RIGHT.

This symbol occurs on a large square copper coin from Eran of later date than the silver coins. These large coins of the Eran mint probably are in fact transitional between the old punch-marked, and later coins struck in the usual manner, many of the punch-marked symbols retaining their place on the later dies.

209. A SIXTEEN-PETALLED LOTUS. Fig. 148.

Both this and No. 211, (fig. 147) are from large square copper coins from Eran.

210. CROSS AND BALLS WITH '*Taurines*' AND '*Swastikas*.' Fig. 174.

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211. AN EIGHT-PETALLED LOTUS. Fig. 147.

212. A ROW OF DOTS, BETWEEN PARALLEL LINES. Fig. 217.

At first sight this resembles the 'vine' as conventionally represented, but the vine is represented with two rows of dots arranged on each side of a central stem, whereas the present 'dots' are in a single row enclosed by side lines. I cannot suggest what is intended by the symbol.

213. A FILLET OR BAND ORNAMENTED WITH 'Taurines.' Fig. 216.

214. A TREE WITHIN A RAILING. Fig. 78.

A symbol of the same type in No. 207. Both are from the large square copper coins from Eran, which from their size admit of clearer details and execution, and the 'punches' and figures are larger than is usual on the silver coins.

215. A 'Taurine' IN A CIRCULAR AREA. Fig. 188.

216. A BOAT OR 'CORACLE,' WITH TWO 'FISHES' (?) Fig. 62.

217. CROSS AND FOUR CIRCLES EACH ENCLOSING FOUR BALLS. Fig. 175.

218. AN ELEPHANT TO THE LEFT. Fig. 11.

This animal is common on the coins, and is usually turned to the right. Thomas gives nine figures of elephants, one of which only is turned to the left. Another of these figures is surrounded by a frame of 'taurines.' In India the elephant is symbolical of Indra and the animal is probably intended for 'Airāvatas' the elephant of Indra. The symbol is an animal personation or embodiment of those huge banks of dark clouds, which during the rainy season traverse the vault of heaven, and in India form so striking an object. Especially welcome to the parched earth is then the advance of Indra's elephant ('Nimbus' of meteorology) and it has given rise to the pretty metaphor in the Meghadūta which Griffith thus renders:

"When on a day in June, he* upward cast
The aching eyes, lo! on the mountain lay
A glorious cloud embracing it, so vast
As some huge elephant, that stoops in play
To trample down the bank, that bars his onward way."

* The banished Yaksha, servant of Kuvera (the God of Wealth) and the principal personage in the piece.

219. FOOD RECEPTACLE WITHIN RAILING WITH TWO 'chatras.' Fig. 121.

A distinctly Buddhist symbol.*

220. THE CADUCEUS, OR STAFF OF ÆSCULAPIUS, OR HERMES. Fig. 135.

This symbol in its classic form is rare on the coins, but occurs on a copper coin procured by Sir A. Cunningham at Eran; there are two aspects under which this symbol may be regarded. It may be identified with the staff of Aesculapius or the wand of Hermes, endowed with power of life or death, which Cyllenios bore when conducting the souls of the suitors to Hades.

“Ἐχε δὲ ῥάβδον μετὰ χερσὶ
Καλὴν, χρυσεῖην, τῇ τ' ἀνδρῶν ὄμματα θέλγει,
ὣν ἐθέλει, τοὺς δ' αἶντε καὶ ὑπνώοντας ἐγείρει.”

or it may be regarded simply as an astronomical symbol, representing the Sun and Moon conjoined, and equally applicable as a symbol of Nature-worship. I prefer, however, to look further back and regard it apart from Greek association, and to view it as a variant of the still more ancient symbol of Egyptian worship, the *Cruce ansata*. The *Cruce ansata* is compounded of three elements, an upright staff, two cross limbs and a circle. Now, the classic caduceus in its simplest form as in fig. 135, is similarly made up of these three elements, slightly modified, and their relative position changed. Take the *Cruce ansata* and remove the side limbs of the cross, and we have a circle supported by a staff. Slightly curve these two limbs and replace them above the circle, and we have the classic 'caduceus' represented by fig. 135, and this I take to be the origin of the symbol, and if so, it affords an interesting proof of the widely spread belief and the extreme antiquity of some of the symbols used to typify it, which recur on these coins.

221. IN SYMBOL 221, (FIG. 107) WE PERHAPS HAVE THE 'CADUCEUS' IN A STAGE OF ARRESTED GROWTH, OR A VARIANT PRODUCED DURING PROCESS OF CONVERSION. Fig. 107.

A still further proof of the plasticity of mythological symbolism lies in the fact that the 'Caduceus' is either represented as two serpents turned round a rod (its classic form), or in place of two serpents a lighter form of the 'Caduceus' is made by simply attaching No. 3 symbol to a staff as in the round copper coin of Azes (Ariana Antiqua, Pl. VII, fig. 12), though the symbol on the coin there figured, is really a slight variant from the usual type, the bottom part of No. 3 symbol being there formed by a loop of the staff, formed by the top being bent

* The 'chatras' on the railing, are accidentally omitted in the figure.

round *crozier* fashion, adding another morphological link in the genealogical chain which binds our modern hierophants through the Pontifex Maximus of both old and modern Rome with Nature worship and the cult of Baal. The 'nomen' may be changed, but the Numen is the same.

222. FOUR CIRCLES ENCLOSING FOUR BALLS, BUT WITHOUT A CROSS. Fig. 173.

223. A FIGURE TO RIGHT HOLDING A SHORT STAFF. Fig. 6.

This may be intended for the figure of a 'chobdar' or Court functionary, but is rather obscure. It is on one of the large copper coins from Eran, on which many new types appear which are not found on the earlier coins.

224. A GOAT BROWSING ON A VINE. Fig. 221.

On this coin, which is in the British Museum, the horns are clearly seen.

225. A BOAT OR 'CORACLE.' Fig. 61.

226. A FOOD RECEPTACLE WITH LOOP TO THE LEFT AND RAILING BELOW.
Fig. 120.

This symbol is on a copper coin from Eran. The oldest form of this 'receptacle' seems to be the one provided with two ears as in fig. 118. This 'loop' or ear is there contracted into a short straight stroke as in figs. 120, 121, 122, whilst the loop is entirely dropped in the latest form of the symbol, as seen on the coins of *Amogha*, fig. 119.

227. A CURVED FILLET DEVOID OF ORNAMENT. Fig. 214.

228. SYMBOL 92, ONLY OVALS BETWEEN THE '*chatras*' IN PLACE OF SPHERES.
Fig. 100.

229. AN ELEPHANT TO THE RIGHT WITH A FRAME OF '*Taurines*.'

A figure given by Thomas.

230. AN EEL WITH A FISH (?) ON EITHER SIDE. Fig. 40.

This symbol is figured by Thomas. It is doubtful if the lateral objects are fish.

231. A TURTLE BETWEEN TWO FISH (?)

Figured by Thomas.

232. THE '*swastika*.' Fig. 134.

Figured by Thomas.

233. A WHEEL OF FOUR SPOKES.

Figured by Thomas. A solar symbol, no doubt.

234. A TWINNED 'Taurine' IN A CIRCLE.

Figured by Thomas.

235. AN ELEPHANT TO THE RIGHT, WITH TRUNK RAISED TO SALUTE. Fig. 12.

This is a popular attitude of the elephant in Buddhist sculptures as well as on Buddhist coins. The symbol was figured by J. Prinsep (Pl. XX, Ancient Hindu coins).

236. THE 'WAI' SYMBOL A. Fig. 219.

This symbol occurs on a silver coin found near Wai in the Sattára collectorate, and is described by Dr. O. Codrington in a paper in the Journal of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society, who thus observes: "The figure on the obverse looks at first sight like the representation of an insect with fat body, short legs, pointed head and branching horns or large claws; but I think it may be identified with a common symbol on Buddhistic coins which has been mentioned as like that of Taurus, and is well shown on page 211, Vol. I, of Thomas's Prinsep's *Indian Antiquities*, where it is on a die of a similar shape to that of our coin. It will be seen, however, that the figure on this coin is more elaborate; there are the two legs on either side and the pointed angular head; and these marks, with the general shape of the figure lead to an identification of it with the *Trisul* symbol seen in the Buddhistic sculptures and carvings, which the more rude similar marks hitherto portrayed, as found on coins, do not. This is the mystic symbol found commonly in the carvings of the Sanchi and Amravati Topes. It crowns the pillars of the gateway of the former Tope, and is on numerous other positions, as may be seen in almost any of the Photographs or Plates in Fergusson's *Tree and Serpent Worship* and in Cunningham's *Bhilsa Topes*, and by both these authors is described as symbolical of Dharma. It is seen too, commonly on the feet of Buddha, together with the *chakra* or wheel. In photograph No. 8 of a paper on "A Mystic Play performed in Ladak" in Journal A. S. B. Vol. XXXIV, the mask representing a bull's head is nearly the same in outline as the figure on our coin. This is not a little interesting in connection with this being a Buddhist symbol and like the sign of Taurus."

Now with much of this I fully concur, though the resemblance of this symbol to a *Trisul* is far from obvious. By aid, however, of the photograph of the mask, used in the mystic play, the puzzling side appendages are seen really to represent the Bull's ears, and the whole

symbol bears therefore a sufficient resemblance to a Bull's head to be regarded as a variant of the ordinary 'Taurine.' By a further process of degradation, I am inclined to believe that the puzzling symbol, which I have often alluded to in this paper as a "fish," has originated; and that in many cases a 'Taurine' is really intended and not a fish, as in figs. 17, 37, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 62, 159, 183 and 230.

This coin weighed 110 grains, and was therefore a two karsha piece.

237. TWO 'Taurines,' TWO 'chatras;' A BALL, CRESCENT AND HANDLE.

This symbol is figured by Thomas.

238. A 'Swastika' TURNING TO THE LEFT.

Figured by Thomas.

239. A CROSS WITHIN A SQUARE. Fig. 162.

Two of the arms of this cross are (on the coin) very slightly longer than the others, probably unintentionally so.

240. FOUR BALLS. Fig. 171.

This is the simplest form of a symbol that assumed a variety of shapes at a later period, and conjoined with a cross, a somewhat profuse development on the coins of Eran. The symbol occurs on a silver coin in the British Museum, but is rare on the early coins, but reappears on the later coinages of Ceylon and South India.

241. THE 'WAI' SYMBOL C OF DR. CODRINGTON'S PAPER. Fig. 220.

This curious device was the commonest on the coins found at Wai, which embraced 50 specimens marked with this symbol, consisting of karshas, two-karshas and half-karshas. Dr. Codrington in his paper thus describes it—"On a round area are three circular prominences arranged on a triangle, round one of which is a ring; from this ring two lines pass to each of the other prominences, which are not surrounded by a ring, making the whole look like a driving wheel with connecting bands passing to two smaller wheels as is seen in a machine." Dr. Codrington also adds "Perhaps it is intended to represent the nave of the 'chakra' or wheel with garlands hanging on it, as in Pl. 43, fig. 1 of Fergusson's 'Tree and Serpent Worship.' I cannot add anything to this suggestion beyond the opinion that though of unusual design and composition, it is of distinctly *Shivite* character.

242. AN ARROW-HEAD IN AN OVAL AREA. Fig. 101.

243. A BUDDHIST SYMBOL. Fig. 215.

Figured by Thomas and common on later issues, but not noticed by me on punch-marked coins, and unfortunately Thomas gives no references to the coins whence his devices were copied.

244. TWO SEMICIRCLES JOINED. Fig. 218.

Thomas figured this symbol which has all the appearance of being the upper portion only of No. 25, fig. 51, with fig. 127 added.

245. TREE WITH RAILINGS SUPPORTING TWO 'Taurines.' Fig. 222.

246. JACKAL LOOKING UP AT A TREE, PROTECTED BY A RAILING. Fig. 223.

This symbol is well executed and looks as if designed to perpetuate the fable of the 'fox and grapes.'

247. FOUR CIRCLES EACH WITH A CENTRAL DOT. Fig. 224.

These circles are ranged in a lozenge, obliquely, and not in a square, and reappear on the coins of Ceylon and South India.

248. SYMBOL OF *Baalpeor* OR 'Mahadev' WITHIN A CROSS. Fig. 225.

In this symbol, of purely *Shivite* character, we can trace the prototype of the design of the Rosy Cross round which in mediæval times so many curious ideas were abroad. The cross, in the old form of a T, is a well-known nature-worship symbol, and under the name of Thor's hammer was revered, long prior to the introduction of Christianity, among our fierce Scandinavian ancestors. But nature-worship is dualistic, the female element being represented concurrently therein. The 'lotus' is one of the numerous feminine symbols, and in Europe a 'rose' would not unnaturally replace the exotic 'lotus,' so that the 'Rose' of the *Rosicrucian* sect is the female analogue of the *Shivite* 'lotus' which conjoined with the T forms the dualistic or androgynous symbol of the Rosy Cross.

249. THREE SPHERES IN A NARROW OVAL AREA. Fig. 226.

Occurs on one coin in the British Museum.

250. A VARIANT OF NO. 4. Fig. 231.

On a coin in the British Museum is a variant of No. 4, fig. 129. In this the circles are replaced by two well designed hexagons within a narrow oval area, contracted in the middle.

251. CROSS AND BALLS.

A symbol on the large copper coin of Eran. It is like No. 202, fig. 172, but has no central dot.

LIST OF SYMBOLS ON THE 'PUNCH-MARKED' COINS OF INDIA.

No.	Fig.	
1.	126.	Circle, sphere, or dot.
2.	127.	Semicircle or crescent.
3.	128.	Ball and crescent. The ' <i>Taurine</i> ' symbol, so called.
4.	129.	Twin spheres (the ' <i>spectacle</i> ' symbol of Scottish antiquaries).
5.	131.	Triskelis, revolving to the left.
6-7.	130-132.	Triskelis, revolving to the right.
8.	149.	Cluster of nine spheres.
9.	185.	Reliquary (?) surrounded by six ' <i>Taurines</i> .'
10.	139.	Wheel of the sun.
11.	140.	Eight-spoked wheel A.C.
12.	141.	Four-spoked wheel.
13.	186.	Symbol of ' <i>Baal-peor</i> ' or of <i>Siva</i> and his Sakti.
14.	187.	Sphere or dot in triangle.
15.	153.	Three spheres.
16.	163.	Four spheres in a square.
17.	136.	Staff separating six semicircles.
18.	179.	Crescent on a pillar between two ' <i>Taurines</i> .'
19.	161.	Four ' <i>Taurines</i> ' cruciformly united.
20.	96.	Sphere surrounded by seven ' <i>owl-heads</i> .'
21.	47.	' <i>Stupa</i> ,' of either two or three tiers, (3 or 5 chambers).
22.	49.	' <i>Stupa</i> ' and dog.
23.	50.	' <i>Stupa</i> ' and Peacock.
24.	48.	' <i>Stupa</i> ' with ' <i>reliquary</i> ' or ' <i>lamp</i> ' in each chamber.
25.	51.	' <i>Stupa</i> ' and crescent.
26.	52.	' <i>Stupa</i> ' and tree growing out from it.
27.	91.	Sphere with three ' <i>chatras</i> ' or umbrellas or " <i>broad-arrows</i> ."
28.	92.	No. 27 with three spheres between the ' <i>chatras</i> .'
29.	94.	No. 27 with three ' <i>Taurines</i> ' between the ' <i>chatras</i> .'
30.	98.	No. 27 with three ' <i>Taurines</i> ' within shields or ovals. A.C.
31.	93.	No. 27 with three hemispheres between the ' <i>chatras</i> .'
32.	102.	No. 27 with three reliquaries or lamps between the ' <i>chatras</i> .'

- | No. | Fig. | |
|-----|--------|---|
| 33. | 95. | No. 27 with three 'owl-heads' between the 'chatras.' |
| 34. | 1. | A man and two women. |
| 35. | 10. | An Elephant to right. |
| 36. | 7. | A hand in a square. |
| 37. | 13-14. | A Rhinoceros. |
| 38. | 15. | A Bull couchant before a 'Lingam.' |
| 39. | 16. | A Bull couchant before a 'Taurine.' |
| 40. | 25. | A Nylgao (?) (<i>Portax pictus</i>). |
| 41. | 21. | The Hare in the Moon. |
| 42. | 20. | A goat (browsing on a vine). |
| 43. | 22. | A kid (of the last). |
| 44. | 27. | A civet cat (<i>Viverra zibetha</i>) and some small animal. |
| 45. | 19. | A panther (?) T. |
| 46. | 30. | A 'gharial' seizing a 'hilsa.' |
| 47. | 29. | A 'Python,' incubating her eggs. |
| 48. | 31-32. | A cobra, (<i>Naija tripudians</i>). |
| 49. | 35. | A Trionyx or Gangetic three-toed turtle. |
| 50. | 28. | A frog. |
| 51. | 41. | A pair of fishes in a tank. |
| 52. | 42. | Four fishes round a pillar in a tank. |
| 53. | 36. | A siluroid fish, or skate (?) |
| 54. | 34. | A snake (<i>Cerberus rhynchops</i> ?) |
| 55. | 55. | A raised 'paddy' or grain store. |
| 56. | 118. | A raised receptacle of food for birds. |
| 57. | 119. | A later type of No. 56. |
| 58. | 56. | A bow and arrow. |
| 59. | 9. | A 'steelyard,' or scales for grain. |
| 60. | 45. | A fish (so called by Thomas) perhaps a 'Scolopendra.' |
| 61. | 59. | Three huts. |
| 62. | 196. | A cross with trefoil ends. |
| 63. | 99. | A sphere surrounded by four 'Taurines.' |
| 64. | 160. | A 'Thunderbolt.' |
| 65. | 18. | A Cow or Bull standing. |
| 66. | 97. | No. 27 with three shields, each with a central dot. |
| 67. | 33. | A crocodile (?) |
| 68. | 89. | Wells in a garden (?) |
| 69. | 39. | Two fish, with 'Thyrsos' between. |
| 70. | 74. | A tree. |
| 71. | 68. | A tree, or branch of some palm (<i>Phoenix</i> ?) |
| 72. | 70. | A tree, or branch of some conifer. |
| 73. | 228. | A domestic implement, perhaps for cleaning cotton. |

No.	Fig.	
74.	54.	An insect (?)
75.	206.	A rude pillar or stone cross of Celtic type.
76.	198.	A fillet or almond; (emblem of <i>Ishtar</i> .)
77.	...	No. 27 with ovals between the ' <i>chatras</i> .'
78.	75.	A tree (?)
79.	80.	A bottle-shaped tree (?)
80.	82.	A branch within an almond-shaped lozenge.
81.	85.	A branch within a circular area.
82.	211.	A pillar or ' <i>Gilgal</i> .'
83.	110.	A square within a circular area.
84.	...	A cow <i>Nylgai</i> .
85.	125.	A trapezoidal figure with square marks inside.
86.	201.	A oval body on two legs, with three thyriform objects above.
87.	205.	A square to the left of a trifold rod.
88.	144.	An eight-pointed star.
89.	86.	A branch (?) within a circle.
90.	79.	A small tree.
91.	5.	A rude human figure.
92.	210.	A trapezoidal symbol of unknown meaning.
93.	108.	A cross above a ' <i>Taurine</i> .'
94.	83.	A group of three upright objects.
95.	123.	A parallelogram divided into segments.
96.	38.	A ' <i>Thyrso</i> ' (?) between two fish.
97.	37.	A similar symbol.
98.	181.	A ' <i>Thyrso</i> ' between two ' <i>Taurines</i> ' in a triangular area. A. C.
99.	64.	A fan-palm (<i>Borassus</i>). A. C.
100.	2.	A human figure with three dots above. A. C.
101.	154.	Three dots within a circle. A. C.
102.	164.	Four ' <i>Taurines</i> ' in a square. A. C.
103.	103.	A circle with two ' <i>chatras</i> ' and two ' <i>Taurines</i> .' A. C.
104.	76.	An upright vine stem and grapes. A. C.
105.	58.	A bow and arrow, with loop (?) A. C.
106.	111.	Four squares within a square. A. C.
107.	...	A dog. A. C.
108.	158.	Six balls or dots in a triangular area. A. C.
109.	116.	A rectangular symbol in a square area. A. C.
110.	...	Elephant to right. A. C.
111.	88.	Unknown object. A. C.

- | No. | Fig. | | |
|------|------|---|-------|
| 112. | 138. | Solar wheel with sixteen oblique rays. | A. C. |
| 113. | 57. | Bow and arrow in square. | A. C. |
| 114. | 229. | No. 27 only with six 'chatras.' | A. C. |
| 115. | 178. | 'Thyrsoi' with appendages within an oval area. | A. C. |
| 116. | 115. | Sphere on stout pedestal. | |
| 117. | 227. | A dot within a cross. | A. C. |
| 118. | 3. | Five-headed figure with a club. | A. C. |
| 119. | 212. | Unknown object. | A. C. |
| 120. | 112. | Square divided into nine segments with dot in centre. | A. C. |
| 121. | 207. | Snake (?) within a rectangular area. | A. C. |
| 122. | ... | Two human figures. | A. C. |
| 123. | 113. | Four dots in a square, with mark above. | A. C. |
| 124. | 4. | A human figure with a club in right hand. | A. C. |
| 125. | 105. | Two 'Taurines' and two 'chatras' forming a cross. | A. C. |
| 126. | 151. | Eight-pointed star or wheel within a circle girt with six 'Taurines.' | A. C. |
| 127. | 142. | Wheel and bells. "Mass bells" of Mediæval Europe. | A. C. |
| 128. | 202. | Two semicircles in a rectangular area. | A. C. |
| 129. | 177. | Dot in cross, with four 'Taurines' and four crosses outside. | A. C. |
| 130. | 60. | Perhaps a boat or a variant of No. 68. | A. C. |
| 131. | 200. | Five dots ranged unsymmetrically round an oval. | A. C. |
| 132. | 106. | Handled circle, two 'chatras,' and two shields with 'Taurine' above. | A. C. |
| 133. | 150. | Wheel of four spokes, with four 'Taurines.' | A. C. |
| 134. | 145. | Sphere with eight short rays. | A. C. |
| 135. | 208. | Unknown object in a tripartite rectangular area. | A. C. |
| 136. | 146. | A wheel or sphere with six rays. | A. C. |
| 137. | 203. | Trifid branch and another object, in a rectangular area. | A. C. |
| 138. | 24. | Some climbing animal on a pole. | A. C. |
| 139. | 23. | A hare, with a 'Taurine' below. | A. C. |
| 140. | 69. | A branch. | |
| 141. | 81. | A fish sheltering under a plant (water lily?) | A. C. |
| 142. | 71. | A Cactus, or Euphorbia. (T.) | A. C. |
| 143. | 8. | Perhaps intended for Agni. | A. C. |

- | No. | Fig. | | |
|------|------|--|-----------------|
| 144. | 159. | Three symbols radiating from a central ball. | A. C. |
| 145. | 44. | A fish in an oval area. | A. C. |
| 146. | 169. | A sphere between two ' <i>Taurines</i> ' in a rectangular area. | A. C. and B. M. |
| 147. | 65. | Perhaps a palm tree. | A. C. |
| 148. | 194. | The pentagram or "Wizard's foot." | A. C. |
| 149. | 155. | Seven spheres within a hexagon | A. C. |
| 150. | 156. | Nine spheres round a circle, with a sphere in the centre. | A. C. |
| 151. | 190. | Rhomboidal symbol within an oval area. | A. C. |
| 152. | 213. | Perhaps a rudely sketched squatting figure. | A. C. |
| 153. | 199. | An almond-shaped emblem surrounded by fourteen dots. | A. C. |
| 154. | 209. | Symbol resembling a toy horse. | A. C. |
| 155. | 184. | Four ' <i>Taurines</i> ' round a railed cross, in a square area. | A. C. |
| 156. | 167. | A ' <i>crux ansata</i> ' with appendages and a ' <i>Triskelis</i> .' | A. C. |
| 157. | 104. | Four-spoked wheel surrounded by six owl-heads. | A. C. |
| 158. | 117. | Cross lines within a circle. | A. C. |
| 159. | 133. | ' <i>Triskelis</i> ' and symbol 17. | A. C. |
| 160. | ... | Symbol 34, only the man holds a club. | A. C. |
| 161. | ... | A dog. | A. C. |
| 162. | 72. | A cactus leaf. | A. C. |
| 163. | 193. | A triangle in a triangular area. | A. C. |
| 164. | 109. | A square in a square area. | A. C. |
| 165. | 191. | A ' <i>trisul</i> ' on a stand. | A. C. |
| 166. | 192. | A double ' <i>trisul</i> .' | A. C. |
| 167. | | A horse to the right. | A. C. |
| 168. | 204. | An unknown object. | A. C. |
| 169. | 90. | A poppy head (?) | A. C. |
| 170. | 84. | A branch with fruit (?) | A. C. |
| 171. | 124. | Six balls within a rectangular area. | B. M. |
| 172. | 195. | Mystic symbol of Delphi. | B. M. |
| 173. | | A horse to the right, stamping. | B. M. |
| 174. | | Goat and vine. | B. M. T. |
| 175. | 168. | ' <i>Taurine</i> ' and square, in a rectangular area. | B. M. |
| 176. | 46. | A ' <i>Stupa</i> ' beneath a mound. | B. M. |
| 177. | 114. | Curved mark within a square. | B. M. |
| 178. | 180. | A ' <i>Thyrsos</i> ,' lozenge, and three ' <i>Taurines</i> .' | B. M. |

- | No. | Fig. | |
|------|------|---|
| 179. | 170. | A 'Thyrsos' and 'Taurine' in a circular area. B. M. |
| 180. | 182. | Two 'Taurines' and a cross. B. M. |
| 181. | 166. | Two 'Taurines' and two 'reliquaries' in a square.
B. M. |
| 182. | 75. | A tree with railing (?). B. M. |
| 183. | 67. | A tree in a triangular area. B. M. |
| 184. | 17. | A Bull 'couchant' with two fish (?) in a rectangular
area. B. M. |
| 185. | 43. | Four fish (?) in a circular area. B. M. |
| 186. | 152. | An oval fillet in a square. B. M. |
| 187. | 87. | A branch in a circular area. |
| 188. | | Two tall objects and a lower one at the side. |
| 189. | 157. | Seven spheres within a circle. B. M. |
| 190. | 189. | A stroke within a square. B. M. |
| 191. | 63. | A reliquary (or lamp) within a square area. B. M. |
| 192. | 53. | Symbol 176, with two fish (?) in a tank below. |
| 193. | 183. | A fish (?) or a cross, with a 'Taurine' on each side.
B. M. |
| 194. | | A hare and leveret following? B. M. |
| 195. | 122. | Food receptacle with railing and 'Taurine.' Æ. A. C. |
| 196. | 197. | A rake (?). |
| 197. | 165. | Four 'Taurines' in a square divided in two. A. C. |
| 198. | 137. | A wheel of three spokes, a form of the 'Triskelis.'
A. C. |
| 199. | 26. | A jackal within a rectangular area. A. C. |
| 200. | 66. | A tree with six branches. A. C. |
| 201. | 230. | Three 'Taurines' and cross. B. M. |
| 202. | 172. | Cross and balls. |
| 203. | | A Horse to right. Æ. A. C. |
| 204. | | A lotus flower. Æ. A. C. |
| 205. | 143. | Eight-spoked wheel with hollow nave. |
| 206. | 176. | A 'Thyrsos' between two circles enclosing four balls.
Æ. A. C. |
| 207. | 77. | A tree surrounded by a railing. Æ. A. C. |
| 208. | | Bull to right. Æ. A. C. |
| 209. | 148. | Sixteen-petalled lotus. Æ. A. C. |
| 210. | 174. | Cross and balls with 'Taurines' and 'Swastikas.' |
| 211. | 147. | Eight-petalled lotus. Æ. A. C. |
| 212. | 217. | Dots between parallel lines. A. C. |
| 213. | 216. | Ornamental fillet or ribbon. Æ. A. C. |
| 214. | 78. | Tree and railing. Æ. A. C. |

No.	Fig.		
215.	188.	A 'Taurine' in a circular area.	Æ. A. C.
216.	62.	Two fishes (?) in a boat.	Æ. A. C.
217.	175.	Cross and four circles enclosing four balls.	Æ. A. C.
218.	11.	An Elephant to the left.	A. C.
219.	121.	Food receptacle, railing, and two 'Chatras.'	Æ. A. C.
220.	135.	'Caduceus' or staff of Aesculapius.	Æ. A. C.
221.	107.	A variant perhaps of a 'Taurine.'	Æ. A. C.
222.	173.	Four circles enclosing four balls, but no cross.	Æ. A. C.
223.	6.	Man holding curved weapon (?)	Æ. A. C.
224.	221.	A goat browsing on a vine.	
225.	61.	A boat or 'coracle' (?)	Æ. A. C.
226.	120.	Food receptacle with 'loop' to left, and railing.	Æ. A. C.
227.	214.	A curved fillet.	Æ. A. C.
228.	100.	Circle with three ovals and three 'chatras.'	Æ. A. C.
229.		Elephant with 'Taurines.'	T.
230.	40.	An eel in an oval area.	T.
231.		A turtle between two fish.	T.
232.	134.	The 'Swastika.'	T.
233.		A wheel of four spokes.	T.
234.		A twinned 'Taurine' on a circle.	T.
235.	12.	Elephant to right standing with trunk.	
236.	219.	'Taurine' with lateral appendages.	Wai.
237.		Two 'Taurines' two 'Chatras' on ball with crescent, and handle.	T.
238.		A Swastika turning to left.	T.
239.	162.	A cross within a square.	B. M.
240.	171.	Four balls.	B. M.
241.	220.	The 'Wai' symbol C. of Dr. Codrington's paper.	
242.	101.	An arrow-head in an oval area.	
243.	215.	A Buddhist symbol.	T.

It is far from clear what this symbol is, though it is just possible it may be a portion of the Buddhist symbol commonly known as the 'Tri-ratna.' One serious objection, however, to this is, that the 'Tri-ratna,' strange to say, does not appear to occur on these coins. Possibly this may be claimed by Mr. Pincott as an argument in favour of his theory that the 'Tri-ratna' is represented in its "most condensed form" by the 'Swastika' which is occasionally seen on these coins.

Speaking of the 'Swastika,' Mr. Pincott remarks "This curious object in reality represents simply a given space, divided into four

equal parts, united in the centre; and this suggests a metaphorical combination of the four castes united in a common society, the bent divisional arms of which appear to indicate revolutions, or recurrence, *i. e.*, the endless revolution of recurring births and deaths. When looked at carefully, each side, as it revolves, suggests the figure of the '*Trisula*,' the emblem of Dharma, while the whole circulating object represents the '*Chakra*' or Buddha; and the four compartments depict the four castes or Sangha. Thus this venerated symbol presents us with the most condensed form of the '*Tri-ratna*;' and ascribing to it that meaning, we have a full and satisfactory explanation of its wide diffusion over every district to which Buddhism has penetrated" (Royal Asiatic Society Journal, 1887, p. 245.) I confess I see nothing whatever of this condensation of chalk into cheese, and were it so, it explains nothing of the significance of the symbol *in times anterior to Buddhism*. This difficulty did not escape the notice of Mr. Pincott, who thus ingeniously avoids it. "It is quite possible that this distinctly Buddhist emblem may have an accidental resemblance to some object venerated by other nations." Really this recurrence to the argument of "accidental resemblance" between objects which are identical, can hardly be allowed greater weight now, than when urged a century ago, that 'fossils' were the result of 'accidental resemblance' to shells and such like organisms, but were not really organic bodies at all! It seems to me refining, under the exigency of a theory, beyond the bounds of probability or reason, to maintain that the '*Swastika*' so common an object on terracotta whorls at Troy (see Schliemann's Troy) merely bears an accidental resemblance to that symbol, but is in reality something entirely distinct.

Mr. Pincott also objects to those who view the '*Swastika*' as a solar emblem, that were it so, it would not be made to revolve in opposite directions. The same objection might be urged against the '*Triskelis*' as a solar emblem, but it is one to which I do not attach any importance. It is not improbable that the symbol, when revolving from left to right, may indicate the sun's *visible* course through the sky, whilst the same symbol, when it revolves in the opposite direction, may represent the unseen course of the great luminary, when returning along his nocturnal path to the spot wherein he is wont to rise.

It is of course quite true that the '*Swastika*' may, by adoption have come in time to be regarded as distinctly a Buddhist emblem, as the '*Cross*' is Christianity, but in neither case did the symbol originate with the faith it subsequently became selected to represent, and if this obvious conclusion is only frankly admitted, no necessity will remain for having to fall back on the inadequate, not to say exploded argument of "accidental resemblance."

No.	Fig.	
244.	218.	Symbol figured by Thomas.
245.	222.	Tree and railing supporting two 'Taurines.' B. M.
246.	223.	Jackal before tree (vine ?) and railing. B. M.
247.	224.	Four circles arranged in a lozenge form.
248.	225.	Symbol of Baal or Mahadeb within a cross. B. M.
249.	226.	Three spheres in line in an oval area. B. M.
250.	237.	Variant of No. 4. B. M.
251.		Cross and balls. Æ. A. C.
252.		Crescent moon above a 'stupa.'
253.		Symbol No. 29 only the 'Taurines' are enclosed in ovals.
254.		A square between two balls, in an oval area.
255.		Three balls, (No. 15) but in a square area.
256.		Symbol No. 24, but with 'Taurines' in place of 'Camps.' These last five are from oval silver coins.
257.		Wheel above a tree.
258.	258.	Hittite symbol. Cappadocia.
259.	259.	Variant of 'twinned <i>Lingam</i> .' Scotland.
260.	260.	Swastika. "
261.	261.	The ' <i>Triskelis</i> .' "
262.	262.	The wheel of the Sun. "
263.	263.	The ' <i>Lingam</i> .' "
264.	264.	The 'Twinned <i>Lingam</i> .' "
265.	265.	Cluster of spheres. "
266.	266.	The ' <i>Pentagram</i> .' "
267.	267.	Three spheres. "
268.	268.	Three spheres, (variant). "
269.	269.	Cross. "

A cross of very near this shape, that is, a square, with four equal and similar squares inscribed on its four sides, was discovered in the third tomb at Mycenæ by Dr. Schliemann. It is usual to regard this symbol as a variant of the '*Swastika*,' and it is one still venerated and in use in India at the present day. I have before me a small brass slab 2.75 by 2.25 inches procured at Poona, wherein are assembled an interesting group of objects of worship. In the centre of the raised river in front, with a perforation to carry off the holy water which has trickled over the images, is placed a cow's mouth. In the farther right hand corner squats Ganesh, the elephant-headed god. In the farther left hand corner stands the Bull Nandi, with a cinchure round the base of his horns, the precise nature of which I cannot make out. In the centre stands a *lingam* in the centre of the '*yonî*' symbol, and im-

mediately behind it a small figure which I have no certain means of determining, but which may perhaps represent Parbati, the consort of the 'lingam' Lord. To the left of the central 'lingam' is a five-headed 'lingam' or pyramid of five balls. Next to this 5-headed symbol in front is a cross of the shape of Fig. 269 of this paper, whilst immediately behind the cow's mouth are the Sun and Moon, Figs. 126 and 127, the former being on the right hand. The near right hand corner was occupied by a standing figure, now broken away, which accident no doubt led to the whole finding its way as old brass into the dealer's hands from whom I purchased it.

A rude representation of this form of the 'swastika' is seen on a 'whorl' from Troy figured by Schliemann, (l. c., Pl. XXV, fig. 414, but the shape is rare at Troy, though perhaps figs. 317, 318, 319 and 320 on Pl. XXII may be intended for variants of it.

270.	270.	Linga with Cobras.	Scotland.
271.	271.	Dot in triangle.	"
272.	272.	Enclosed tree.	"
273.	273.	A 'gilgal.'	"
274.	274.	Semicircles round staff.	"
275.	275.	'Trisul' of 'Mahadev.'	"
276.	276.	Trisul (variant.)	"
277.	277.	Indian Goldsmith's anvil.	"

Index to Symbols.

Fig. No.	Fig. No.	Fig. No.	Fig. No.	Fig. No.	Fig. No.	Fig. No.	Fig. No.	Fig. No.	Fig. No.	No.	
1	34	46	176	91	27	136	17	181	98	226	249
2	100	47	21	92	28	137	198	182	180	227	117
3	118	48	24	93	31	138	112	183	193	228	73
4	124	49	22	94	29	139	10	184	155	229	114
5	91	50	23	95	33	140	11	185	9	230	201
6	223	51	25	96	20	141	12	186	13	231	250
7	36	52	26	97	66	142	127	187	14		
8	143	53	192	98	30	143	205	188	215		
9	59	54	74	99	63	144	88	189	190		
10	35	55	55	100	228	145	134	190	151		
11	218	56	58	101	242	146	136	191	165	258	258
12	235	57	113	102	32	147	211	192	166	259	259
13	37	58	105	103	103	148	209	193	163	260	260
14	37	59	61	104	157	149	8	194	148	261	261
15	38	60	130	105	125	150	133	195	172	262	262

Fig.	No.	Fig.	No.	Fig.	No.	Fig.	No.	Fig.	No.	Fig.	No.
16	39	61	225	106	132	151	126	196	62	263	263
17	184	62	216	107	221	152	186	197	196	264	264
18	65	63	191	108	93	153	15	198	76	265	265
19	45	64	99	109	164	154	101	199	153	266	266
20	42	65	147	110	83	155	149	200	131	267	267
21	41	66	200	111	106	156	150	201	86	268	268
22	43	67	183	112	120	157	189	202	128	269	269
23	139	68	71	113	123	158	108	203	137	270	270
24	138	69	140	114	177	159	144	204	168	271	271
25	40	70	72	115	116	160	64	205	87	272	272
26	199	71	142	116	109	161	19	206	75	273	273
27	44	72	162	117	158	162	239	207	121	274	274
28	50	73	78	118	56	163	16	208	135	275	275
29	47	74	70	119	57	164	102	209	154	276	276
30	46	75	182	120	226	165	197	210	92	277	277
31	48	76	104	121	219	166	181	211	82		
32	48	77	207	122	195	167	156	212	119		
33	67	78	214	123	95	168	175	213	152		
34	54	79	90	124	171	169	146	214	227		
35	49	80	79	125	85	170	179	215	243		
36	53	81	141	126	1	171	240	216	213		
37	97	82	80	127	2	172	202	217	212		
38	96	83	94	128	3	173	222	218	244		
39	69	84	170	129	4	174	210	319	236		
40	230	85	81	130	5	175	217	220	241		
41	51	86	89	131	6	176	206	221	224		
42	52	87	187	132	7	177	129	222	245		
43	185	88	111	133	159	178	115	223	246		
44	145	89	68	134	232	179	18	224	247		
45	60	90	169	135	220	180	178	225	248		

SUPPLEMENT.

Whilst the present paper has been going to press, a number of additional symbols have been brought to light, which may as well be here recorded, some being altogether new, whilst others are mere varieties of symbols already noticed.

278. A 'stupa' surmounted by a 'Taurine' with two 'Taurines' on either side. This symbol is No. 21, with the addition of a 'Taurine' above, and others on each side. It occurs on an oval silver coin in my own cabinet.

279. A bear standing to the left with its head reverted, as if in the act of gazing at some object behind it. This is also on an oval silver coin in my own cabinet and the only example I am acquainted with. The figure is rude but the outline very characteristic, and the animal may even be identified with the snow-bear by one acquainted with both species of bear occurring in the Himalayas.

280. A circular 'boss' surrounded by pear-shaped bodies separated by trifid branches. A curious and wholly unintelligible symbol.

281. A 'rat' to right within a circular area. This occurs on an oval silver coin in my own cabinet. The animal has a moderately long tail, and a rat is the only animal that it can be intended for. It is a 'reverse' symbol.

282. An egg or some oval body. This symbol occurs on the same coin as the last, also on the reverse.

283. Two balls or circles, with a dot in the centre, and connected by a T, the whole within an oval area. This too is a reverse symbol on the same coin as the last.

284. Symbol No. 199, with two fish below within an oblong tank.

285. Symbol No. 1 with a '*Taurine*' on the right, within a rectangular area. Whether there is another '*Taurine*' on the left is not certain.

286. This symbol is related to, or a variant of No. 137. It is a curious symbol and seems to contain two letters of identical pattern as those met with on terra-cotta seals and pottery at Troy (Schliemann's Troy, page 24). That on the left resembles a rudely formed 'psi,' whilst that on the right consists of an upright stroke, with a short sloping stroke on either side. On the terra-cotta seals, these two letters are combined into a monogram, with two additional characters added on the right, and it is not improbable that similar characters are intended in figures 85, 86 and 87, on Plate II of this paper. Fig. 205 seems a mere variant of fig. 203, where the left hand character is replaced by a square.

288. Bow and arrow, with a '*Taurine*' below, the whole enclosed within a symmetrical area. It may be observed that the 'bow' depicted on these coins is not the straight long bow used by the aborigines at present, but the elaborately curved bow, straight in the centre, with curved ends.

288. Symbol No. 29, only the '*Taurines*' replaced by square-headed nail-shaped objects.

289. Symbol No. 28, only circles replaced by ovals, enclosing 'lamps' or whatever fig. 63, Plate I, may be intended to represent.

290. A '*Taurine*' in a square area. It is seldom this symbol occurs by itself. It is on a square silver coin in my own cabinet.

291. Symbol No. 214, but the base with only four divisions.
292. Symbol 285 in miniature; (a ball between two 'Taurines,' and used on the reverse of a coin.) This supports the assertion that the reverse 'dies' were cut smaller than those intended for the 'obverse' of a coin.
293. Two fish, facing each other in oblong tank.
294. Symbol No. 21, only the hare stands within a complete circle, the full moon probably.
295. Symbol No. 5, only reversed.
296. A cactus plant, branching.
297. A tree with two branches on each side.
298. Symbol No. 28 only circles replaced by ovals enclosing 'Taurines.'
299. Symbol No. 29 only 'chatras' replaced by bidents, by which I mean a *trident* with the central prong absent. This 'bident' is a remarkable and rare symbol. It occurs associated as above on a single square coin in my own cabinet, and what is very curious, four similar 'bidents' constitute the spokes of two small lead wheels, dug up at Mycenæ, and figured and described by Schliemann in his work on Mycenæ pages 74 and 112, No. 120.
300. A wheel with six spokes. This is a wheel rather than a star, as it possesses a central boss or nave. It is a 'reverse' symbol of small size.
301. Seven rhomboidal hexagons radiately ranged round a central ball. Each hexagon has two short and six long sides, one of the short sides being placed inwards in contact with the central ball. It occurs on the same reverse as the above.
302. Symbol No. 28 only the circles replaced by ovals, each enclosing a 'triskelis.'
303. Ball with a 'Taurine' on each side and two 'Taurines' facing each other above and below, or six in all.
304. Symbol No. 13 united to a 'Taurine.'
305. An indistinct animal to the right. The ears suggest it may represent a pig.
306. Symbol No. 27, but with the 'Chatras' separated by a 'Triskelis' or some similar object.
307. A turtle to left of a tank, with two 'Taurines' above tank.
308. A spear-head, or Pipal-like leaf, surrounded by dots, seemingly thirteen in number.
309. A mushroom-shaped area, with a central dot, surrounded by three dots, and one below.
310. A parallelogram with a central dot, surrounded by four 'Taurines.'

311. A drinking cup. This object is of somewhat uncertain import. It is essentially part of symbol Nos. 42 and 174, though the association was not at first perceived. It always occupies, however, the same position over the goat's back and may be regarded as either a drinking cup or an altar. It is a slightly tapering cone, expanded *above*, if we regard it as an altar; or *below*, if we regard it as a cup; the truncate end representing either the base of the altar, with expanded tip, or the lip of a drinking vessel, with an expanded base. Good specimens always show it over the goat's back, and in some cases the symbols seems to be spotted or studded with ornamental dots, which rather favour the idea of its representing a cup.

312. Symbol No. 146 only the '*Taurines*' face in opposite directions.

I would here make a few remarks on those symbols on the coins, which we can recognise without hesitation on the gold ornaments found in the tombs of Agamemnon and his companions (as so regarded) in Mycenæ; and one hardly knows which most to admire, the material wealth and great artistic talent in design indicated by the contents of these tombs, or the acumen and perseverance which enabled Schliemann to bring to light after forty centuries or more, the personal relics and possessions down to their very arms and ornaments, of the actors in the immortal Epos of 'windy' Troy.

To commence with the '*Triskelis*.' An extremely elegant and graceful form of this symbol occurs on a gold 'button' (Mycenæ No. 383), where it fills the acute, or upper and lower angles of the central lozenge, and is mentioned without being named (Schliemann for some reason or other nowhere using the term '*Triskelis*' either in his 'Troy' or 'Mycenæ') in the description of this button at page 262, and this is the sole instance among the figures of this extremely beautiful form of the symbol. On another button, however, (l. c. No. 382) a '*Triskelis*' (recognised as such by Schliemann l. c. page 261) occupies the same position as the last, in the acute angles of the central lozenge, but is of an altogether stouter design, and composed of three circinate arms (or legs) of the peculiar art-type adopted by the Mycenæ workmen. A third variety of '*Triskelis*' occurs on two buttons (l. c. Nos. 409 and 413) which I consider made up, of three highly differentiated '*omegas*' (to use Schliemann's term for the symbol identified by me with the more familiar '*lingam-yoni*') with one arm or '*labium*' much elongated beyond the other (*artis causâ*) and recurved so as to impart a circinate or pot-hook form to the '*omega*' symbol. Other specimens and variants of the '*Triskelis*' occur on buttons, Nos. 377, 428, 510, 511 (l. c.) and one specimen of a reversed '*Triskelis*,' revolving from right to left, No. 501 (l. c.).

Another import symbol on the coins which we can recognise at Mycenæ is the '*Swastika*,' which occurs as the central ornament on several of the objects figured, (l. c. Nos. 382, 383 and 385, 422 and 428). It is of the usual form, resolving from left to right, the four side pegs (so called) being clearly seen in one and differing only from the symbol so common on Trojan pottery, and later '*Swastikas*,' in being formed with curved lines in place of angular, in accordance with the prevailing character of art among Mycenæ workmen. The most interesting, however, and perhaps the commonest of all the symbols discovered at Mycenæ is that termed the '*omega*' by Schliemann, (a very happy name could we only adopt it in place of the current one, as it forms truly the alpha and omega of all Nature Worship), but which I am inclined to identify as an archaic, but at the same time a highly specialized and ornate form of the '*Lingam-yoni*' of later times. The elements of both symbols are the same, a central dot with a surrounding circle, in one part of the periphery produced into a 'spout' composed of two '*labia*' separated by a groove. In the ordinary form of the symbol the '*labia*' remain united, but in the artistic form prevalent at Mycenæ, the '*labia*' are separated and recurved (omega-like), with the obvious intent of their being thereby rendered capable of artistic treatment, and of being worked up into patterns in vogue there. The simplest form of this '*omega*' symbol is where it stands alone, as in the acute angles of the central lozenge of a button (l. c. No. 377) or where two opposed '*omegas*' form the central ornament of a button (l. c. Nos. 378, 381, 384 and 386). In another (l. c. Nos. 379 and 421) the central 'boss' is ornamented with three '*omegas*,' with their 'spouts,' or '*labia*' directed outwards, and round them, six other '*omegas*' with their 'spouts' directed inwards, the '*labia*' of all these '*omegas*' uniting into an endless band, which winds in and out between the central 'dots' or '*lingams*' and those ranged outside of them, *θάνυμα ἰδέσθαι!* In another superb specimen of the goldsmith's art, (l. c. 422*a*) the outer band, immediately encircling the nine confluent '*omegas*,' is rayed, thereby indicating the solar relationship of the symbol, and on another button (l. c. 422) the same rayed border is seen enclosing the peculiar form of '*Swastika*' alluded to above as prevalent at Mycenæ, the fourfold sun, or 'four-balled Chakra,' Ujain symbol as it is also called. Fig. 171 occurs on two buttons (l. c. Nos. 406 and 411) where the symbol is seen with slight variation as four equal and equidistant spheres. On another button (l. c. 404) the four spheres are replaced by four '*omega*' symbols, pointing outwards, and with their '*labia*' confluent and forming the inner periphery of the design.

The most curious variant, however, of the '*omega*' symbol is that

seen on three buttons; (l. c. 405, 407, and 412) wherein the central dot or '*lingam*,' is surrounded by a labyrinth formed by four pair of fantastically recurved and elongated '*labia*,' beneath which guise, however, the expert in such symbols finds no difficulty in tracing the design of a four-spouted '*lingam*,' analogous with the four-headed or five-headed '*lingam*' now seen in Hindustán. Another significant symbol also, used in Mycenæ jewellery is Fig. 227, which appears on three buttons, (l. c. 378, 383 and 385). In the two first quoted instances, a row of these crosses is used as an ornamental border to the central lozenge, whilst in the last instance, the cross within a circle fills up the acute angles of the central lozenge. The fact of this symbol not occupying a more prominent position may perhaps be due, to the preference displayed in ornamental art in Mycenæ, for rounded and fluent designs, rather than those of angular pattern.

A cluster of seven spheres identical with Fig. 157 found on the coins, is seen on a button (l. c. 398), and a variant of the same (l. c. 399) wherein each of the spheres, except the central one, is a variant of the '*omega*' symbol. Yet another variant of this symbol occurs (l. c. 401) wherein seven '*omegas*' are ranged round a central sphere. Another rare symbol on the coins Fig. 129, may I think be recognised on a gold button (l. c. No. 397), where within a square area, four such '*twinned spheres*,' each pair enveloped by a sigmoidal cincture or band, are ranged round a central dot, the peculiar feature of the '*twinned sphere*' being skilfully made prominent.

Schliemann was evidently much struck with the peculiarity of this "beautiful intaglio" as he terms it, but his interpretation of it, I am wholly unable to accept. He resolves this symbol into "four long knives, whose handles are prolonged into spirals," (l. c. p. 263). In my opinion the knives or blades are simply the four blank arcs of a circle, which intervene between the internal square and the periphery of the button, and I can see no ground whatever for regarding the '*twinned*' or paired circles, as '*handles*.' Had there been only four spheres, instead of eight, it is conceivable that these might have been regarded as '*ears*,' or '*loops*' to four knife blades, but the '*twinned*' or paired spheres are clearly seen and bear, in my opinion, not the remotest resemblance to knife-handles. Another interesting symbol on the coins of symbolical import is Fig. 158. Two distinct variants of this are met with on the Mycenæ jewels. On one button (l. c. No. 410) six equal spheres are so disposed as to form an equilateral triangle, within a circle, and in the space between the periphery and the central sphere in each side of the triangle, a cluster of three small spheres is introduced (though only one perfect cluster is seen in the engraving), making nine in all. Another

variant of this symbol is seen in the centre of the elaborate gold button already alluded to (l. c. 382) where in place of six spheres, we find six hexagons similarly arranged in form of a triangle, and round about in the interspaces are six small spheres.

Fig. 9. THE BALANCE OR SCALES.

That the balance has always been an object of deep symbolical import may be judged from the fact of two miniature gold balances being found by Schliemann in the third tomb at Mycenæ. The beams of these balances were formed of tubes of gold, strengthened by a stick inside, while the scales were ornamented with a butterfly in one case and a six-petalled flower-like ornament in the other. Dr. Schliemann remarks: "Of course these scales can never have been used, they were evidently made expressly to accompany the bodies of the three princesses into the grave, and they have therefore, undoubtedly, a symbolic signification. I may here call attention to the scales in the wall-paintings of the Egyptian sepulchres, in which are weighed the good and bad deeds of the deceased."

Fig. 157.

This symbol is seen conspicuously on the splendid gold diadem found on the head of one of the three bodies interred in the third sepulchre at Mycenæ. The main fillet of which this diadem consists was 25 inches long, ornamented with 12 bosses identical in design with Fig. 157, three in a row above, five in a central row, and four below, each such 'boss' alternating with others representing a 'lotus' or other flower, with from 9 to 12 petals, almost identical with Fig. 147 only with more numerous petals, (*vide* Schliemann's Mycenæ, p. 145, Fig. 281.) A curious example of the deliberate prominence given where possible to the number seven in ancient symbolism is afforded by the golden cuttle-fish obtained at Mycenæ and figured by Schliemann in his great work (p. 268, Fig. 424). These cuttle-fish fifty-three in number and all perfectly alike, are remarkable for possessing not eight arms (as one might have expected from the number of arms which furnish the name of the Family *Octopodidæ*), but seven only, and there can be no question, that these old gold-workers of Mycenæ were aware that, as a matter of fact, cuttle-fish are at certain seasons found with seven, instead of eight arms, and that they deliberately selected the mystical number of seven arms, rather than the more usual one of eight. We of course know that it is the male cuttle-fish only, which is reasonably deprived of one of its arms, a loss which is repaired before the following year, but which curious 'moult' did not escape the observation of the Greek fisherman, or the quick appreciation of the prehistoric worker in gold.

ERRATA IN MR. THEOBALD'S PAPER ON PUNCH-
MARKED COINS IN JOURNAL, AS. SOC.
BENG., VOL. LIX, FOR 1890.

- p. 204 line 8 Transpose words 'Bulls' and 'Balls.'
" " 13 after 'Assyrian' insert the word 'male.'
p. 206 " 10 for 'except' read 'expect.'
" " 16 for 'and' read 'to need.'
" " 17 for 'twined' read 'twinned.'
p. 215 " 4 for 'seem most' read 'appears.'
p. 227 " 29 for 'subtleties' read 'subtleties.'
p. 260 " 6 from bottom for 'river' read 'rim.'
p. 266 " 4 for 'pegs' read 'legs.'
" " 8 from bottom after Myceno a full stop, and for 'the' read 'The.'
p. 268 " 4 from bottom for 'reasonably' read 'seasonally.'
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Chhattisgar : notes on its tribes, sects and castes.—By P. N. BOSE, B. Sc.
(LOND.) F. G. S., Deputy Superintendent, Geological Survey of India.

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§ 1. A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF CHHATTISGAR.

Name.—The Bengal-Nagpur Railway will open up a tract of country which is now but little known to the public. In the Central Provinces, it is called “Chhattisgar.” Two derivations of the name have been proposed. According to the Central Provinces Gazetteer,* Chhattisgar owes its name to thirty-six (*chhattis*) forts (*gar*) included within it. Serious objections, however, have been urged against this interpretation by Mr. Beglar of the Archæological Survey.† While in Behar he heard a tradition, that ages ago, in the time of Jarásandha, thirty-six families of chámárs had emigrated from that country and settled in a country far to the south of it, which was called “Chhattisgarh” (thirty-six families). He was not at the time aware of any country which bore that name, and his inquiries with regard to it being ineffectual, he became rather sceptical about its existence. When, however, official duty brought him to Chhattisgar, the tradition he had heard in Behar came back to his mind. Here was a country far from Behar, and south of it, the people of which appeared to him to be singularly like the Beharis in language, dress, manners, and customs—a people, too, of which the chámárs formed a very important element. Mr. Beglar suggests that Chhattisgar derives its name from the thirty-six families of Behari chámárs who settled there; according to which interpretation ‘Chhattisgar’ should be spelt ‘Chhattisgarh.’ Considering, that long intercourse had made Mr. Beglar perfectly familiar with the Beharis before he visited Chhattisgar, his interpretation becomes authoritative. Besides, it promises to throw some light on the history and affinities of one of the most remarkable peoples that inhabit India—the Chhattisgari chámárs. We must say, however, that as the word is pronounced by the people, it is difficult to make out whether “Chhattisgarh” or “Chhattisgar” is the correct spelling; we have adopted the latter as the one in current use.

Physical and political Geography.—Chhattisgar as an administrative division of the Central Provinces comprises the districts of Raipur, Bilaspur and Sambalpur, and including Bastar, covers an area of about 53,000 square miles. But Chhattisgar proper includes Raipur and Bilaspur only; and we shall use the term in this restricted sense. It comprises a central plain covering an area of about 10,000 square miles

* *Op. cit.*, p. 88.

† Arch. Surv. Rep. Vol. VII.

surrounded by a forest-clad hilly country of a somewhat wider extent (about 12,000 square miles); strictly speaking, the plain country alone should be called Chhattisgar, and it is only for the sake of convenience that we have included the surrounding hill tract within it. The contrast between the hill and the plain country is sharp and striking. The former is clothed with thick jungle, little cultivated, and sparsely populated, the population consisting chiefly of aboriginal tribes. To the *shikari*, it affords sport in abundance; the tiger is especially abundant in the southern, and the wild buffalo in the eastern jungles, while in every direction, the antelope, the spotted deer, and other varieties of game may be found. The plain, on the other hand, is almost flat, perfectly denuded of jungle, well cultivated, and thickly populated. With the exception of a small narrow strip in the western portion, it is what is called *khalsa*, that is, under the direct management of the British Government. The hill tracts are partitioned amongst a number of zamindars and feudatory chiefs, who pay an annual tribute. The zamindars maintain their own police. The feudatory chiefs, whose gross revenue in most cases does not exceed that of second-class zamindars in Bengal, are invested with authority equal to that of a Holkar or Nizam. They not only keep their own police, but also have their Jails and civil and criminal courts.

Geology and mineral resources.—The configuration of the country well illustrates the intimate connection between geological structure and physical features. The plain is formed of Vindhyan sandstones, marls and limestones, which have been but little disturbed from their normal horizontal position. The hills surrounding it are, on the other hand, composed of older rocks which have undergone considerable disturbance and metamorphism. At the north-eastern extremity, about Korba there is a considerable outcrop of the coal-bearing strata (Gondwana System). The results of the coal-exploration conducted by the Geological Survey are not very encouraging with regard to the ground traversed by the Bengal-Nagpur railway; but, not very far from it, there is one tract near Korba where workable coal of good quality has been found. In the hills to the north, west, and south extensive iron-ores of exceptionally good quality exist. Iron-smelting is still carried on there to some extent in the primitive fashion. But with the opening of the railway, the industry already on the wane, will probably be nearly extinct. Copper and lead-ores exist; but their extent is not yet known. The sandstones of the plain are largely used for building purposes; and the limestones are quarried chiefly for road metal. In places the limestone is tolerably pure and would yield lime of good quality.

Jungle produce.—Of forest produce, lao and *Hurra* (Haritáki,

Terminalia citrina) are the most important. The former flourishes best on Kusam (*Carthamus tinctorius*) and Palás (*Butea frondosa*). But it is also grown, though to a very subordinate extent, on Baer (*Ziziphus jujuba*) and a few other trees. The lac is mostly taken to Mirzapur. The *Hurra* is exported to Europe, through Bombay.

Agriculture.—Chhattisgar is, or rather has been the land of plenty. To the people of the neighbouring districts, it has long been known as *khalauti*, or the “Land of the Threshing-floors.” Rice, wheat, and linseed are the chief crops. Rice and wheat were formerly sold—and that too not so very long ago—at fabulously cheap prices. Only five or six years ago, after the opening of the Nagpur-Chhattisgar Railway, rice used to be sold, at some distance from its terminus at Nandgaon, for Re. 1-4 or less per maund. But the price in 1889 was Rs. 2-8, and will no doubt go up still higher when the Bengal-Nagpur Railway system is completed.

In the southern and eastern portion of Raipur, as well as in Bilaspur generally, rice is the principal crop. In the western portion of the plain, wheat appears to be more largely grown than rice. Wherever there is black soil (*kanhár*) wheat is preferably sown on it; whereas rice is chiefly grown on sandy soil. Rice, however, is the principal crop. The area on which rice is grown in the districts of Raipur and Bilaspur amounts to nearly two million acres, whereas the wheat area does not amount to more than 130,000 acres.

History.—The earliest traces of man we found in this district are some bone and pottery mounds by the Seonath river. They invariably occur in the plain country. Who the men were it is difficult to surmise. But, whoever they were, they had passed the stone age, and had been in the habit of using iron implements. In the south-western portion of the district of Raipur, away in the jungles, there are remains of rude forts and temples which tradition ascribes to a race of Gauli kings, No reliable information, however, is available about them. To a later period, belong the ruined temples and *Sati* pillars of Balod, Gurur, Sirpur &c., some of which date back to the beginning of the Christian era. Mr. Beglar of the Archæological Survey finds evidence in an inscription of the extension of the Chalukya power right into the heart of the modern district of Raipur.*

The authentic history of Chhattisgar dates back only to the middle of the eighth century, when Raja Suradeva of the well known Haihai family ruled at Ratanpur† in the district of Bilaspur. The place is now

* Arch. Surv. Rep. Vol. VII. p. 141.

† Central Provinces Gazetteer, p. 90. Mr. Beglar would not allow this town any greater antiquity than the middle of the 15th century. (*Op. cit.*, p. 165).

overgrown with jungle; but, extensive tanks and ruins testify to its former grandeur. Nineteen kings of the Haihai line had preceded Suradeva, but all that is known about them is of the vaguest character. Surrounded by barriers of high hills on all sides, Chhattisgar entirely escaped the Muhammadan invasion, and the Haihai dynasty ruled undisturbed till the middle of the eighteenth century when the country came under the sway of the Bhonslas of Nagpur.

Of less antiquity than the Haihaibansi rulers of Ratanpur were the Gond kings of Garha Mandla, Lanji and Chanda. The western portion of Chhattisgar, included in the zamindari of Sahuspur-Lohara, Gandai, Dhundi-Lohara, &c. belonged to one or other of these dynasties.

In 1818, Chhattisgar came under the superintendence of British officers; and in 1854, on the lapse of the province of Nagpur to the British Government, it was formed into a Deputy Commissionership with head quarters at Raipur. Since then a separate Deputy Commissionership has been established for Bilaspur.

§ 2. GENERAL REMARKS ON THE TRIBES &C.

I have left out the higher Hindu castes, Bráhmans, Rájputs, Káyasthas and Beniyás; the Muhammadans too and such castes as Dhobi, Mehter &c., who are chiefly met with in towns, have been omitted from these notes as they do not present any special features of interest, being settlers from Northern or Western India. Even of the specially Chhattisgari people, these notes do not pretend to be exhaustive, as they treat of those only with whom I came into personal contact. In thus restricting myself I hoped to have avoided errors into which second-hand information often leads,* and to have attained correctness by sacrificing completeness.

The people, as elsewhere in India, may be broadly divided into Aryan and non-Aryan, or, perhaps less logically into Hindu and Aboriginal. Either of these methods of classification would answer well when we have to deal with such well-marked Aryan or Hindu castes, as Bráhmans, Káyasthas, and Beniyás, on the one hand, or such well marked non-Aryan or Aboriginal people as the Jungly Gonds on the

* I may illustrate this by an instance, which will be referred to later on. The Central Provinces Gazetteer (to which I am greatly indebted) describes the caste of Hálvás to be distillers; and Sherring quotes this description in his great work on "Hindu Tribes and Castes," (Vol. II, p. 147). I did not, however, come across a single Hálvá who was a distiller; and I was told, that there was no such Hálvá in Chhattisgar or anywhere else. There is, however, a clan of the Telis called Hálías, who are distillers by profession. It is this similarity of name which probably led to the confusion.

other. But, it is difficult exactly to define the ethnological position of a good many of the castes treated of in these notes. The *chámárs*, for instance, one of the largest and most interesting castes in Chhattisgar are looked down upon by the Hindus, and in their faith they are rather aggressively anti-Hindu—the word Hindu being used in its popular sense. Yet, physically the *chámárs* resemble their Aryan more than their non-Aryan neighbours; and it is impossible to place them in either of these categories without giving rise to serious objections. Similar difficulties are experienced in classifying such castes as the *Kanwá's* the *Pankás* and *Hálvás*. In the present state of our knowledge a rigid system of classification would, I think, be rather disadvantageous than otherwise; I have not, therefore, adopted any. I may, however, mention in passing, that the Gonds have unquestionable Dravidian affinities, and that the *Bhunjiyas*, the *Baigás*, the *Komárs*. and the *Saonras* probably belong to the Kolarian group. Whether the *Sudra* castes such as the *Telis*, the *Márárs*, the *Koshtás* &c., are Aryan or non-Aryan, or a mixture of the two, it is difficult to say exactly. I do not think any of them is of purely Aryan blood, some of them may be Hinduised non-Aryans. The process of transformation is still going on. The greater number of the Gonds who have settled in the plain country amongst the Hindus have adopted the manners and customs of the latter. They are proud to be called Hindus, and are ashamed to own affinity with their brethren of the jungles; and some few have succeeded so far as to be recognised as Hindus. Some of the castes are probably of mixed descent. The *Dhur Gonds* appear to be such.

Some castes or sub-castes are due solely to differences of habitat and environment; others to inequality of social position. The castes into which the Gonds are subdivided seem to be mostly explicable by one or other of these causes. Those who have settled in the plains have been greatly affected by their Hindu environment. They have entirely forgotten their own language, have taken to Hindu manners and customs; and will on no account have social intercourse with their brethren in the jungles. Thus we have two great castes, one comprising settlers in the plain country, and the other dwellers in the jungles. Amongst these, again, minor castes would be formed owing to geographical and social causes. A barrier, such as a range of hills, would prevent intercommunication and social intercourse and give rise to castes. People of high social position, those, for instance, who claim kinship with the once powerful Gond kings of *Garha-Mandla*, *Lanji* &c., would not associate with those of an inferior status, and would thus form a caste by themselves.

The sects of the *Satnámis*, the *Kabirpanthis* and the *Mán Bháns* are

very interesting. The followers of the last named sect were not separately entered at the last census; they are not, in fact, mentioned. This is an omission which it may be hoped, will not recur at the next census. In the districts of Raipur and Bilaspur the Kabirpanthis number 230,526, and the Satnámis 356,533. At the last census the population of these districts including Hindus, and Aborigines, numbered nearly three millions. The Kabirpanthis and the Satnámis, therefore, together form about 24 per cent. of the entire population. The Kabirpanthis do not appear to believe in any God beyond their Guru to whom they accord divine honours. The Márárs and the Bhunjiyas also did not express their belief in any God. They have *sthápanás* in their houses for their ancestors to whom they give offerings periodically.

The Satnámis are Monotheists, but like the Kabirpanthis they worship their Guru. The Mán Bháns are Vaishnavas.

All these sects, the Kabirpanthis, the Satnámis and the Mán Bháns, abjure caste and eschew flesh and fish and spirituous liquors. A section of the Satnámis abstain even from smoking.

Rice is the principal food of the people in the plain country, and *kodo* that of the Gonds and other tribes living in the jungles. Spirituous liquor (prepared from mhowa flower) is indulged in chiefly by the Gonds, especially those who live in the jungles.

The clothing of men is usually of the scantiest possible dimensions; but, that of women is, as a rule, ample and decorous. In the interior, strong, coarse, indigenous cloth is still largely in use; but with the extension of railways it is to a large extent giving way to cheaper, more showy, though less durable cloth of Manchester make. The fate of the weaving castes like that of the iron-smelters is sealed.

There are certain practices which are common to most of the tribes and castes described in this paper, and which may be conveniently mentioned here.

Re-marriage of widows is a general practice. A widow is allowed to wed herself to the younger brother of her deceased husband—a custom which appears to have largely prevailed in ancient India. She can, however, marry almost anybody she pleases in her own caste. The essential part of the ceremony of such marriage consisting, I am told, in making presents of *churis* (thin glass or earthen bracelets) to the bride—who, in her widowed condition, remains without any ornaments whatever—is called *churi* marriage. Being inexpensive, it is often resorted to by impecunious wife-hunters in preference to regular marriage which is rather costly. Marriage is certainly not allowed to be a failure in Chhattisgar. A man can of course take to himself as many

wives as his means will allow; and a wife can leave her lord for anybody else provided the latter compensates the injured husband, the damages being rated according to the customary marriage expenses of the caste.

The practice of worshipping the Thákur Deo and Mátá is almost universal. The former is the village god, and is worshipped by all the villagers twice a year, in the months of Paus and Chaitra. The Deo consists of a collection of peculiarly shaped stones usually placed on a sort of *dais* under an umbrageous tree. In Drug Subdivision (Raipur district), stool-shaped stones with two legs (supposed by General Cunningham to be Buddhist remains) take the place of the Thakur Deo. Elsewhere, he is supposed to be embodied in characteristically shaped pebbles. Besides the stones strictly representing the Thakur Deo, numbers of others are placed by their side. In fact, the seat of the Thakur Deo is a sort of local museum. Any curiosities found in the neighbourhood, either pebbles or other rock specimens or remains of old temples &c. are carefully deposited there. Before leaving a village, I always made it a point to pay my respects to the Thakur Deo, and the visit was always interesting, and sometimes instructive as well.

The worship of the Thakur Deo consists in sacrificing goats and fowls, and having a good feast. In some villages the headman (*malguzar*) collects subscriptions from the villagers, and the expenses of the festival are met from the fund so raised.

Mátá, called also Bhaváni and Káliká at places is the well known goddess of smallpox. She is greatly dreaded, and universally worshipped, being carefully lodged in a thatched shed in the outskirts of the village. She is usually represented by a pebble; a trident, an earthen lamp, and a pot for milk or water being its necessary adjuncts. She is worshipped in Baisakh with sacrifices of fowls.

Bhim Sen represented by his celebrated club, a large piece of stone daubed with vermilion, is universally venerated. Mr. Hislop says* that "his worship is spread over all parts of the country, from Berar to the extreme east of Bastar, and that not merely among the Hinduised aborigines, who have begun to honour Khandoba, Hanumán, Ganpati, &c. but among the rudest and most savage of the tribe." This universal popularity of Bhim Sen (who cannot be any other than the well known Pánḍava) is a rather curious fact.

Belief in witchcraft is universal. People coming from Jabalpur and other places are in mortal terror of the Chhattisgaris who are supposed to be past masters in the black art. A Jabalpur servant of mine—a

* Op. Cit. p. 16.

Christian to boot—would ascribe his fever from which he suffered greatly to the malice of a fellow Chhattisgari servant. I have been told many stories about the doings of supposed witches. At one time they were punished by the villagers rather heavily, but since the establishment of British rule, the witches have had a rather easy time of it.

§ 3. DESCRIPTIONS OF THE TRIBES, SECTS, AND CASTES.

*The Gonds.**

Distribution.—The Gonds extend from Hoshangabad on the Narbadá to the Godávári south of Bastar, a distance in a line of over 400 miles. The area of the country occupied by them is about 120,000 square miles. According to the last census they number 2,040,355 souls. Scattered over such an extensive country through no less than 18 districts, generally separated from one another by difficult natural barriers, it is no wonder, that we should find important local differences among them in language, religion, manners and customs. The account given here relates chiefly to the Gonds of Chhattisgar with whom the writer had personal intercourse.

Whence the Gonds came, and when they settled in India are points on which but little light has been thrown as yet. From their language they appear to belong to the Dravidian section of the aboriginal population of India, and to be more closely allied to the Tamil than to the Telugu subsection.†

Gondi Songs.—The late Mr. Hislop, to whom Indian science owes so much, collected some highly interesting songs of the Gonds. These have been published with an abstract English version in a work entitled "Papers relating to the Aboriginal Tribes of the Central Provinces." They had never before been committed to writing, but have been handed down by tradition. It is probable, therefore, that we have not got them in their original form; indeed, embellishments from Hindu mythology are clearly discernible in their present garb. Still, the main structure of the songs is clearly recognised to be Gondi. They are five in number, but are linked together into one story, in which the gradual social evolution of the Gonds may be distinctly traced. The first song treats

* Mr. Hislop observes: "The name of Gond, or Gund, seems to be a form of Kond, or Kund, the initial gutturals of the two words being interchangeable... Both terms are most probably connected with *Kondá*—the Telugu equivalent for a mountain—and therefore will signify the 'hill people.'" (Papers relating to the Aboriginal Tribes of the Central Provinces, p. 3.)

† Caldwell's "Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages." 2nd edition, pp. 5. 3-516.

of the creation of the world and of the Gonds. It presents a very life-like picture of the primitive condition of the Gonds. When they were born.

“Hither and thither all the Gonds were scattered in the
jungle ;

Places, hills and valleys, were filled with the Gonds.

Even trees had their Gonds. How did the Gonds conduct them-
selves ?

Whatever comes across them, they must needs kill and eat it ;

They made no distinction. If they saw a jackal they killed

And ate it ; no distinction was observed ; they respected not ante-
lope, sambar and the like.

They made no distinction in eating a sow, a quail, a pigeon,

A crow, a kite, an adjutant, a vulture.

A lizard, a frog, a beetle, a cow, a calf, a he- and she-buffalo,

Rats, bandicoots, squirrels—all these they killed and ate.

So began the Gonds to do. They devoured raw and ripe things ;

They did not bathe for six months together ;

They did not wash their faces properly, even on dunghills they
would fall down and remain.

Such were the Gonds born in the beginning.

A smell was spread over the jungles.

When the Gonds were thus disorderly behaved.

They became disagreeable to Mahadeva,

Who said ; “The caste of the Gonds is very bad ;

I will not preserve them, they will ruin my hill Dhavalagiri ;

I perceive here and there smells.”

In a note on this passage, the editor observes : “This somewhat
sarcastic description . . . of the habits of the Gonds is probably of
Hindu origin.” But, the description is not at all sarcastic ; nor is it
even exaggerated. I have personal experience of Gonds whose habits
are exactly the same as those so vividly depicted in the above passage.
In fact, the present normal condition of the Gonds living in jungles is
not far different from the primitive condition described in it.

The song then goes on to relate how for their misbehaviour all the
Gonds except four were imprisoned by Mahadeva. The four Gonds who
escaped the fate of their brethren,

“.....travelled onward over hills.

Thence they went and saw a tree rising upright as a date tree, which
they climbed and looked about.

They said : ‘There is no hiding place for us.’

But, one of them looked and saw a place named Kachikopa Lahugad.*

They went by the jungly road and searched that place."

The second song relates how the four runaways first lived by hunting alone, and then gradually learnt rude cultivation. Lingo, who is worshipped by some classes of Gonds as a god, was brought into existence by Bhagavan to better the condition of the Gonds. He went to the four Gonds who had taken refuge at Kachikopa Lahugad, and was kindly received by them. They had been living on game which they ate cooked or raw. Lingo told them to cut down trees and get a field ready. But,

"..... Their hands were blistered, and each blister was as large as an Aola fruit.†

They threw down their hatchets and came to Lingo,

(And said): "Our hands are blistered, therefore we threw down our hatchets."

They went aside and sat down. Then arose Lingo and held a hatchet in his hand,

And went on cutting trees; the trees fell, their roots were dug up. Thus he began to cut down jungle. In an hour he made a good field.

(They said): "Our hands are blistered and not one tree have we cut down.

But Lingo in one hour has cut down several trees;

He has made the black soil (appear), and has sown rice and hedged it round."

This is the sort of cultivation which the Gonds learnt, which in many parts they still practise, and which they would not leave for any other if they could help. It goes by the name of *Dáhi*. Since the prohibition of the reckless cutting down of trees in British territory, the Gonds have had to take to the plough in some parts, but nowhere do they appear to have done so with a heart as yet.

The four Gonds of Kachikopa Lahugad were unmarried. Lingo set out in search of wives for them. An old giant of the name of Rikad Gawadi had seven daughters, Lingo inserted a bamboo stick in the hollow of a gourd and made a guitar.

"He plucked two hairs from his head and strung it.

* "The meaning in Gondi is the 'Iron Valley—the red hills'; a nomenclature very applicable to the mineral products and external aspect of many hills in the Gond country." (Hislop, *op. cit.* part III, p. 6, foot note.)

† Sanskrit, *Kmalaki*, *Phyllanthus emblica* (Willd.)

He held a bow and fixed eleven pegs to that one stick, and played on it.

He approached the fire where Rikad Gawadi was sleeping.

The giant seemed like a log lying close to the fire; his teeth were hideously visible.

His mouth was gaping."

The effect of music on the mind of a savage is well described. The old giant had, in fact, been so charmed that he gave Lingo free permission to take his daughters away. Lingo brought them and married them informally to the four Gonds of Kachikopa Lahugad. In time, however, they got jealous of Lingo, though most unreasonably, and killed him.

I have not space for any more extracts from the songs, enough, however, has been quoted already to show how interesting they are, and how valuable from an ethnological point of view.

The third song relates the revival of Lingo, and his delivery of the Gonds who had been imprisoned by Mahadeva on account of their filthy habits. The fourth song treats of the subdivision by Lingo of the Gonds into tribes, and the institution of the worship of the Gond gods; and the fifth takes another step towards civilisation—the institution by Lingo of the rites of marriage among the Gonds.

Distribution of the Gonds in Chhattisgar.—The Gonds try to avoid the plain country where they have to compete with the Hindus and Satnami chamars, and prefer to live in the jungle-clad hills, especially in the feudatory states and zamindarias where they can satisfy their natural propensity for jungle produce, and where they can to a certain extent avoid using the plough which they hate. In that portion of the district of Raipur which is called *khalsa* (*i. e.*, managed directly by the British Government), and which consists chiefly of an open plain country, the Gonds form only 18·6 per cent. of the total population and the greater majority of them more or less Hinduised, whereas they muster strong in the feudatory states, especially in Kanker, which is entirely a hilly country, where they form no less than 62 per cent. of the total population. In the feudatory states of Khairágar, Nándgaon and Chhuikhádán, which, in their physical features combine the characters of Kánker and of the *khalsa* portion of Raipur, the Gonds form about 24 per cent. of the entire population.

Types of Civilisation.—There is another feature about the distribution of the Gonds which is noteworthy. Those who have settled in the plain country approximate to the Hindus; indeed, aspire to pass as such. They have forgotten their dialect, and are often ashamed to own affinity

with their brethren of the hills whom they hold in undisguised contempt. Like their Hindu neighbours they eschew beef and pork. Some of them worship Hindu gods, such as Mahámái, Mahádeo, and entertain Brahman priests; and some assume the holy thread. The chiefs of Kawarda and Khairagar, though, I am informed, of Gond origin, call themselves Kshatriyas; and the chief of Khairággar has succeeded in forming alliances with needy Kshatriya families. Most of the plains Gonds, especially those who are well-to-do, call themselves Hindus, and are proud to be recognised as such. They worship, however, almost invariably, the great Gond god—the Buḍha Deo.

The farther one goes away from the plains, the more Gonds are found unaffected by Hindu influence and approximating to the primitive type. In fact, the stages of civilisation represented historically in the songs referred to above, are here represented in space, the comparatively civilised Hinduised type prevailing in the cultivated plain country, and the primitive type in the wildernesses bordering it. The hill Gonds are more or less omnivorous; and altogether in their habits approximate very closely to their primitive ancestors, who, as related in the song quoted above, were imprisoned by Mahadeo for polluting the hill Dhavala-giri. They never have anything to do with Hindu gods or Brahman priests.

From the vocabulary of the Gonds it is possible to form some idea of their primitive civilisation. They not only have names for most wild animals and forest trees with which they must have been well acquainted, but there are special Gondi terms for such domesticated animals as the elephant, the horse and the camel. The only weapons for which there are Gondi names are the hatchet, the trusty and constant companion of the hill Gond, and the bow and arrow, which most aboriginal people are very expert in using. For barber, carpenter, and weaver, they have no Gondi names; and they still stand in little need of such differentiated professions. Plough they call *nágar*, a Hindi word; and as, already observed, they have not taken to it with a heart as yet. They have their own terms for iron, and for workers in iron—iron smelting is still largely practised by them. But for copper and gold the terms are Hindi. They appear to have been in the habit of bartering in kind as they have no special term for any kind of coin. They can count in their own dialect only up to ten, beyond that they count in Hindi. They have Gondi terms for sun, moon, stars, day, evening and night, but none for week, month, and year. Altogether the social progress which the Gonds attained was of a very low type; and it is no wonder, that as soon as they came in contact with the more civilised Hindus, they should have endeavoured to take to the ways of the latter.

Physical appearance, character, &c.—The physical features of the hill Gonds are distinctly Mongolian. I found the Mongolian characters most pronounced in the wild country on the borders of Chhattisgar and Mandla—thick lips, scanty hair, compressed nose, and short stature. But in the plain country, it is often difficult to tell a Gond from a Hindu, the former having approximated to the latter not only in habits, but also in appearance. The men are slim, well built, and active (on occasions), dexterous in the use of the hatchet, and in the jungles, of the bow. Like most other aboriginal tribes, the Gonds are very strongly addicted to intoxicating drinks. When not under the influence of fear, they are lively, frank, and truthful. One could not wish to have more agreeable and more useful companions in the jungles than they are. The clothing of the men is of the scantiest possible dimensions; but the women are as a rule decently clad. Both are very fond of ornamenting themselves with trinkets.

Deities.—Bṛḥa Pen is the great god of the Gonds. He is universally worshipped, even by those who have become Hinduised. Two grand festivals appear to be held in his honour, (in the months of Māgh ? and Bhādra ?) when the usual offerings of cocoanut, betelnut &c., are made, and cows, goats, and fowls are sacrificed. The sacrifice of the cow is considered an essential part of the worship by the hill Gonds. A few stones daubed with vermilion represent the god. Serpent worship is prevalent to some extent. There are images of serpents at Sahuspur, in Sahuspur-Lohara zamindari, and at Ambagar in Chunki zamindari. I was told at one place, that the serpent is worshipped every three years when a vessel of milk is left for him. Lingo is held in great veneration in some parts; but, elsewhere, the very name is unknown. Dulha Deo, who is the great god of another aboriginal tribe, the Baigas, is also greatly esteemed in some places, as also the Hindu god, Mahadeo.

Besides these, there appear to be special minor deities for each *got*. The Gonds are divided into 5 *gots*. One of these *gots* comprises worshippers of three deities, another of four deities, a third of five deities: and so on. The three deities of the first of these *gots* are, I was told, the bull, the tiger, and the crocodile! These animals are considered sacred by, and would not contribute towards the food of, those who belong to this particular *got*; but the members of the other *gots* would not scruple to eat the flesh of any of these animals! I cannot, however, vouch for the correctness of this information; I often inquired about the *got*-gods, but never got any satisfactory answer. The four deities of the four-god *got* are, I was informed at one place, the Bṛḥa Deo himself and his three brothers, Aginkumār, Rausárna, and Áudia Singha; at

another place I was told, the four gods were the tortoise, the crocodile, a kind of fish called *bodh*, and a ferocious bird the name of which was given as *sarewá*.

The Gonds of course believe in evil spirits and witches. But they do not appear to have any clear idea of a next world. Notwithstanding repeated questioning, I failed to ascertain if they had any word for it.

There is no regular priesthood amongst the Gonds. The nuptial, funeral, and similar ceremonies are performed under the lead of aged relatives. But generally in every village there is a man who is supposed to have the power of charming tigers, or preventing by *mantras* such calamities as drought, cholera &c. He is called "Baigá." The name is derived from a tribe called Baigas to be mentioned later on who are especially credited with these powers.

In some parts, a group of villagers acknowledge a head called *Sonwani* who presides at panchayets to settle disputes.

Ceremonies.—After a period varying from a few days to one month, the child is named and caste people are fed.

Marriage usually takes place after puberty. There is no restriction as to the number of wives which a man may take to himself. But, marriage being a costly concern, it is only the well-to-do who can indulge in polygamy. The ceremony consists of four stages, at each of which the bridegroom has to spend according to his social status. In the first stage called *sagáí* (a kind of betrothal), the bridegroom has to make a present of rice, liquor, and some cash to the father of the bride, and of *churi*, and *phunri* (silk tape for the hair) to the bride. The second stage (*barokhi*) consists in bringing the bride to the home of the bridegroom—a reversal of the ordinary Hindu process—when presents of grain, clothes, and cash have to be made to the father of the bride. At the third stage, the bride and bridegroom are anointed with oil and turmeric and they go round a pole seven times. The ceremony takes place with great feasting and the usual drunkenness. The fourth stage of the ceremony consists in sending the bride to her home.

When the bridegroom has not the means to make the necessary presents to the father of the bride, he serves the latter as a labourer for a period varying according to the price set upon the lady.

Burial and Cremation.—The dead are usually buried with head to the north and feet to the south. Great care is taken of the graves of distinguished persons. Earthen mounds are raised over these, which are kept very clean, and protected from the sun and rain by a shed. Rude clay figures of men and horses are kept on the mound, symbolic probably of the way in which the departed have gone to heaven. A few days after death, the *srádh* takes place, when caste people are fed.

When cremation is practised—as it is by those who are somewhat Hinduised—mounds are sometimes raised over the ashes of the dead. These mounds usually point north-south, but sometimes east-west. Quantities of paddy are sometimes put on the mounds, as offerings to the spirits of the dead.

Castes.—The Gonds, like the Hindus, are divided into castes, of which I have met with the following :—*

1. Ráj.
2. Kureti.
3. Khatalwár.
4. Dhur.
5. Koitor or Jháriá. (Sometimes also called Rávanvamsi).
6. Pardhán (including Páthária, and also Ágariá?)

The first three castes have conformed more or less to Hindu customs, and count among their members a large number of well-to-do Gonds, such as the zamindars of Chauki and Sahuspur-Lohara. They take the holy thread, and, as a rule, venerate Hindu gods. But they may be distinguished from the Hindus, by their worship of the Buđha Deo, either openly or in secret. The plains Gonds belong almost exclusively to one or other of the first four classes. The hill Gonds belong almost quite as exclusively to the Koitor or Jháriá class.

Jharia literally means ‘jungly’; and Mr. Hislop observes† that the meaning of ‘*Koitor*’ is “evidently associated with the idea of a hill”; so that, the name of the fifth class would appear to signify simply Gonds who inhabit the jungle-clad hills. Those who settled in the plain country, and imitated the manners and customs of the Hindus, began to look down upon their brethren of the hills. Hence the former would have no social intercourse with the latter; and thus two great classes would be naturally formed. A further subdivision of the plains Gonds is probably due to social and local causes. The Raj Gonds, for instance, claiming kinship with the royal families of Garha-Mandla, and Lanji, would naturally form a caste.

The Dhur Gonds, who are very numerous in the plain country, occupy a lower status in society than those mentioned above. I suspect the

* Mr. Hislop mentions the following division into twelve and a half classes in imitation of the Hindus: Ráj, Raghuvál, Dadave, Katulyá, Pádál, Dhobi, Ojhyál, Thotyál, Koilabhutál, Koikopál, Kolám, Mádyál, and an inferior sort of Pádál, as the half-caste. These divisions probably hold in the country about Chándá and Nágpur. Katulyá is probably identical with the Khatalwár of Chhattisgar. Pádál is identical with Pardhán or Páthári; Kureti and Dhur cannot be identified with any of the classes mentioned by Hislop, and appear to be peculiar to Chhattisgar.

† Op. Cit. p. 14.

name is of Hindu origin, being corrupted from 'Bidur,' which signifies the mixed descent of the caste. Amongst the peculiarities mentioned to me of the caste, one is that their marriage is consummated in one day, whereas that of the others takes several days.

The *Pardhans* form a small caste. Their social status is considered lower than that of the other Gonds. The *Agarias*, who are iron smelters, appear to form a subsection of them, as also the *Pátháris* who correspond to the *Bháts* of the Rajputs.

The village 'Baiga' mentioned before not unoften belongs to the Pardhan caste. The name Pardhan appears to be of Sanskrit origin, signifying 'chief'; and it is rather strange that the caste should be held in such low estimation. "About the Mahadeva hills" observes Mr. Hislop* "the higher Pardhans act as Pujaris, and the lower as rude musicians, the Koitors seeming to look down upon both offices as somewhat menial."

The members of the castes mentioned above belong to one or other of the following *gots* :—

I. Worshippers of three Deities.

- (1) Markám.
- (2) Sori.
- (3) Khosro.

II. Worshippers of four Deities.

- (4) Tekam (a kind of tree, the teak).
- (5) Neitam. (Nei = a dog).
- (6) Kariám. (Charcoal ? or from *kar*, cock ?).
- (7) Singram (or Sindram ? after a variety of fish).
- (8) Malgam.

III. Worshippers of five Deities.

- (9) Gháore.
- (10) Pureti.
- (11) Kibuáká.
- (12) Porte.
- (13) Purám.

IV. Worshippers of six Deities.

- (14) Wikká.
- (15) Kattam (Kachlam ?)
- (16) Karám.
- (17) Erkará.
- (18) Paoli.
- (19) Marrapoi.

* *Op. Cit.* p. 18.

- (20) Kuroti.
- (21) Tumrekke.
- (22) Selám.
- (23) Etti.
- (24) Otti.

V. Worshippers of seven Deities.

- (25) Kunjam.
- (26) Márai (Mára = tree).
- (27) Dhurna.

&c.

It would be interesting to know the signification of these terms. The meanings of a few I could gather are given. It will be seen that they refer to some tree, or animal. The names of some of the special gods of the five groups just mentioned have been given before. They refer mostly to animals, such as the crocodile, the bull, the tiger &c.

The *gots* into which the worshippers of the three deities (which are the bull, the tiger, and the alligator) are divided are what are called *Bhatbunds*, and they cannot intermarry; they must form alliances with other *gots*. Similarly the worshippers of the four deities are *Bhaibunds*; and so on. It is interesting to note in this connection, that the "Kols are subdivided into two or three hundred groups each of which is called after an animal or a tree; and the rule is that a member of a particular animal group, such as the snakes, the tortoises, the eels, or the mangooses, may not marry within that group."*

Select Vocabulary.

ENGLISH OR HINDI.	GONDI.	REMARKS.
a) Cereals &c.		
Wheat	gok	
Peas	batrala	
Ashar	rahari	Appears to be a corruption of the Hindi word.
Urid	pupul	
Kodo	koda	
Gram	nadai	
Arsi	arsa	Corruption of Hindi.
Paddy	wanji	
Rice	nuka	
Tilli	nung	
Bread (<i>Chapati</i>).	sádi	
Flour	pindi	
Salt	naor	
Tobacco	máku	
Sugarcane	clanda	
Liquor	dádugo	

* Abstract of Mr. H. H. Risley's paper read before the Anthropological Institute of London.—*Nature* for July 31, 1890, p 335.

ENGLISH OR HINDI.	GONDI.	REMARKS.
(b) Domesticated animals &c.		
Cow	tháli	
Calf	páíá	
Dog	náí	
Cat	bilár	
Sheep	bhedal	Hindi.
Goat	bakrá	Corruption of Hindi.
Pip	paddi	Do. Do.
Horse	podá	Do. Do.
Elephant	háti	Do. Do.
Camel	hutum	Do. Do.
Cock	wágoti	Ghoghoti (Hislop).
Hen	kar	
Egg	mench	
Milk	pál	
(c) Wild animals		
Tiger	puliál	
Leopard	ohital	
Bear	arjal	
Nilgai	dhumoi	
Sambar	mán	
Deer	kodrá	
Wild dog	kherá náí	
Jackal	kolhiál	Corruption of Hindi.
Rabbit	malol	
Peafowl	mal	
(d) Wild and cultivated trees.		
Teak	teká	
Sáj	mardi	
Dhowra	werma	
Mhowa	idu	
Bija	bija	
Peepul	gáhma	
Tendu	tumri	
Schara	doudera	
Mango	marká	
Brinjal	singihápa	
(e) Metals, imple-ments, &c.		
Iron	kachi	
Copper	tám	Hindi.
Silver	kuro	
Gold	sona	Do.
Hatchet	márs	
Spear	gorká	
Matchlock	banduk	Do.
Sword	talwár	Do.
Bow	wil	
Arrow	káun	
Fort	gar	
Battle	ladái	Do.
King	rája	Do.

ENGLISH OR HINDI.	GONDI.	REMARKS.
Army	mal	
Sport	háwing	
Plough	nágar	Do.
(f) Miscellaneous.		
Barber	mán	Do.
Carpenter	badái	Do.
Weaver	mehrá	(Name of a caste.)
Smith	kháti	
Shepherd	kopa	
Village	nár	
Pice	paísá	Hindi.
Rupee	rupeá	Do.
Kandi	kandá	Do.
Leaf	áke	
Flower	pungár	
Fruit	pádi, káia	
Marriage	madmi	
Bridegroom	duláh	
Bride	duli	
Infant	chháwá	Do.
Boy	chundur	Addresssd as Bábu.
Girl	tudi	Do. Nuni.
Middle-aged man	reiá nun	
Middle-aged wo- man	máju	
Old man	seda	
Old woman	sedo	
Sun	din	
Moon	nalench	
Star	suknum	
Evening	din udit	Hindi.
Month	máhiána	Do.
God	pen	
Goddess	pedi	
Witch	dhuki, pasro	
Truth	thanka	
Falsehood	fándi	

The Bhunjiyas.

Distribution.—The Bhunjiyas are found in the south-eastern portion of the Raipur district, in the Khariar and Bindra Nawagar zamindaries. At the census of 1881, they numbered 4,721.

Language.—The language of the Bhunjiyas is curiously like Bengali, as the following vocabulary will testify :

<i>English</i>	<i>Bhunjiya.</i>
Hair	... kesa.
Head	... muda.
Face	... mukha.
Eye	... ámkhi.
Nose	... nása.

<i>English.</i>	<i>Bhunjiya.</i>
Thigh	... jánu.
Horse	... ghodá.
Dog	... kukura.
Tiger	... bágħa.
Bear	... bhálu.
House	... ghara.
Rice (uncooked)	... chála.
Rice (cooked)	... bháta.
Road	... márga.
Sun	... suraj.
Moon	... chandra.
I	... ámi.
You	... tumi.

Worship.—The Bhunjiyas do not appear to have any gods. They venerate the sun and the moon, and have *sthápanás* for their ancestors to whom offerings are made. There is a Pujári for a certain number of villages, who corresponds to the Baigá of the Gonds. He is supposed to possess the power of checking epidemics and the ravages of tigers, and receives voluntary contributions from the villagers.

Ceremonies, food, &c.—The marriage ceremony lasts for three days, and presents are made to the father of the bride as usual. After marriage, the cooking utensils are thrown away. If the wife visits her father's home she appears to get a very cold reception, at least so it would seem to a stranger; for she is not allowed to enter the house, but has to live outside and cook for herself.

The kitchen, which is invariably detached, is kept scrupulously clean, ornamented on the outside with red paint. There is a sort of veranda attached where the male members (who are not allowed to enter the kitchen) partake their meals. The ladies of the household carry their scruples to such an extent, that should anybody (not a Bhunjiya) even touch the kitchen, it becomes polluted and must be burnt down! The Bhunjiyas never use any metallic vessels, which are considered impure.

The men are allowed to drink liquor and to eat fowls, but they appear to be very slow about availing themselves at least of the former privilege. For a most wholesome check is exercised by the fair sex, which more civilized people would do well to imitate. I am informed that the ladies of the house who never touch spirits, would not admit the men into the sleeping apartments if they smelt of liquor, and as they are forbidden entry into the kitchen, the fate of inebriates must be a very hard one.

I was told by one informant, that on festive occasions, the invited

guests are given uncooked rice and *dál*, which they cook separately and eat. I learnt from another source, however, that on such occasions the male guests would be allowed to eat together, but not the female. All the observances of the tribe are evidently meant to preserve great purity amongst the fair sex.

The dead are buried. A hatchet and vessels for drinking water are left on the grave.

I am told, curiously enough, that the *gots* of the Bhunjias are similar to those of the Gonds.

Saonras.

Distribution.—A branch of the great Savara tribe. Like the Bhunjias the Savaras are found in the south-eastern portion of the district of Raipur. At the last census they numbered 3,849. They are good cultivators, and not expert at woodcraft like the Bhunjias and the Komárs.

Worship.—The Savaras have *sthápanás* in their houses for Mahá-lachmi to whom offerings of fowls &c. are made in Chaitra. Dulhá Deo also is worshipped.

Language.—From their language they appear to be allied to the Bhunjias. A few English words and their equivalents in the Savara tongue are given below.

Sun	...	...	...	belá.	Rice	...	...	...	cháí.
Moon	...	...	...	yon.	Wild boar	...	...	...	baráha.
Water	...	...	...	pán.	Pig (domesticate)	...	...	...	ghusrá.
Bird	...	...	...	chiri.	Cloth	...	...	...	dhuti.
Tiger	...	...	...	bágh.	Mouth	...	...	...	tunḍ.
Bear	...	...	...	bhálu.	Tooth	...	...	...	dánt.
Dog	...	...	...	kukur.	Son	...	...	...	pilá.
Cat	...	...	...	billi.	Daughter	..	...	...	tugil.
Cow	...	...	...	gáyá.	Eye	...	...	...	ákhk.
Paddy	...	...	...	dhán.	Nose	...	...	...	nák.

Ceremonies.—The young are buried, and the old cremated; caste people are fed three days after a death.

Unlike most other tribes in Chhattisgar, no money present is made to the father of the bride.

Gots: Khutia, Juriá, Jhákar, Májhi, &c.

Komárs.

Distribution.—These are found in the same parts as the Bhunjias, and numbered 3,641 at the last census.

Worship.—Dulha Deo, Bhaváni, and the Earth, besides Ráur Gosám and Kachna Dhuma, who are represented by stones put up in jungles are venerated.

Vocabulary.

Father	bábá.	Foot	putoá.
Sister	bái.	Leg	ređi.
Wife	mántin.	Hand	putoá páte.
Son	noná.	Finger	ántakhá.
Daughter	cheđa.	Arm	dhmuť.
Piece	cháu.	Ear	kána.
Dál	dáu.	Nose	nási.
Wheat	pit.	Mouth	tomuđa.
Bullock	bailá.	Head	muđa.
Arrow	káuđa.	Hair	wán.
Bow	dhanu.	Beard	goch.
Tobacco	dhungía.	Tiger	bágh.
Wood	dáru.	Leopard	durká.
Bird	litto.	Sámbar	jivád.
Dog	kmeklo.	Boar	baráha.
Cat	biláo.	Sun	suraj.
Iron	lohá.	Moon	jond.
Thigh	jam.	Go	jáo cheđa.
		Give	dihá.

The general term for addressing women is “*nágráin*,” that for addressing wife is “*jhi*.”

From this vocabulary, it will appear, that while certain words are common to the Bhunjiya and Savara dialects, there are others which are peculiar.

Manners and Customs.—For marriage the bridegroom has to serve the bride’s father for a certain period (4 years or so)—a custom which is met with also amongst the Gonds and some other tribes, when the father of the bridegroom is not in a position to make the needful presents to the father of the bride. Amongst the Komárs, however, there does not appear to be any alternative. This is probably owing to their chronic impecuniosity, as they are bad cultivators, worse than the Gonds, and subsist mainly upon sport and woodcraft.

The men drink, but not the women. As amongst the Bhunjiyas, greater purity is expected of the women, than of the men. The latter, for instance, are allowed to partake of food cooked by Gonds, whereas the former are not.

The young are buried, and the old cremated.

Gots.—As in the case of the Bhunjiyas, it is rather strange, that the names of the *gots* should be similar to those of the Gonds, from whom they appear to be radically different in language. Some of the *gots* named to me are *Neítam*, *Sori*, *Markam* &c.

Names of men—*Lachman*, *Jharia*, *Budhu*, *Bahadur*, &c.

Names of women.—*Nari*, *Lachmi*, *Dukhdei* &c.

Baigás (Bhumias).

These are most numerous in the wilds of the Mandla district and there is only a sprinkling of them in the north-western portion of Chhattisgar in the feudatory state of Kawarda. Like the hill Gonds, they are strongly averse to cultivation and prefer living on jungle produce. In their features, they have not the marked Mongolian characters which the Gonds have. They shave their head in front; and the long back hair is tied in a knot behind. They speak the Chhattisgari dialect in Chhattisgar.

Dulhá Deo is the great god of the Baigás. But Bhaváni is also worshipped. The Baigas are greatly respected by the other tribes and are sometimes called Bhumias. Some of them are supposed to be gifted with supernatural powers, especially in checking the ravages of tigers. The priests of the Gonds (who are themselves Gonds,) are called Baigás. Hence some confusion has arisen; and the Baigá tribe in Bilaspur was probably owing to this reason included amongst the Gonds at the last census. The tribe, however, is quite distinct physically as well as in language and other characters.

The essential portion of the marriage ceremony consists (as in the case of the Gonds and most other tribes) in going round a pole 7 times.

Gots.—Márai, Dhurná &c.

The Binjávárs.

There is only a sprinkling of these in the eastern portion of Chhattisgar. From the fact that Dulhá Deo is their principal deity, they appear to be closely allied to the Baigás.

Gots.—Lámni, Mánji, Endja, Láen &c.

Kanwárs.

The Kanwárs claim descent from the Kshatriyas, and worship the Jaghrpháud, whom they consider their chief deity. But they also appear to recognize Dulha Deo, the great god of the Baigas, and Buđhá Deo, the great god of the Gonds. The dead are also buried, an essentially non-Hindu practice. In fact, the Kanwárs combine in themselves partly aboriginal and partly Hindu characters.

Ceremonies.—Five days after a birth, the caste men are fed. At marriage, the bride and bridegroom, both anointed with oil and turmeric go round a pole 7 times at the bride's as well as at the bridegroom's. The bridegroom puts on the holy thread at the marriage ceremony.

When parents die, the head is shaved clean, and after 5 days caste-men are fed: on the death of other relations, the head is only partly shaved.

With regard to food and drink, the Kanwárs, at least professedly,

are strictly Hindu, fowls and pigs as well as intoxicating liquors being prohibited.

Gots.—*Bag-dehria, Dhankul, Khanrádhar, Banjári &c.*

The Hálvás.

Mr. Hislop classes the Hálvás with Gonds.* Following him, Mr. Sherring does the same; but the latter has them also amongst non-aboriginal tribes.† Their affinities are doubtful, but, whatever they may be, I doubt the kinship of the Hálvás to the Gonds.

The Hálvás are an agricultural tribe found in the southern portion of the Raipur district. They speak the Chhattisgari dialect and profess to have come from Bastár. Their chief deity is Kanhálin who is worshipped with sacrifices of goats &c. The chief reasons which lead me to think that they are not Gonds, are (1) the fact, that they do not venerate the Buđhá Deo, which even the most Hinduised Gonds do; and (2) the fact, that the gots of the Hálvás are quite distinct from those of the Gonds.

In the Central Provinces Gazetteer,‡ the Hálvás are said “to gain their living chiefly by distilling spirits, and worship a pantheon of glorified distillers, at the head of whom is Bahadur Kalál.” This statement has also been quoted by Sherring. But, there must be some confusion, as I have not come across a single Hálvá who earns his living in the way represented here; nor are the Hálvás aware of any members of their caste doing so anywhere.

Except on occasions of marriage and similar festivities, they profess to abstain from drinking.

The dead are buried.

GOTS: Mahla, Raut, Pátáe &c.

Chámár (Satnámi Sect).

The chámárs form the largest caste in Chhattisgar, numbering 248,429 in the Raipur, and 95,020 in the Bilaspur district, that is to say they form about 12 per cent. of the total population of these districts which is estimated at 3 millions.

The chámárs, except a few to be mentioned later on, all belong to the Satnámi sect. They are a fine, sturdy race of agriculturists, rather tenacious of their rights, and, as they are united, quite capable of holding their own against the Hindus who look down upon them with great contempt. They also sometimes call themselves Rai Dásis after Rám Dás, “a chámár reformer and disciple of Rámánand who

* Op cit., Vol. II, p. 147.

† Op cit., Vol. II, p. 108.

‡ Op cit., pp. 221-122.

lived in the 15th century ; the modern Satnámi creed is a revival of the doctrines of Rám Dás preached by Ghási Das in the early part of the present century.”* Ghási Das, an unlettered but thoughtful chámár, was deeply impressed with the degraded condition of his community, who were strongly addicted to drink and other vicious habits. He gradually acquired considerable influence by his wisdom and high moral character, and gathered round him a handful of devoted followers. One morning he collected them, and telling them to assemble all the chámárs at a particular spot after six months, himself retired behind the hills in the south-eastern portion of Chhattisgar to meditate and hold communion with God. On the appointed day a large concourse of the Chhattisgari chámárs was brought together to receive God’s word from Ghási Dás. The reformer slowly appeared with the rising sun and gave them the message ; which was to the effect, that there is only one true God (the Sat Nám), that all men are equal, that the idols of the Hindus are false, and that meat, intoxicating liquors, and smoking are interdicted. The assembled chámárs received the message with great enthusiasm and the Satnámi sect was established. Ghási Dás became their Guru or Primate and declared the office to be hereditary.

The chámárs gradually found out, that it was hard work abstaining from all the good things of the world, and those who wished to indulge in smoking, formed themselves into a sub-sect called *Chunggiá*. A *chungi* is a leaf (preferably that of Palás, *Butea frondosa*) rolled into the form of a pipe in which tobacco is smoked : hence the name of the sub-sect. The *Chungias*, however, appear to have unrestricted social intercourse with the more orthodox members of the community.

The dissemination of the Satnámi doctrines infused new life into the chámárs, and they rose to positions of comparative influence and respectability, which apparently made them an eye-sore to their Hindu neighbours, to whom the very name of chámár is a byword for all that is degraded. Besides, the protest of the Satnámis against the idolatrous practices of the Hindus aggravated the enmity of the latter. Several attempts were, I am told, made against the life of Ghási Dás, but none succeeded. But, his son and succssor Bálak Dás was murdered in 1860. Persecution to any serious extent is of course impossible under British rule, but affrays between the Hindus and the Satnámis, now and then occur. Where the latter are in the minority, the former, I am informed would not allow the guru of the latter to ride on an elephant and go in procession through their villages.

The guru goes on tour in great state, with elephants, camels, and

* Hunter’s Gazetteer, Vol. XI, p. 372.

a large following. The name of the present guru is Agar Dás. The Satnámis prostrate themselves before him and give him presents according to their means. He has his deputies called Bhándáris scattered all over the country, who collect his dues ; sometimes, villages are farmed out to them at fixed amounts. The Bhándáris represent the guru in all social ceremonies. It is said that the bride associates with the guru or his representative before entering her husband's home. But the chámárs stoutly deny this, and assert it to be a calumny invented by their Hindu enemies. It is difficult to get at the truth in this matter : the bride appears to be presented before the guru or his deputy, and she has to make a present to this functionary.

The Hindus assert that the Satnámis do not act up to their doctrines. There are, of course orthodox and heterodox people amongst all castes, and some Satnámis certainly do not abstain from meat.

The Satnamis salute by bowing low, lifting up their left leg, and exclaiming 'Sat Nám, Sat Nám ! Their worship consists in exclaiming these sacred words at sunrise and sunset. ["Sat Nám " means 'the right or true name,' *i. e.*, the true god.]

The dead are buried. Relations are fed on the third, fifth, tenth or fifteenth day.

The Satnámis do not observe any class distinctions amongst themselves and are a very compact body.

Gots : Kusariá, Bhatbahari, Banjára, Jarkaria, Aril, &c.

Ohámár (Muchi.)

The Satnámí chámárs have no intercourse with those who prepare hides or work in leather. As in other parts, carcasses of animals contribute to the food of the Muchis.

Worship Dulhá Deo once in two or three years with offerings of rice, &c.

Kabirpanthis.

These are followers of Kabir, a disciple of the reformer Rámánand, who preached in Northern India in the fifteenth century. The doctrines of the Kabirpanthis are similar to those of the Satnámis : like the latter they are enjoined to abstain from flesh food and spirituous drink, to observe no caste distinctions and not to worship idols. Both forms of faith are protests against the idolatry and caste-system of the Hindus on the one hand, and the vicious habits of the aborigines on the other. There is, however, one point of essential difference. Satnámism forcibly enjoins belief in one God, whereas Kabirpanthism does not do so. Indeed, beyond the guru, and the ordinary village deities like Thákur Deo, and the goddess of small-pox, I am not aware if the Kabirpanthis

have any other object of worship. All the Kabirpanthis I questioned did not certainly declare their belief in one God, as the Satnámis invariably did.

Kabirism notwithstanding its anti-Hindu tenets is not in such bad repute amongst the Hindus as Satnámism is. This is probably due to the fact, that the latter is professed by chámárs only, whereas the former counts amongst its followers many Hindus, not excepting even Bráhmans and Rajputs. The Paukás form the greater majority of the Kabirpanthis of Chhattisgar; I have not met a single Pauká who is not a Kabirpanthi. The Gandas, Telis, Márárs, Kunbis, &c., contribute large numbers, the Telis especially. In these cases, those who become Kabirpanthis are not excommunicated, but continue to live with their caste people: for instance, a Teli's becoming a Kabirpanthi would not interfere with his marrying into a non-Kabirpanthi Teli family. The Brahmins and Rajputs, on becoming Kabirpanthis, are renounced by their castes. Their number, however, is small and they are amply compensated by the bestowal on them of all the fat posts of the order.

Though the Satnámis and the Kabirpanthis equally profess disregard for caste distinctions, the latter do not carry their disregard into practice, or do so to a limited extent. Though Kabir, the founder of the sect, preached the equality of all men and had Muhammadan as well as Hindu followers, I have not come across a single Muhammadan member of the order in Chhattisgar; and it is certain that a chámár will not now be admitted. The Kabirpanthis I have met, usually observe caste restrictions; a Teli Kabirpanthi, for instance, would not eat food cooked by a Pauká belonging to the same order.

The ceremony of conversion is very simple, consisting in blowing the *mantra* into the ear of the convert, and placing a necklace of wooden beads round his neck.

The constitution of the order is similar to that of the Satnámí sect. There is a guru who is venerated, worshipped I should say. The guru lives at Kawarda, the capital of a feudatory state of the same name, in the north-western portion of Chhattisgar. Like the Satnámí guru he occasionally goes out on tour in great pomp. He has got his deputies called Bhándáris and Mohants dispersed all over the country, who make converts, collect contributions, and officiate at social ceremonies.

The dead are buried. A grave is dug, and the corpse laid in it with the head to the north, and a Mohant or, in his absence, some elderly Kabirpanthi blows into its ears some sacred names, and pours into its mouth some cocoanut oil, after which every member of the party with his back to the grave, throws a handful of soil into it, then he turns towards the grave and fills it up. Those who can afford raise a memorial over it.

After three days the head is shaved entirely by near, and partly by remote, relations. The kinsfolk assemble at the house of the deceased and squatting round a raised *dais* (called *chauká*) sing sacred songs.

The Mán Bháu Sect.

This sect is similar to the Kabirpanthi and Satnámi sects, in that they all abstain from flesh and spirituous drink and disregard caste. The Mán Bháus believe in Vishná, and the Bhagavadgítá is their sacred book. They are, in fact, Vaishnavas. There are monks and nuns who are vowed to celibacy; but the larger number are Grihasthas, *i. e.*, householders. The followers of the sect are most numerous in Berar. In Chhattisgar there are not many, and those I met are all householders. The Kátíás (a weaver caste) appear to have been converted *en masse*; there are also followers of Mán Bháu amongst the Telis, Kunbis, &c. I was told, that their guru lives at some place near Ramtek in the district of Nagpur. The process of conversion is very simple, consisting in blowing the *mantra* into the ear of the person who desires to be initiated.

In Chhattisgar, Bráhmans are respected by the Mán Bháus, and I did not notice any ill-feeling between the two which is said to exist in Berar.*

Kunbi.

An essentially agricultural class, allied to the next caste the Kurmi. In the last census returns the number of the latter for the districts of Raipur and Bilaspur is given as 99,620. But the Kunbi is not separately mentioned, and must be included in this number.

A good many of the Kunbis belong to the Mán Bháu sect just described. They worship Vishnu, abstain from flesh food and intoxicating liquors, and bury their dead. The others worship Mahádeo, eat goat's flesh and fish, and practise cremation. The two classes can intermarry if they belong to the same clan.

There are two clans,—1, the Jháriá; 2, Puroli, the former being, as the name signifies, restricted to the jungles, and the latter to the plain country. The division is evidently due to habitat. The two clans do not intermarry.

Those who practise cremation preserve a few bones, and, in the case of the old and well to do, take them to some sacred place and deposit them there. Bones are so deposited in the Mahánadi at Rajim, and in a stream called the Narbada near Chuikhádán.

Caste men are fed 10 days after death.

Kurmi.

Allied to the Kunbi.

Gots: Chárnáha, Manáha, Singror, Pátaria.

* Gazetteer of Barar, quoted by Sherring, *op. cit.* Vol. II, p. 164.

Teli.

A large agricultural and trading caste numbering at the last census 203,503 in Raipur, and 61,324 in Biláspur.

The Telis are divided into five clans, *viz.*,—

- I. Garbária—those who have come from Garbá, Mándlá.
- II. Kanojia—those who have come from Kanoj.
- III. Jháriá—those who live in the jungles.
- IV. Ekbanhiás.
- V. Háliás—Distillers.

The Garbárias are divided into 32 gots: Boir, Bágh, Sanichára, Hirwani &c.

Gots of the Kanojia Telis: Sonsat, Sirsat, Souger, Jomkátar, &c.

Gots of Jháriás: Átbháia, &c.

Áhir.

Also called Ránt and Gairá. Number at the last Census in Raipur 141,983; in Biláspur, 85,546. Shepherds, servants, cultivators.

Worship Dulha Deo, Buḍha Deo, &c. The Áhirs have a great festival about Dewali time, when they go about dancing and singing, richly bedecked with strings of *cowri* shells.

They are divided into three clans based I believe, on habitat:

- I. Jháriá—those who live in the jungles.
- II. Kusuriá.
- III. Kanojiá—those who are said to have come from Kanoj.

Gots of the Kusuriás: Amádár, Bághwá, Markám, &c.

Kálár.

The Kálárs are a rather numerous class, and met with throughout Chhattisgar as distillers, traders and cultivators. They appear to derive their name from 'kal' which is Gondi for liquor, distilling being their main occupation. At the last census they numbered 20,307, in the Raipur district.

Worship.—The chief deities are Dulhá Deo, Rátmá, the latter being represented by a flat piece of gold or silver. One informant told me that Bhagaván is the only *pákká* god they worship, the others being what he quaintly expressed as *kátchá*. In the southern portion of Chhattisgar, Báhádur Kalaria and her son Sasan Chábári are worshipped in the Holi time. They were evidently very successful distillers, and lived at Sorar and Gurur, where the remains of their distilleries are still said to be preserved.

Subdivision.—The Chhattisgari Kálárs are subdivided into two classes:

- I. Darsená.

II. Gajbhátiá (jungly Kalárs).

The Darsená are further subdivided into the Chhota and the Bara Darsena, of whom the latter are said to abstain from liquors.

Some of the Kalárs belong to the Kabirpanthi sect.

The dead are buried with the head towards the north.

Gots: Neora, Nág, Dhurná, Sonwani, &c.

Márár.

Called also Pátel and Máli. At the last Census numbered 35,096 in Raipur, and 24, 541 in Bilaspur. Gardeners and cultivators.

The head of the Márárs is usually shaven in front in the form of a semicircle. The hair is kept long and tied behind in a knot.

They do not appear to have any special objects of worship except their ancestors, to whom they offer *hom*.

The Bastariá Márárs, who appear to be of Gond origin, and with whom the other Márárs have no social intercourse, worship the Gond gods, Buđhá Deo, and Dulhá Deo.

There is no special ceremony for marriage, beyond that kinsfolk are feasted at the time. The bride comes to the house of the bridegroom with her relations and stops there for five days. One wife only is allowed.

Fish is eaten; but meat and intoxicating liquor are prohibited. Some Márárs become Kabirpanthis, when they are said to abstain from fish also.

Pauká.

With the next named caste number 35,128 in Raipur. They earn their livelihood as watchmen and weavers, and make but indifferent cultivators.

They all profess to belong to the Kabirpanthi sect.

Gáudá.

Closely allied to the Pauká, and follow the same professions.

A good many become Kabirpanthis. These have no social intercourse with the Sákat (Sákta) Gáudás, whose chief deity is Dulhá Deo.

There are three clans: (1) *Bajawia*, those who play on tomtoms &c.; (2) Mohariá (3) Bastariá.

Banjárá.

An adventurous class of traders. Before the opening up of the railway, the Banjárs used to carry on a roaring trade. Even now strings of Banjára pack-bullocks are to be met on the highways leading from Chhattisgar towards, Mándlá, and Jabalpur. The Banjárs are an essentially nomadic tribe, scarcely ever settling down at any place for

a considerable time. They are, however, now taking to agriculture at places, as their hereditary occupation does not any longer pay, as it used to do a few years ago.

At the last Census, the Banjárás numbered 8,518 in the Raipur district. They worship Banjárá, a goddess represented by a piece of stone daubed with vermilion during Dewali. No priests are required except at marriage, when the services of a Bráhman are put into requisition. The Banjárás, I am told, make converts of Gonds and other tribes. For some time before, and during the Holi festival, the Banjárá women, old and young, in gala dress, go about in batches from house to house, and village to village, dancing and singing, expecting, of course, presents of money or grain.

The women put on a large peculiar, conical bonnet, by which they may be easily recognised.

The Banjárás are divided into 18 Gots of which I could get names for ten only. Bhuktiá, Urtiá (Bartia ?), Ráuriá (or Láuriá), Jharbolá, Trie, Kent, Korrá, Pálthiá, Mur, Bádant.

Keot or Kewát.

Numerous in the plain country ; at the last Census their number for the districts of Raipur and Bilaspur is given as 85,690. Fishermen, cultivators. Chief god—Deví or Durgá (with four hands). They eat pork.

Bhuí.

Allied to Keot, and very likely included in it at the last Census, as I do not find it separately mentioned.

Mehrá.

A large class, numbering 26,796, in the Raipur districts at the last Census. The Mehrás act as kotwáls (watchmen) of villages in the western portion of Chhattísagar. They also follow agricultural and other occupations such as weaving.

Worship Náráyana, and Mahádeo. Some are followers of Mánbháu.

There is one class of Mehrás calling themselves *Beíá* who worship Bhagaván or Súrjárnáráyana, and are said to abstain from beef and intoxicating drinks. They have no intercourse with the other Mehrá who will eat anything they can get hold of, carrion not excepted and who are considered very low in the estimation of the Hindus.

The dead are buried with the head to the north. Some selected spot in the house is consecrated to the dead. Caste people are fed three days after death.

Kátíá.

A small caste of weavers. They are mostly followers of Mánbháu. The dead are buried.

Koshá.

A rather large class. Mostly weavers. At the last Census they numbered 17,433, in the district of Raipur.

Gods Dulhá Deo, Rátmái (represented by a flat piece of gold or silver, also worshipped by the Kalárs).

There are two subdivisions (1) Chhattísvari, (2) Mahratti. The former must have been long settled in Chhattísgar, and the latter must be newcomers. The two clans have no social intercourse with each other.

Burial and cremation are both in vogue.

ERRATA.

Notes on a Buddhist Monastery at Bhoj Bâgân, Journal No. I, 1890.

- Page 52, line 26, read Udâsinas for Udâsis.
- " 53 " 2 " or " ro.
- " 55 " 17 put '89 after January.
- " " " 31 read पुं for पु
- " 56 " 8 put 4 after Sagara.
- " " " 9 & 10 read Dasnami (having ten names) is the collective name of the followers of these four disciples. for Dasnami (having ten names) is the name of these four disciples and their followers collectively.
- " " " 21 " Upanishads for Upanishats.
- " " " 2 from foot read pretension for prentension.
- " 57 " 10 " " " contains " contain.
- " " " 6 " " " places " place.
- " 58 " 9 " " " 94 " 95.
- " 61 " 14 read Him for him.
- " 63 " 16 " allow them to for allow to.
- " " " 3 from foot read had rendered for has rendered.
- " 70 " 17 " " " occasion " occassion.
- " 71 " 1 read Bengal for Bengel.
- " " " 4 " predilection for predelection.
- " 72 " 15 " entrusted " trusted.
- " 76 " 17 " Brahman, and said for Brahman, said.
- " 80 last line " M. Amiot " Mr. Amiot.
- " 84 line 1 " confectionery " confectionary.
- " 85 " 6 " gave him dismissal " gave his dismissal.
- " " " 14 " whom devotion for whose devotion.
- " 88 " 2 & 3 " hospitality " hospitability.
- " 89 " 5 " consecrated " consecratad.
- " " " 35 " Messrs. " Mr.

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BUDDHIST MONASTERY AT BHOT BAG

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PLATE II.

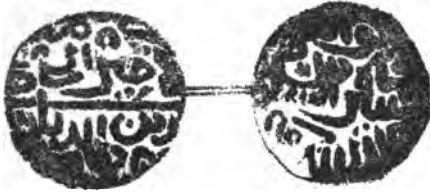
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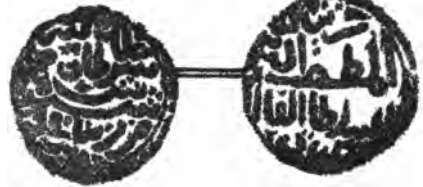
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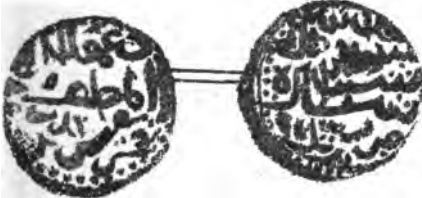
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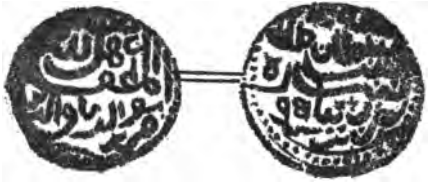
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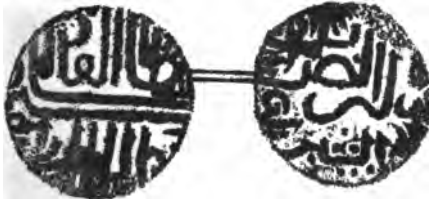
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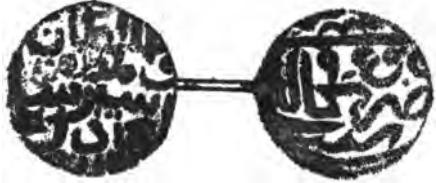
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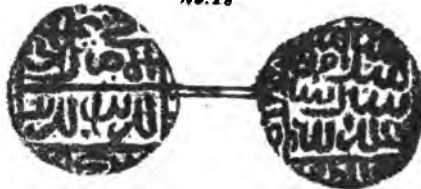
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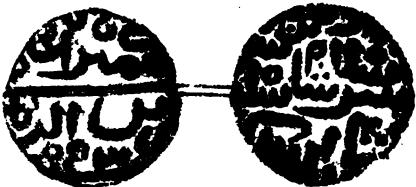
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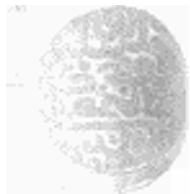
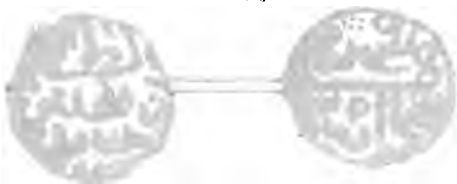


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COPPER COINS OF THE SURI DYNASTY.

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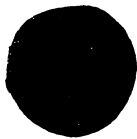
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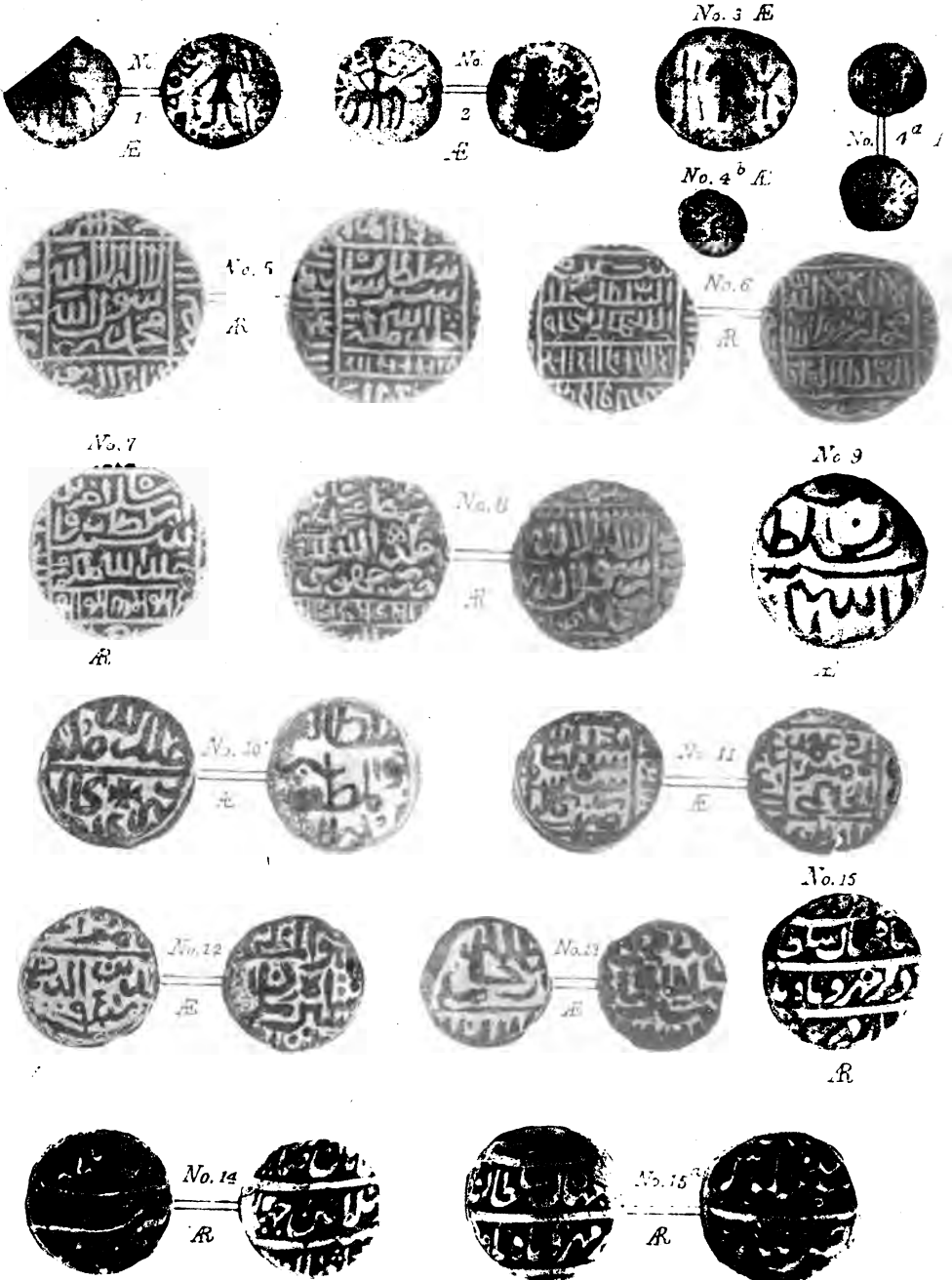
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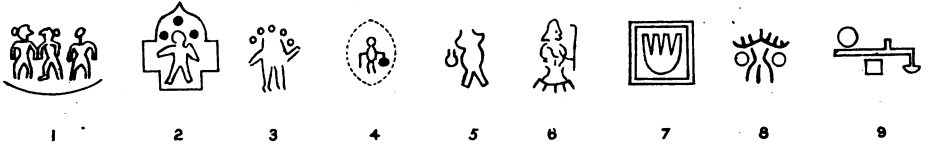
SOME NEW OR RARE HINDU & MUHAMMADAN COINS.

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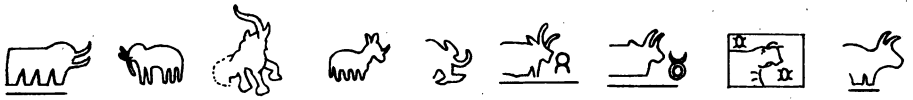


Some new or rare Hindu and Mohammedan Coins.

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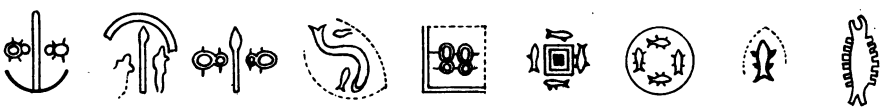
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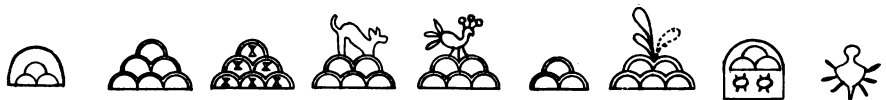
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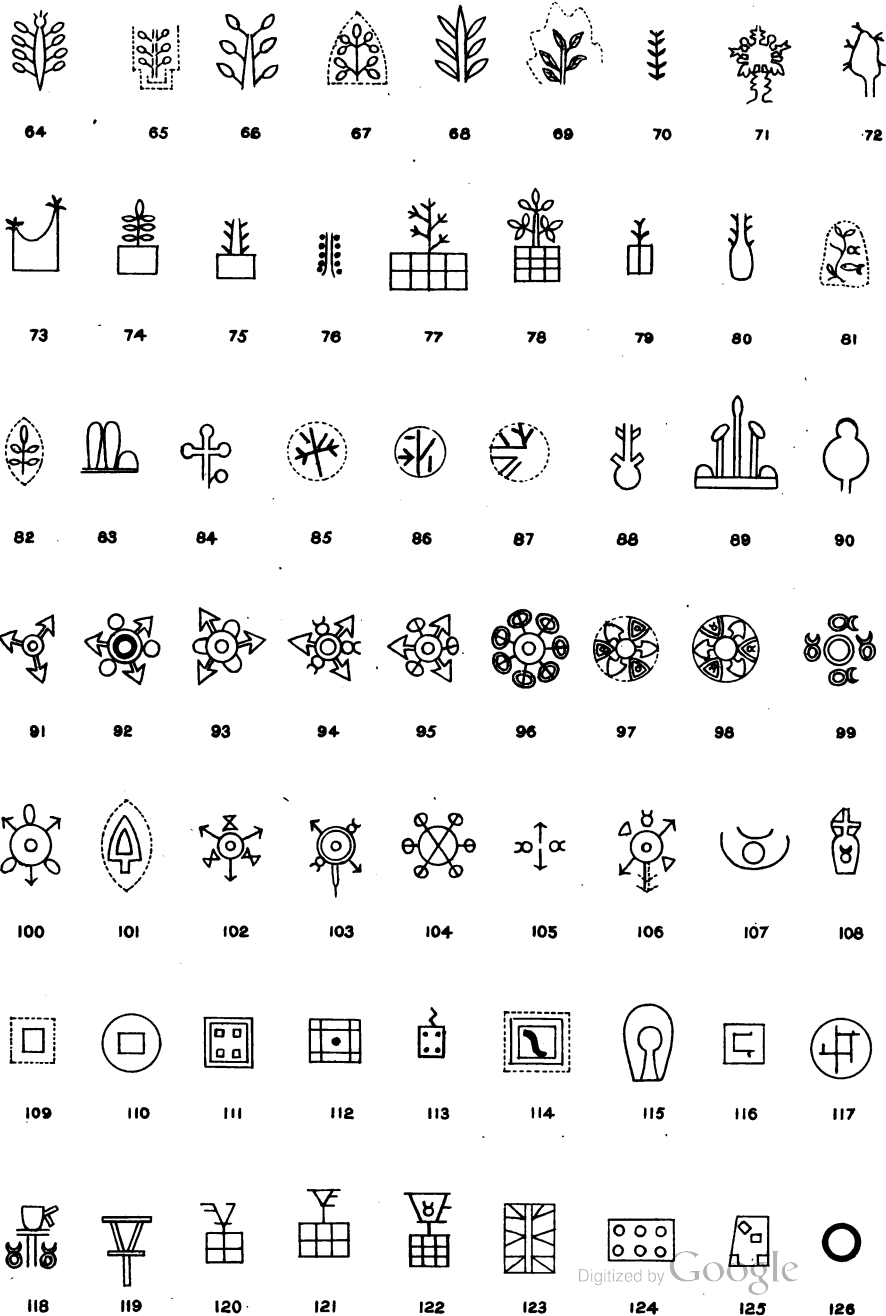


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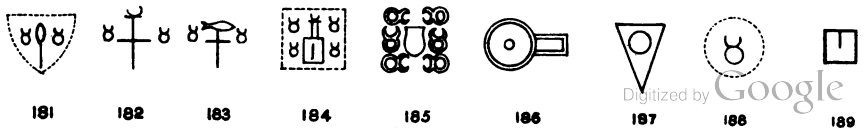
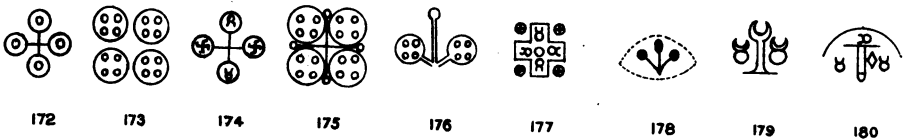
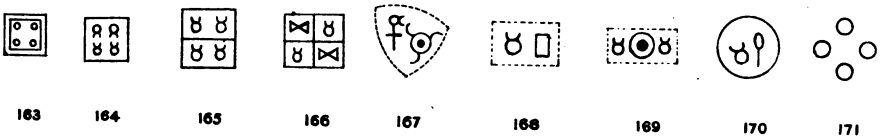
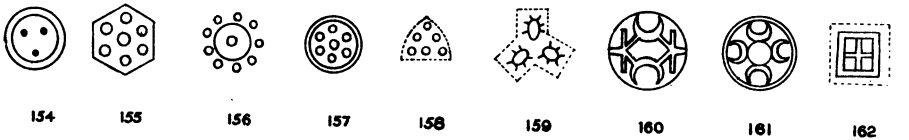
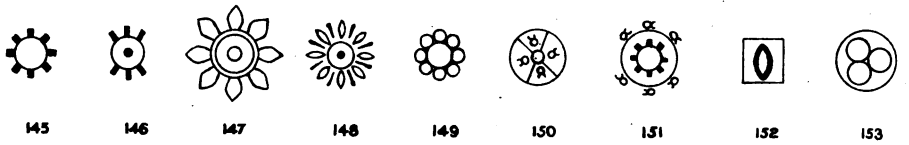
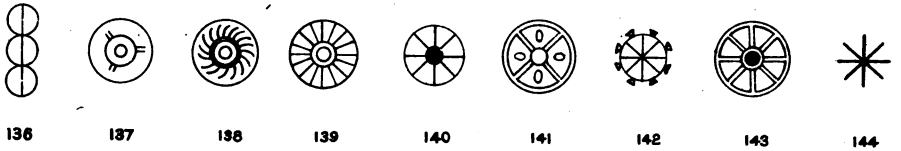
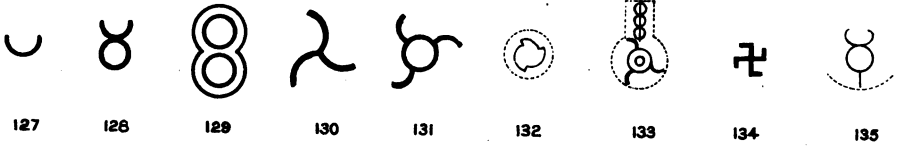


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THEOBALD. PUNCH-MARKED COIN SYMBOLS.



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THEOBALD. PUNCH-MARKED COIN SYMBOLS.



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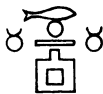
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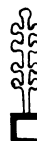
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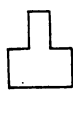
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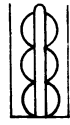
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